

# **Cultural, Social and Political Roles of Women's Endowments in Egypt (1900-1952)**

**Riham Ahmed Khafagy**

**PhD. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Cairo University  
Masters of Islamic Studies with concentration in Political Science  
School of Islamic and Social Sciences, VA, U.S.A**

## **Cultural, Social and Political Roles of Women's Endowments in Egypt (1900-1952)**

Women in many Muslim countries have historically contributed to cultural, social, and to less extend political aspects of their societies. Through many social institutions they were able to influence and change some aspects of the cultures of their societies. One of the significant social institutions that women used to influence was the Islamic-based endowment. The institution of endowment was meant to allocate amounts of private capitals, stocks, and real estates to preserve the functional continuity of particular institutions.

Historically, Muslim women were both religiously conscious and nationally aware. They recognized that both the institute of the Islamic Caliphate and regimes of Muslim societies should be reformed simultaneously. Therefore, they donated the revenues of their endowments domestically and internationally in order to support their societies as well as the institute of Islamic Caliphate. They donated mainly to educate boys and girls and university students because during the colonial era the major challenge for Muslim societies was cultural.

This paper discusses the cultural, social and political impacts of Egyptian women's endowments between 1900 and 1952, when Egypt was ruled by the British. At that period, the impact of Western civilization was heavily felt in Egypt. Western Civilization was the model for modernization, while Islamic traditional institutes were stagnant. As a result, reforming and supporting Islamic cultural and educational institutions were a huge and critical task the Muslim women undertook through their endowments. Contrary to what some intellectuals and historians claim,<sup>1</sup> during this historical era Egyptian women were neither marginalized nor alienated and their social roles cannot be denied. The paper attempts to emphasize the significance of women's social role during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The paper is arranged into three sections discussing three main aspects of Egyptian women's endowments during this period: the main characteristics of these endowments and their impacts on raising women's awareness on one hand and the revival of the Ottoman Empire and the Egypt on the other hand.

### **Section One: General features of women's endowments**

Egyptian women's endowment shared common features in terms of establishment, beneficiaries and administration.

#### **Establishment of Women's Endowment**

The establishment of an endowment requires legal procedures including issuing legal documents. Egyptian women followed the same legal procedures that men did. They had to prove their ownership of the endowed estates, decide the beneficiaries of that endowment, and chose its administrators. Two witnesses had to sign the legal documents of each new endowment.<sup>2</sup> In many cases Egyptian women were accompanied by a male

member of their families following certain Islamic rules.<sup>3</sup> No financial guardianship was implied.

On the other hand, while some Egyptian women preferred to establish their own endowments, others co-established endowments along with members of their families.<sup>4</sup> In the latter case, each partner clarified his or her share in the endowed estates, beneficiaries, or administrators.

Legal documents of these endowments were usually masterly written: they had wonderful introductions and references to the Qur'an and Prophet Muhammad's traditions. Their styles varied according to the educational and social standard of donors. Besides, such documents usually refer to the main goal of endowment – that is, to serve Allah Who gave his servants the wealth to help each other and establish civilizations in His name in this world.<sup>5</sup>

### **Beneficiaries of Women's Endowments**

The services established by the revenues of Egyptian women's endowments were mostly of three kinds:

1. *Educational services*, e.g., establishing or financing Qur'anic schools (i.e., *Kuttab*), private Islamic elementary and secondary schools, and then the first national Egyptian university.
2. *Social services*, e.g., financing hospitals, orphanages, hostels for senior citizens, and public fountains.
3. *Religious services*, e.g., establishing mosques, arranging sessions for Qur'anic recitation, or financing poor pilgrims.

Obviously, beneficiaries of women's endowments overlapped. For instance, al-Azhar mosque-university, a main beneficiary of women's endowments, provided both religious and educational services. We will discuss more details of these beneficiaries in the next two sections.

### **Administration of Women's Endowments**

As an independent social institution, each endowment had its own administration. The head of this administration, who was called *Nazir*, used to preside over some employees; their number depended on the size of the endowment. They managed the financial and legal matters of the endowment and gave its beneficiaries their allocated shares of the revenues. These administrations were of several types:

1. Traditionally, donors preferred to manage their endowments during their lifetime and assign a specific member of their families or friends to manage them after their death.<sup>6</sup> Some donors assigned the wisest among their offspring to manage their endowments after their death.<sup>7</sup> As of shared endowments, the relationship between the donors was a determined factor in choosing the administrator. Endowments of mothers and their daughters or sons were managed by the mother during her lifetime and then her sons or daughters.<sup>8</sup> The same rules applied to endowments of fathers and their daughters: the father manages the endowment during his life and then daughters undertook the responsibility.<sup>9</sup> As of endowments of

husbands and wives, they were managed by husbands during their lifetimes, then wives undertook the responsibility.<sup>10</sup> This reflects how wives trusted their husbands, with no negative impact on their financial independence. In some cases, donors assigned non-members of their families to manage their endowments. These were public figures such as the Grand Sheikhs of Al-Azhar, who managed many endowments because of their position.<sup>11</sup>

2. Some donors assigned philanthropic associations or institutions to manage their endowments. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Islamic or Christian philanthropic associations multiplied and increasingly administrated women's endowments in Egypt. For instance, during the 1920s and 1930s, the Philanthropic Association in Cairo managed several endowments established to support its regular activities, and others established to support new activities.<sup>12</sup>
3. Other endowments were managed by the General Authority of Endowment, established in 1851 and developed into Ministry of Endowment in 1913.<sup>13</sup> The General Authority of Endowment was the official administrator of many endowments in Egypt for two reasons. First, some donors directly assigned it for managing their endowments instead of appointing a member of their families or a philanthropic association. Second, in case of absence or corruption of the assigned administrators, the General Authority automatically stepped in to manage these endowments. Besides, the General Authority of Royal Endowments was concerned only with administrating the endowments of members of the royal family.<sup>14</sup>
4. Big endowments had special administrative arrangements: their administrators were elected by special councils appointed by the donors. Members of these councils were mostly people with certain public positions who decided independently from the donors. For instance, Princess Fatima daughter of Khedive Ismail, one the greatest donors in this period, established a council of respected people that elected the manager who would administer her big educational endowment after her death. This council consists of the president of, and three professors at, the National University, the institute that benefited most from this endowment; two respected Islamic scholars; two notables; the Ottoman Commissioner in Egypt; and the Grand Islamic Judge of Egypt, who was the chairman of the council. According to the legal documents of this endowment, the administrator would be elected by consensus; but if the council members did not agree on a specific person, they would choose him by the simple majority of votes; otherwise, he would be appointed by the Grand Islamic Judge of Egypt.<sup>15</sup>

But regardless of the type of administration, the administrator must respect the donor's wills as stipulated in the legal documents of the endowment, including how the revenues would be distributed. And in order to guarantee a fair and honest implementation of the donor's wills, the administrator had to report to a supervisor, usually the General Authority of Endowments, which developed into Ministry of Endowment in 1913. Hence, the General Authority of Endowment was able to discharge the financially corrupt administrators and hire others or itself takeover the management.<sup>16</sup>

However, according to legal documents, some donors refused all kinds of interference or supervision by official institutions, as a way of emphasizing the illegitimacy of the Egyptian government that was in fact ruled by the British High Commissioners, then Ambassadors, between 1882 and 1952.<sup>17</sup> In such cases, the donors arranged for different unofficial ways to supervise the administration of their endowments. For instance, women who endowed independently from their husbands and assigned them to administer their endowments after their death usually required no supervision over them as a sign of trust.<sup>18</sup>

In legal terms, women's endowments were generally similar to men's endowments. But women were more inclined to choose the administrators from among their family members.

## **Section Two:** **Impacts of Women's Endowments on Women's Social Conditions**

In general, women were the most beneficiaries of women's endowments in Egypt for two reasons. First, many women's endowments were devoted to educate and improve the social conditions of young girls. The revenues of these endowments were channeled in two main directions: establishing orphanages and spreading elementary and secondary schools for girls. Historically, this was part of a national movement at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to meet the challenges of the invading European culture, norms and values. In fact, bringing up and educating girls during the early stages of their lives were considered as a preparation of the whole next generation of mothers – a national mission by all standards in a Muslim occupied county like the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Egypt. Second, while married women were financially dependent on their husbands, and therefore were in no need of the revenues of women's endowment, parts of these revenues were allocated to build free shelters for widows and divorced or senior women.

In this section, the revenues of women's endowments allocated to the benefit of young girls will be addressed, while the revenues allocated to the benefit of widows and divorced or senior women will be addressed in the next section as part of the social services provided by women donors.

### **Establishing Orphanages**

Several women's endowments were donated to establish orphanages for young girls across the country. These orphanages functioned as shelters as well as schools for orphan girls.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, many donors required certain curriculums in the schools-orphanages they sponsored. Most of them required teaching girls how to read and write in Arabic, memorize some chapters of the Qur'an, learn basic rules of Islam and accounting, and develop some housekeeping skills.<sup>20</sup> Some added music and songs,<sup>21</sup> while others preferred to provide orphan girls with the same education taught in public schools.<sup>22</sup> But for all donors, educating and sheltering orphan girls were priorities.

In addition, most donors provided the orphan girls in their sponsored orphanages with daily meals, seasonal clothes and cash, usually during the Islamic month of Ramadan.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, donors usually provided orphan girls with cash after graduation or before marriage, whichever comes first, so that they might leave the orphanages and start new good lives.<sup>24</sup>

Sheltering and educating orphan girls were meant to protect them from hard life without families and prepare the next generations to contribute to the progress of their society.<sup>25</sup>

### **Educating Girls**

Educating young girls was the most significant contribution of women's endowments in Egypt. This contribution was meant to resist foreign education and girls' missionary schools, which multiplied during British colonialism and threatened some national and Islamic values of the Egyptian society.<sup>26</sup> Attempting to preserve the society's authentic values, women donors supported national and Islamic education for girls on two levels:

#### *Quranic elementary schools (Katateeb):*

These were mosque-affiliated, small elementary schools that taught girls and boys basic rules of accounting, reading and writing in Arabic, and memorizing some chapters of the Qur'an.<sup>27</sup> Several Egyptian women donors allocated parts of the revenues of their endowments to establish or support small mosques, usually in their home-villages, and schools affiliated with them.<sup>28</sup> These schools played important roles in the society because they taught boys and girls the basic national and Islamic values at early stages of their ages. Therefore, the number of these Quranic schools was huge: according to one estimate, there were almost three thousands mixed Quranic schools in 1914, attended by two thousands girls.<sup>29</sup>

#### *Private secondary schools:*

Women's endowment had significant impacts on the establishing and spreading of girls' private secondary schools on three levels: geographical locations, social backgrounds of students, and curriculums.<sup>30</sup>

Women's endowments effectively contributed to spreading girls' private secondary schools in many regions of the country. While most girls' public schools were concentrated in Cairo, and missionary schools spread significantly in the countryside, women donors allocated parts of their endowments to establish and support private schools for girls in Cairo as well as the countryside.<sup>31</sup> Besides, contrary to the claim of some Orientalists that the British authority faced social obstacles against girls' education,<sup>32</sup> the British authority was the first to charge Egyptians for education. Consequently, lower- and middle-class families were not able to send their children to public schools,<sup>33</sup> while higher-class families usually sent their children to missionary schools. Only the endowments, including women's endowments, successfully overcame this British-imposed obstacle. Schools sponsored by endowments were free for most students. Furthermore, some of these schools provided girls with daily meals, annual clothes and cash after their graduation.<sup>34</sup> As a result, many lower- and middle-class girls

joined these schools: it is estimated that more than 4700 girl students were enrolled in the fourteen girls' schools of Islamic charitable associations that provided free education in 1951.<sup>35</sup>

Regarding the curriculums, women donors required a combination of the curriculums taught in public schools and some housekeeping skills that women needed as mothers and wives.<sup>36</sup> Besides, they insisted on teaching Arabic and the Qur'an as main subjects in the schools they sponsored – subjects that were not taught in foreign schools. Therefore, some donors assigned certain Islamic philanthropic associations to administrate the schools they sponsored as a guarantee that Arabic and the Qur'an would be taught.<sup>37</sup> As a result, girl students in the schools sponsored by women's endowments studied how to read and write in Arabic, memorized chapters of the Qur'an, developed housekeeping skills such as cooking and sewing, in addition to learning scientific subjects.

In conclusion, women's endowments improved significantly the social conditions of women. The donors were able to provide orphan and poor girls with free shelters and education, which definitely improved their own lives as well as their society.

### **Section Three:** **Impacts of Women's Endowments on the Revival of Muslim Ummah**

Historically, Muslim women's contributions to social and political reforms were not confined to their countries. On the one hand, they were concerned with the brotherly bonds among all Muslims all over the world. On the other hand, nation states were newly established realities and Muslims were still loyal primarily to the Islamic Ottoman Caliphate, which was ruling many Muslim countries. Therefore, Egyptian women contributed to social and political reforms in Egypt as well as other provinces of the Islamic Ottoman Empire.

#### **Women's endowments and the revival of the Ottoman Empire**

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman Empire suffered from many problems: many of its provinces were occupied by the British and the French, especially after the Ottoman coup of 1908 and its defeat in World War One. As a result, the institution of the Ottoman Empire became vulnerable and almost vanished as the only global Islamic Caliphate.

During this critical period, an Egyptian woman donated generously to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>38</sup> Princess Fatima daughter of Khedive Ismail declared about 3300 acres as an endowment, and donated half of the revenues of this endowment to improve military and civil education in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>39</sup> Eighty percent of this donation was allocated to sending eight students of the Ottoman military and navy schools to Europe. The students should be Muslims, intelligent, well behaved and loyal to the Ottoman Empire or any subsequent Islamic Caliphate. They would go to Europe to acquire the most advanced knowledge regarding building warships, weapons and guns. In case of impossibility of sending these students to Europe, this part of the donation would go to

developing new guns, weapons, and warships for the Ottoman military and navy.<sup>40</sup> The rest of this donation was allocated to sending two students to European universities to study sciences that were not taught in the Istanbul-based *Dar al-Founoon* (House of Arts). If there were any additional fund, it would be used to supply *Dar al-Founoon* with educational equipment.<sup>41</sup>

This endowment is important for two reasons. First, its donor, Princess Fatima, was a member of the royal family in Egypt and a sister of Khedive Tawfik during whose reign the British occupied Egypt on the pretext of protecting his regime. Therefore, this huge donation to the Ottoman military and civil educational institutions reflected the princess' conscious efforts for reviving the Islamic Caliphate and resisting the British occupation of Egypt. Second, Princess Fatima recognized that the weakness of the Ottoman Empire was a result of the deterioration of military and scientific education. Therefore, she focused her efforts mainly on these two aspects, requiring all students benefiting from her donation to work in the public service for at least seven years after completing their studies in Europe, otherwise they would have to pay the expenses of their education.<sup>42</sup> This endowment was indeed a significant attempt by an Egyptian woman to revive the Ottoman Empire.

### **Women's endowments and the revival of Egypt**

Domestically, Egyptian women donated many endowments for educational and social services in Egypt.<sup>43</sup> Women's contributions for girls' elementary and secondary education have already been discussed; and their support of Al-Azhar Mosque-University and the first national university in Egypt, now Cairo University, are addressed here.

#### *Al-Azhar Mosque-University*

Egyptian women were interested in supporting al-Azhar University because of its significant educational and missionary roles in the whole Islamic world, and therefore, they donated generously to al-Azhar. It is estimated that al-Azhar benefited from 48 endowments donated by women, which amounted at 29.44% of all endowments donated to Al-Azhar in 1940-41. Moreover, these women's endowments yielded 47.75% of all endowments' revenues donated to al-Azhar. This could be explained in the light of the relative greatness of women's endowments to al-Azhar.<sup>44</sup>

Women's endowments to al-Azhar were of different types. First, the revenues of some endowments were donated to pay monthly salaries to the *Ulama* (scholars and professors) of al-Azhar and to cover the living expenses of its poor students.<sup>45</sup> For instance, there were endowments to provide poor student with food, especially bread.<sup>46</sup> Second, other endowments were donated to support specific student groups. For instance, some women allocated the revenues of their endowments to the benefit of students of the *Hanafi* or *Shafii* schools of Islamic jurisprudence.<sup>47</sup> Others devoted their endowments to students of different regions inside or outside Egypt who usually lived in the same dormitory called *Ruwak*. For example, certain women donors donated to Upper-Egyptian students, while others donated for Syrian students.<sup>48</sup>

### *Egypt's first national university*

Egypt's first national university was established in 1908 offering high degrees of arts and science, when al-Azhar University was offering high degrees of Islamic sciences only. The establishment and administration of this national university was sponsored mainly by endowments, which were also sponsored internal and external missions.<sup>49</sup>

Women's endowments effectively supported the establishment of the National University in several ways. For instance, Princess Fatima allocated six acres of her above-mentioned endowment to the buildings of the National University, and donated her own jewelry to cover the costs of the construction works.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, she donated twenty percents of this endowment to cover parts of the educational expenses at the National University.<sup>51</sup>

Furthermore, the contributions of women's endowments counteracted the British policy of sending only one Egyptian student to study abroad every year. Princess Fatima donated parts of the revenues of her huge endowment to sending graduate Egyptian students to Europe and sponsoring four intelligent poor students at the National University every year provided that they all work for the University or the public service for at least five years after their graduation. Otherwise, they would have to pay the expanses of their education.<sup>52</sup>

In fact, women support of Egypt's first national university reflects their patriotism and nationalistic attitudes especially during this critical period of the Egypt's modern history, and also their awareness of the importance of education and its role in reviving the Egyptian society.

### **Social services**

Women's endowments in Egypt greatly supported social services. Their contributions varied according to the social fields they supported and their social and financial backgrounds. In general, they contributed to three sorts of social services. First, they donated to religious services. Almost every endowment donated parts of the revenues to support holding sessions regularly to recite Qur'an and distribute food to poor people.<sup>53</sup> Others donated for sponsoring pilgrims<sup>54</sup> or encouraging new Muslim converts.<sup>55</sup> Second, women donated generously to support providers of health services, establish or support public hospitals,<sup>56</sup> and pay the medical expanses of poor patients. Third, women also donated parts of the revenues of their endowments to establish public baths for women or public fountain.<sup>57</sup>

Egyptian women's contributions prove that they were able to influence different social circles: private and public, national and Ummatic, religious and civil. While the women donors had different social and economic backgrounds, and their endowments varied in terms of size and beneficiaries, they all played effective social and public roles.

## Conclusion

Egyptian women's endowments, along with men's endowments, effectively contributed to the revival of Egyptian society. They adopted a twofold strategy: minimizing the impacts of British colonialism on one hand and preserving and developing the Islamic and national culture of the society on the other hand. The institution of Islamic-based endowment was a successful weapon against British colonialism. Women's Islamic-based endowments reflected two facts. First, women moved in different circles: Islamic Ummah, nation-state, and their fellow women. They were aware that they should contribute to each of these circles, and they effectively did. Second, the Islamic-based endowments proved that there is always a space for ordinary people to influence, and if participating politically is restricted, endowments and other social institutions can be used as instruments for social and cultural change as well as political resistance.

The combination of women's social role and Islamic-based endowments or any other social institution is ideal for application in different circumstances. However, Muslim women need to regain their Islamic and national awareness beside their gender consciousness. They should understand that their progress is related to that of their societies. Also, social institutions and social space in general should be recognized as influential as the political ones. The Muslim Ummah disparately needs the social and political contributions of its sons and daughters.

---

<sup>1</sup>For details about this opinion: Qasim Amin, *Tahriri al-Mir'ah* [Woman's Liberation] (Cairo: The Egyptian General Authority for Books, 1993, first published in 1899); Qasim Amin, *Al-Mar'ah al-Jadidah* [The New Woman] (Cairo: The Egyptian General Authority for Books, 1993, first published in 1900); Margot Badran, *Feminist, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Modern Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) pp. 1-32

<sup>2</sup>Ibrahim Ghanim, *Al-Awqaf wa al-Siyasah fi Misr*[Endowments and Politics in Egypt] (Cairo: Dar al-Shrouq, 1998) pp. 110-112

<sup>3</sup>Legal documents of endowments registered in the Islamic Court of Egypt referring to many such cases are mentioned in: File no. 23 (1912-1913) and File no.24, 1913-1914

<sup>4</sup>For examples of shared endowments see: the Islamic Court documents of Abu-Bakr Shou'ib's endowment shared with his wife Fatima al-Babiliyyiah, the Egyptian House of Documents, File no. 23, 1912-1913; the Islamic Court documents of Muhammad al-Fatatri's endowment shared with his daughters Najafah and Zanoobah, the Egyptian House of Documents, File no.25, 1913-1914

<sup>5</sup>For an analysis of these documents see: Ibrahim Ghanim, *Hujaj al-Awqaf kanamat Ili Kitabah al-Hourah* "Legal Documents as a Style of Free Writing," *Egyptian Affaires* (Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, No.2, Fall 1998) pp. 166-172

<sup>6</sup>In some cases, women were hired as managers for others' endowments, for details see: Judith Tucker, *Women in the Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985) pp. 95-96

<sup>7</sup>See for example: Al-Gamaliyya Court documents of Aysha Adbullah's endowment, the Egyptian House of Documents, 1914-1915

<sup>8</sup>The Islamic Court documents of Nazly al-Faransawi's endowment shared with her daughters Tawfiqah and Jelsen, the Egyptian House of Documents, File no.23, 1912-1913

<sup>9</sup>The Islamic Court documents of Muhammad al-Fatatri's endowment, *op.cit.*

<sup>10</sup>The Islamic Court document of Abu-Bakr Shou'ib's endowment, *op. cit.*

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], op.cit., p.224

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.258-260

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.391-410

<sup>14</sup>See for example: the Abdeen Court document of the 1940 Budget of the General Authority of Royal Endowments, the Egyptian House of Documents, File, no.174, 1900-1953

<sup>15</sup>The Islamic Philanthropic Association documents of Princess Fatima Ismail's endowment, 1913, pp.20-21

<sup>16</sup>Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], op.cit., pp.39-410; the Abdeen Court documents of the decisions of the Supreme Council of Endowments, the Egyptian House of Documents, no.180, 1918

<sup>17</sup>For example see: the Suez Court documents of Faren Omar's and Sadiqa Muharam's endowments, the Egyptian House of Documents, File no.2, 1912

<sup>18</sup>For example see: *The Legal document of Hanifah al-Selehdar's Endowment* (Cairo: French Institute for Oriental Antiques, 1947) p.17

<sup>19</sup>For example see the conditions of Jalilah Touson's endowment regarding her girls' orphanage in: Ibrahim, Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], op.cit., p.313

<sup>20</sup>*Idem*

<sup>21</sup>*Idem*

<sup>22</sup>For an example see the case of Delbourn Shoukry's sponsored school in: *Ibid.*, p.249

<sup>23</sup>*Idem*; Jalilah Touson's endowment in: *Ibid.*, p.313

<sup>24</sup>*Idem*; Delbourn Shoukry's condition for her endowment in: *Ibid.*, p.249

<sup>25</sup>In some cases, Egyptian women's endowments contributed also to support needy young boys, see for instance: Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], *Ibid.*, p.248

<sup>26</sup>For details about the educational role of endowments in resisting British colonialism see: Riham Ahmed Khafagy, *The Role of The Endowments in Resisting the British Colonialism in Egypt (1882-1952)*, paper presented in the Institute of Global Culture Studies conference on "Islam in Africa," State University of New York at Binghamton, 19-22 April 2001, pp.8-12

<sup>27</sup>For details about how endowments supported Quranic elementary schools see: Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], op.cit., pp.201-211

<sup>28</sup>For example, Nazly al-Faransawi allocated part of the revenues of her endowment to establish a mosque, public water fountain, and a Quranic school in her home village. Nazly al-Faransawi's endowment shared with her daughters Jelsen and Tawfiqah, *op.cit.*

<sup>29</sup>Elizabeth Cooper, *The Women of Egypt* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1914) pp.161-170

<sup>30</sup>For details about the significant contributions of endowments to education see: Riham Khafagy, *op.cit.*, pp.9-11

<sup>31</sup>For example, Princess Fatima Ismail sponsored an elementary school for girls and boys in al-Mansourah City (Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], op.cit., p.248). Others supported the establishment of schools for girls in Qena City (the Abdeen Court documents of Bakheta Hamad's endowment, the Egyptian House of Documents, File no.183, 1920-1921). It is worth mentioning that some of these schools were also supported by men's endowments (Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], op.cit., p.249)

<sup>32</sup>Elizabeth Cooper, *op.cit.*, pp.170-178

<sup>33</sup>For details about the financial and political obstacles against educating middle and lower class girls see: Nabawiya Musa, *Tarekhi bi Qalami* [My History By My Pen] (Cairo: Forum for Woman and Memory, 1999) pp.34-35, 130-131

<sup>34</sup>Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], op.cit., pp.248-250

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, p.250

---

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, p.249

<sup>37</sup>The Islamic Philanthropic Association documents of Ramz Asheeq's endowment, 1898

<sup>38</sup>Princess Fatima Ismail's endowment was estimated to amount at 230,000 Egyptian Pounds in 1913 (the Islamic Charitable Association documents of Princess Fatima Ismail's endowment, *op.cit.*, p.23)

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.12-15

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, p.13

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, p.15

<sup>42</sup>*Idem*

<sup>43</sup>For more details about the significant contributions by Islamic endowments in education, see: Abdoul-Malik al-Said, *al-Dour al-Igtimai lli-Waqf* [The Social Role of Endowments] in Hassan Abdullah (editor), *Halaqa Li-Tathmer Muntalakat al-Awqaf* [Discussion for Investing the Properties of Endowments] (Gadah: Islamic Institute for Education and Training, 1984) p.23; and for more details about the women's historical support for education, see: Zaynab Abullmajd, *Awqaf al-Nisa: al-Mar'ah, al-Marifah, al-Sultah* [Women's Endowments: Woman, Knowledge, and Authority] *Woman and Civilization*, (Cairo: the Association of Studies of Women and Civilization, no.1, Spring 2000), pp.20-29

<sup>44</sup>For a chart about both sexes endowments for al-Azhar, see: Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], *op.cit.*, pp.219-220

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, p.218

<sup>46</sup>See: the budget of Princess Gamilah Ismail and her mother's endowment in the Abdeen Court document of the 1940 Budget of the General Authority of Royal Endowments, *op.cit.*

<sup>47</sup>For example about endowments for the benefits of students studying *Hanifi* school, see: Legal document of Hanefah al-Selehdar's endowment, *op.cit.*, p.17

<sup>48</sup>For examples of endowments for Upper Egyptian students, see: Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], *op.cit.*, p.218

<sup>49</sup>For more information about the donated endowments for the first Egyptian national University, see: *Ibid.*, p.264

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, p.264; The Islamic Philanthropic Association documents of Princess Fatima Ismail's endowment, *op. cit.*, p.20

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p.15

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, p.29

<sup>53</sup>Many examples for this purpose, see: the Islamic Court al-Gamaliyyah, and Suez documents for endowments.

<sup>54</sup>Legal document of Hanifah al-Selehdar's endowment, *op.cit.*, p.14

<sup>55</sup>The Islamic Court documents of Muhammad Hamdy and his wife Adeelah's endowment, The Egyptian House of Documents, File no.3, 1911

<sup>56</sup>For example Nabehah Hanim's endowment which supported her own hospital in Delat, see: Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], *op.cit.*, p.303; and Hanifah al-Selehdar's financing for curing poor patients in al-Qasr al-Ayni hospital in Cairo, see: Legal document of Hanifah AL-Selehdar's endowments, *op.cit.*, p.14

<sup>57</sup>For examples, see: Ibrahim Ghanim, [*The Endowments and Politics in Egypt*], *op.cit.*, pp.320-321

## References

---

### **Legal Documents**

1. Al-Gamaliyyah Court documents of endowments, the Egyptian House of Documents, 1914-1915
2. Abdeen Court documents of endowments, The Egyptian House of Documents, Files no. 174,180,183
3. Suez Court documents of endowments, the Egyptian House of Documents, Files no. 2 (1912), no.3 (1913)
4. The Islamic Court documents of endowments: the Egyptian House of Documents, Files no.3 (1911), no.23 (1912-1913), no.24 (1912-1913), no.25 (1913-1914)
5. Legal document of Hnifah al-Selehdar's Endowment, (Cairo: French Institute for Oriental Antiques, 1947)
6. The Islamic Philanthropic Association documents of Ramz Ashiq's Endowment, 1898
7. The Islamic Philanthropic Association documents of Princess Fatima Ismail's Endowments, 1913

### **Books and articles in Arabic**

#### **Books**

8. Amin, Qasim, *Tahrir al-Mar'ah* [Woman's Liberation] (Cairo: The General Egyptian Authority for Books, 1993)
9. Amin, Qasim, *Al-Mar'ah al-Jadidah* [The New Woman] (Cairo: The General Egyptian Authority for Books, 1993)
10. Abullah, Hassan (editor), *Halaqa Li-Tthmer Mumtalakat al-Awqaf* [Discussion for Investing the Properties of Endowments] (Gadah: Islamic Institute for Education and Training, 1984)
11. Abu-Shuqah, Abdulhalim, *Mawsou'at Tahrir al-Mar'ah fi Asr al-Risalah* [Encyclopedia of Liberating Women during the time of Prophet Muhammad] (Kuwait: Dar al-Qalam, 1993)
12. Abu-Zahra, Muhammad, *Muhadaeat an al-Waqf* [Lectures about Endowment] (Cairo: Dar AL-Fikr al- Arabi)
13. Ghanim, Ibrahim, *Al-Awqaf wa al-Siyasah fi Misr* [The Endowments and Politics in Egypt] (Cairo: Dar aL-Shrouq, 1998)
14. Musa, Nabawiyah, *Tarekhi bi-Qalami* [My History By My Pen] (Cairo: Fourm for Woman and Memory, 1999)

#### **Articles**

15. Abdul-Fatah, Saif, *Al-Tahadiyat al-Hadariyya lli Alam al-Islami* [The Civilization Challenges for the Islamic World] paper under publication.
16. Abullmajd, Zaynab, *Awqaf al-Nisa: al-Mar'ah, al-Marifah, al-Sultah* [Women's Endowments: Woman, Knowledge, and Authority] *Woman and*

---

*Civilization*, (Cairo: the Association of Studies of Women and Civilization, no.1, Spring 2000)

17. Ghanim, Ibrahim, *Hujaj al-Awqaf ka-namat lli-Kitabah al-Hourah* [Legal Documents as Style of Free Writing] *Egyptian Affaires*, (Cairo: Center for Political and Strategic Studies in al-Ahram, no.2, Fall 1998)

***Books and Articles in English***

18. Badran, Margot, *Feminist, Islam, and Nation: Gender and Making the Modern Egypt*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)
19. Cooper, Elizabeth, *The Woman of Egypt*, (London: Hurst and Blackett. LTP, 1914)
20. Khafagy, Riham, *The Role of The Endowments in Resisting the British Colonialism in Egypt (1882-1952)*, a paper presented to a conference "Islam in Africa" in the Institute of Global Culture Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, U.S.A., 19-22 April 2001.
21. Tucker, Judith E., *Women in the Nineteenth-Century Egypt*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985)