

JONATHAN M. BLOOM

## THE MOSQUE OF THE QARAFĀ IN CAIRO

Eight years after the Fatimid conquest of Egypt, and a year after the death of al-Muʿizz li-Din Allah, arguably the dynasty's greatest figure, two noblewomen built a congregational mosque, a pleasure pavilion, a pool, and a hammam in the midst of the great cemetery east of Fustat, the oldest Muslim settlement in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> We know little about the pavilion, the pool, and the hammam,<sup>2</sup> but a remarkably complete description of the mosque by the Fatimid historian al-Qudaʿi (died 1062 or 1065) preserved in Maqrizi's *Khitaṭ* provides not only new information about Fatimid architectural terminology and patronage, but also a point of departure for a reexamination of the role women played in the conversion of Egypt to Fatimid Ismaʿilism.

T. W. Arnold and Gaston Wiet both published the passage in Maqrizi's text concerning the mosque in the Qarafa because of its extraordinary descriptions of the mosque's painted decoration and of an artistic competition, and Ettinghausen relied on it heavily for his reconstruction of Fatimid painting.<sup>3</sup> But the first part of the text, which describes the history, patronage, and plan of the mosque, has been largely ignored. It begins:

### JAMIʿ AL-QARAFĀ

This is the mosque known today as the Jamiʿ al-Uliya [the Congregational Mosque of the Friends of God]. It is in the Qarafa al-Kubra. Its emplacement was known in the past—at the time of the conquest of Egypt—as Khittat al-Maghafir. It [was] the praying-place (*masjid*) of the Banu ʿAbd Allah b. Maniʿ b. Mawraʿ, known as the Mosque of the Dome (*masjid al-qubba*)

Al-Qudaʿi said: Qurʾan reciters (*qurrā*) used to gather there. Then the new congregational mosque (*al-masjid al-jamiʿ*) was built there. Al-Sayyida al-Muʿizziyya built it in the year 366 [976]. She was the mother of al-ʿAziz bi-llah Nizar, the son of al-Muʿizz li-Din Allah. She was an Arab slave called “Warbling” (*taghrīd*), but named Darzan. [The mosque] was built through the services of al-Hasan [al-Husayn?] ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Farisi, the *muhtasib*, in the month of Ramadan of the aforementioned year. It was built in the style of the Jamiʿ al-Azhar in al-Qahira. This mosque had a lovely garden to its west, and a cistern. The door by which one enters has large *maṣtabas*. The middle [of the mosque] is under the high *manār*, which has iron sheets on it. [It runs] from the door right up to the mihrab

and the *maqṣūra*. It has fourteen square doors of baked brick. In front of all the doors is a row of arches (*qanṭara qaws*); each arch rests on two marble columns. There are three *sufūf*. [The interior] is carved in relief and decorated in blue, red, green and other colors, and, in certain places, painted in a uniform tone. The ceilings are entirely painted in polychrome; the intrados and the extrados of the arcades supported by columns are covered with paintings of all different colors. This decoration is the work of painters from Basra and of the Banu-l-Muʿallim, of whom Kutami and Nazuk are masters.<sup>4</sup>

Lacking a complete critical edition of the *Khitaṭ*, several problems of reading remain unsolved; but the text at least describes the parts of the building well enough to allow a tentative reconstruction of its plan (fig. 1), especially since it is said to have been built in the style (*ʿalā naḥwa bināʾ*) of the Azhar mosque (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Like al-Azhar, it had a prayer hall preceded by a court surrounded on three sides by arcades (*suffa/sufūf*).<sup>6</sup> The main portal was augmented by low benches against a wall (*maṣtaba*), so it is likely that the portal projected from the wall, as it did in the earlier Fatimid mosque at al-Mahdiyya in Tunisia and the later mosque of al-Hakim in Cairo.<sup>7</sup> At al-Mahdiyya low platforms stood on either side of the portal, but they were a later addition.<sup>8</sup> The covered part of the mosque had a central aisle roofed with a clerestory (*manār*, or “place of light [*nūr*]”), protected by iron sheets. Seven bays deep, with seven brick arches on either side, the *manār* ended in a domed bay before the mihrab (*maqṣūra*).<sup>9</sup> This use of brick is a foretaste of the mosque of al-Hakim, but as at al-Azhar, arcades resting on marble columns supported the mosque's roof on either side of the central aisle. Finally, as at al-Azhar, the interior was decorated with carved stucco (*mukandaj*). At the Qarafa they were brightly painted; al-Azhar has not yet been examined for traces of paint.

In short, the Qarafa mosque was similar to al-Azhar in general plan, elevation, materials of construction, and decoration. It probably had a projecting portal and domes in the rear corners of the prayer hall, apparently ubiquitous features of early Fatimid congregational

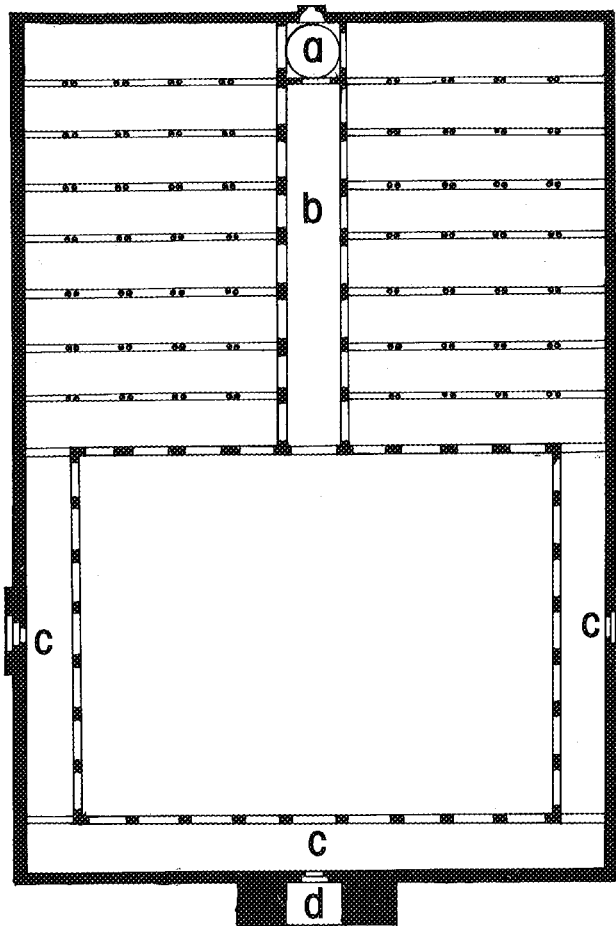


Fig. 1. Hypothetical plan of the mosque of the Qarafa.

- a - *maqṣūra*
- b - *manār*
- c - *suffal/sufūf*
- d - door with *maṣṭabas*

mosques. Like other early Fatimid mosques, it had no minaret. The mosque of the Qarafa therefore fits quite comfortably into the series of early Fatimid mosques in North Africa and Egypt, and confirms and amplifies Creswell's hypotheses about the original form of al-Azhar. It also provides us with some contemporary terminology for the parts of a mosque. In the vocabulary of early Fatimid architecture, a *manār* is a clerestory, not a minaret; a *maqṣūra* is simply a domed bay, not a space reserved for the sovereign; and *suffas*, not *riwaqs*, surround the court on all sides. To the contemporary viewer, the mosque's essential features were: (1) the entrance, (2) the central aisle of a specified length leading to a *maqṣūra*, (3) the system of support, (4) materials of construction, and (5) the decoration.

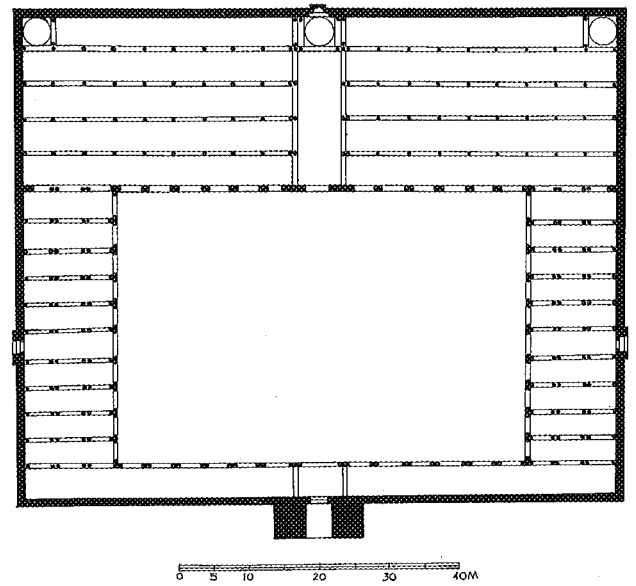


Fig. 2. Al-Azhar, plan of the Fatimid mosque.

The dearth of specific architectural descriptions from the Fatimid period not only makes this text singularly important, but also makes us wonder why the same mosque attracted the attention of two contemporary geographers, al-Maqḍisi and Ibn Hawqal. Maqḍisi was his habitually succinct self: "There are a *maṣjid* and fountains in [the Qarafa]. It is handsome. It is populated by worshipers (*ʿabād*). It is a pleasant place, a market (*sūq*) for the seekers of the hereafter. It has a handsome *jāmiʿ*. The tombs (*muqābir*) are of the greatest beauty and are often visited."<sup>10</sup>

Ibn Hawqal is not much more helpful, but he too singled out this mosque in his description of the Egyptian capital as the only one in Cairo worthy of extended comment: "One of the Maghribi women built another *jāmiʿ* in the Qarafa, a place outside Misr which used to be the place where the Yemeni tribes lived. It was marked out at the time of the conquest. It is one of the mosques distinguished by the spaciousness of its court, elegance of construction, and the fineness of its ceilings. In al-Jazira and Giza there are also *jāmiʿ* mosques, but they are inferior to the Qarafa mosque in splendor (*nabl*) and elegance (*ḥusn*)."<sup>11</sup>

As neither author can be accused of verbosity, the importance of this vanished eccentric monument to contemporaries demands an explanation. Certainly the quality of construction and especially the decoration struck the contemporary eye and served as a point of

departure for descriptions of fine wall painting. Its location in the Qarafa cemetery and its singular patroness also excited notice. Without an archaeological campaign, further architectural reconstruction of the mosque and its painted decoration are impossible. Reinterpretation of its literary and particularly epigraphic remains, however, might help to explain its singular location and its patroness's reason for putting this remarkable building there.

The primary source of information about the medieval cemeteries of Egypt must be the great collection of marble and limestone tombstones now gathered in the reserves of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.<sup>12</sup> Over 4,000 tombstones have been published, of which somewhat more than half are dated precisely between the years 170 and 400 (786 and 1009), and the earliest from 31 (652).<sup>13</sup> These stelae contain religious formulas, the name and genealogy of the deceased, and the date of death, thus forming an invaluable (and virtually untapped) source for the history of Islamic Egypt.

Although the stelae were mainly found either in the Qarafa in Cairo or in the cemetery at Aswan, the haphazard circumstances in which they were collected does not allow the provenance of each stone to be established with certainty. Max Herz Bey and Gaston Wiet suggested that the limestone stelae were from Upper Egypt (i.e., Aswan) and the marble ones from Lower (i.e., Cairo).<sup>14</sup> Although this assumption did not prove true,<sup>15</sup> Wiet began a statistical analysis of some of their features which revealed that 73 percent of all the tombstones were dated before the year 300 (912), and only 27 percent between 301 and 550 (913-1156). Of the earlier group, 74 percent were made of marble and 26 percent of limestone; in the later groups only 12 percent were marble and 88 percent were limestone. In other words, Wiet found that the use of marble declined drastically over the six centuries, from which he concluded—from his own hypothesis that limestone indicated an Aswan origin—that most of the later (i.e., post-300/912) tombstones came from Upper Egypt.<sup>16</sup>

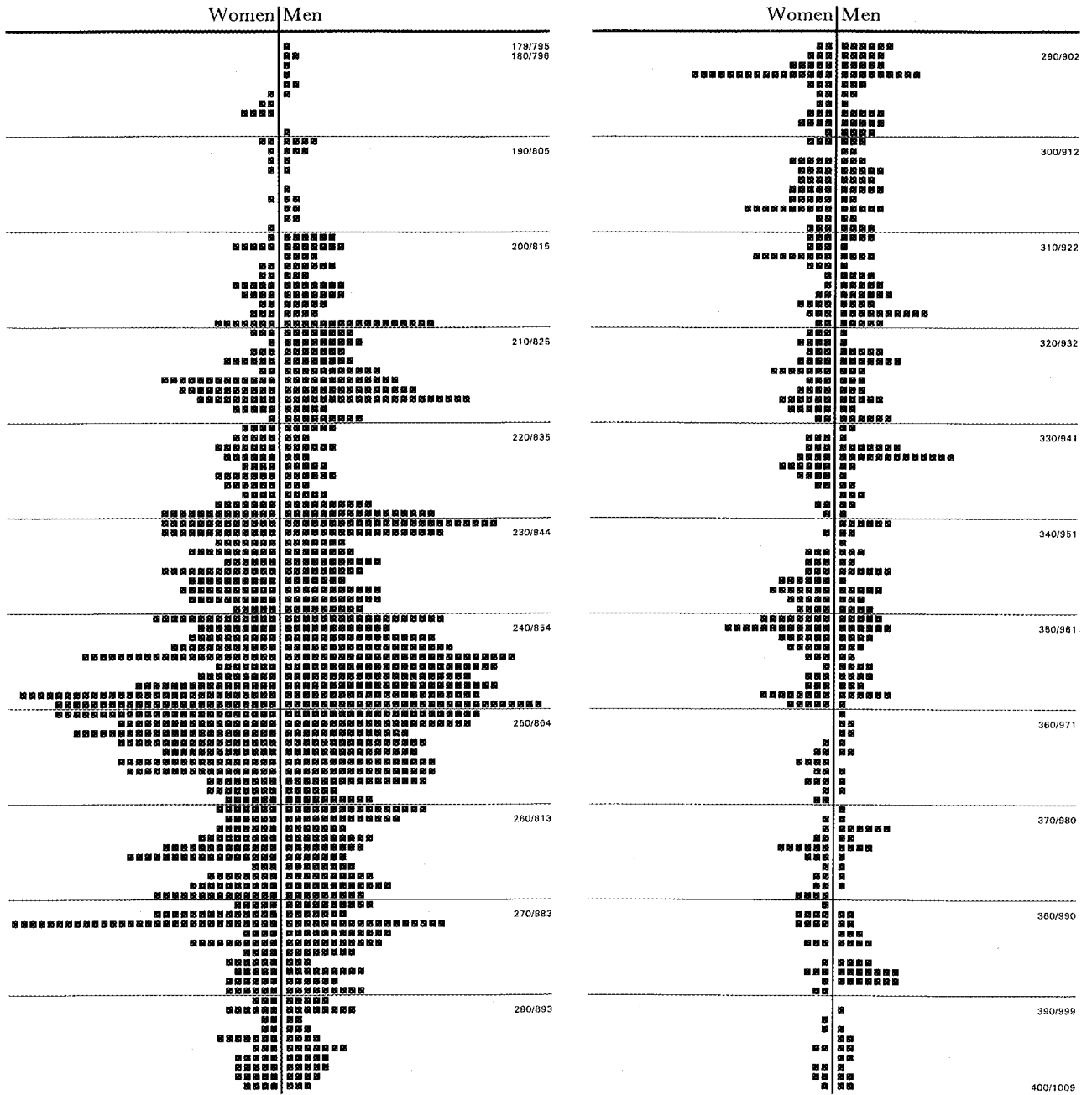
Another of Wiet's findings was that, of the 3,776 pre-550/1156 stelae where the sex of the person commemorated could be determined from inscriptions, 1,800 (48 percent) referred to women. On the basis of the remaining stelae from the "Kufic" period in Tunisia and Spain—which represents a sample which is only the barest fraction of the numbers in Egypt—Wiet found that only 10 percent of the 251 Tunisian

stelae and 17 percent of the 101 Spanish stelae commemorated women.<sup>17</sup> The figure of 48 percent for the Egyptian stelae is admittedly close to the probable proportion of women in the entire population, but it is still astoundingly high for the medieval world, Muslim or Christian, considering the minor role generally accorded to women. It may therefore be taken as evidence that for some reason women were proportionally more important than men in at least this one respect—commemoration on funerary stelae.<sup>18</sup>

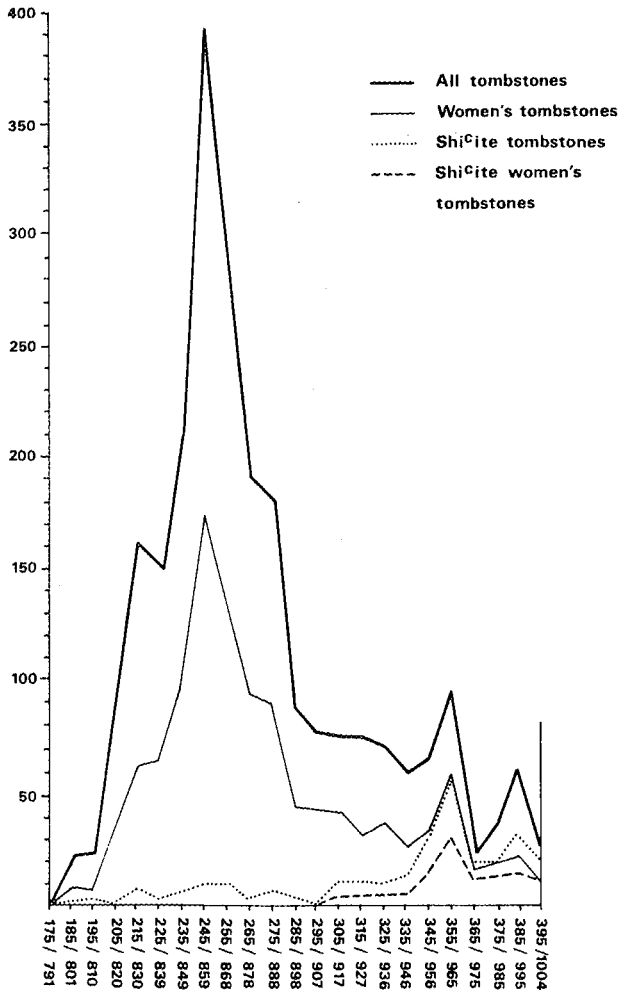
As interesting and suggestive as Wiet's figures are, they only begin to extract all the possible data. While the study of names and genealogies remains to be done, one can still analyze the stelae statistically from a different perspective and derive significant conclusions about the use of tombstones over a period of two centuries in Egypt.

Of the 4,000 published tombstones, few are either from before 170 (786) or immediately after 400 (1010), but somewhat more than half bear dates that fall between these years and an unbroken yearly sequence of over 2,400 tombstones spans the years 194-391 (809-1001). Graph I indicates that the number of tombstones was equally divided between men and women; that the number for both sexes reaches its height in the decades around 250 (864); and that it declines sharply thereafter. Graph II traces the total number of tombstones in each decade and clearly shows the extraordinary peak in surviving tombstones erected between 240 and 249 (854-64), after which a steady decline is interrupted only by lesser peaks in the decades 350-59 (961-71) and 380-89 (990-1000). Considering the content of their inscriptions beyond identifying the sex of the deceased, however, certain other trends become apparent. Plotting those tombstones that contain a Shi'ite *tašlīya*<sup>19</sup> (i.e., the version, "Blessings of God upon the Prophet Muhammad *and his family*") tells us that until the decade 300-9 (912-22) such formulas were numerically constant and insignificant, for in no decade before 300 (912) were more than nine of these Shi'ite tombstones set up. That number remains constant throughout the third (ninth) century despite a great variation over the century in tombstone production, particularly the spectacular peak of the decade after 240 (854).

After the year 300 (912), however, the story is quite the opposite. From no Shi'ite stones in the decade 290-99 (902-12), the number rises until it reaches a new constant of about 10 per decade between 300 and 329 (912-41), and then sharply increases to a peak in the



Graph I. Annual distribution of tombstones 180-400 (796-1009) by sex (■ = one tombstone)



Graph II. Comparison of tombstone distribution by decades, 175-395 (791-1004).

decade after 350 and after 380 (960 and 990)—just when the total number of tombstones peaks as well. In the third (ninth) century, eliminating Shi'ite tombstones had virtually no effect on the shape of the curve, either for men or for women. After 300 (912), however, eliminating the Shi'ite tombstones from consideration has a crucial impact on the shape of the curve, because without them the steady decline in the number of tombstones is no longer so markedly interrupted by the peaks in the decade after 350 (961) and 380 (990). In other words, in the fourth (tenth) century, without the Shi'ite tombstones, tombstone-using appears to be in a relentless decline. By the fifth (eleventh) century, the number of extant tombstones—whether Shi'ite or not—is so small that their statistical value is virtually nil.

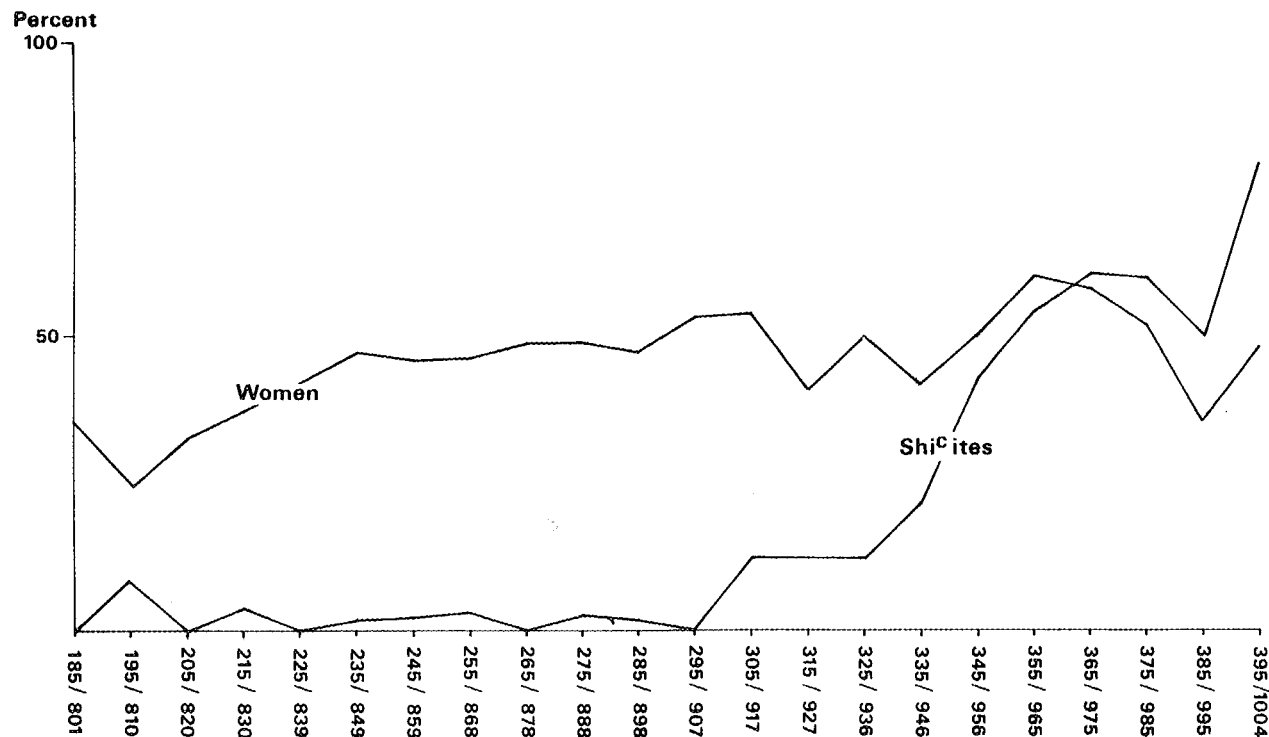
Calculating the proportion of women and Shi'ites against the tombstone-using population as a whole (graph III) reveals that after the year 200 (815), women are constantly and increasingly represented in the tombstone-using population, accounting for between 40 and 50 percent of it. In the decade 300-9 (912-22), it slowly but steadily rises to a peak of 54 percent, and to an even greater peak in the 350's (960's) at 60 percent.

In the third (eighth) century, Shi'ites were an insignificant portion of the tombstone-using population: apart from the decade 190-200 (805-15)—which may be artificially high because of external factors—it never rises above 4 percent. After the year 300 (912), however, despite the declining number of tombstones used by the population as a whole (graph II), the share of Shi'ites rises to 13 percent in the three decades after 300 and then follows an S-shaped curve which crests during the decades of the 360's (970's) and 370's (980's) (graph III).

Considering the declining size of the samples for the late fourth (ninth) century, it may be statistically dangerous to extract too much from these figures. Certainly by the final two decades of the century, the absence of pattern can be explained by the diminished size of the sample rather than by a population fickle in its religious affiliation. Nevertheless, the data are reliable for the preceding centuries.

The extraordinary peak in tombstone-users in the middle of the third (eighth) century is the first phenomenon to demand explanation. External factors—such as the founding or expansion of new Muslim settlements—fail to provide a ready correlation: the major urban expansions and the inferred rise in population appear to have had no discernable impact on the sequence of preserved tombstones, for in no case can one posit an increase in the population to explain their rise.

In an attempt to date the mausolea from the Aswan cemetery, Ugo Monneret de Villard found that of 600 tombstones dated between the second and the sixth (eighth-twelfth) centuries, 12, or 2 percent, were from the second (eighth) century; 496, or 83 percent, were from the third (ninth) century; 51, or 8.5 percent, were from the fourth (tenth) century; 38, or 6 percent, were from the fifth (eleventh) century; and 3, or 0.5 percent, were from the sixth (twelfth) century. The maximum number, an average of 10 per year, date between 244 (858) and 266 (880), whereas the preceding forty years



Graph III. Proportional representation of women and Shi'ites on Egyptian tombstones, 185-395 (801-1004).

account for 200 (an average of 5 per year) and the thirty years following only 35 all told.<sup>20</sup> The figures include those limestone stelae supposedly from Aswan; were one to consider the marble tombstone supposedly from Fustat alone, the peak would be equally evident.

The sharp decline in the number of tombstones after the middle of the third (ninth) century no more reflected an absolute decline in the Muslim population of Egypt than the previous increase reflected the absolute increase in the number of Muslims expected from the Abbasid or Tulunid expansion of Fustat. Only a social reason can account for such a great number of people suddenly taking to the commemoration of their dead with tombstones.

Richard Bulliet explained and demonstrated a quantitative approach to the process of conversion to Islam in the medieval period,<sup>21</sup> which involves studying names and genealogies. His proposed graphic timetables for the process of conversion in the various Muslim lands show that the great peak in tombstone-using of the 240's (854-64) corresponds to the middle of the "early majority" conversions in Egypt, a time when people were turning to Islam at an increasing rate.<sup>22</sup> Since tombstones record the date of an individual's death, however, not the date of his conversion, until the

genealogies on these tombstones are completely tabulated to provide these data, hypotheses must be advanced with caution. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that the increase of tombstone-using is a product of the first "early majority" converts. The most attractive explanation is the increased conversion to Islam noted by Maqrizi in the wake of the last great Coptic rebellion of 832 and the increasingly anti-Christian official policy of the Muslim government.<sup>23</sup>

The decline in tombstone-using—as rapid as its increase—on the other hand, cannot reflect a sudden lapsing of converted Muslims, because we know that the Islamicization of Egypt continued apace until Muslims predominated. At that point, the need to proclaim one's faith lessened and tombstone-using as a sign of conversion was no longer so necessary, except for the Shi'ites. Thus the subsequent increase in specifically Shi'ite tombstones which interrupts the general decline of tombstone-using can also be connected to conversion.

In the tenth century, the proportion of women commemorated by tombstones increases, even as the number of tombstones declines, suggesting that women were becoming active with something that involved tombstone-using. After 912 a rising proportion of

Shi'ites can be identified with tombstones, and therefore one can assume that they increased in the population as a whole. The increase shows an S-shaped curve that characterizes the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam, suggesting that conversion to Shi'ite Islam—whether from Sunnism or from another religion—followed exactly the same pattern.

One of the major features of the Fatimid organization was a propaganda effort that had missionaries working—often in secret—throughout the Muslim world. It is especially attractive to suppose that the conversion to Shi'ism which the rise in the number of Shi'ite stelae document after 912 is a sign of the effectiveness of that Fatimid mission. According to Wiet, the essential qualifier used by the Fatimids in the *taṣṭīya*, “Blessings on the Prophet and on his *pure* (*tāhir*) family,” first appears in 936.<sup>24</sup> Assuming that the deceased had accepted Shi'ite beliefs some time before they died, Fatimid propaganda must have been successfully at work around 927, just after the first two unsuccessful military attempts to conquer Egypt by force in 914 and 920.<sup>25</sup>

The Fatimid *da'wa* was a propaganda movement whose purpose was to convince Muslims to turn their allegiance to the imam descended from the Prophet via Ja'far al-Sadiq and his eldest son Isma'il. So long as the imam was without effective political power, that is before the beginning of Fatimid rule in North Africa, the *da'wa* was carried on in secret. Even after the *da'wa* became public in those lands under the imam's control, it remained secret elsewhere, except where the local ruler was favorably disposed to Isma'ili doctrine.<sup>26</sup> We know something of the early working of the *da'wa* in the Yemen and North Africa, thanks to the works of Qadi al-Nu'man, but we know very little about the early years of the *da'wa* in Egypt. Fatimid *da'is* were received by Kafur, and one established himself in Fustat; nevertheless, the *da'i* had to refrain from any direct action against Kafur's regime.<sup>27</sup> Textual information does not elucidate the quotidian workings of the propaganda mission. We know what the message was, but not much about how and where it was conveyed.

Although later the Isma'ili theology as expressed in the official documents of the Fatimid religious establishment became rather complicated, in the tenth century Isma'ilism was a popular revolutionary social program, made attractive by the increasing religious social stratification of the Muslim world.<sup>28</sup> The Fatimids offered a reorganization of society that would better the lot of ordinary individuals in return for their

recognition of the Fatimid imams. The claim for recognition was based on the simple proposition that after the death of the Prophet, temporal and spiritual power passed to his descendants through his daughter Fatima and his son-in-law 'Ali b. Abu Talib. Descent and genealogy are central to Fatimid claims to the imamate, as can be seen in the Fatimid protocols. On Fatimid coins, after the mention of the prophetic mission, the phrase, *'Alī walī Allah* (“‘Ali is God's friend”) is added, emphasizing 'Ali's central importance, and, by extension, that of his progeny.<sup>29</sup> That is why in monumental inscriptions, the Fatimid imams use a form of the *taṣṭīya* that applies both to the Prophet and to themselves—under God's blessings are their “fine” and “pure” ancestry and the “pure” or “noble” descent of the imam himself. Needless to say, much ink was spilled in proving and disproving the legitimacy of these Fatimid claims.

Fatimid Isma'ilism has often and correctly been characterized as an intellectual movement, but its great successes in this period cannot be explained by its intellectual appeal alone. Apart from the few instances when a ruler was won over to Isma'ilism, its proponents concentrated mainly on the mass of ordinary people. The *da'i* Abu 'Abd Allah won his first converts in North Africa among Kutama Berbers, not among the ulema of Qayrawan. He approached a group of Kutama pilgrims in Mecca, lecturing to them in a house on the prerogatives of the *ahl al-bayt* (the family of the Prophet.)<sup>30</sup> Clandestine meetings were the rule, considering the potential challenge this program offered the ruling establishment. 'Ubayd Allah's furtive passage through Egypt underscores the difficulties faced by the Isma'ilis: disguised as a merchant, and probably entertained by a select company of adepts, he barely escaped capture by the forces of the Abbasid caliph.<sup>31</sup>

Clandestine operations are necessarily limited. Large congregational mosques, where—via the khutba—caliphal authority was expressed, would certainly have been inappropriate, even dangerous, places for proselytizing. Isma'ili “study-groups” probably met in private houses, but the only place where a propagandist could safely have found and addressed large groups of pious, religiously active people far from the reach of official authority would have been the cemeteries. They were the center of a popular religion quite distinct from the official religion of the congregational mosques.

Although the Prophet had disapproved of the commemoration of the dead, funerary cults did develop in

Islam. By the mid-ninth century, building mausolea had become a debatable issue. The epitaph of the great Egyptian mystic, Dhu'l-Nun, who died in 861, reads, in part, "and he said in this authentic testament that there was to be no construction made at his tomb (*lā yubannā qabrahū*) and no dome was to be raised over it (*wa-lā yu'qīdu 'alayhi qubbat*).<sup>32</sup> The authenticity of this tombstone is questionable, and archaeological evidence fails to reveal any qubba erected over a tomb as early as 849.<sup>33</sup> But a mere century later Maqḍisi found "tombs (*maqābir*) of the greatest beauty" in the cemeteries of Egypt, "only equaled by those of the kings of Daylam at Rayy in the way they place high qubbās (*qubāb 'aliya*) on their graves (*'alā qubūrihim*).<sup>34</sup> Thus, by the time of the Fatimid conquest monumental tombs commemorated the graves of even such orthodox figures as Imam al-Shāfi'ī, and commemorative structures had sprung up in other parts of the lands of Islam.<sup>35</sup>

Before the Fatimid conquest, other structures were built around the tombs in the Qarafa. Abu Bakr Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Madhara'i (d. 956-57) the last of the great family of viziers, built a kiosk (*jawsaq*) and a convent (*ribāṭ*) in the Qarafa.<sup>36</sup> Famed for his great piety, he went on the Hajj many times, and rode daily to the cemetery both morning and evening. "Processions would stop for him as he passed to the tomb (*turba*) of his children and his family. He would recite the Qur'an over them and call to them and then leave for the *maṣjids* in the desert. He would pray there, and people visited with him except when he was in a great hurry."<sup>37</sup> His kiosk was the only one remaining in Maqḍisi's time. He described it as "very large and in the shape of the Ka'ba. . . . [He] built it in the middle of their graves in the cemetery (*fi waṣṭa qubūrihim min al-jabbāna*). And the people used to gather at this kiosk at the festivals and light it all up greatly on the night of mid-Sha'ban of every year. All the Qur'an reciters would gather there and the people would pass their time on those nights and in the great festivals."<sup>38</sup>

The ribat of al-Madhara'i was endowed in waqf for female descendants of the Prophet (*nisā' al-ashraf*). According to Massignon, it was the first female convent in Islam.<sup>39</sup> When Abu Bakr Muhammad died, he was first buried in his house. Later, his body was moved to the cemetery (*muqābir*), presumably near his kiosk and ribat.<sup>40</sup> The Fatimid Jami' al-Qarafa was erected directly opposite the ribat of al-Madhara'i.<sup>41</sup>

In his study of the cemeteries of Cairo, Louis Massignon noted that their most fundamental role was

as a gathering place for women. On Fridays, while the men prayed at the mosque, the women would pray at the cemetery. Women had no obligation to follow the stricture incumbent upon men:

Their only obligations were the Shahada and the Hajj (if possible), being subjected neither to fasting, nor almsgiving, nor communal prayer at the mosque, nor at the musalla for the two festivals and the prayer for rain; they could participate only by vows (*nudhūr*), as in praying at the cemetery: almsgiving, Qur'anic readings (by the intermediary of blind men) condoned by Abu Hanifa and Ibn Hanbal; Malik and Ibn Taymiya were opposed.<sup>42</sup>

While Massignon's study transcends chronologies, the cemeteries were certainly the center of religious devotion for women in the ninth century.

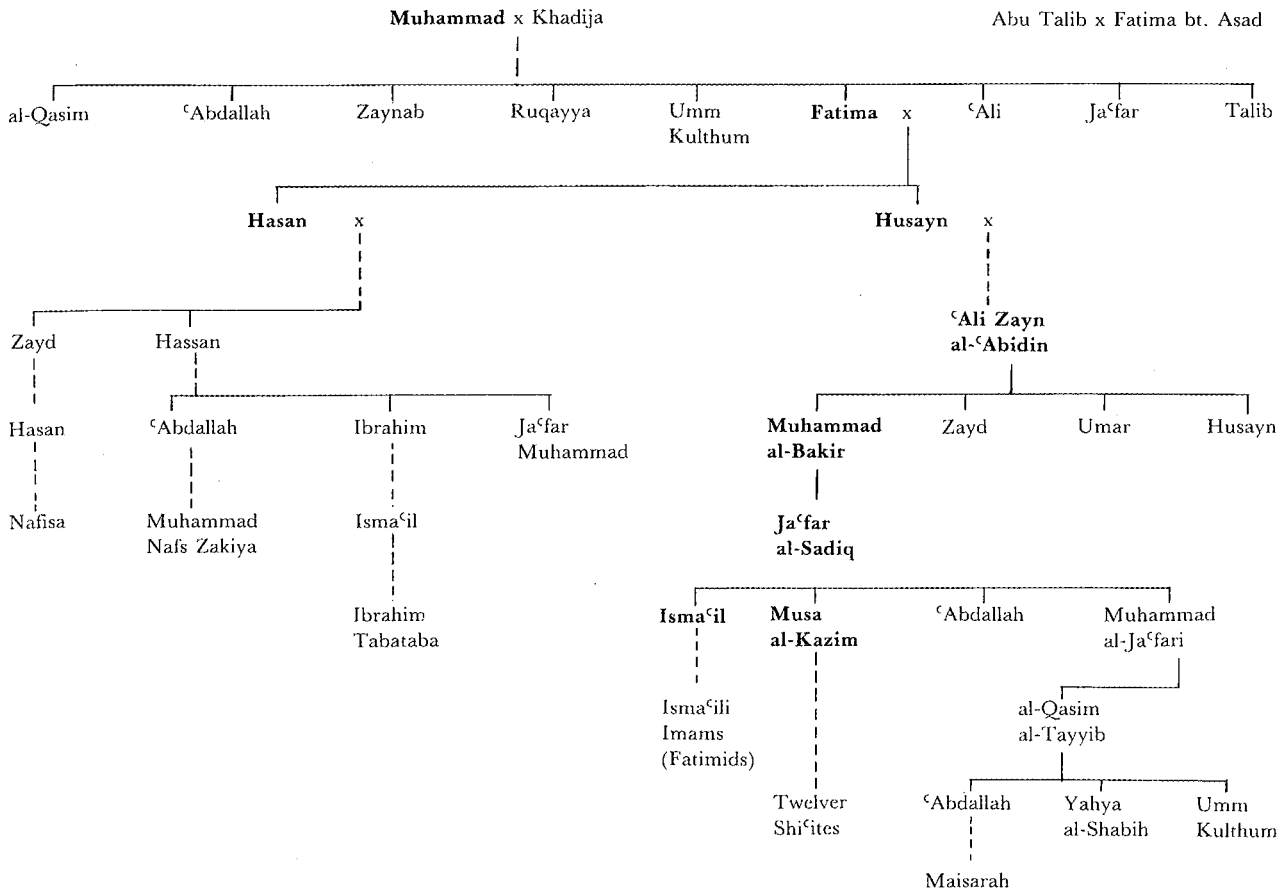
The association of women with funeral lamentations and cemeteries goes back well into the pre-Islamic period, and the Prophet's forbidding of lamentation (*bukā*) apparently had had no effect: the custom of women wailing at the graveside of the deceased continued without respite over the centuries.<sup>43</sup> The 'Alid poet Muhammad b. Salih once passed the grave of an Abbasid prince in Samarra and noticed girls there beating their faces, inspiring him to write a poem.<sup>44</sup> At exactly the same time in Egypt, several governors issued strict orders against wailing and imposed punishments on offenders.<sup>45</sup>

Even female members of the Prophet's own family were associated with these practices. Sayyida Nafisa—a descendant of Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abu Talib (chart I) as well as a daughter-in-law of Ja'far al-Sadiq—was, and still is, one of the most venerated saints in Egypt. Before her death in 824, she had made the pilgrimage to Mecca thirty times, she fasted and prayed, and was renowned as a *ḥuffāza* (she knew the Qur'an by heart) and as a transmitter of prophetic hadith. Having dug her own grave, she sat in it waiting for death. She recited the whole of the Qur'an one hundred and ninety times before she died, saying the word *rahma* ("mercy") with her last gasp.<sup>46</sup> The sympathy women showed to the cause of Husayn and the 'Alids in general was, as Goldziher put it, "truly remarkable."<sup>47</sup> The attraction to this cause must have been due in part to the primary role accorded Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet.

According to Maqḍisi, most of the struggles between the various 'Alid groups during the ninth century took place outside the capital, but evidently 'Alid support was growing in Fustat itself, for in 305 (917-18), Qur'anic inscriptions were written in the Jami' al-'Atiq to which were added the names of certain Companions



Chart I. Descendants of 'Ali



of the Prophet. This was not to the taste of a sizable part of the population, in which 'Alid tendencies were already apparent, and the incident caused a riot, following which the texts were effaced. Al-Maqrizi's sources are silent on the increasing power of the Shi'ites during the first half of the tenth century. In 961, however, on the festival of 'Ashura which commemorates Husayn's martyrdom at Karbala, "there was a struggle between the army and some rabble at the grave (*qabr*) of Kulthum al-'Alawiyya, because of the mention of the descent (*silf*) and the wailing (*nawh*). A number from both sides were killed."<sup>48</sup>

Kulthum al-'Alawiyya, known today as Umm Kulthum, was Kulthum bt. al-Qasim b. Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Sadiq (chart I). She was the sister of 'Abdallah and Yahya al-Shabih, whose tombstones—dated 261 (875) and 263 (877)—are preserved in Yahya's mausoleum, so presumably she died in the

third (mid-ninth) century.<sup>49</sup> Umm Kulthum was not the only 'Alid descendant to have been buried in Egypt, but it is not known whether any of the others had constructions over their tombs, apart from the members of the Hasanid Tabataba family and the descendants of Muhammad al-Ja'fari, who were buried in the mausoleum of Yahya al-Shabih.<sup>50</sup>

Five stelae which date between 317 and 356 (929-67)—the period of increased 'Alid propaganda—indicate the range of the 'Alid descendants who were commemorated. Apart from a member of the Tabataba family,<sup>51</sup> all were Husaynids, ranging from descendants of less famous children of 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin<sup>52</sup> to descendants of 'Abd Allah b. Ja'far al-Sadiq.<sup>53</sup> Most interesting is an anonymous tombstone from 'Ayn al-Sira, dated 356 (967), of a woman descended from 'Ali, who, through her genealogy, must have been closely related to the Fatimid imams.<sup>54</sup> In addition, a stela

dated 322 (934) commemorates another woman, Kulthum, who married into the family of Ja'far, another son of Abu Talib (chart I).<sup>55</sup> Obviously, the relationship to Abu Talib was almost equivalent to being a descendant of the Prophet himself, as Abu Talib is also included in the *taṣṭīya*. Women such as these must have been associated with al-Madhara'i's *riḥāt al-ashraf* in the Qarafa, built at this very moment for female descendants of the Prophet.

In addition to the epigraphic evidence, textual evidence helps describe the religious situation during the half-century preceding the Fatimid conquest of Egypt. Its analysis suggests a growing 'Alid and especially Isma'ili propaganda effort in Egypt in the decades following the establishment of the *da'wa* in Ifriqiyya. In this same period, women became more and more involved in religious activities in the great cemeteries, and it seems likely that Isma'ili propagandists were active in them as well, for there they could reach large numbers of people, exploit the 'Alid emphasis on genealogy and avoid official wrath. The graves of 'Alid descendants were natural places for their work. Because women were so frequently there, it is likely that they were numerous among 'Alid converts and sympathizers.

The effectiveness of Isma'ili propaganda in Egypt can be adduced from the tombstones as well as from Maqrizi's description of the riot on 'Ashura' 350 (961). Shi'ite power must already have been great in 917 to force the erasure of inscriptions; by 961, the "rabble" were a powerful enough adversary to force the call-up of the Sudani troops against them.

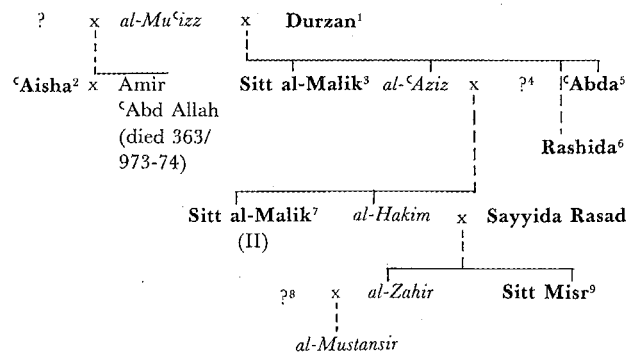
All this evidence for the spread of Shi'ite beliefs among the Egyptian populace does much to explain the relative ease with which the Fatimid army was able to conquer Egypt in 969 under General Jawhar. While the Sunni bureaucracy may have been resigned to accepting Fatimid sovereignty for political and economic reasons,<sup>56</sup> it is now clear that their religious affiliation was not reflected in that of a significant segment of the population. Having suffered from the disastrous last years of Ikhshidid rule, the people would have welcomed any savior, but considering their religious allegiances, Jawhar would have been especially welcome.

Virtually nothing is known about the patroness of the Jami' al-Qarafa before the end of al-Mu'izz's reign when she built the pavilion called Manazil al-'Izz overlooking the Nile.<sup>57</sup> The evidence is hardly con-

clusive, but her appearance on the historical scene coincides with the death of al-Mu'izz's heir apparent, the amir 'Abd Allah. Sitt al-Malik, identified by Maqrizi as "the aunt of al-Hakim and the daughter of al-Mu'izz," ordered the construction of the Hawd al-Qarafa in Sha'ban 366 (977).<sup>58</sup> Usually identified as the sister of al-Hakim of the same name who was born in the Maghrib in Dhu'l-Qa'da 359 (970),<sup>59</sup> it seems highly unlikely that, at the tender age of five, Sitt al-Malik ordered any buildings or cisterns to be built. It has been generally held that the variants of the name Sitt al-Malik, Sayyida al-Mulk, and Sitt al-Muluk all refer to the same individual, viz., the sister of al-Hakim who may have plotted his assassination.<sup>60</sup> Possibly, Maqrizi is correct to distinguish two individuals: one a daughter of al-Mu'izz, and the other a sister of al-Hakim (i.e., granddaughter of al-Mu'izz). If this is the case, we may easily suppose the first Sitt al-Malik to have been a daughter of Durzan, and therefore a sister to al-Aziz (chart II).

If this family tree is accurate, then when the heir-apparent 'Abd Allah died in 973-74, Durzan, al-

Chart II. Women at the Fatimid court 360-450 (970-1059)



1. Surnamed "Taghrid," she died in 385 (995-96). She built Manazil al-'izz as well as the Qasr and Jami' al-Qarafa.
2. She died in 415 (1024-25), leaving a legacy of 400,000 dinars. She was called "one of the most important women of the palace."
3. Identified by Maqrizi as the builder of the Hawd al-Qarafa.
4. Unnamed in the sources, she died in 415 (1024-25) and was buried in the Qarafa.
5. Died in 442 (1050-51), leaving a huge legacy.
6. Died in 442 (1050-51), leaving a legacy of 1.7 million dinars.
7. Born in 359 (969-70) in the Maghrib, she is the most famous of the Fatimid court women. She was probably instrumental in al-Hakim's assassination.
8. She was given five plates by Michael, emperor of Rum.
9. Died in 455 (1063).

Mu'izz's concubine, would have found herself in a position of great power, as the mother of the heir-apparent. It was then that she built her first building, the Manazil al-'Izz (the name of which derives, interestingly enough, from the same root as al-Mu'izz and al-'Aziz) during the final years of al-Mu'izz's reign. When al-Mu'izz in turn died, she would have become even more powerful as the mother of the ruling imam; this is when she and her daughter Sitt al-Malik built their complex in the Qarafa.

Construction in the capital city itself was monopolized by the men of the court, making the masjid in the Qarafa the only suitable place for Durzan's patronage. During the period of Fatimid rule in North Africa the women of the imam's household are never mentioned either by name or position, but both suddenly emerge following the establishment of the dynasty in Egypt. The tradition of female 'Alid saints—Sayyida Nafisa, Umm Kulthum, and Sayyida Zaynab—had obviously taken firm hold in pre-Fatimid Egypt. Women such as Durzan and Sitt al-Malik could take advantage of this tradition and use it to exercise power.

Al-Hakim's sister, Sitt al-Malik, is considered the first female member of the Fatimid family to become deeply involved in politics. Whether or not she helped murder her brother, she did ensure the smooth transition of power to her nephew al-Zahir, after the increasingly erratic caliph mysteriously disappeared.<sup>61</sup> She transferred the earlier women's involvement in the cemeteries of Cairo to political activities at the court.

Ibn al-Zayyat's fifteenth-century description of the shrines in the Qarafa mentions a tomb (*turba*) next to the Jami' al-Qarafa, with "slabs of marble on which were written [the names of] the relatives of the Fatimid *amir al-mu'minin* al-Mu'izz."<sup>62</sup> The imams, their ancestors, and the heirs-apparent are known to have been buried in the tomb in the palace, but the discovery of Durzan's epitaph conclusively proves that the tomb in the Qarafa was reserved for women and the less-immediate relatives of the ruling family.<sup>63</sup> After Durzan's death, the royal women continued their activities in the cemetery. The mother of al-Zahir (i.e., al-Hakim's wife) whose name was al-Sayyida Rasad, ordered the construction of another *hawq* near the Qasr al-Qarafa outside the Hammam al-'Azizi and near the Qarafa oven (*furn*) under the supervision of the Sharif al-Muhaddath Abu Ibrahim Ahmad b. al-Qasim b. al-Ma'mun b. Hamza al-Husayni al-'Abdali, *shaykh al-qurra'*, along with Ibn al-Khitab and al-Falaki.<sup>64</sup>

These women could pay for all this because they had immense personal fortunes. There is ample evidence for this. When, in mid-Shawwal 385 (995), the wife of al-'Aziz and the mother of his son (the future al-Hakim) died at Mina Ja'far, she was carried to the palace in al-Qahira where al-'Aziz prayed over her body and then buried it at an expense of 10,000 dinars. The washer alone demanded her clothing, worth about 6,000 dinars. The *fugaha'* shared 1,000 dinars, and the Qur'an readers were given another 1,000 dinars. Al-'Aziz returned to his camp, but her daughter (perhaps Sitt al-Malik) stayed at her grave for a month in order to finish the obsequies. Al-'Aziz came there every day where he gave food and sweets to the people, and 2,000 dinars to the poet-mourners (*shu'ara'*).<sup>65</sup>

'Aisha, the widow of the amir 'Abd Allah and "one of the most important women of the palace," died in 1024-25, leaving 400,000 dinars.<sup>66</sup> In 1050-51 when two nonagenarian daughters of al-Mu'izz died, Rashida, the elder, left 1,700,000 dinars including 30,000 lengths of *khazz* cloth, 12,000 lengths of monochrome cloth, and 100 glass jars filled with Javanese amber, and the black *khazz* tent in which Harun al-Rashid had died at Tus.<sup>67</sup> Her sister, 'Abda, who was three years younger, left 30 bundles of property deeds, 400 book cases, 1300 niello silver *minas*, each weighing 10,000 dirhams, 400 swords decorated with gold, 30,000 pieces of Sicilian cloth, and jewels that included an enormous emerald.

It must have been quite a feat to live to such a ripe old age: apart from the toll disease might have been expected to take, the two sisters managed to live through the reigns of four rulers and amass all this wealth besides. They had to defeat the erratic actions of their nephew al-Hakim, and their niece Sitt al-Malik's equally ruthless quest for power. Perhaps it was more than dietary principle that led 'Abda to eat only "bread and broth, while her sister Rashida ate separately and gave her nothing to eat from the Sultan's table!"<sup>68</sup>

After the initial spurt of building in the Qarafa cemetery by the women of the court the sources are mute for nearly a century. In 1038-39 the wife of 'Ali b. Yahya b. Tahir, known as Ibn Abu Kharaji al-Mawsili, built a mosque near the Qarafa,<sup>69</sup> but she was not a member of the imam's family. The lack of building was not for want of money, for when al-Hakim's daughter Sitt Misr died in 1063, she too left an enormous estate.<sup>70</sup> After the great troubles of the

1060's and the subsequent appeal to Badr al-Jamali to restore order to Egypt, the viziers rather than the caliphs became the primary patrons of architecture. Nearly fifteen mashhads and mausolea remain in situ in the Qarafa that were put up between the rise of Badr al-Jamali and the death of Imam al-Hafiz in 1149, testifying to the amount of building carried on there.<sup>71</sup> During this second great period of Fatimid activity in the Qarafa, it was no longer the court women who found the cemetery an appropriate place to perform acts of piety to gain power and prestige. Now it was the viziers who, in their assumed role as kingmakers, created or encouraged an atmosphere of religious fervor for the saints buried there in an attempt to manipulate the succession to the imamate.<sup>72</sup>

Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

## NOTES

1. This article is adapted from my "Meaning in Early Fatimid Architecture: Islamic Art in North Africa and Egypt in the Fourth Century A.H. (Tenth Century A.D.)," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1980.
2. "The *qaṣr* was one of the finest pleasure-places (*nuzha*) in construction and workmanship and the faultlessness of its columns. It had a large and fine pavilion (*manzara*) carried on a vault (*qabw*) extending over the passer-by from above. At the time of the summer heat, travelers would nap there and ride animals there on the slope. It was one of the finest of buildings. Below it was a cistern (*hawḍ*) for watering animals on *yawm al-hulūl*. The cistern was built in Sha<sup>6</sup>ban 366 on the order of Sitt al-Malik, the aunt of al-Hakim and the daughter of al-Mu<sup>6</sup>izz" (al-Maqrizī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa'l-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa'l-Āthār*, Bulaq ed. [Cairo, 1853] [hereafter *Khiṭaṭ*], vol. 1, p. 486, and vol. 2, p. 459, line 38–p. 460, line 1). Sitt al-Malik is thus identified; however, she is usually thought to have been al-Hakim's sister (see below, pp. 16 and chart II).
3. T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928; reprint New York, 1965), p. 22; Gaston Wiet, "L'Exposition d'art persan à Londres," *Syria* 13 (1932): 201-2; Richard Ettinghausen, "Painting in the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction," *Arts Islamica* 9 (1942): 112-24.
4. *Khiṭaṭ* 2:318, ll. 18 ff.
5. For the Azhar mosque, K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* [hereafter *MAE*], vol. 1 (Oxford, 1952), pp. 36-64, esp. 59. The extant remains of the mosque are said to lie opposite Classified Monument 474, the Khadra Sharifa; both are off the map of classified monuments published by the Survey of Egypt. There is, however, some confusion over the nomenclature of these buildings and ruins. See K. A. C. Creswell, *A Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517* (Cairo, 1919), 53 and *MAE* 1:224-26.
6. *Suffa* is used as a functional term to describe the locus of certain activities; *riwāq*, the term which modern art historians would use, describes a specific set of architectural forms. The term *suffa* is used in exactly this sense to describe the shelter built opposite the qibla wall in the Prophet's house in Medina, for which see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1969), vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 9. The Ardistan inscriptions of A.H. 553 and 555 (Étienne Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* [Cairo, 1931-75] [hereafter *RCEA*], no. 3224) use the word *suffa* to describe a functional area, as opposed to a formal unit, of the mosque. The same word is used for the iwans of the Masjid-i Juma<sup>6</sup> at Isfahan and the arched recesses in the mausoleum of Uljaytu at Sultaniyya.
7. On the meaning of portals in early Fatimid architecture, see Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Mosque of al-Hakim in Cairo," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983).
8. Alexandre Lézine, *Mahdiyya: Recherches d'archéologie islamique* (Paris, 1965), pl. 79, and *MAE* 1, pl. 17.
9. In the Fatimid period, *maqṣūra* seems to have taken on the more generalized meaning of "domed bay" in addition to its more specific meaning of enclosure for the ruler, for Maqrizī quotes Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir who said that al-Hafiz li-Din Allah erected a "fine *maqṣūra*" in al-Azhar (*Khiṭaṭ* 2:275, l. 15). This *maqṣūra* is the domed bay on the court end of the central aisle leading to the mihrab *maqṣūra* bay (see *MAE* 1:37 and 255).
10. Al-Maqdisi (al-Muqaddisi, *Kitāb Aḥsān al-Taqāsīm fī-Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm [Descriptio Imperii Moslemici]* (henceforth cited as *Maqdisi*), ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1877), p. 209; André Miquel, "L'Égypte vue par un géographe arabe du IV<sup>e</sup>/X<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales islamologiques* 11 (1972): 132-33.
11. Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard*, ed. J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1938), vol. 1, pp. 147-48; Ibn Hawqal, *Configuration de la terre*, trans. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet (Paris, 1964), vol. 1, p. 145.
12. H. Hawary and H. Rached, *Stèles funéraires*, vols. 1-2 (Cairo, 1932; 1938); Gaston Wiet, *Stèles funéraires*, vols. 2, 4-10 (Cairo, 1936-42). The *Catalogues générales du Musée arabe du Caire* cover only the tombstones which remain in the museum in Egypt. There are, however, other stelae in museum collections around the world which have not been collected systematically. The most complete bibliography to date is to be found in Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Quelques réflexions sur l'écriture des premières stèles arabes du Caire," *Annales islamologiques* 11 (1972): 23, n. 3. In addition to those published in the Cairo catalogues, many others were published in the *RCEA*, and still others more recently published by ʿAbd al-Rahmān ʿAbd al-Tawab, *Stèles islamiques de la nécropole d'Assouan* (Cairo, 1977-83). It was impossible, however, to include all of these stelae in the present statistical analysis. In any event, the stelae cited by Sourdel amount to no more than two dozen or so, a statistically insignificant addition to the 2,000 I have used. In addition, see the publication of Khaled Moaz and Solange Ory, *Inscriptions arabes de Damas: Les stèles funéraires 1: Cimetière d'al-Bab al-Ṣagīr* (Damascus, 1977).
13. Hassan Hawary and Hussein Rached, *Stèles funéraires* (Cairo, 1932), vol. 1, no. 1 (also, *RCEA* 1, no. 6).
14. Wiet, "Stèles coufiques," pp. 273-74.
15. A fragmentary limestone stela was found in Cairo inscribed with the name of al-Sayyida al-Mu<sup>6</sup>izziyya, mother of al-ʿAziz. See Yusuf Rāgib, "Sur deux monuments funéraires du cimetière d' al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā au Caire," *Annales islamologiques* 12 (1974): 68 ff. Interestingly, this stela—of the highest level of patronage—is not made of marble but of limestone, which tends to disprove the Herz-Wiet hypothesis.

16. Wiet, "Stèles coufiques," p. 273:

Date	Marble	Limestone	Total
up to 300	2189 (74%) [55%]	753 (26%) [19%]	2942 [ 73%]
301 to 500	128 (12%) [ 3%]	942 (88%) [23%]	1070 [ 27%]
			4012 [100%]

17. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

18. If women had played a role no different from that of men in the cemeteries of Egypt, a percentage more like that found in Spain or Tunisia (10 to 18 percent) would hold true.

19. Jean Sauvaget, however, believed that the *tašlīya* had no significant archaeological index. Writing about a tombstone in the Louvre dated A.H. 273 which carries the phrase *wa-salā Allah ṣalā Muḥammad al-Nabī wa-ṣalā ahl baytīhi al-tayyibīn*, Sauvaget noted that "la formule de bénédiction sur la famille du Prophète est assez fréquente sur les stèles funéraires d'al-Fostat pour qu'il n'y ait pas lieu de considérer celle-ci comme la tombe d'un chiïte." See "Glances épigraphiques," *Revue des études islamiques* 6 (1941-42): 27. Sauvaget noted six examples of this formula in the second volume of *Stèles funéraires* to support his argument; the volume, however, covers only the stelae of some twenty years.

20. Ugo Monneret de Villard, *La Necropoli musulmana di Aswan* (Cairo, 1930), p. 50; also *MAE* 1:137. Creswell inexplicably concluded that "the maximum activity was from 200-266, in the early Abbasid period and under Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn."

21. Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* (Cambridge, 1979).

22. *Ibid.*, p. 97, graph 17.

23. Ira M. Lapidus, "The Conversion of Egypt to Islam," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 257.

24. Wiet, "Stèles coufiques," p. 287.

25. Imam al-Qa'im tried again to conquer Egypt in 935. No further attempts were made until al-Mu'izz's reign.

26. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed., s.v. "Da'wa."

27. *Khiṭaṭ* 2:27, and al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-Hunafā' bi-Akḥbār al-A'immat al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-Khulafā'* (Cairo, 1967-73) (henceforth cited as *Itti'āz*), vol. 1, p. 102.

28. Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Isma'īlism* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 90 ff. On the other hand, Richard Bulliet has convincingly explained the rise of the Fatimids as the logical outcome of the conversion process. See Bulliet, *Conversion*, chap. 8, "Egypt and Tunisia."

29. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1879), vol. 4, p. 8, no. 22.

30. *Itti'āz* 1:55.

31. *Itti'āz* 1:60.

32. Gaston Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, part 1: *Egypte*, vol. 2, p. 63; *RCEA* 2, no. 440.

33. Notably by Louis Massignon, who first published it in "Études archéologiques," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 9 (1911): 91-96, and by Oleg Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures," *Ars Orientalis* 6 (1966): 13. Nevertheless, Massignon, who first studied this epitaph, said that the shapes of certain words in the inscription are characteristic of the ninth century. According to Wiet, the Dhu'l-Nun epitaph is on a [re-used] marble column. Apart from this stela, the first documented instance of this practice in Egypt is dated A.H. 405. It appears that the practice developed in Ifriqiyya and was subsequently adopted in Spain and Egypt. It is possible, therefore, that Dhu'l-Nun's tombstone is a tenth-

century forgery using deliberately archaistic epigraphy but reflecting a contemporary (rather than a eighth-century) practice of building qubbas over tombs. See Gaston Wiet, "Stèles coufiques d'Égypte et du Soudan," *Journal asiatique* 240 (1952): 274.

34. Maqdisi, p. 210; Miquel, "L'Égypte," p. 134.

35. Grabar, "Commemorative Structures," p. 38.

36. For the Madhara'i family, see Hans Gottschalk, *Die Mādara'iyyūn* (Berlin, 1931).

37. *Khiṭaṭ* 2:156.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 453.

39. Louis Massignon, "La Cité des morts au Caire," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 57 (1958): 56.

40. *Khiṭaṭ* 2:156.

41. *Khiṭaṭ* 2:454.

42. Massignon, "Cité des morts," pp. 29-30.

43. Ignaz Goldziher, "On the Veneration of the Dead in Paganism and Islam," *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern (Chicago, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 209-38.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

46. Ignaz Goldziher, "Veneration of Saints in Islam," *Muslim Studies*, vol. 2, p. 227.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

48. *Khiṭaṭ* 2:339-40.

49. Her brother 'Abd Allah died in A.H. 261; her brother Yahya al-Shabih died in A.H. 263. See Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, pt. 1: *Égypte*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1903), nos. 6-7.

50. On the mausoleum of the Tabataba family (ca. 334), first identified by Creswell, see *MAE* 1:11-15.

51. *Stèles funéraires*, no. 1772; *RCEA* 1447.

52. *Stèles funéraires*, nos. 1613 and 1773.

53. *Ibid.*, no. 1703.

54. *Ibid.*, no. 1893; *RCEA* 1627: "This is the grave of [?] bint al-Husayn b. [Isma'il b.] Aḥmad b. Isma'il b. Aḥmad b. [Isma'il b. Muḥammad b.] Ja'far [al-Sadiq] b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abu Talib." This genealogy conforms to the Husaynid family tree in *Itti'āz* 1, chart IV.

55. *Stèles funéraires*, no. 1643.

56. Thierry Bianquis, "La prise de pouvoir par les Fatimides en Égypte (357-363/968-974)" *Annales islamologiques* 11 (1972): 49-108.

57. She was the wife of al-Mu'izz (*al-Sayyida al-Mu'izzīyya*) and an Arab slave (*umm walad*). Because of her melodious voice, she was given the nickname "Warbling" (*taghrīd*). See Ragib, "Deux monuments," pp. 68-69, and Massignon, "Cité des morts," p. 256, where he read *Taghrīd* as *Tafīrīd*. The exact date of the construction of the Manazil al-'Izz is unknown. However, since Maqrīzī specifies that "it continued to be used after al-Mu'izz by the caliphs for their promenades (*wa-mā zālu al-khulafā' min ba'da al-Mu'izz yatadāwalūnahā*)," it is apparent that it was built before al-Mu'izz's death in 365 (*Khiṭaṭ* 1:485).

58. *Khiṭaṭ* 2:459, line 38.

59. *Itti'āz* 1:292.

60. *Itti'āz* 1:15, n. 1.

61. Ya'cov Lev generously provided me with a typescript of his unpublished article, "The Fatimid Princess Sitt al-Mulk (Tenth-Eleventh Century C.E.)."

62. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-Sayāra fi-Tarīḥ al-Ziyāra* (Cairo, 1325/1907), p. 175; also *MCI* *Egypte*, 2:132.

63. The coffins of al-Mu'izz's ancestors (i.e., al-Mahdi, al-Qa'im, and al-Mansur) were brought from Ifriqiyya and interred in the palace. Amir 'Abd Allah was buried in the palace (*Itti'az* 1:217-18). In 386, al-'Aziz was buried "in the palace tomb (*fī turbat al-qaṣr*)."<sup>64</sup> The commonly used epithet, *turbat al-mu'izziyya*, cannot have been applied prior to al-Mu'izz's death in A.H. 365; *Turbat al-Za'farān* (the Saffron [annointed] Tomb) is certainly not used in early Fatimid sources. The mid-tenth-century sections of Ibn al-Zubayr's *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa'l-Tuhaf* (henceforth cited as Ibn al-Zubayr), ed. M. Hamiduylah (Kuwait, 1959), refer to the tomb as "the tomb in which his [al-Mustansir's] ancestors were buried (*al-turba al-madfūna fīhi ijādādhī*)" (*Khīṭat* 1:408, l. 8). This implies that the tomb did not have an eponymic or epithetic name until well into the tenth or eleventh century.
64. Yusuf Ragib as in n. 15 above.
65. *Itti'az* 1:288-89.
66. *Ibid.*, 2:173.
67. Ibn al-Zubayr, p. 241. *Khīṭat* 1:415 adds "turbans with their jewels from the days of al-Mu'izz."
68. Ibn al-Zubayr, pp. 241-43; *Khīṭat* 1:415.
69. *Khīṭat* 2:450; Masjid al-Hajar.
70. Ibn al-Zubayr, p. 240.
71. Caroline Williams, "The Cult of 'Alid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo," pt. 1, "The Mosque of al-Aqmar," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 37-52; pt. 2, "The Mausolea," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 39-60.
72. *Ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 57.