

# A Note on the Disregarded Ottoman Cairene Ziyāra Book

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## *Introduction*

The huge cemetery areas known as *al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā* and *al-Qarāfa al-Ṣuḡhrā* stretch from beneath the Muqaṭṭam Mountain towards Fuṣṭāṭ and historical Cairo. It became an attraction for mass visits, and the custom prevailed tenaciously among people of all classes from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the area formed not only a graveyard or a sanctuary, but also “the largest gathering place of the Egyptians, and the most famous pleasure resort of them (*al-Maqrīzī*)” where enormous groups of people, including women and children enjoyed excursions.

When analyzing *ziyāra* (the act of visiting tombs by individuals or groups) customs at *Qarāfas* and visitors’ mentalities, I utilized “the books of ziyara (*kutub al-ziyāra*)” as main historical sources.<sup>2</sup> These guidebooks were written by “the *shaykh* of ziyāra (sg. *shaykh al-ziyāra*, pl. *mashā’ikh al-ziyā ra*, *mashāyikh al-ziyāra*, *shuyūkh al-ziyāra*)” who also led visitors’ groups (*ṭā’ifa*) to the *Qarāfas*, and at certain graves explained the deeds and merits of the persons buried there.<sup>3</sup> The *ziyāra* books were written everywhere in the Islamic world, and more than twenty-five books are believed to have specialized in Egyptian *Qarāfas*. Among them, only four famous tracts have survived regarding the period from

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1 Tetsuya Ohtoshi: “The Manners, Customs, and Mentality of Pilgrims to the Egyptian City of the Dead: 1100-1500 A.D.” *Orient*, vol. 29, 1993, pp. 19-44 (An oral presentation having almost the same content, was read at the 89th Annual Meeting of the Historical Society of Japan in 1991). Writing this article, I could not avail myself of Christopher Taylor’s Ph.D dissertation, *The Cult of the Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (presented to the Princeton University, 1989). In this, he used basically the same basic materials as I, and had already pointed out some of the historical facts which I examined in my article.

2 T. Ohtoshi, “Visits to the Holy Tombs in the Egyptian City of the Dead” (in Japanese), *Historical Review (Shigaku Zashshi)*, 1993, pp. 1-49, *ibid.*, “City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century: Phases of Its Development and Social Function” (in Japanese), *Toyo Gakuho*, vol.75, 1-2, 1994, pp. 161-202, *ibid.*, “The Manners, Customs, and Mentality of Pilgrims to the Egyptian City of the Dead: 1100-1500 A.D.”.

3 In the fifteenth century, for example, eleven visit groups were recorded at two *Qarāfas* simultaneously. *Tuhfa* 159.

the Arab conquest to the fifteenth century. These ziyāra tracts state the manners of visit, list popular graves and tell anecdotes about the persons buried there. Besides, these *shaykhs* of ziyāra may have brought ziyāra books with them during their visits.<sup>4</sup>

Although investigations have been made on al-Qarāfa and its visiting, they have all concentrated on the pre-Ottoman period, and almost no study can be found on the period afterwards in regard to the Cairene ziyāra.<sup>5</sup> My final goal is to further trace up to the modern period, the state of the ziyāra which, compared with the Middle Ages, seems to be marked by a decline. Within the course of this exploration, I wish to discover the turning point of the decline or a phenomenon of steady decline without a drastic changing point.

As a first step, this time, I will center my discussion on the early Ottoman ruling period in Egypt. The biggest reason for the lack of study of this era is presumably due to the want of relevant historical sources. Here, I take up a disregarded ziyāra book of the Ottoman Egyptian period, written around 1620 A.D., upon which Prof. Yūsuf Rāghib first shed light in his monumental article about ziyāra tracts, but this has also been the last study referring to this source heretofore.<sup>6</sup> The book is Muḥammad b. al-Shu‘aybī’s *Kitāb yashtamil ‘alā Dhikr man dufina bi-Miṣr wa-al-Qā hira min al-Muḥaddithīn wa-al-Awliyā’ wa-al-Rijāl wa-al-Nisā’* (abridged as *Yashtamil* hereafter).<sup>7</sup> While listing Egyptian ziyāra books in his article, Rāghib referred to this source in the catalog of the manuscripts preserved in the Azhar Library, but mentioned that no information could be discovered other than C. Brockelmann’s short introduction.<sup>8</sup> Fortunately, I had a chance to inspect and read through it, confirming this source as an Egyptian ziyāra book, on which no further references can be found, so far as I know.<sup>9</sup>

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4 *Miṣbāḥ* f. 5. cf.) C. Taylor, *The Cult of the Saints in Later Medieval Egypt*, Introduction, T. Ohtoshi, “The Egyptian “Book of the Visit” as Historical Material: An Elucidation of the Text, and Its Implication on the City of the Dead from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries” (in Japanese), *Orient*, vol. 38-2, 1995, pp. 143-161.

5 A.F. Mehren, *Cāhirah og Kerāfat, historiske Studier under et Ophold i Ægypten 1867-68*, Kjøbenhavn, 1869, R. Guest, “Cairene Topography: El Qarafa according to Ibn Ez Zaiyat”, *JRAS*, 1925, pp. 57-61, L. Massigion, “La cité des morts au Caire (Qarāfa-Darb al-Aḥmar)”, *BIFAO*, vol. 57, 1958, pp. 25-79, Y. Rāghib, “Essai d’inventaire chronologique des guides à l’usage des pèlerins du Caire”, *REI*, vol. 16, 1973, pp. 259-280, *ibid.*, “Sur deux monuments funéraire du cimetière d’al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā au Caire”, *Annales Islamologiques*, vol. 40, 1972, pp. 189-195, S. ‘Āshūr, *al-Mujtami’ al-Miṣrī fī ‘Aṣr Salātīn al-Mamālīk*, al-Qāhira, n.d., pp. 109-111, C. Taylor, “Sacred History and Cult of Muslim Saints”, *Muslim World*, vol. 80, 1990, pp. 72-80, J. Bloom, “The Mosque of the Qarafa in Cairo”, *Muqarnas* 4, 1987, etc.

6 Y. Rāghib, “Essai d’inventaire chronologique des guides à l’usage des pèlerins du Caire”, p. 279.

7 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shu‘aybī. ‘Alī al-Shu‘aybī al-Abshīhī: *Kitāb yashtamil ‘alā Dhikr man dufina bi-Miṣr wa-al-Qāhira min al-Muḥaddithīn wa-al-Awliyā’ wa-al-Rijāl wa-al-Nisā’*, MS. Maktaba al-Azhar, Ta’rīkh 5105819. This is thought to be the only surviving manuscript of this text.

8 *Fihris al-Kutub al-Mawjūda bi-al-Maktaba al-Azharīya*, vol. 5, p. 529.

9 The inspection was conducted from Nov. to Dec. of 1992, and Dec. of 1993. One of the reasons which caused this manuscript to remain hidden was that the manuscript was wrongly arranged and enclosed in a leather case with another manuscript under a different title.

## I. *al-Shu'aybī and his Ziyāra Tract*

### *About the Author*

Even C. Brockelmann and al-Ziriklī give us a little information on this author, derived mainly from the catalog of the manuscripts preserved at the Azhar Library.<sup>10</sup> However, data in the catalog are also based on the last part of the text, which we are examining now. From that we find that he was born in Maḥalla in the Egyptian Delta, reared in Cairo, and belonged to the Shāfi'ī law school and the Aḥmadiya *ṭarīqa* (sufi order). In addition to this ziyāra book, four other tracts are known as his works, and all remain in manuscript form.<sup>11</sup> Among them, I was able to examine two of his works in four manuscripts; these are *al-Ma'ānī al-Daqīqa* and *al-Jawhar al-Farīd*, preserved in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya. Both texts deeply concern sufism and *ṭarīqa*; *al-Ma'ānī* in particular details practical aspects of sufism. For instance, the author frequently talks about the *dhikr* (ritualized invocation of the Names of God) and the *ḥaḍra* (assembly for the purpose of *dhikr*), that on these occasions the *naqīb* (leader) needs to prevent *fuqarā'* (sufis) from drinking water, because it will emaciate the body, etc.<sup>12</sup>

Chronologically speaking, al-Shu'aybī's ziyāra tracts were written in 1030 A.H./1621 A.D.,<sup>13</sup> while *al-Ma'ānī* was composed in 1021/1612. Other manuscripts are respectively dated 1040/1631, 1063/1652, 1128/1715.<sup>14</sup> Also one clue to al-Shu'aybī's career is that he mentions al-Habnasī (miss spelling of al-Bahnasī?) as his master in a passage; however no further information can be found on this person.<sup>15</sup> These are all the data about the author uncovered so far.

### *Its Composition*

The manuscript totals 298 folios. Al-Shu'aybī, the author, tries to state all burying places of persons who appeared in this book. Now we shall take a general view of it as follows. After the introduction, the first chapter describes on *muḥaddithūn* and their descendants who

10 Brockelmann, C., *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, Leiden, 1942, vol. 2, p. 449, *Supplement*, vol. 2, 470, al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, Bayrūt, 1992, vol. 6, p. 159.

11 These are *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Daqīqa al-Wafīya fī-ma yalzam Nuqabā' al-Sāda al-Ṣūfīya*, (Dār al-Kutub Taṣawwuf Taymūr 160), *Kitāb al-Jawhar al-Farīd wa-al-'Iqd al-Mufīd (Waḥīd) fī Tarjama Ahl al-Tawḥīd*, (Dār al-Kutub Taṣawwuf 237, 250, Majāmi' 229), *Maḥāsin al-Akhbār fī Faḍl al-Ṣalāt 'alā al-Nabī al-Mukhtār wa-Maḥāsin al-Sāda al-Akhyār*, and *Tuḥfa ulī'l-Falāḥ bi-Sharḥ Hizb al-Fatḥ wa-al-Najāḥ* or *Fatḥ al-'Ālam wa-al-Ghayb bi-Sharḥ Wird b. Shu'ayb* or *al-Fawā'id al-Bahīya bi-Sharḥ Wird al-Sāda al-Shu'aybiya*.

12 *al-Ma'ānī* f. 152.

13 *Yashtamil* fols. 298 a-b.

14 *al-Jawhar*: Majāmi' 229 (1040 A.H.), *al-Jawhar*: Taṣawwuf 237 (1063 A.H.), *al-Jawhar*: Taṣawwuf 250 (1128 A.H.). Although we are not sure that these are dates of composition or just transcribing.

15 *Yashtamil* f. 208a.

were buried in Cairo and its quarters.<sup>16</sup> It is followed by a description of the female *muḥaddithā*'s: the modest and charitable such as al-Sayyida al-Nafīsa, also the good female *muḥaddithā* or non-*muḥaddithā* who were entombed in the two Qarāfas. Then tribes in the two Qarāfas are described, with a biography of Prophet Muḥammad and battles he fought attached. Next, a description of the people whose obituaries were not mentioned in chapter (*bāb*) three, and *karāmāt* (miracles, virtues) of the people of many tribes. Chapter five is a description of the *muḥaddithūn* who were buried in Cairo and its cemetery; of them the author counted 62. Hereupon, al-Shu'aybī adds the history of Egyptian dynasties. Then a description of non-*muḥaddithūn* who were buried in the cemeteries in Cairo and other places concludes fairly large portion. Finally follows an epilogue.

#### *As a Ziyāra Book*

al-Shu'aybī quotes many previous ziyāra books, clearly manifesting that he is in the same line. This point can be glanced from the following passages as well:

Ibn al-Zayyāt placed in his book, *al-Kawākib al-Sayyāra*, boundary which differed from what Ibn al-Nāsikh had placed in his *Miṣbāḥ al-Dayājī*. In his book, al-Sakhāwī followed a different path from what these authors had followed. While Ibn al-Jabbās mentioned in his book ten *ṭabaqāt*, and died without completing the forth *ṭabaqa* of them. This tract is the pioneer to date and no book precedes it.

As for *Kitāb Murshid al-Zuwwār*, it gathered useful lessons and narratives as the visitors (to al-Qarāfa) had desired, then elucidated the author's idea. I made this book (*Yashtamil*) in one *ṭabaqa*, to gain perfect usefulness....<sup>17</sup>

In an other section, al-Shu'aybī also wrote that he composed this ziyāra tract in order to correct the visitor's knowledge of certain graves.<sup>18</sup>

Books of ziyāra generally created a chaotic pool of different discourses, quoting many other ziyāra books prior to them.<sup>19</sup> For example, regarding ziyāra books, *Yashtamil* quotes *Murshid* twice, *Miṣbāḥ* fourteen times, *Kawākib* twenty-five times, and *Tuḥfa* twenty-eight times, so far as is indicated by names. These quotations are concentrated in the earlier parts of *Yashtamil*, before around folio one hundred, except *Tuḥfa* which appears mainly after folio one hundred. It is obvious from this that citations from *Murshid* are quite few, while *Kawākib* is cited nearly as often as *Tuḥfa*, which is the latest of these four tracts. In addition, some quotations al-Shu'aybī asserted that he had quoted from *Tuḥfa* were, in fact, quotations from *Murshid*.

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<sup>16</sup> Here the *muḥaddith* means a person who transmits the traditions of Prophet Muḥammad with manifest genealogy.

<sup>17</sup> *Yashtamil* fols. 72b-73a.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 67a.

<sup>19</sup> See T. Ohtoshi, "The Egyptian "Book of the Visit" as Historical Material", pp. 144-150.

Another feature of *Yashtamil* is that we find new names of such prominent scholars as al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) which are rare in previous ziyāra texts for chronological reasons.

More important, in my opinion, is the fact that *Yashtamil* cites unfamiliar ziyāra texts which may date from the later Mamlūk to the Ottoman period, such as those of Ibn al-Munīr and ‘Abd al-Zāhir.<sup>20</sup> Among them, the most significant would be the mentioning of another ziyāra book by al-Shu‘aybī, *al-Nashr al-‘Āṭir*. He stated that he had described in this text those who had been buried in the area ranging from beneath the Muqaṭṭam mountain under the Citadel to al-Maṭarīya as its north limit. They added up to as nearly two thousand people, born mainly in the ninth and fifth *hijra* centuries.<sup>21</sup> In *Yashtamil*, on the other hand, he dealt with people bearing *ḥadīth*, contrary to *al-Nashr al-‘Āṭir*.<sup>22</sup> Although references to *al-Nashr* appear frequently in *Yashtamil*, nothing is known about it. This tract may possibly relate to the anonymous *Untitled Index of Saints’ Tombs in Cairo*, preserved in Bibliothèque de l’Institut des langues et civilisations orientales in Paris, but unfortunately access to this unique manuscript is impossible at this time.<sup>23</sup>

*Yashtamil* mentions sites of graves in detail, such as “eastward fourteen steps, then northward some steps”, and descriptions on tombstones, showing that the author himself had visited and done fieldwork there. He also gives detailed information on the devastation of some graves. Any way, however, al-Shu‘aybī is humble in expressing his own view in comparison to other *shaykhs* of ziyāra.

### *Its Features and Tendencies*

First, *Yashtamil* is conspicuous in its unpracticality for use as a ziyāra manual. In comparison with previous ziyāra books, its content was rather ideally categorized by employing the criterion of *muḥaddith* or not *muḥaddith*, so that it ceased to constitute a guidebook in relation to Qarāfas’ geographical composition. On this point, we find it innovational and, at the same time, unattractive for topographical study. Thus, with the exception of the Kurdish cemetery outside the Naṣr Gate or al-Sūfiya cemetery, *Yashtamil* is inferior as a guidebook. There remains, however, the possibility that al-Shu‘aybī’s alternate text, *al-Nashr al-‘Āṭir*, reports on this subject instead of this text.

20 ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s tract is titled, *al-Marsūm bi-al-Bāṣira fī-man dufīna bi-al-Qāhira min Ahl al-Awrād* according to *Yashtamil* f. 2b.

21 *Yashtamil* f. 256b.

22 *Ibid.*, f. 237a.

23 *Untitled Index of Saints’ Tombs in Cairo*, (Arabic Manuscript no. 404). I have been corresponding with the Library (Bibliothèque) since 1994, but have been unsuccessful in getting permission to read this manuscript. Personal correspondence with the director of the Library said that the manuscript was “missing for the time being (sic)”. Finally, in Autumn of 1997, I went to the Library myself and learned that access to all Arabic manuscripts there is forbidden. I sincerely hope that there be no delay in once again making this text available for viewing. I really appreciate the help of the librarians there, F. Carneiro and Mounem Rashida. Also I would like to thank Prof. Yūsuf Rāghib for giving me valuable advice on this manuscript.

Secondly, al-Shu‘aybī attaches great importance to intellectual lineage. This trend seems to have already begun from about the time of al-Sakhāwī, the later Mamlūk period. Therefore the lineages of transmission of *ḥadīths*, the study of *fiqh* and the Qur’ān, and sufi’s *ijāza* (authorization) are fully recorded. Moreover, the author generally laid stress on whether one had borne *ḥadīth* or not. Perhaps he himself had profound knowledge of *ḥadīth* studies.

In elsewhere, I have made analysis to show that *ziyāra* books substantially reflect the more popular Egyptian history that was accepted by the populace, rather than the official historical tendency of the chronicles which happened to include some oral traditions. Accordingly, *ziyāra* texts feature, so to speak, a panorama of the whole of Egyptian history as the people considered it to be.<sup>24</sup> So *Yashtamil* devoted pages to descriptions of pyramids and the ancient ruin of ‘Ayn Shams, added to anecdotes of the Pharaoh’s wife Āsiya, Moses and Jesus, transactions between Copts and Arab conquerors, and Fāṭimid carnivorousism. That is, “Egyptian history” as illustrated in other *ziyāra* books was reiterated here, too.

Since *ziyāra* tracts represent to a certain degree discourses of the common people, the Mamlūk sulṭān Baybars often appears in them, being modified into a legendary hero.<sup>25</sup> There seems to be a certain deep connection with the oral literature of “*Sīra Baybars*”. Similarly, the name of Qarāqūsh, the Ayyūbid Cairene governor, is found in the text, possibly pertaining to oral traditions surrounding him.<sup>26</sup>

I might add some other tendencies of *Yashtamil* as compared with other *ziyāra* books. The author expresses an adherence to the knowledge concerning Arab tribes, and likes to cite poetry, but not the popular oral traditions of visit customs. He tends to prefer the ideal and metaphysical aspects of sufism, rather than practical ones. Regarding Islamic creed, he sticks to writing about fasting; this element coupled with other religious ones, may have been intended to play a role in edifying the people. Also, this text can be used as a data source for statical studies. It clarifies dates of birth and death of persons buried there, birth place, year of arrival in Cairo, site where buried, and intellectual genealogy. A typical life course would be summarized as: born in some place in the Islamic world, came to study in Cairo, then taught there, and being entombed in Qarāfa areas.

## II. *Toward the Study of Early Ottoman Qarāfa*

### *Topography and History*

In defining the topography, *Yashtamil* has clear statements, such as “historians have reached agreement that al-Qarāfa ranges from ‘Ayn Shams to Ṭurā”.<sup>27</sup> The explanation in

24 T. Ohtoshi, “The Egyptian “Book of the Visit” as Historical Material”.

25 *Yashtamil* fols. 134a, 223b, 224a, 133a, 254a.

26 *Ibid.*, fols. 140b, 79a, 224a. See for example, Fārūq Sa’d, *Qarāqūsh wa-Nawādir-hu*, Bayrūt, 1990, Ibrāhīm Sha’lān, *al-Nawādir al-Sha’abīya al-Miṣriya*, al-Qāhira, 1993.

27 *Yashtamil* fols. 146b-147a.

the text speaks about its range in the Ottoman period from north to the south, comprising al-Şahrā' area in the Mamlūk period. We are not certain, however, whether this definition belongs to common usage of the age or not.

As for the historical formation of Qarāfas, it says that the Greater Qarāfa (*al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā*) preceded as a graveyard for the people of Fustāt, particularly from the first to the third *hijra* centuries. Then the Smaller Qarāfa (*al-Qarāfa al-Şughrā*) developed from the foot of the Muqaṭṭam Mountain to Mashāhid al-Şaḥāba. The situation in the early Ottoman Qarāfa was that rebuilding went on at al-Mujāwirūn cemetery and its surroundings, and also in the area between the Citadel and al-Maṭariya.<sup>28</sup> As a result, al-Shu'aybī writes, quoting Ibn al-Muballaṭ, "from al-Raydāniya to the Citadel, there spread six hundred *turbas* (mausolea), fifteen *mashhads* (mausolea), nineteen quarters (*jiha*), entombing four thousand dead(?) in the year 950/1543-4. After that, reconstruction has continued until recently (beginning of the seventeenth century)".<sup>29</sup>

The Muqaṭṭam mountain enjoyed high esteem as ever. *Yashtamil* states four spots enabling the fulfillment of prayer (*du'ā'*); Jabal 'Arafāt, al-Ka'ba, Jerusalem, and al-Muqaṭṭam as well.<sup>30</sup>

Devastation of graveyards and people residing in them were other issues on which the text focuses. We find plentiful descriptions saying that graves were lay wasted and effaced. In fact, some *zāwiyas* (sufi convents) had turned into graveyards; furthermore, some graves had come to be used as residences.<sup>31</sup>

### *Manners of Visiting Qarāfas*

I have elucidated the visiting manners to Qarāfas elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> To give my conclusion first, visit customs to Qarāfa can fully be observed from this text, expressed in such statements as "this mausoleum is crowded with visitors".<sup>33</sup> The habit of group visits has also been attested to by travelers' accounts such as Muṣṭafā 'Alī, Kabrīt, al-Nābulṣī, al-Khiyārī and E. Çelebī, nevertheless they are not so clear from the information in al-Shu'aybī's book.<sup>34</sup>

In more detail, al-Shu'aybī prohibits the osculation of graves, as well as wiping off and sitting on them, by quoting *ḥadīths*.<sup>35</sup> This shows that these habits had still been practices by Qarāfa visitors as before. Besides, visitors to the mausoleum of Sayyida Nafisa would recite special prayer (*du'ā'*) formula.<sup>36</sup>

28 *Ibid.*, fols. 296a-b.

29 *Ibid.*, f. 234a. The range also corresponds to al-Şahrā' area in the Mamlūk period.

30 *Ibid.*, fols. 93a-b.

31 *Ibid.*, fols. 229a-b, 139b, etc. The same problem had already been reported in the Mamlūk period. See T. Ohtoshi, "City of the Dead and the Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century".

32 See note 1 and 2.

33 *Yashtamil* fols. 222a, 163a-b.

34 See Muṣṭafā 'Alī, *al-Ḥaḡiqa, Kabrīt, al-Khiyārī* and *Evliya Çelebī*.

35 *Yashtamil* f. 162a.

36 *Ibid.*, fols., 35a-36b.

Next, in regard to *nadhr* (making a vow and votive offerings), we find a requotation about revocations offering incense, saffron, candles, oil, and lumps.<sup>37</sup> Likewise the lighting customarily seen at certain graves reflects a habit of donating candles or lumps as votive offerings.<sup>38</sup>

Even during the early Ottoman period, to fulfill the prayer (*ijāba al-du‘ā’*) seems to have been still of capital importance for Qarāfa visitors. *Yashtamil* counted more than twenty five places for fulfilling prayers. The number is, nevertheless, much smaller than in previous ziyāra texts. And saints who accomplished prayers while living can also be found, but they were all pre-Mamlūk cases. Moreover, al-Shu‘aybī cites passages on which specific times and seasons expressly enable prayers, as well as desirable types of prayers.<sup>39</sup>

The notion of intercession (*shafā‘a*) in this period was, in my view, of as crucial importance as before, when it focused more on the mechanism of fulfillment of prayers.<sup>40</sup> And not only the usual intercession by Muslim saints, but also reciting the *Yā Sīn* chapter of the Qur’ān (Ch. 36) would lead reciters to mediation by the chapter itself.<sup>41</sup> It should be noted that the reward (*thawāb*) for reciting the Qur’ān or praiseworthy deeds was sent to others as well.<sup>42</sup>

The dwelling within Qarāfas, as mentioned above, was not a recent custom as has been argued generally: al-Shu‘aybī writes that it had started already in the second century A.H. (from eighth to ninth century A.D.).<sup>43</sup> In the early Ottoman period, the *hāra* (quarter) and houses extended around the mausoleum of Imām Layth in al-Qarāfa.<sup>44</sup> We have more evidence of graveyards’ being turned into residences in this age.<sup>45</sup> Another characteristic custom that appeared in *Yashtamil* was entombment by transferring from one cemetery to another, both around Cairo.<sup>46</sup>

I regret to conclude that, in helping us to gain knowledge of manners of visits in this period, *Yashtamil* is obviously inferior to previous ziyāra books or the travelers’ accounts above mentioned. Travelers like Muṣṭafā ‘Alī, Kabrīt, al-Nābulṣī, al-Khiyārī and E. Çelebī witnessed and experienced the ziyāra of Qarāfas, vividly illustrated the manner of visiting. Above all, al-Nābulṣī is conspicuous in depicting the situation inside mausolea, such as in the Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s mausoleum after the Friday mass prayer, when the *ḥaḍra* would be held

37 *Ibid.*, fols. 27a-b.

38 *Ibid.*, fols. 128b, 184a, 187b.

39 *Ibid.*, fols. 47a, 46b, etc.

40 *Yashtamil* fols. 26a, 174b etc. As for the analysis of this mechanism, see T. Ohtoshi, “The Manners, Customs, and Mentality of Pilgrims to the Egyptian City of the Dead: 1100-1500 A.D.” pp. 30-39.

41 *Yashtamil* f. 69b may be requotation from previous ziyāra book.

42 *Ibid.*, f. 32a, *al-Ḥaqīqa* f. 201.

43 *Yashtamil* f. 80b.

44 *al-Ḥaqīqa* f. 199.

45 *Yashtamil* f. 207a.

46 *Ibid.*, fols. 214b, 217b.

with dance and songs based on verses of the deceased. Whoever liked a passage would say “repeat!” and the singer would repeat the phrase.<sup>47</sup>

### *Karāmāt (Virtues, Miracles)*

Almost all the buried people listed in *Yashtamil* had *karāma* anecdotes concerning them attached. But the further we read in the text, the more the author tends to omit *karāma* content, simply saying that this individual has many *karāmāt*. Any way, *karāma* kept its importance in this literature, but with more abstract tendencies than concrete and popular plots.

Incidentally, contents of *karāmāt* in *Yashtamil* can be categorized as: healing of illness, shrinking of the earth, walking on water or flying in the air, the art of changing qualities, the art of creation, tale of water shortage, discernment, animal tales, detection of absence, conversion stories, repentance, diet tales, money tales, post-mortem miracles, intercourse with the Prophet and the *Ḥūr al-‘Ayn* in dream. Further, erudition, fragrance, coarse clothing, seclusion, Islamic good conduct, and so on. All these have already been denoted in the previous four ziyāra texts according to my categorization.<sup>48</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Through these analyses, we were not able to detect changing tendencies in visiting Qarāfas in this era. Likewise the relationship between the ziyāra and *mawlid* (saint’s birthday celebration), which had evidently flourished until this time, is quite dilute as far as the evidence in *Yashtamil* is concerned. Surely we need more systematic inquiry for Egyptian *mawliids*.

Finally, I must conclude that, to investigate fully the early Ottoman Qarāfa, we require other sources than *Yashtamil*. Especially, regarding the study of Qarāfa’s structures and topography, chronicles and geographies seem effective, as well as travelers’ accounts for examining the visiting manners; chronicles for ruling elites’ visits, these are also indispensable. Among others, chronicles in manuscript form and sources in the Ottoman language such as E. Çelebî would be substantive. By scrutinizing these materials with *sharī‘a* (Islamic law court) documents and law books, I would like to elucidate the ziyāra and al-Qarāfa of the Ottoman Egypt more fully, connecting then further to the modern situation.

In relation to this, I would comment on further prospects for the ziyāra sources. In my hypothesis, they will be functionally differentiated into several genres. Ziyāra books

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47 *al-Ḥaqqīqa* fols. 197, 279-280. cf., T.E. Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint*, Columbia, 1994, pp. 80-82.

48 See T. Ohtoshi, *Egyptian City of the Dead and Visit to Holy Tombs: The Case Study from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, (Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Tokyo, in Japanese), 1994, Chapter Two.

themselves will survive, like al-Sukkarī's, which Ḥasan Qāsim stated as being the last Egyptian ziyāra tract.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, this tract is quite short, forty-seven pages in manuscript, steadfastly devoted to topographical illustration, listing names of the deceased, resulting in no mention of visit manners or *karāmāt*. In this sense, it is nearer to the description of al-Qarāfa in Ibn Abī al-Surūr's geographical work that was much influenced by al-Maqrīzī, or the celebrated *Khiṭaṭ* of 'Alī Mubārak.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, virtues of the Prophet's family (*Ahl al-Bayt*) and their descendants, likewise the visit to their graves, came to be independently compiled into books, such as al-Ujhūrī (d.1784), al-Qal'āwī (d.1815), al-Shablanjī (d.1883), al-Jumzūrī, al-Mushkī, and Aḥmad b. Muqaybal, etc.<sup>51</sup> These tracts usually referred to other graves in al-Qarāfa.

Furthermore, coinciding with these currents, in about the eleventh century A.H., previous ziyāra books as *Murshid* and *Miṣbāḥ* were frequently copied. In addition, as in *Murshid*, we see lots of new information that was added by anonymous writers (or by the copiers themselves) after the deaths of the real authors. This suggests that previous ziyāra books were still in effective use. In fact, former ziyāra tracts comprised more perfect knowledge on visit customs and older graves, and at least on pre-Mamlūk tombs, they were thoroughly detailed.

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49 See *al-Sukkarī*, and Ḥasan Qāsim, *al-Mazārāt al-Miṣrīya wa-Āthār al-Islāmīya fī Miṣr wa-al-Qāhira al-Mu'izzīya*, vol. 1 Pt. 1, al-Qāhira, (1936).

50 See *Qaṭf*, *Kawākib Ibn Abī al-Surūr*, and 'Alī Mubārak.

51 al-Ujhūrī, *Mashāriq al-Anwār fī-man duḥina bi-Miṣr min Āl al-bayt al-Aṭhār*, al-Qal'āwī, *Mashāhid al-Ṣafā fī al-Madfunīn bi-Miṣr min Āl Bayt al-Muṣṭafā*, al-Shablanjī, *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāqib Āl Bayt al-Nabī al-Mukhtār*, al-Jumzūrī, *Tuḥfa al-Zā'irīn wa-Bughya al-Ṭālibīn fī Mashhad al-Imān Zayn al-'Ābidīn wa-Madh Āl Bayt al-Mukarram*, al-Mushkī, *al-'Adl al-Shahīd fī Taḥqīq al-Mashāhid*.

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