Chapter 2

(Re)Imagining Space: Dreams and Saint Shrines in Egypt*

Amira Mittermaier

In 1867, when Khedive Ismail Pasha of Egypt traveled to France to visit the Exposition Universelle, Baron Haussmann personally received him and showed him the 'new Paris'. Inspired by his visit to the 'capital of modernity' (Harvey 2006), the Khedive appointed the French-educated minister Ali Mubarak to rebuild Cairo with open spaces and straight streets that would reflect and further the city's orderliness and social propriety.[1] The ensuing process of reordering which resulted in the construction of legible and easily-surveillable spaces has been read by Timothy Mitchell (1988) as an effect of modernity's colonizing and disciplinary power.[2] It aimed to impose onto Egypt not only a new 'modern' cityscape but also "a new conception of space, new forms of personhood, and a new means of manufacturing the experience of the real" (ibid.: ix). This paper is about two spaces that seem to run counter to this new conception of space and reality: the dream and the saint shrine.[3]

* I thank Alejandra Gonzalez-Jimenez, Jess Bier, Nadia Fadil, and the editors of the Yearbook, Georg Stauth and Samuli Schielke, for their helpful remarks on earlier drafts of this paper. I also gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Social Science Research Council, the Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the Society of Fellows in the Humanities at Columbia University.

1 During their occupation the French had already built long, ruler-straight streets for military purposes, but for the most part the disciplinary order of modernity was imposed onto Cairo's city space by Muhammad Ali's grandson, Ismail Pasha, who was the Khedive of Egypt from 1863 to 1879. For details on Cairo's restructuring see Ali Mubarak's (1980) *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyya al-Jadida* and Janet Abu-Lughod's (1971) *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious.*

2 This is not to say that re-orderings of space have colonizing effects only in modernity. Gwendolyn Wright (1991) suggests parallels between colonial urban designs for Greek settlers in Turkey in the seventh century BC, Spanish conquistadors in Latin America in the sixteenth century, and more recent French, British, and Dutch colonial settlements. Michel Foucault (1984: 239), on the other hand, claims that a concern with the architectural requirements for the maintenance of order was heightened in eighteenth century Europe.

3 My fieldwork in Cairo in 2003 and 2004 was primarily concerned with discourses and practices surrounding dreams and visions, but for reasons that should be apparent from this paper, I also spent much time at saint shrines. A

Through considering the interplay between these two spaces, my discussion invites a re-imagining of space itself. Both the saint shrine and the dream diverge from the modern order that had so impressed the Khedive during his visit to Paris. Shrines break the order of straight lines and empty Cartesian space, and dreams open up possibilities of travel and interlocution that are foreclosed by the spatial and temporal restrictions of waking life. While both of these spaces seemingly subvert the order of modernity, I want to challenge materialist readings which view dreams as a form of false consciousness or which prioritize saint shrines as sites of resistance. Instead I suggest that understandings of saint shrines are incomplete unless they are conceptualized within a space which includes both the material and the imaginary. Importantly, 'imaginary' here does not equal 'unreal.' In the context of this paper the imagination is not the same as fantasy; it is both a *mode of perception* and an *order of reality*.[4] Attention to this kind of imagination, I suggest, can lead to a more nuanced view of religious everyday life in modern Egypt as it opens up spaces for understanding that move beyond dichotomies. Dreams and saints often inhabit an in-between-ness and direct our attention to interplays and ambiguities, thereby disrupting the antagonisms that pervade both liberal secularist and Salafi-oriented Muslim reformist discourses.

As in other places, the modernizing project had grand ambitions in Egypt, yet in practice its outcome was ambiguous and fragmentary. Alternative orders were not erased or replaced, but they were remade, reframed, and labeled as 'traditional.' The traditional/modern dichotomy is one particular outcome (and justification) of the modernizing project, and this dichotomy is today also mirrored in Cairo's cityscape. Whereas Haussmann had razed entire districts of Paris, Khedive Ismail Pasha decided to build a new city just west of the old Cairo. As in other colonial settings, two cities thus emerged side by side as architecturally and socially distinct entities: a New City that was planned on a drawing board, and an organically grown Old City.[5] Ali Mubarak's plans to also equip the Old City with open spaces and wide streets failed for the most part and, in addition to its winding alleys, Old Cairo kept most of its mosques and saint shrines. Supposedly, today there are more than 900 saint shrines in

note on translation: Rendering *awliya'* (literally the 'friends of God' or 'those close to God') as saints is problematic because of the Christian connotations attached to the latter term. Nevertheless, for the sake of readability, I use the term 'saints' throughout this paper to refer to the *awliya'*.

4 This model of the imagination is central to some Sufi cosmologies. See, e.g., Akkach (1997) and Corbin (1997) on Ibn al-'Arabi and the imagination, and Aaron (2002) and Moosa (2005) on al-Ghazali. Remnants and reformulations of this model play into contemporary dream-discourses in Egypt.

5 See Janet Abu-Lughod's article "Tale of Two Cities" (1965). See also Brinkley Messick (1993), especially chapter 12 "Spiral Texts", and Bourdieu (1977).

Cairo alone.[6] Besides the locally-known saints, famous members of the Prophet's family (*ahl al-bayt*) such as Imam al-Husayn, Sayyida Zaynab, Sayyida Nafisa, and Sayyida 'A'isha, are buried and revered in Egypt's capital. While the shrines generally are located outside of Cairo's modernized and more upper-class neighborhoods, they at times come face to face with urban planners' aspirations to ease the flow of traffic. Stories circulate in Egypt which describe how shrines (and their saints) literally deflected the order of modernity by refusing to give in to the demands of maximally functional city-plans. When shrines are to be moved or destroyed, shovels, pick axes, and other demolition tools break; workers suddenly get sick. Other stories describe how tombs were opened and a pleasant smell emanated from the saint's body which convinced the workers to leave the saint in his or her place. Shrines run counter to the checkerboard order of modernity not only because they refuse to be moved from their place, but also because they represent a non-linear spatial order. The closer one is to the shrine, the more one becomes immersed in its spiritual force, its *baraka.* Inside the shrines this spiritual power is most concentrated in the saint's tomb itself, so that visitors walk around or touch its enclosure (*maqsura*) to absorb some of its *baraka*. While also modern urban orders frequently have centers, as they are constructed around central squares, boulevards, government buildings, and shopping areas, the *baraka* of shrines is more inclusive and does not have the same degree of functional differentiation. Its high concentration inside the shrines extends into their surroundings in concentric and sometimes overlapping circles yet loses its force the further one gets away from the shrine.

Because of their *baraka* saint shrines also upset the order of modernity by attracting numerous visitors who come from nearby neighborhoods or from far away, and whose crowding convergence in the saintly spaces spoils the city's self-image as a modern metropolis. Whereas early hadith literatures as well as the fourteenth century Hanbalite scholar Ibn Taymiyya long ago condemned the practice of visiting saint shrines (*ziyara*), modernists and nationalists brought a new urgency to this critique since the turn of the twentieth century.[7] In spite of this critique, the shrines are continuously and devoutly visited. They are believed to be places where one's prayers get answered and where one can receive help or guidance. At shrines one meets not only peasant

6 This number was given to me by an employee at the Higher Council of Sufi Affairs in 2003.

7 See Samuli Schielke (2004) on *mulid*. On the Egyptian state's concern with 'superstitions' and 'excessive' Sufism more generally, see de Jong (1999) and Johansen (1995). What is 'superstition' and what orthodox Islam is of course always up for debate. Some reformist Muslims in Egypt acknowledge the prophetic potential of dream-visions but consider the visitation of shrines forbidden; others visit shrines but deem all dreams dangerously unreliable.

and working class Egyptians but also bankers, university professors, politicians, high school students, military officials and intellectuals. Believers treat the dead saints as real interlocutors and at times even address letters to them.[8] The fact that saints have postal addresses nicely illustrates the ways in which spiritual space spills over into material space. The focus of this paper is precisely this interplay between material and non-material spaces.

I propose that the space of the shrine can best be understood by also considering the imaginary geographies in which it partakes, and more specifically through its relation to dream-space. When conceptualizing dreams as space, one should remember that, as Lefebvre (1991: 3) has pointed out, "we are forever hearing about the space of this and/or the space of that: about literary space, ideological space, the space of the dream, psychoanalytic topologies, and so on and so forth", while it is rarely explained what 'space' is supposed to mean in these contexts. *Space*, as I use the term here, is not only produced through visible social and material relations but it is a broader realm that is socially or metaphysically imbued with meaning and power. Dreams can be thought of as space because dreamers move *in* and *through* dreams. Through dreams, furthermore, the dreamer's spirit can travel into the *barzakh*, a realm located between the human and the Divine, in which the spirits of the living and the dead meet. The dream thus offers a space for encounters. Dream-space is a socially meaningful space that interacts with, but cannot be reduced to, the material. To understand the dream spatially we might also turn to Foucault, who in one of his earliest writings, criticizes Freud for psychologizing the dream and argues that "the privilege [the dream] thus acquired in the realm of psychology deprived it of any privilege as a specific form of experience" (1993: 43). The dream, Foucault suggests, should be understood not as a mere 'rhapsody of images' but as a mode of being in the world. He argues that particular attention should be paid to the spatial dimensions of the dream experience since "much has been said about the temporal pulsations of the dream, its particular rhythms, the contradictions or paradoxes of its duration. Much less about dream space" (ibid. 60).

Dream-spaces, however, are not universal. They are shaped by historical contexts and beliefs concerning the nature of dreams. Yet, a study of dream-spaces poses an obvious methodological problem, as someone else's dreams can never be empirically verified. My interlocutors in Egypt sometimes pointed out to me that the Islamic tradition itself addresses this problematic relationship between dream-experience and dream-telling. A hadith warns that whoever lies about dreams will be gravely punished in the Hereafter as "the worst lie is that a person claims to have had a dream which he has not

8 The Egyptian sociologist Sayyid 'Uways (1965) studied a set of letters addressed to Imam al-Shafi'i in the 1960s. For a discussion of a more recent set of letters addressed to the same saint see Aymé Lebon (1997).

had".[9] Within the Islamic tradition of dream interpretation, furthermore, not all dreams are considered to be reliable and trustworthy. The tradition rather distinguishes between three kinds of dreams: dreams that are sent by the Devil or evil spirits; dreams mirroring the dreamers' wishes and worries; and dream-visions which the Prophet Muhammad defined as one of the forty-six parts of prophecy.[10] Telling dream-visions is an established mode of argumentation in Egypt, and dream-stories can consciously be told to establish authority. Far from wanting to embark onto the impossible endeavor of verifying or disproving particular dream-stories, I want to draw attention to the kinds of questions about space and conceptions of the real that such stories open up. All of the dreams that I recount were presented to me as truthful dream-visions (*ru'a*, sing. *ru'ya*). Not only are they taken to be prophetic but they also partake in a larger metaphysical geography. Dream-visions radically diverge from a psychological premise, reminding us that, as Vincent Crapanzano (1992: 142) has noted,

> Much of what we in the West call psychological and locate in some sort of internal space ('in the head', 'in the mind', 'in the brain', 'in consciousness', 'in the psyche') is understood in many cultures in manifestly nonpsychological terms and located in other 'spaces'.

These *other spaces*, according to Islamic models of the imagination (*al-khayal*), are not loci inside the human consciousness, but they belong to an actual realm located between spirit and matter, between being and not-being, between the Divine and the human. Besides originating in this realm of in-between-ness, dream-visions are spaces of social relations that enable imaginary journeys which, in turn, often lead to saint shrines. Dream-visions are more than just reflections of the subconscious; they are a reality with potential material consequences.

This paper, in short, explores three geographies that intersect in contemporary Egypt: the order of modernity with its rectangular angles and straight lines; the order of the saint shrines from which concentric circles of *baraka* emanate; and the order of the dream-vision which seems to disregard spatial constraints altogether. Adopting Lefebvre's notion that neither imaginary nor material spaces can be understood in isolation, I examine how dream spaces spill over into, and are shaped by, material spaces and concrete spatial prac-

9 Sahih al-Bukhari, Vol. 9, Book 87, nos. 165, 167.

10 In Arabic the three kinds of dreams are referred to as *hulm*, *hadith nafsi*, and *ru'ya* respectively. The prophetic nature of dream-visions is affirmed by sound hadiths. See, e.g., Sahih Bukhari, Vol. 9, Book 87, nos. 116, 119. On the history of Islamic dream interpretation see, e.g., Lamoreaux (2002), Fahd (1966), Kinberg (1994), and Schimmel (1998).

tices. As will be shown, dreams find their materialization in visits to shrines and sometimes even in the building of shrines, whereas shrines (and saints) are materialized through dreams. My argument expands Lefebvre's notion of the production of space by incorporating a recognition of the fact that both the social and the material aspects of that production may take place in the imaginary realm, and thus that the imaginary realm is itself not entirely divorced from either the social or the material.

If we take seriously the interpenetration of the imaginary and the material, then we are also prevented from projecting counter-hegemonic ideologies onto the shrine. Precisely because saint shrines are spaces that counter the state-promoted order of modernity, reformist sensibilities, and patriarchic power relations, they have frequently been prioritized as sites of resistance. Fatima Mernissi refers to them as 'antiorthodox, antiestablishment' (1977: 105) spaces, and Michael Gilsenan (2000), in an article on the dreams of Egyptian peasant women, speaks of the 'disordering power' of dreams that invite women to visit the saint shrines whose powers are already 'resistant to worldly authorities'. Dreams in this view subversively invite believers to already-subversive spaces. Also, Marcia Hermansen suggests in an article on 'Dreams and Dreaming in Islam' that contemporary Muslim women can be empowered through dreaming because,

> while women's dreams of saints commanding them to attend shrines are disparaged by scripturalist male religious authorities, such dreams allow the women to penetrate more public social spaces (2001: 84).

Attention to the imagination problematizes this public/private divide. Dreams do not only inspire believers to enter into the public sphere of mosques and shrines, but at times also enable believers to participate in religious realms that they might on a visible level not partake in.[11] Still, the act of visiting the shrines can easily be read as a subversive act. Dream-stories and dream-inspired visitations establish competing forms of order that relativise the seeming evidence that is needed to make the scholars' authority and the modern order seem objective and natural. Nevertheless, I suggest that *from the dreamer's point of view* such dream-stories are not subversive. When visiting a shrine in response to a visitational dream, the dreamer does not answer (or refuse to answer) to the state, to worldly authorities, to the law, or to scripturalist male religious authorities, but she responds to the saint (and the dream). Dream-stories, if taken seriously, thus invite us to think beyond a frame of resistance.[12] While dream-

11 Additionally, one might question whether shrines are best conceptualized as solely public spaces.

12 My argument here is in part inspired by Lila Abu-Lughod (1990) who has turned a critical eye to the romantization of resistance, and by Saba Mahmood

visions constitute links between dreamers and saints that evade state control, the laws of rationality, and modernity's spatial order, the interactions surrounding saint shrines for the believers themselves are not primarily subversive acts against state control or the orthodoxy. Dream-visions partake in larger metaphysical spatialities and logics of exchange. Dream-stories therefore do not so much *resist* the hegemonic order of modernity but rather *create* an alternative, but not purposively contrary, space within it.

Let me then turn to some concrete examples to illustrate the multiple spaces inhabited by believers. Drawing on conversations with, and stories told by, Egyptian interlocutors, the remainder of this paper describes four ways in which shrines and dream-visions are interrelated in contemporary Egypt: a) dreams move shrines in terms of their location; b) dreams move dreamers to visit shrines; c) dreams transport dreamers to shrines; and d) shrines shape dreams. Through tracing these multiple interplays, I aim to expand our understanding of both imaginary and material spaces.

Dreams Moving Shrines: Mashhad Ru'ya

We might first consider why shrines are built where they are. The most apparent answer is that the saint either died or was buried in that specific location. But there is another, less obvious possibility: some shrines are built *as a result of dreams*. The belief that deceased saints can announce by way of dream-visions where they want to be (re)buried, is evident, for instance, in the following story recounted by a middle-aged Egyptian woman who frequently visits Cairo's saint shrines:

Sidi Gharib—may God be content with him—was from Morocco. His name was 'Abdullah, and he was called Gharib ['stranger'] because he was fighting in the city of Suez and defending it. They say that, after he lost his leg in battle, he took the leg in his hand and used it as a sword. He was [buried] somewhere—we don't know where exactly—until he came in a dream [lit. in the sleep (*ga fi-l-manam*)] to Sheikh Hafiz, who was a good man, and asked him to take him out from where he was buried and to put him into a shrine. They tried to find his [initial] grave, but they couldn't find it, and then he came again to [Sheikh Hafiz]. He went back and dug deeper and found the body wrapped in white cloth with the leg next to it. The body was still intact, and a pure beautiful smell was emanating from it. The saints don't get eaten by worms. He took the body out and washed it and put it into a shrine as he

(2005) who points out that the very emphasis on resistance presupposes and reinscribes liberalist teleologies and concepts of agency.

had been told. Sidi Gharib now is buried in the mosque of the city of Suez, and they call the mosque 'Gharib'.[13]

Appearing twice by way of a dream-vision, Sidi Gharib insisted on being buried in a particular place, and he finally was. The dreamer, in this case a 'good man' and quite generally in such stories a famous person, saint or government official, is bound to execute the saint's request. Abu Hasan al-Shadhili's shrine is said to have been erected after he appeared to President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser in a vision and requested for his tomb to be built at that specific location. One religious student who had always prayed in al-Sayyid Badawi's mosque in Tanta, supposedly appeared after his death to President Anwar al-Sadat and asked to be buried inside his favorite mosque. Sheikh Mutwalli Sha'rawi, a highly popular religious figure who died in 1998, appeared to President Mubarak who then initiated the building of the sheikh's shrine in Daqadus in the Nile Delta. I heard such stories from a number of Egyptians who frequent saints' tombs. Although the three Egyptian presidents, 'Abd al-Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak, are generally not thought of as very religious figures, these rumors illustrate the extent to which certain dreams are taken to be morally binding. Whether pious or not, the dreamer has to follow the dream-vision because instructions delivered in dreams are 'extremely clear', as a young woman explained to me—so clear that even the Egyptian presidents would not dare ignore them.[14]

In the stories above, the result of a fulfilled dream request is the building of a shrine in which the saint is then buried. Other times saints do not specify their burial place, but instead request a shrine which is merely a vision-site, referred to as *mashhad ru'ya* in Arabic. The term *mashhad* is the place-noun of the verb *shahida* (to witness, to be present). While according to Edward William Lane (1980: 1611) the term refers to a 'place where a martyr had died or is buried', in the case of a vision-site the term exceeds this body-bound meaning. Rather, as a young Egyptian man explained to me, the saint's spirit tires of drifting around the *barzakh* and longs to be anchored in a concrete site. The saint therefore appears in a dream to request a shrine. Outwardly vision-sites resemble other saint shrines: they contain a sarcophagus that is covered with a

13 The dream-stories in this paper were collected during my fieldwork in 2003 and 2004. All translations are mine.

14 I am grateful to Samuli Schielke for pointing out to me that a conflicting dream-story circulates with regards to Sheikh Mutwalli Sha'rawi's shrine. Supposedly, the deceased sheikh appeared in a dream to his son Hagg 'Abd al-Rahim who oversaw the construction of the shrine and the organization of the *mulid* and heavily lamented him, telling him that he had done wrong by building a shrine for his father and organizing a *mulid.* Such contradictions are not atypical of Egypt's discursive dream-landscapes but a more encompassing discussion of the underlying politics of dreaming in Egypt would exceed the scope of this paper.

black cloth; visitors circumambulate the shrine, speaking prayers and supplications (*du'a*) to the saint; an annual saint's day celebration (*mulid*) is held at the shrine. But unlike other saint shrines, vision-sites are empty; they do not host the saint's body.

Sayyida Zaynab and Imam al-Husayn each have a number of shrines in Egypt which are dedicated to them; many of these do not lay claim to the presence of their bodies. A famous vision-site in Cairo is also that of Sayyida Ruqayya.[15] While one tradition claims that Sayyida Ruqayya came to Egypt together with her half-sister Sayyida Zaynab, it is generally held that she died and is buried in Damascus. Her shrine in Cairo was built between 1133 and 1153 CE after she had requested it by appearing to the Fatimid ruler al-Hafiz 'Abd al-Magid in a dream. According to Caroline Williams (1985: 44),

> that a shrine should have been built for [Sayyida Ruqayya] in Cairo in response to a dream or a vision was not so extraordinary at the time. Supernatural interventions were not uncommon motives for the religious constructions of Islam.

Williams adds that in the twelfth century, and especially in the reign of al-Hafiz, the founding of saint tombs was commonly justified by visions or the miraculous discovery of relics.

A number of historians have remarked upon the phenomenon of vision-sites. In his study of the tomb-centered cult of saints in Egypt between 1200 and 1500 CE, Christopher S. Taylor (1999: 32) notes that large and impressive buildings were erected on the instructions of the saintly dead, as told in dreams, usually without any further corroborating evidence. Rudolf Kriss and Hubert Kriss-Heinrich (1960: 11) confirm that there are many shrines with empty tombs in the Muslim world, and Edward William Lane (1973: 236) observes that "most of the sanctuaries of saints in Egypt are tombs; but there are several which only contain some inconsiderable relic of the person to whom they are dedicated; and there are a few which are mere cenotaphs". Providing a somewhat functionalist interpretation, the Egyptian historian Su'ad Muhammad Mahir (1971: 102f.) links the proliferation of vision-sites to medieval times of hardship and war when believers sought refuge in the Prophet's family and needed more places where they could receive *baraka* and speak supplications. Also Ignaz Goldziher (1971), in his article on saint veneration in Egypt, points to the existence of numerous *Doppelgänger* shrines and argues that authenticity seems to have been of little concern to ordinary believers. In using the term 'authenticity', Goldziher seems to imply a truthful origin, i.e., a

15 It is generally believed that Sayyida Ruqayya was the daughter of Imam 'Ali, the fourth caliph and the Prophet's son-in-law, but not Fatima's daughter. Other vision-sites in Cairo include the shrines of Muhammad al-Anwar, Muhammad al-Ga'fari, Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya, and supposedly Sayyida Sukaina.

body that goes with the shrine. He overlooks the possibility that 'ordinary believers' might also be concerned with authenticity but that in their eyes a dream-vision might replace the body's role in authenticating a shrine's location.

This is not to deny that questions of authenticity and orthodoxy are charged political issues in Egypt today. The leading sheikh of the Higher Council of Sufi Affairs, a state institution first established in 1903, was dismissive when I asked him about the phenomenon of vision-sites. He brushed aside the concept with the argument that one can never be sure if the person claiming to have dreamt of a saint is not lying. Such skepticism towards the world of dreams sometimes also manifests itself in a particular kind of materialism which mirrors Goldziher's notion of authenticity as well as the 'new means of manufacturing the experience of the real' described by Timothy Mitchell. When I suggested to the guardians of Sayyida Sukaina's and Sayyida Ruqayya's shrines in Cairo that the shrines might have been built in their particular locations because of dreams, both told me I was wrong and insisted that the two saints are in fact buried in their respective tombs. The shrine here has become a signifier that necessarily indicates a buried body as its signified. The concept of a vision-site does not sit easily with such materialist conceptions of authenticity. A vision-site is seemingly an empty signifier, a token of the imagination. Yet the fact that accounts such as the one about Sidi Gharib circulate among contemporary believers suggests that for them dream-visions are not divorced from the material realm. Dream-visions in such stories figure as a medium of communication, and they inspire actions. As the next section shows, at times they move not only shrines but also dreamers.

Dreams Moving Dreamers: Gifts and Countergifts

Al-Hagga Nura is a pious woman in her seventies who lives in Medinat Nasser, a Cairo suburb, but who rarely leaves her house. One night in July 2004 al-Hagga Nura dreamt that she entered her kitchen and found the sink filled with cooked beans (*fūl*). She knew what this meant and the following day she asked her daughter to come over. The latter, in turn, brought me along and the three of us spent hours in al-Hagga Nura's kitchen preparing little plastic bags with cooked beans, sprinkling salt and cumin onto them, wrapping each bag in a leaf of pita bread, and stacking the finished meals in large shopping bags. After completing the preparations, we took a taxi to Sayyida Zaynab's shrine, which sits in the center of Cairo. It is one of the city's most popular shrines.[16]

16 Sayyida Zaynab is the daughter of Imam 'Ali and Fatima, and the granddaughter of the Prophet Muhammad.

We entered the women's section, forced our way through the crowd, and began handing out the little bags and bread at random to women sitting on the floor. Someone watching us might have assumed that we were fulfilling the religious obligation to give to the poor, but, whether they knew it or not, the gift that the women in the shrine were receiving was the enactment of an order that had been given in the form of a dream-vision. Al-Hagga Nura had dreamt a dream that requested its own enactment. Her dream-vision had not been of a symbolic nature, but, as both al-Hagga Nura and her daughter insisted, she had dreamt of '*these* beans'.

While al-Hagga Nura explained to me that the beans could be distributed at another shrine as well, some of the women who received our gift that day might have themselves been summoned to Sayyida Zaynab's shrine by a dream. As Nadia Abu Zahra (1997) notes in her ethnography of the shrine, al-Sayyida Zaynab often urges women in dreams to visit her, to eat the food distributed at her shrine, and to keep the vows made to her. During my fieldwork I found as well that people visit shrines for a variety of reasons. Some visit the saints when they are about to get married, when they are sick, before they take an exam, or when they have specific worries and want the saint to intercede on their behalf (*tawassul*). Upper class or Salafi-influenced visitors to the shrines, by contrast, at times were careful to explain to me that they had not come to pray to the saints or to ask them for help, but that they visit out of respect for the saints' exemplarily pious lives. Other visitors in shrines told me that they had come neither to make a request nor to pay their respect but that they had seen the saint in a dream. Dreams, in which a saint visits the dreamer, are considered a special blessing, and stories of such dreams are often introduced with the phrase "I was honored by the vision of ..." (*tasharraft bi-ru'yat ...*). Being a gift, such dreams demand a countergift. As Smith and Haddad (1981: 190) have noted for a historical-textual context, the "interaction of believers and *walis* [saints] is a complex process involving expectation of reward, fear of reprisal for neglect and a highly structured set of particular responsibilities".

When a saint visits a believer by way of a dream, the latter is subsequently expected to visit the saint in his or her shrine. Al-Hagga Nura's example shows that even without a saint appearing in person, a dream can incite a visit to the shrines. What is observable at the shrines might thus in many cases be inspired by non-observable interchanges, spaces and relationships. Such imaginary interactions are not divorced from the material but rather expand its space. Next I turn to an alternative interpretation of dreams in which a saint appears. Sometimes such a dream does not *necessitate* a visit to the saint's shrine but rather *substitutes* for it.

Dreams Leading to Shrines: Night Journeys

'Why walk?' William S. Burroughs asks in his dream book. He continues: "I jump off the iron balcony and swim through the air uptown" (1995: 17). It might be universally true that dreams open up possibilities for movement which are foreclosed to us during our waking life. But such nightly journeys are told, interpreted, valued, and devalued in historically particular ways. According to many of my Egyptian interlocutors, certain dreams can take the dreamers on actual journeys. Within the Islamic tradition an archetypical journey that renders meaningful the believers' own spiritual travels is the Prophet's famous Night Journey (*al-isra wa-l-miraj*). According to the compendia of the tradition, the Prophet Muhammad was asleep one night near the Kaaba in Mecca when he was wakened by the angel Gabriel. Riding on the back of the mythical two-winged horse Buraq, the Prophet and Gabriel flew from Mecca to Jerusalem where they met Abraham, Moses, Jesus and other prophets, and from Jerusalem the journey continued vertically towards the Throne of God. The Prophet passed through all seven heavens and, according to the Qur'an, came 'but two bow-lengths away' from God's presence 'or even nearer'.[17] His bed, it is said, was still warm upon his return to Mecca. Both space and time seem to have been miraculously compressed during this journey. The journey's precise nature, however, is the object of disagreement among Muslim theologians as well as contemporary Egyptians. Whereas according to some the journey was performed both spiritually and physically (as it otherwise would not have been a miracle),[18] others, among them Ibn Baz, the former Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, have asserted that it was only a dream. Those adhering to the latter opinion draw on a tradition from 'A'isha, the Prophet's wife, who attested that 'the apostle's body remained where it was but God removed his spirit by night'.[19]

Besides telling me about the Night Journey, my interlocutors in Egypt frequently referred to a Qur'anic verse that reads: 'God takes the souls of those who die, and of those who do not die, in their sleep; then He keeps those ordained for death, and sends the others back'.[20] Based on this verse my inter-

17 Qur'an 53:8. All translations from the Qu'ran are Muhammad Asad's.

18 According to miracle narrations in the textual tradition, also living saints sometimes have the ability to appear in two places at once (Gramlich 1987).

19 This hadith is quoted in Ibn Ishaq's biography of the Prophet (Ibn Ishaq 2003: 83).

20 Qur'an 39:42. The Arabic term in this verse is *nafs* (self) and not *ruh* (spirit) but most Egyptians I spoke to understood the verse to refer to the spirit. The *ruh*, of which we know very little according to the Qur'an (17:85), is of divine origin and was passed on to humankind when God breathed His spirit into Adam. According to Egyptian sheikhs and laypeople, the *ruh* is eternal, has no boundaries, and can detach itself from the body during times of sleep.

locutors suggested that also ordinary dreamers' spirits can travel freely while the body is sleeping. According to this understanding, dream-visions take place in a realm which circumvents the conventional restrictions of time and physical space. Whereas Freud (1955: 647) famously called dream interpretation a royal road into the unconscious, for others dreams are themselves roads on which they can travel elsewhere at night. While sound asleep on one's bed in Cairo, one might be circumambulating the Kaaba in Mecca or visiting al-Shadhili's shrine in the south of Egypt.[21] Consider the following dream story told to me by Sharifa, a young upper class woman from Cairo:

One night I was sitting in my room and a person appeared. I didn't see his face. He was wearing a white *gallabiyya*.[22] I saw myself leaving myself; I saw myself with my hair and my body, just like me. I turned and waved bye-bye to myself. Then the person took me to the balcony, and then I was on the street. I don't know how I got from the balcony to the street. I got into my car with him and drove. I don't know where I went, but I found myself in front of a sign saying "The Red Sea". Then there were mountains and people sacrificing animals. There was a big sheikh. We went a few kilometers further, and there was a smaller sheikh. Then we drove back home. I left the car, went back upstairs, and I fell onto myself, like a light blanket—not like a heavy woolen blanket, but something very light. I told Sidi this whole story. I didn't know at all what it was. Never in my life had I known that there are sheikhs at the Red Sea, and I had never even been there.

Sidi is the sheikh of a mystical order to which Sharifa belongs. When she told the sheikh about her dream, he explained that her spirit (*ruh*) had gone to visit Abu Hasan al-Shadhili in Egypt's southern desert, as well as a less famous sheikh buried on the Red Sea coast not too far from al-Shadhili's shrine. The woman had never been to the Red Sea, and it remains ambiguous whether she had actually gone there by way of the vision. Like the Prophet's body during his Night Journey (according to some), her body stayed behind and only her spirit traveled. She speaks of two selves, one waving goodbye to the other, and it seems that she was simultaneously on her bed and at the saint's shrine. According to Sharifa's sheikh, the spirit is not bound by the laws of physicality; it can travel much faster than the body. As the spirit has its own eyes to see and ears to hear, its realm of experience is much wider than that of the body.

As in the previous examples, geographical location in this story is not rendered irrelevant. Sharifa visits two particular shrines, one of which is

21 Abu al-Hasan Ali al-Shadhili (d. 1258 CE) was a saint from Morocco who eventually settled in Alexandria. He died in the south of Egypt while on his way to Mecca.

22 A *gallabiyya* is a long dress shirt that is traditionally worn by Egyptian men and women.

marked by an actual sign announcing a nearby geographical landmark ('The Red Sea'). Yet Sharifa's mode of travel exceeds the observable. Also with regards to the Prophet's Night Journey, the question for believers is not *whether* the Prophet truly went to Jerusalem and traveled towards God's Throne, but only *in what form* he did so. Significantly, Ibn Ishaq, the Prophet's first biographer, commented that, "whether [the Prophet] was asleep or awake, it was all true and actually happened" (2003: 183). Dream journeys here offer a fully valid alternative to physical travels.

Shrines Shaping Dreams: Incubation

Whereas some dreams render geographical distances irrelevant, other dreams are shaped by the dreamer's proximity to the saint's *baraka.* Dream-visions seemingly overcome the dreamer but the act of seeing dream-visions can be facilitated through the creation or utilization of spaces which are conducive to dreaming. In addition to its impact upon everyday experiences and popular consciousness (Bourdieu 1977), the construction of material space can thus also affect imaginary dream experiences. Many of my interlocutors told me that bodily practices and the place in which one sleeps can impact the nature of one's dreams. Following the Prophet's tradition, one is more likely to have truthful dream-visions if one sleeps in a state of purity and on one's right side with one's right hand under one's cheek. Dreams of the Prophet or the saints can further consciously be invited through practices such as *dhikr*,[23] by reading specific formulas, or by sleeping in saint shrines. In Morocco in the 1970s, Vincent Crapanzano (1973: 174) observed that pilgrims often tried to sleep in shrines of the Hamadsha saints in the hope that the saints would appear to them and give them instructions. As Elizabeth Sirriyeh (2000: 118) notes, practices expected to result in dreams of the 'holy dead' have a long history in Muslim societies. In contemporary Egypt, too, saint shrines are believed to be places where one is particularly likely to dream of the saints.

Classical orthodox scholars abhorred the practice of sleeping in shrines because of its affinity with the ancient practice of incubation and because of concerns for ritual purity (Fahd 1978).[24] Today sleeping in shrines is often prohibited in line with a broader compartmentalization of social practices and the reorganization of space brought about by modernity's disciplinary power. The

23 *Dhikr* here refers to repetitive prayer that has the objective of always being mindful of God. It is a central Sufi ritual for inner purification and divine blessing. Many of my Sufi interlocutors spoke to me of the waking visions or dream-visions they saw after having participated in collective *dhikr* sessions.

24 Incubation here refers to the practice of sleeping in sacred areas with the intention of experiencing a divinely inspired dream or cure. Incubation was famously practiced by members of the Asclepius cult in ancient Greece.

dream's place in the modern order is supposed to be the bedroom, the private sphere, the unconscious; in Ian Hacking's words the 'holy site' for dreams today is the couch (2001: 256). Some of my interlocutors described a sudden need for sleep that overcame them in shrines or the adjacent mosques and then recalled the rude awakenings they faced ("Did you come here to sleep or to pray?!"). Despite these interdictions, I heard a number of dream stories that were framed by the dreamer's locatedness in sacred spaces. Rasha, a middle-aged housewife from Hurghada, remembered the following experience:

There is a sheikh in the direction of Shadhili. His name is Sheikh Malik. We go to visit him every year and spend one or two nights there. The first time I went, I had the following dream: I saw myself in the area in front of the tomb, and I saw a man. He was kind of small, and he was riding on a rock, swinging his arms wildly in circles, like a madman. He was dark like the Nubians or the Sudanese. He seemed to be retarded (*mutakhallif*). When I woke up, I told the people in charge of the shrine about the dream. They said I had seen the sheikh. They recognized him immediately. They said it means the sheikh is content with us.

After Rasha had finished telling her story, her husband added proudly that, while they had gone to visit Sheikh Malik's shrine as a big group, the person who profited most from the visit was his wife. Without any prior knowledge of what the saint looked like, and without knowing during the dream who the madman was that she was seeing, a special bond was established through the dream-vision. According to the underlying dream-model, prior knowledge of the saint's appearance was not necessary as it was not *her* conjuring up his picture, but it was *he* who visited her. By spending the night enveloped in the *baraka* of Sheikh Malik's shrine, the woman had unknowingly facilitated the dream and invited the saint's visit. In this case the physical space of the shrine facilitated an encounter occurring in dream-space.

Underneath the possibility of telling and making sense of such stories lies a different conception of the real and its relationship to physical space. Although her encounter with Sheikh Malik was not observed by others, for Rasha, her husband and the shrine's guardians, this does not mean that it did not occur. In dream-visions the spirits of the dead and the living meet and communicate. Thus, exchanges between saints and believers are not only restricted to the waking world but they take place also in the imaginary realm. As the previous example shows, in some cases visits to saint shrines occur by way of the imagination alone. In Rasha's case, by contrast, the imaginary encounter was itself impacted by her relationship to a specific material space. By traveling to and spending the night in the shrine, Rasha was able to have a dream-vision that she might not have seen if she had not gone on this trip. We have thus come full circle from shrines being built as a result of dreams.

Whereas some shrines are built in their particular location because of dreams, in Rasha's case a dream was facilitated by the material space of a shrine. Just as dreams move shrines, shrines shape dreams.

Conclusion

While talking about the restructuring of a Moroccan village, one of Stefania Pandolfo's informants told her that people in the new village "were so happy to have SPACE! that they didn't realize they were being S P A C E D away" (1997: 64). One of the questions that motivated my fieldwork was whether dreams have been spaced away as well in modern Egypt. At times it seemed, indeed, that in the twenty-first century there was little room for dreams. A seventy-six year old woman from Upper Egypt complained to me that she and all the other inhabitants of her old village were made to move to a new village when the local Phosphate factory shut down. In the new village everything has changed: neighbors don't ask about her anymore; people don't care about each other anymore. And while the woman often used to dream of the saints, the Prophet, and al-Khidr in the old village, in the new village there are no more dreams (*mafish ahlam*).[25] If the right conditions are lacking and if spaces are restructured, can one still see dream-visions? Particularly conducive places for encounters with the saints, according to many of my interlocutors, are the saint shrines themselves. Yet sleeping in shrines is often no longer permitted. Has the disciplinary power of modernity left its mark not only on Egypt's physical landscapes but also on its dreamscapes? As spaces are reordered, mapped, colonized, and compartmentalized, have the possibilities of experiencing dream-visions in these spaces also been altered? Have all dreams been absorbed by the hegemonic order of modernity?

Offering concrete dream-stories as examples, I suggested in this paper that, far from having been erased in modern Egypt, dream-spaces and saintly places figure prominently in believers' everyday lives. Over the course of my fieldwork I came to realize that not only does a multiplicity of spaces for dreams still exist, but also that dreams make necessary a re-imagining of space itself. I accordingly proposed in this paper to think of the dream as a space that interacts with the material space of the saint shrine. This leads to a conception of space which includes both the imaginary and the material, rather than a simple examination of the ways that each half of the dichotomy influences the other. While dream-invitations at times inspire believers to go to mosques and

25 The term *hilm* (pl. *ahlam)* in colloquial Egyptian Arabic is sometimes used to encompass all three kinds of dreams, including dream-visions. Al-Khidr is an immortal legendary-mythical figure, who usually appears in green and is associated with a Qur'anic story (18.60-82). He is described as a prophet, an angel or human being and provides guidance to Sufis and travelers.

shrines, believers can also have extensive conversations with Sayyida Nafisa or Sayyida Zaynab without ever leaving their homes. Modernity's disciplinary power has reordered physical space and time, but the saints themselves rarely keep to visiting hours, maps, and timetables when visiting believers in their dreams. The visitational dream thus enables interlocutory possibilities that are foreclosed by physical geographical distance, linear time, and the dividing line that separates the living from the dead. Further, the dream-space parallels the saint shrine in certain ways: Both spaces enable interlocutions and encounters which are less likely to occur in a disenchanted waking world. Both diverge from empty Cartesian abstract space as well as secularized notions of socially-constructed space. To believers they are sacred spaces, and in them miraculous things can happen. At the same time, as other dream-stories in this paper show, social relations and material space can also have an impact on the imaginary sphere. This is not to say that people have dream-visions because they expect to have them or are conditioned to do so through social pressure or economical hardship.[26] Instead, I proposed to expand discussions of the available sphere of social relations to the sacred to include the possibility of having personal relationships with (deceased) saints through the medium of the dream. Likewise, the dream-space itself expands the physical space of the shrine because it allows for people to travel within the dream.

Neither trivializing the material nor reducing everything to it will open up a space for understanding the very interplay between the imaginary and the material. By considering the imaginary as a space that is related to, but not identical with, the social and the material, my goal was in part to complicate straightforward accounts of the modernization of Egypt that allow only for narratives of acceptance or resistance. The dream-spaces and saintly spaces that I have described are neither fully modern nor wholly alternative, representing neither open resistance nor full accommodation. While the disruption of binaries can itself be read as subversive, the framework of modernity/resistance is inadequate to explain the spaces I have described, as my interlocutors themselves do not necessarily conceptualize the shrines and dreams in antagonistic terms. Instead of interpreting saint visitations either as responses to a need for consolation or as acts of resistance, I suggest that we need to take into consideration less easily-observable aspects of the relationships between saints and believers. Interpreting observable religious practice in functionalist terms is reductive as it fails to do justice to the fact that believers often operate within a broader spatial realm. Functionalist interpretations furthermore often miss the 'saint' in the loose triad of dreamer-saint-shrine. Attention to dreams can thus widen our views both of religious prac-

26 Also within the Islamic tradition of dream interpretation the category of *hadith nafsi* accounts for dreams that spring from the dreamer's wishes and worries. The focus of this paper, however, is on the dialogical nature of dream-visions.

tice and of space. While never situated outside of modernity, dream-visions are imaginary spaces that expand the order of modernity by effectively rupturing dichotomizations of inner/outer and imaginary/material through their operation as part of a more inclusive conception of space.

References

Aaron, Hughes (2002) "Imagining the Divine: Ghazali on Imagination, Dreams and Dreaming". *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 70/1, pp. 33-53.

Abu-Lughod, Janet (1965) "Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7/4*,* pp. 429-457.

Abu-Lughod, Janet (1971) *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Abu-Lughod, Lila (1990) "The romance of resistance: Tracing transformation of power through Bedouin women". *American Ethnologist* 17/1, pp. 41-55.

Abu-Zahra, Nadia (1997) *The Pure and the Powerful: Studies in Contemporary Muslim Society*, Reading: Ithaca Press.

Akkach, Samer (1997) "The World of the Imagination in Ibn 'Arabi's Ontology". *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 24/1, pp. 97-113.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (translated by Richard Nice), New York: Cambridge University Press.

Burroughs, Williams S. (1995) *My Education: A Book of Dreams*, New York: Penguin.

Corbin, Henri (1997) *Alone with the Alone. Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Crapanzano, Vincent (1973) *The Hamadsha: A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Crapanzano, Vincent (1992) *Hermes' Dilemma and Hamlet's Desire: On the Epistemology of Interpretation*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Fahd, Taoufiq (1966) *La divination arabe: Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Fahd, Taoufic (1978) "istikhara". In: *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Vol. 4), Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 259-260.

Foucault, Michel (1984) "Space, Knowledge and Power". In: Paul Rabinow (ed.) *The Foucault Reader,* New York: Pantheon Books, pp. 239-256.

Foucault, Michel (1993) "Dream, Imagination and Existence". In: Michel Foucault/Ludwig Binswanger *Dreams and Existence*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 31-78.

Freud, Sigmund (1955) "The Interpretation of Dreams". In: *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol. IV-V), London: Hoghart Press.

Goldziher, Ignaz (1971) “Veneration of Saints in Islam”. In: Ignaz Goldziher *Muslim Studies (Muhammedanische Studien)* (edited by S.M. Stern), London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., pp. 255-341.

Gilsenan, Michael (2000) “Signs of Truth: Enchantment, Modernity and the Dreams of Peasant Women”. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6/4, pp. 597-616.

Gramlich, Richard (1987) *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes: Theologien und Erscheinungsformen des islamischen Heiligenwunders*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Hacking, Ian (2001) “Dreams in Place”. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 59/3, pp. 245-260.

Harvey, David (2006) *Paris: Capital of Modernity*, New York: Routledge.

Hermansen, Marcia (2001) “Dreams and Dreaming in Islam”. In: Kelly Bulkeley (ed.) *Dreams: A Reader on Religious, Cultural and Psychological Dimensions of Dreaming*, New York: Palgrave, pp. 73-91.

Ibn Ishaq (2003) *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Ishaq’s Sirat Rasul Allah* (translated by A. Guillaume), New York: Oxford University Press

Johansen, Julian (1995) *Sufism and Islamic Reform in Egypt: The Battle for Islamic Tradition*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Jong, Frederick de (1999) “Opposition to Sufism in Twentieth Century Egypt (1900-1970). A Preliminary Survey”. In: Frederick de Jong/Bernd Radtke (eds.) *Islamic Mysticism Contested. Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 310-323.

Kinberg, Leah (1994) *Ibn Abi al-Dunya: Morality in the Guise of Dreams*, Leiden: Brill.

Kriss, Rudolf/Kriss-Heinrich, Hubert (1960) *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam. Wallfahrtswesen und Heiligenverehrung* (Vol. 1), Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Lamoreaux, John (2002) *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation,* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Lane, Edward William (1973) *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, New York: Dover Publications.

Lane, Edward William (1980) *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (Part IV), Beirut: Librairie du Liban.

Lebon, Aymé (1997) “L’Imam al-Shāfi‘ī: Entre Justice et Intercession”. In: Gilles Broëtsch (ed.) *Droits et Sociétés dans le Monde Arabe. Prespectives socio-anthropologiques* (Collection du Laboratoire de théorie juridique), Marseille: Presses Universitaires D’Aix, pp. 123-149.

Lefebvre, Henri (1991) *The Production of Space*, Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Mahir, Sa’d Muhammad (1971) *Masajid Misr wa Awliya’uha al-salihun*, Cairo: al-Majlis al-A‘la lil-Shu’un al-Islamiyya.

Mahmood, Saba (2005) *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mernissi, Fatima (1977) "Women, Saints, and Sanctuaries". Signs 3, pp. 101-112.

Messick, Brinkley (1993) *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mitchell, Timothy (1988) *Colonising Egypt*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Moosa, Ebrahim (2005) *Ghazali and the Poetics of the Imagination*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Mubarak, Ali (1980) *Al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyya al-jadida li-Misr al-Qahirah wa-muduniha wa-biladiha al-qadimah wa-shahirah*, Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Misriyya al-'Amma lil-Kitab

Pandolfo, Stefania (1997) *Impasse of the Angels: Scenes from a Moroccan Space of Memory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schielke, Samuli (2004) "On Snacks and Saints: When Discourses of Rationality and Order Enter the Egyptian Mawlid". In: Georg Stauth (ed.) *On Archeology of Sainthood and Local Spirituality in Islam. Past and Present Crossroads of Events and Ideas* (Yearbook of the Sociology of Islam 5), Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 173-194.

Schimmel, Annemarie (1998) *Die Träume des Kalifen: Träume und ihre Deutung in der islamischen Kultur*, München: Verlag C.H. Beck.

Sirriyeh, Elizabeth (2000) "Dreams of the Holy Dead. Traditional Islamic Oneirocriticism Versus Salafi Scepticism". *Journal of Semitic Studies* 45/1, pp. 115-130.

Smith, Jane I./Haddad, Yvonne (1981) *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection,* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Taylor, Christopher S. (1999) *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyara and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt*, Leiden: Brill.

'Uways, Sayyid (1965), *Malamih al-Mujtama' al-Misri: Zahirat irsal al-rasa'il ila darih al-Imam al-Shafi'ī*, Cairo: Al-Hai'a al-Misriyya al-'Ama lil-Kitab.

Williams, Caroline (1985) "The Cult of Alid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo Part II: The Mausolea". *Muqarnas 3*, pp. 39-60.

Wright, Gwendolyn (1991) *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.