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Главный редактор — Е. А. Резван.

Телефон: +7 (812) 328 0712; факс: +7 (812) 328 0711; e-mail: rezvan@kunstkamera.ru

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS:  
DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

D. James

A NOTE ON THE AWLĀD AL-ḤILŪ:  
A SCRIBAL DYNASTY OF FĀS (FEZ)

In the recently published catalogue to the *Shaker* Collection of Islamic manuscripts, the author describes a group of Moroccan manuscripts whose illumination, he says, is “in the style of the *Awlād al-Ḥilū*”, though he does not tell us any more about the *Awlād al-Ḥilū*, or al-Ḥilū family [1].

Since first coming across the name of this group of scribes in the 1960s I have always been interested in finding out more about them. It was not an easy task. None of the books on Moroccan decorative arts which I examined said anything; even works dealing specifically with illuminated manuscripts from the Maghrib made no mention of them [2]. Whilst researching other matters in the British Library, I occasionally thumbed through the many Arabic manuscript catalogues available in the reading room looking for the name *al-Ḥilū*: but, by the time I began to be more seriously interested in Maghribī manuscripts, I had — as they say — “drawn a blank”. I was convinced there was nothing to know — in print at least — about the elusive *Awlād al-Ḥilū* [3].

It was not until the publication in 1991, of late Muḥammad al-Manūnī's book, in Arabic, on the history of writing, scribes and manuscript production in Morocco, that comprehensive information became available [4]. It contains the researches of a lifetime, undertaken by the indefatigable Moroccan scholar among the manuscript collections of his homeland, and includes several references to various members of the al-Ḥilū family. However, the information is scattered throughout the text, names are not always given in the indices and occasionally appear confusing. For the sake of convenience I shall try to systemize the information here, and add a few comments and additional information, based on other sources.

Like scribes elsewhere in the Islamic World, those of Morocco were part of an honourable profession, due in a large measure to their copying out the Qur'ān. In Morocco, the script in which the text was written was almost as hallowed as the text itself. “Just as the composi-

tion of the Qur'ān is a miracle, its script is a miracle as well”, said a leading 18th century *ṣūfī* saint of Fās [5]. But scribal practise was not as well organized in Morocco as it was in the Central Islamic Lands. Ibn Khaldūn remarks that calligraphy was not taught as “scientifically” in the West as it was in Cairo. Only in the 16th century did this begin to be done in Morocco.

There were four categories of scribes: members of the royal family and high officials; members of noble and well-to-do families of the main centres; less privileged members of society; and those engaged in teaching [6]. The latter activity was done mostly by imitation. Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī (d. 1846), a scribe from a well-off family who became governor of Fās for a time in 1817, has left an autobiography in which he describes in some detail, how writing was taught in 19th century Morocco [7].

The al-Ḥilū family were scribes, illuminators and binders who worked in the city of Fās from the mid 18th century down to the 20th, though they were probably active before 1700. There were two “branches”: one working in the area of manuscript production and the other consisting of distinguished scholars.

Both were descended from Muḥammad al-Ḥilū al-Waṭṭāsī al-Marīnī, brother of the *wazīr* Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. 'Umar b. Zayyān al-Waṭṭāsī, killed by the Marīnid *sulṭān* 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (1420—65) in 1458, along with most of his family. Only Muḥammad al-Ḥilū and another brother Muḥammad al-Shaykh escaped by fleeing to the desert, from where they were later able to seize power in Fās [8].

The earliest recorded member of the al-Ḥilū family engaged in manuscript production lived during the reign of *sulṭān* Muḥammad III (1757—90), in the Second 'Alawī Period — which consisted of those years of the *sulṭān's* reign. He was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥilū al-Marīnī al-Fāsī, — whom we can designate as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥilū (i). Several of the family members included the words al-Marīnī and

al-Waṭṭāsī as part of their *nisbas*. The Banū Marīn, Marīnids, controlled Morocco from 1195 until 1465, as well as the south-western part of the sultanate of Granada between 1290 and 1350 [9]. They were succeeded by the Waṭṭāsīds — another Berber dynasty — who ruled into the 16th century. Both had their court in Fās. Some members of the al-Ḥilū add *thumma al-Fāsī* to their *nisbas*, which suggests that they came to Fās from somewhere else. The use of *thumma* before a *nisba* indicating a place, usually means that the person (or his ancestors) was not originally from there. Quite possibly the family had been involved in manuscript production from Marīnid times as scribes, binders and painters. Artisans normally handed on their craft from generation to generation. In any event, some fine manuscripts were produced under the Marīnids, by Moroccan scribes and artists, as well as those from al-Andalus who had come to live there [10].

Five manuscripts produced during the years 1761 and 1775 by Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (i) are known [11]. The reign of Muḥammad III was particularly fruitful for manuscript production and the stimulation of learning. According to a contemporary source, the *sultān* commissioned more than 17,000 manuscripts on many subjects [12].

In 1782 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. [Muḥammad] al-Mahdī completed part of the last volume of al-Bājī's *al-Muntaqā* for the library of Muḥammad III [13]. He was one of the three recorded sons of Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (i), and we can designate him Aḥmad al-Ḥilū (ii). He had a son, 'Abd al-Salām b. Aḥmad [b. Muḥammad] al-Ḥilū who worked as a scribe, though nothing copied in his hand is known. He died in 1826. We can designate him 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥilū (v) [14].

The second son of Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (i) was 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Ḥilū (iii), who lived on into the Third 'Alawī Period which covers the years 1790—1860. He lived during the reigns of the three sons and successors of Muḥammad III: al-Yazīd (1790—92), Hishām (1792—98) and Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān (1798—1822).

He was not merely a scribe of great ability, but a fine illuminator and binder too. According to his son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (vii), his father,

"liked very much to copy works on *ḥadīth*, the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* of al-Jazūlī. He made several copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, including two which he wrote using the same pen. One was in five parts, and the other was bound in a single volume. Both were copied with skill and perfection and were illuminated and bound with expertise" [15].

Should 'Abd al-Raḥmān's words of praise be thought biased, there is much greater evidence of how highly 'Abd al-'Azīz was regarded. *Sultān* Sulaymān established a scriptorium (*dīwān*) in Fās in which employed eight full-time scribes and a binder. Head of the *dīwān* was "al-Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥilū" as *munshī al-dafātīr* and illuminator [16]. The purpose of the *dīwān*

was not merely to deal with chancery documents. It must have been employed in producing manuscripts for the *sultān's* library. There is a letter dated jumādā II 1211 / December 1796 from Sulaymān to the *shaykh* of the Nāshiriyya Zāwiyya at Tamgrūt, south-east of Marrākush, asking for two works of Ibn Kathīr to be sent for copying. This activity continued well after the reign of Sulaymān as there is another letter by *sultān* 'Abd al-Raḥmān to the *shaykh* of the same establishment, dated ṣafar 1251 / May 1835, apologizing for the delay in returning a work and promising to do so as it has been copied [17].

'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (iii) died in 1817 during the reign of Sulaymān but the last known manuscript in his hand is dated 1791. Another three are known, the earliest of which is dated 1773 [18]. This was produced during the lifetime of his father, who in the normal course of events, would have been his teacher.

The third son of Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (i) was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. [Muḥammad] al-Mahdī al-Ḥilū (iv), who was also a scribe. Although only one manuscript in his hand is known, from ca. 1206/1791—92, during the reign of Yazīd, he almost certainly produced others [19].

'Abd al-'Azīz had two sons who worked as scribes: Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (vi) and Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (vii).

Muḥammad was active between 1806—07 and 1821—22 as three manuscripts dated between these years exist in his hand: all copied during the reign of Sulaymān [20]. Two of these are in Tūnis where the work of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was much admired. According to the late Tūnisian scholar Muḥammad al-Fāḍil, Ibn 'Ashūr (1900—70),

"The fame of this excellent, perfect scribe was widespread in Tūnis at the beginning of the 13th/19th century, where people vied to obtain copies of works in his hand... In the Zaytūniyya Library is a copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in a single volume in the version (*riwāya*) of Ibn Sa'āda from al-Ṣadafī, very accurately and beautifully written, with superb illumination in colours and gold. It was copied by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥilū in 1227/1812—13. There is another one in the 'Abdaliyya Library, copied (by the same scribe) in 1221/1806—07. Both are exquisitely bound ... with the titles embossed on their fore-edge flaps (*lisān*)" [21].

His brother Abū Zayd was a binder an illuminator, praised by both al-Tāshufīnī and al-Zayyānī [22]. According to the former he was very learned in the arts of binding and gilding [23]. The latter also praises his skill in binding and illumination and says that he was among those who lauded his own two works, *al-Tarjumān* and *al-Tarjumāna*. The scribe died in 1269/1853 and no examples of his work appear to be known [24].

Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥilū (vii) had at least one son who continued his father's profession: Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. 'Abd al-'Azīz] al-Ḥilū (viii). All we know about him

is that in 1851 he copied a work on Arabic grammar [25]. Both worked during the reign of *sultān* Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām (1822—59), as did Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥilū (vi).

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (viii) had a son called Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (ix) who produced a manuscript in 1847 [26]. Once again, this is all we know about him, apart from the fact that he had two sons, one of whom — and probably both — worked in the same profession as their father: 'Abd al-Karīm b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (x) and Muḥammad [b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz] al-Ḥilū (xi). 'Abd al-Karīm was active in the Fourth 'Alawī Period (1859—1912), during the reign Muḥammad IV (1859—73). There is a Qur'ān copied by him in *shawwāl* 1290 / November—December 1873 [27].

In the second half of the 19th century, the al-Ḥilū family were importing their own paper from England, like several other businessmen of Fās. The paper was usually embossed with the importer's name within a small square; *Bin Sūsān, al-Mahdī, al-Ḥilū*. By this time locally made paper had virtually disappeared from North Africa and the Ottoman Empire, to be replaced by imported varieties often from Italy. Some of this paper was used to print lithographed texts after 1864 [28]. The introduction of lithography and printing reduced the importance of the scribe in the long term, but not initially. Paradoxically, some Egyptian printed works were re-written in *maghribī* script for the library of *sultān* al-Ḥasan I (1873—94) [29]. The same monarch sent scribes to Cairo and Istanbul to make copies of manuscripts for his own library. Some of these works contain the stamps of people who apparently went to Cairo to supervise the copying. Among these is one bearing the name of Amīn al-Ḥilū [30].

No manuscript can be ascribed so far to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, but it is likely that he worked in the family profession, since his son Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥilū (xii) was very active as an illuminator and scribe during the reign of *sultān* 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ (1908—12), in the years just before the establishment of the French Protectorate, and after [31].

On 13 jumādā II 1326 / 13 July 1908 Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (xii) wrote to the *sultān* saying that he was the artist who had decorated the proclamation of his ascendancy to the throne (*wathīqat al-bay'a*) and offering his professional services to the monarch. The letter, in part, reads:

"I bring to the noble knowledge of our Lord (*mawlānā*)... that it was I who embellished the Triumph (*al-naṣr*), and decorated it, and beautified with gilding, as befits it... through the good offices of Sīdī Aḥmad b. Mawwāz [32]. I decorated and beautified these verses. I copied, decorated with gilding and illumination, and gilded the binding of the composition of our Lord, the Commander of the Faithful... Whenever our Lord wants...

that a book be decorated with gilding and illumination and a gilded binding, then, we are ready to serve His Highness..."

The supplicant signed himself: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaj Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥilū [33].

*Sultān* 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ like his predecessors, contemporary nobility and some officials encouraged the production of manuscripts although lithographed books were by this time being produced in Morocco. He established a "bureau" (*banīqa*) for this purpose in the royal palace at Fās Jadīd [34]. However the letter of Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (xii) seems to indicate that he was not a palace servant, but worked outside in a personal capacity.

He was still active in 1917. Manūnī reproduces a traditional (*andalusī*) painting by him inscribed: "the work of the master (*mu'allim*) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaj Muḥammad al-Ḥilū" and dated 1335/1917. He was one of a group of artists who were officially encouraged by the Moroccan Fine Arts Administration ("Idārat al-funūn al-maghribiyya al-jamīla") [35].

To be able to trace six generations of scribes/illuminators/binders is fairly unusual in the study of Islamic manuscripts. We occasionally come across a father and son connection from the examination of colophons [36]. We also know for example that in the city of Shīrāz in the 16th century whole families were engaged in manuscript production. But we don't have sufficient knowledge of individual scribal careers to be able to create genealogies similar to that of the al-Ḥilū family. Even in their own case we are lucky to be able to do so, thanks to the studies of Muḥammad al-Manūnī. The twelve men mentioned here must have been involved in the production of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of manuscripts between 1750 and 1917, but so far, we only know of the existence of fifteen manuscripts and documents. Hopefully others remain to be discovered [37].

The activities of the al-Ḥilū family did not end with the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Tihāmī al-Ḥilū (xiii) belonged to the al-Ḥilū family, though he lived in Ṣufrūy (Sefrou) in western Morocco, where he had been exiled by the French authorities for nationalist activities. He produced fifty copies of the Qur'ān as a well other, mostly religious works and died in 1954 [38].

The final member of the al-Ḥilū family recorded by Manūnī was Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī al-Ḥilū (xiii). He was a reviver of the traditional art of book binding in the city of his ancestors, Fās, where he had several pupils. In 1915 he was invited by the Moroccan Fine Arts Administration to teach the traditional art of book binding. A workshop was opened and several pupils worked under his guidance. Perhaps their descendants are still practising today [39].

## Addenda

The *Awlād al-Ḥilū*

Table 1

Muḥammad III (1757—90)

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad (i)

ca. 1761

Al-Yazīd (1790—92)

Hishām (1792—98)

Sulaymān (1798—1822)

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. [Muḥammad] al-Mahdī (ii)

ca. 1782

'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī (iii)

ca. 1791

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī (iv)

d. 1817

'Abd al-Salām b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (v)

d. 1826

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad (vi)

ca. 1806—21

Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad (viii)

d. 1853

Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (ix)

ca. 1847

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (viii)

ca. 1851

Muḥammad IV (1859—73)

'Abd al-Karīm b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad (x)

ca. 1873

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [b. 'Abd al-'Azīz] (xi)

?

'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ (1908—12)

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (xii)

ca. 1908

Muḥammad V (1927—61)

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Tihāmī (xiii)

Al-Ḥasan II (1961—99)

Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī (xiv)

## Notes

1. N. Safwat, *Golden Pages. Qur'āns and Other Manuscripts from the Ghassān I. Shaker Collection* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 278—81.
2. H. Terrasse, J. Hainault, *Les Arts Décoratifs au Maroc* (Paris, 1925) was dismissive: "L'art de l'écriture et lui aussi en décadence. Le Coufique a presque disparu. Le cursif de valeur inégale", p. 97. M. Sijelmassi's work on the manuscripts of the Ḥasaniyya Library (M. Sijelmassi, *Enluminures des manuscrits royaux au Maroc* (Paris, 1987)) makes no mention of the *Awlād al-Ḥilū*, though several works copied and illuminated by them are found there.
3. A thorough search of the Arabic manuscript catalogues of European collections available in the British Library in the summer of 2006, revealed no mention of manuscripts copied by any of the al-Ḥilū family outside of North Africa. At least, I didn't find any.
4. M. al-Manūnī, *Ta'rīkh al-wiraqa al-maghribiyya: ṣinā'at al-makhtuṭ al-maghribiyya min al-'aṣr al-wasīṭ ilā al-fatra al-mu'āṣira* (Rabāt, 1991).
5. F. Abdulrazak, *The Kingdom of the Book: The History of Printing as an Agency of Change in Morocco Between 1865 and 1912* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Boston University, 1990), p. 21.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
7. *Hilyat al-kuttāb*, unpublished (Rabāt Public Library D 254); Abdulrazak, *op. cit.*, pp. 16—8.
8. *Ma'lamat al-maghrib*, ed. by M. Ḥājji (Salā, 1989—), vi, p. 3550.
9. *El'* (Leiden, 1960—), vi, pp. 571—4; xi, pp. 181—3.
10. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 45—66.
11. *Ibid.*, No. 250. (i) *Majmū'a* including the *Shamā'il al-Tirmidhiyya* of al-Suhaylī dated 1175/1761—62, Rabāt Public Library J 435; (ii) The *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* dated 1178/1764—65, Royal Library (M M) 1544; (iii) The *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik dated 1185/1771—72, Royal Library (M M) 1781; (iv) Another copy dated 1186/1772, Royal Library (M M) 2661, was made for al-Ṭālib Muḥammad al-Makkī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥjūb b. Sālim al-Zamūrī; (v) The *Kitāb al-shifā'* of Qāḍī 'Iyād dated 1189/1775, Royal Library (M M) 574. The main Maghribī hands were *mabsūṭ*, used for the Qur'ān and religious works; *mujawhar* used for

literary texts and official documents; and *zimānī / musnad* used for legal texts and official documents. But usage of the different forms was fairly flexible. Abdulrazak, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

12. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 139—40.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 210, Royal Library (M M) 7654, dated 1197/1782.

14. Ibn Sūda 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Sūda, *Ithāf al-muṭāli' bi-wafayāt a'lam al-garn al-thālith 'ashar wa al-rabī'* (Beirut, 1996), vii, p. 2524. He is not mentioned by Manūnī.

15. According to al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, n. 32, p. 157 this information comes from notes in his album or note book (*fī kunnāshatihī*).

16. *Ibid.*, n. 20, p. 170, quoting from an unpublished work of al-Zayyānī (1734/5—1833), the *Jawharat al-tijān*, Royal Library (Kh M) 6778.

17. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 225—6, n. 20, p. 226.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 252. (i) The *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik dated 1187/1773, Royal Library (M M) 4095; (ii) Another copy dated 1188/1774, Royal Library (M M) 1903; (iii) The *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* dated 1206/1791 Rabāt Public Library J 695; (iv) Another copy, undated, D 1587. The latter is illustrated in al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 156 and 158 where two illuminated pages are reproduced. The first shows the right-hand opening folio of the manuscript, while the second shows the contents page of *al-qism al-thānī* of the *Kitāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*.

19. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, No. 253. The *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik b. Anas dated 1206/1791—92, Library of the Great Mosque, Ouz-zane 97.

20. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, No. 351. He lived until at least 1831.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 201 and notes 68—9, quoting an article in the journal *al-Maghrib* VI—VII (December, 1965), p. 18. The MS in the 'Abdaliyya is identified as 2/60. The third manuscript copied by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz is another *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in four parts of which the first is missing. The three remaining parts are dated (ii) muḥarram, (iii) rabī' II and (iv) rajab 1237 / October 1821, December, April 1822, Ḥasaniyya Library 7733. For Muḥammad al-Fāḍil, see *El'*, iv, p. 159.

22. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, No. 356.

23. Al-Tāshufīnī: *al-Lu'lu' al-maknūn fi-ikhtisār Ibn 'Ayshūn*, MS in the Ḥasaniyya Library 12152.

24. None are mentioned by al-Manūnī. See also Ibn Sūda, *op. cit.*, vii, p. 2596.

25. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, No. 308. The *Durra al-naḥwiyya fī sharḥ al-jarūmiyya* of al-Sharīf, dated 1267/1851, Royal Library (Kh M) 6531.

26. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, No. 293. The *Kitāb al-shifā'* of Qāḍī 'Iyād, dated 1263/1847, Royal Library (Kh M) 4395.

27. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, No. 445. Exhibited in 1971, *Jā'izat al-Ḥassān II*, Casablanca.

28. Abdulrazak, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

29. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

30. The scribes who worked in Cairo and Istanbul were 'Abd al-Nabī al-Būrī al-Fāsī and Suwayqī b. Aḥmad al-Jabal al-'Udwī (al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, Nos. 388—9). The names on the stamps are *al-Tāzī wakīl miṣr* and *al-Amīn (a)l-Ḥilū*.

31. *Ibid.*, No. 479.

32. Aḥmad b. [al-]Mawwāz [b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid] was a scribe and scholar of Fās between the years 1872 and 1912. Abdulrazak, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 162.

33. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, supplement 3, p. 271, *Jā'izat Ḥassān II*, Casablanca. No catalogue number given.

34. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 23. *Baniqa*, was room or suite of small rooms in the royal palace, where officials carried out their duties. *Ma'lamat al-maghrib*, v, pp. 1605—6.

35. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 283. For the painting, see p. 284.

36. For example: the *Shīrāzī* illuminator Rūzbihān Muḥahhib was the son of Na'im al-Dīn al-Kātib a scribe of Shīrāz and the son of illuminator Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥahhib. They worked from ca. 1450 to ca. 1550. D. James, *After Tīmūr*. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (Oxford, 1992), iii, p. 145.

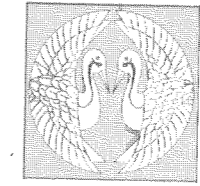
37. Abdulrazak (*op. cit.*) gives some details on scribal production. He calculates that Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī probably did not produce more than 1.4 volumes a year in his career of 30—40 years, citing the length of the works like the voluminous *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* and his involvement is writing correspondence and other activities which prevented him from full-time scribal activities; p. 30, and note 31 on the same page. But he also mentions al-Mu'ṭī al-Tādīlī who copied the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* 1000 times, apart from copies of the Qur'ān, which meant that he would have produced 25—30 copies in the same period; *ibid.*, p. 34.

38. Ibn Sūda, *op. cit.*, ix, p. 3294; al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, No. 512. There is a Qur'ān by him dated 1360/1941, Ḥasaniyya Library, 287.

39. Al-Manūnī, *op. cit.*, No. 555. The relationship between these two men and Muḥammad al-Ḥilū (xii) is not clear.

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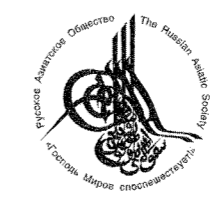
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**Front cover:**

Muḥammad Yūsuf, "*Darwīsh* Holding a Rosary", 25.5×7.8 cm. Iran, mid 17th century. The State Hermitage Museum, VR-740/XXV. Courtesy of the Museum.

**Back cover:**

The wedding sheet *rōyjo*, 250×162 cm. Samarqand, end of the 19th—beginning of the 20th century. MAE RAS, No. 7304-4. Courtesy of the Museum.



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