

the traditions regarding the Dajjāl suggest too many problematic and contradictory answers. When it is stated that it is not possible to ascertain if the references to various tribes in this material are laudatory (i.e. *faḍā'il*) or not, this suggests that there is simply no way that an accurate conclusion can be reached on the basis of these reports. No doubt it is the contents of the traditions themselves which are enigmatic and puzzling. The narrations on the Dajjāl are emblematic in this regard. There are three distinct types of reports, that is three narrative cycles which include highly contrasting elements: 1) the description of his appearance and of his features; 2) the traditions which discuss his identification with the Jewish Ibn Ṣayyād; 3) the story of Tamīm al-Dārī, connected with the *jassāsa*, who told the Prophet that he met him on a distant island. It is not at all clear what can be done to harmonize the contents of these tales. No more than underlining, together with Cook, that the first cycle is fully attested in Nu'aym b. Hammād while, quite surprisingly, the other two are most closely echoed in the canonical collections — Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* above all.

Only a few comments can be added upon the thorough portrait provided by Cook, and each of these is necessarily connected to the provisional character of the conclusions and solutions offered for the historical reconstruction. The hypothesis that the apocalyptic paranoia is to be related to the condition of the Muslim community as a minority in the regions touched by the early conquests is a possible answer and is offered here at the beginning as a kind of general evaluation (pp. 1-2). It remains unclear how this explanation can be correlated with the other explanation, that also appears plausible and which can be found on p. 66, that historical apocalyptic cycles pointing to the continuity of Islam in relation to Jewish traditions in regards Jerusalem are a reflection of an Imperial mentality that is secure about its victory and supremacy? What is true is that apocalyptic logic is not simple and straightforward and optimistic and pessimistic attitudes can be a reflection of either self-confident power or of distress.

Further, the discussion on the term *fitna* (p. 38), as evolving from a historical-religious meaning to an apocalyptic one can in fact reflect a historical evolution of the use of the term. However it is necessary to be very cautious in tracing evolutions of this kind when these differences in the use are attested in much later literature applying the term to describe earlier historical events. Also the meaning of *mawālī* in some traditions mentioned by Nu'aym (p. 75) is puzzling at best and absolutely conjectural, and one can suggest that this could be a reflection of rivalries between northern and southern tribes which also left a strong mark in the strange instances of the term's use. But here we are more provisional than ever. We can only agree with some other statements, such as the role of Jesus, diminishing in later reports, or the common ground, as stated above, of the early Sunnite and Shi'ite traditions. Another important point on this is the question of the relation of Shi'ite apocalypticism and early Sunnite or generic Muslim apocalyptic traditions. We have discussed this above and here what interests us is only the dating of the explanations given by the Author. Cook points out in a specific chapter devoted to the topic, that Shi'ite cycles are later, at best hundred years, than Sunnite ones (p. 194). The break between the two sides probably occurred with the first definition of imāmism in the third century, but this conjecture is as provisional as the other solutions proposed by the

Author (see above all pp. 225-9). One further explanation is also highly problematic: Cook says that apocalyptic traditions found their way into canonical collections of *ḥadīths* when they assumed a more definite profile and became, in the words of the Author, "a body of tradition that had a common purpose. Before this time one could only speak of an amorphous mass" (p. 326). Why not the other way round? It is quite possible for books to be written when it is necessary to systematize and stop the tendency to grow, rather than the other way round.

There are only a few further words we would like to add in relation to this fine work. In regard to the question *m.s.h.l.m.s.kh* (p. 89 n. 33), it is important to remember that it is in common use in contemporary Egypt (at least in Cairo) where *masīḥ* and *masīkh* are considered and used as two different words to designate the two eschatological contenders: *masīḥ* for Jesus and *masīkh* for the Dajjāl. Given the classical *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl* to mention the Dajjāl in early traditions, the reading *al-masīkh* is only partially reflected in modern printed books. Further, in connection with the punishment of swallowing up of sinners and people (p. 131), along with the typologies and episodes mentioned, it is also good to quote the cycle of narrations connected to the fate of Korah, where he is always swallowed up as a punishment by God. Due to the topic of the book, Cook discussed the role and the meaning of the figure of the Mahdī only in its apocalyptic and eschatological meaning. But it is also important to keep in mind the wide range of uses of the title in the political disputations and debates in early Islam, even where there is no apocalyptic connotation (on this see in particular the recent monograph by P. Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh 2004, 75-80). All of this would be of use for the historical reconstruction of the evolution of the meaning of the term. In regard to the description of Jesus (p. 174) it is useful to remember that similar descriptions (mainly derived from the quoted 'Abd al-Razzāq) are also quoted in the main canonical *ḥadīth* collections (see for ex. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Beirut 1992, nr. 3437; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Beirut 1991, nr. 168 [272]; Tirmidhī, *al-Jamī' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1975, nr. 3130). The general portrait emerging in the moral apocalyptic is related to widely known dynamics in Muslim and other religious traditions. The features and contents of this material reflect a popular tendency which finds its usual expression criticizing governments and above all 'ulamā' (but see also pro-'ulamā' traditions, p. 247f.) and more general statements which are quite similar to those attested in *zuhd* literature.

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'*The Mushaf of Fazil Pasha*'. Istanbul 1423/2002 (Matba'at Yildiz), 31 x 20 cm, 338 (unnumbered) leaves, bound in an Islamic binding with flap, with gilded ornamentation of early-19th century Ottoman design. Available from the Ghazi Husrev Beg Library in Sarajevo.

In the course of 2002, a full-colour facsimile edition of the so-called *Mushaf Fazil Pasha*, the original manuscript of which is kept in the Ghazi Husrev Beg Library in Sarajevo, Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the class-mark

Rr. 12, was published outside the usual distribution channels. Funds for the publication of this impressive facsimile edition of what is now considered to be the national Bosnian *Qur'an*, were provided by Sheikh Ahmad Zaki Yamani, chairman of the Al-Furqan Foundation for Islamic Heritage, London. The original manuscript is a *waqf*, a pious donation by a distinguished citizen of Sarajevo, al-Sayyid Muhammad Fadil al-Mawlawi b. al-Sayyid Mustafa Nur al-Din b. al-Sayyid Muhammad Hashim b. Sharif Ahmad al-Husayni al-Qirimi [i.e. from the Crimea] al-Kafawi, in Bosnia known as Fazil Pasha Sherifovic, who died in 1300/1883. The *waqf* was bestowed upon the Ghazi Husrev Beg Library in Sarajevo, for the purpose of 'reciting, correction of other Qur'anic manuscripts and the fixation of the system of the seven readings' (which are available in the present copy). The *waqf* deed for this was dated 11 Rabi' I 1289/20 May 1872. The copy was made by an unnamed Daghestani immigrant in Ragab 1265 (May-June 1849). The exemplar was an ancient Qur'anic manuscript, in the handwriting of Muhammad b. Altuntash b. 'Abdallah al-Muqri, known as al-Katib al-Baghdadi, who completed the copying in the course of 582/1186, and who produced that copy for the library of the Seljuq child-Sultan Tughril III b. Arslan (571-590/1176-1194). That copy was said to have been made after the *Rasm*, the official ductus, of the recension of the text distributed by the Caliph Uthman over the main centres of Islam in the middle of the 1st/7th century.

The present manuscript is exceptional because it has several preliminaries and final texts in addition to the holy texts, which distinguish it from 'ordinary' *Qur'ans*. This occurred in considerable part because of the ambition of the learned copyist to present not only the Qur'anic text as it is, but to add the seven canonical readings. In itself, this is not strange, and we know of many *Qur'an* manuscripts in which the reading variants have been added. Here the copyist has had the ambition to teach a lesson, and that makes his work transcend the ordinary. First he gives us a list of the names of the seven readers and their transmitters taken from the *Kitab al-Taysir fil-Qira'at al-Sab'*, by 'Uthman b. Sa'id al-Dani (d. 444/1053), GAL G I, 407. A second addition is a list with the sigla for the names of the seven readers, based on a particular use of the *Abjad* order of the letters of the alphabet according to the system set by al-Qasim b. Firroh al-Shatibi (d. 590/1194), GAL G I, 409. Then follows a paragraph on *Tark al-Hamza*, the omitting of the *Hamza* according to one of the seven canonical readers, Abu 'Amr. Another additional paragraph treats matters concerning assimilation, *Iddigham*, between two similar letters in one word or in two words, equally extracted from al-Dani's *Taysir*. Finally, before the actual beginning of *Surat al-Fatiha*, there follows the *Waqf* deed, a text of one page written in Turkish, in an elegant *Thuluth* script, containing the details as given above. The position of the deed in the book postulates that the manuscript was made for the purpose of being piously donated. After the Qur'anic text follow the colophon, the prayers said after the completion of the *Qur'an*, and then the details of the copyist's exemplar as mentioned above. Then the copyist comes, quite unusually, with a short essay on copying *Qur'ans*, in which he starts with mentioning a work which has been useful to him, *al-Nizam fi Ma'rifat Kitabat al-Kalam*, a guide about how to copy a Qur'anic manuscript, which he incorporated in a book of his own, entitled *Gam' al-Gawami'*. I have not been able to locate or further identify either of these

two texts, which, apart from being important because of their contents, may have revealed the identity of the maker of the *Mushaf Fazil Pasha*. Several extracts from this text are given, and the copyist assures his readers that all precepts of *Qur'an* copying contained therein have been meticulously followed in the present *Mushaf*. In it the copyist rather surprisingly takes a critical stand against Qur'anic calligraphy as *l'art pour l'art*, if such an approach implies that the holy text should be beautiful rather than trustworthy. He mentions famous names such as Ibn Muqla and Ibn al-Bawwab, who 'are known by the beauty of their handwriting and their lack of knowledge'. It is not often that one reads such criticism. Other sources of inspiration mentioned by the copyist, who takes care to keep himself anonymous (except that he is an immigrant from Daghestan: *ana al-Faqir al-Muhaqir al-Daghistani*), are *al-Muqni'* by al-Dani, the commentary by Ibrahim b. 'Umar al-Ga'bari (d. 732/1333), GAL S II, 135, on *al-Ra'iyya al-Shatibiyya*, the *al-Itqan fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an* by Galal al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505), GAL S II, 179, and the *Shu'ab al-Iman* by al-Bayhaqi. This *Shu'ab al-Iman* is originally a Persian work which was translated from Arabic, perhaps from *al-Gami' al-Musannaf* by Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Bayhaqi (d. 458/1066), at least according to GAL G I, 363. From the copyist's essay it is evident that he does not consider his task as a merely mechanical one. He is evidently a scholar with ideas of his own about the copying of *Qur'ans* according to the ancient rules. This rather personal, and therefore unusual, essay is followed by a paragraph taken from al-Suyuti's *Itqan* on the phenomenon of abrogation, *al-Nasikh wal-Mansukh*. This is followed by a short text on questions of *Wuquf* and *Ibtida'*, the pausa rules to which *Qur'an* reciters must adhere. It was taken from the *Tayyibat al-Nashr fil-Qira'at al-'Ashr* by Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad Ibn al-Gazari (d. 833/1429), GAL G II, 201, extract of which is added in the margins on an exposé on the pausa signs (*Rumuz al-Wuquf*), taken from al-Suyuti's *Itqan*, with reference to earlier authorities.

This having been said, a few words should be devoted to the *Qur'an* itself. The handwriting is a robust *Naskh* script of great clarity, possibly not of the highest calligraphic quality, but still an evidently expert hand. If the copyist was at all aware of his own calligraphic shortcomings, this may have given him the reason to criticize Ibn Muqla and Ibn al-Bawwab. After the two impressively illuminated opening pages with *Surat al-Fatiha* at the right and *Surat al-Baqara* 1-4 at the left, follows the Qur'anic text. This is entirely set inside a composite golden frame and these marginals and *Sura*-headings have illumination of their own. Each line of text is set within a panel itself. This gives a decidedly Iranian impression (as does the illumination on the first two pages) to the lay-out of the page, which is not so strange if one assumes that the copyist must have learned his craft in Daghestan. Additionally, the dimension of the book and of the text area help to create that impression. Upon opening the book it is evident that the standards of *Qur'an* copying which have been established in the first half of the 19th century in Istanbul have certainly *not* been applied here. The margins around the Qur'anic text are filled with the seven canonical readings. These variant readings are written in clear red ink in order to distinguish them from the explanations and other references. The system of abbreviations for reference to the seven readers (as explained in the preliminaries) is in use here. One should not, of course, confuse such data with

a critical apparatus as we know from classical philology, although by their outward appearance they look similar. The concept of the different canonical readings was first fully developed by Ibn Mugahid (d. 324/936) with the basic thought that all variant readings are equally valid. The readings given in the present manuscript (or similar manuscripts for that matter) are therefore not the result of textual criticism on the basis of manuscripts which are witness of those readings. They are rather marginal additions taken from the vast Islamic literature on the subject of readings which collectively guards these 'masoretic' data.

The idea of the publication in facsimile of the *Mushaf Fazil Pasha* was born in the mid-1990's during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, when the siege of Sarajevo (1992-1996) was at its peak. Politicians and intellectuals from Sarajevo, among them Dr. Enes Karic, then the Bosnian Minister of Education and Sport, who is an Islamic scholar in his own right, considered it important to produce this facsimile of a book, which was thought to embody Bosnian national and Islamic aspirations in the struggle against the Serbian threat, in order to boost Islamic morale. They set out to find funds for the cost of production, then to obtain permission from religious authorities in and outside Bosnia for the reproduction of the manuscript, and finally, since Turkey was the country where the book was going to be published, to obtain a permission from the 'Organisation for the Inspection of Qur'ans' (*Hay'at Tadqiq al-Masahif*) in Ankara, which was issued on 25 May 1999, 'after inspection and correction'. One wonders what this correction may actually have implied, since there is nothing of this that can be easily discovered in the edition itself, nor are any further details of this inspection given. One of the rules of copying the *Qur'an* is that the copy is absolutely and without any doubt a true representant of the 'Uthmanic *Rasm* of the text. The copyist has the duty not to slavishly follow his exemplar, but to make his copy in full accordance with the officially established text, and bring about alterations in his copy if required. From the *waqfiyya* document it is clear that the original manuscript was produced and publicly deposited in order to serve as a trustworthy exemplar, as a standard for other copies of the *Qur'an*. It is by that role that the original manuscript came to be considered as the national Bosnian *Qur'an*, and the present facsimile edition may probably be used for that same purpose. When the impressive facsimile edition of the *Mushaf Fazil Pasha* finally appeared in the course of the year 2002, the war in Bosnia was long over, but the *Mushaf* of Fazil Pasha now adorns the shelves of libraries all over the world.

Leiden University Library,
May 2004

Jan Just WITKAM

VARIA

MacDONALD, Alisdair A., Michael W. TWOMEY, Gerrit J. REININK (Eds.) — *Learned Antiquity. Scholarship and Society in the Near East, the Greco-Roman World, and the Early Medieval West. Groningen Studies in Cultural Change, Vol. V.* Peeters, Leuven, 2003. (25 cm, XIII, 225). ISBN 90-429-1300-2. € 45,-.

The topics in this book on cultural change range from the Ancient Near East to the Early Medieval West. The first con-

tribution by D. Brown, "The scientific revolution of 700 BC", describes the change of celestial divination in Babylonia to a science with predictive astronomy. The Assyrian kings placed emphasis on celestial divination and created a competitive environment for the scholars at court (p. 1-12). G. de Breucker, "Berossos and the Mesopotamian temple as center of knowledge during the Hellenistic period": in the temples of Uruk, Kalhu, and Sippar the traditional sciences were studied and transmitted by scholars into the Hellenistic period; one of them was Berossos (p. 13-23). W. van Bekkum, "Talmudic tradition in a changing society" (p. 53-61), describes the position of the rabbis within the surrounding culture. G.J. Reinink, "Theology and medicine in Jundishapur: cultural change in the Nestorian school of tradition", studies the Christian milieu of Jundishapur (Khuzistan) and the Islamic milieu of Baghdad, two centers of scholarship. The Nestorians combined theology and medicine, there was a hospital in Nisibis, and they translated Greek medical writings (p. 163-174). T. Morgan, "Literary culture in sixth-century Egypt", a survey of Greek and Coptic literary papyri. Homer, Euripides, Aristophanes, and the Bible (p. 147-161).

Three contributions on the Christian notary Dioscorus of Aphrodite (520-585) appear as a cluster. His archive was found in a jar. Literary aspects of his poems (Christian themes) and the "litteralisation" of this official documents (J.-L. Fournet). He obtained rescripts from Constantinople and kept drafts of legal documents; a new reconstruction of his family (P. van Minnen). His Biblical quotations in petitions (J.H.F. Dijkstra) (p. 101-146). Other articles are about the Gospels and cognitive science (models of memory), the codification of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, and more on Late Antiquity, up to the Carolingians.

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ONTVANGEN BOEKEN

EGYPTOLOGIE

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