

# A study of manuscripts of al-Şafadī's *al-Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt* in Istanbul libraries by Jürgen Paul\*

The monumental biographical dictionary *al-Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt* by Şalāh al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aibak al-Şafadī (d. 764/1363) has been in the process of being edited in the *Bibliotheca Islamica* since 1931; even earlier, in 1912 and 1917, the scholarly world learnt about the most important manuscripts of this work (outside Istanbul) from two articles by Gabrieli, one of them with an important addition by Togan. In 1929, Hellmut Ritter gave a first description of the Istanbul manuscripts; and it was Ritter, too, who began the edition<sup>1</sup>.

Since then, many important scholars from Europe and the Arabic world have been working on individual volumes of the edition; the project has been an international one from the very start. By now (November 1991) vols. 1-18, 21, and 22 have been published, and the remaining vols. 19, 20, and 23 through 29 have either reached advanced stages of preparation or else have been assigned to editors by the publishers. Is it, then, of any interest to do further research into manuscripts of *al-Wāfi*, and, furthermore, to publish the results?

A project of this size and age has and must have its own history. *Habent sua fata...* This history is in many ways a reflection of history at large, and thus is made up of crises, obstacles and shortcomings as well as successes. And, of course, there were (and still are) difficulties in gaining access to manuscripts, in ascertaining their mere existence, their whereabouts in the first place, but also in getting hold of a permit to use them or in having microfilms made. Obstacles and difficulties of this kind are largely beyond the responsibility of anyone in the scholarly world. Nevertheless, they can have a negative influence on the quality of the edition. Moreover, there are difficulties and shortcomings in the work itself; this can hardly be avoided in a project which has been carried out over generations and in many different countries<sup>2</sup>.

As a result, manuscripts of great importance have not as consistently been consulted as might have been necessary. This applies in particular to the surviving fragments of Şafadī's *musawwada*, his draft; they are more voluminous than the edition would have us assume. These fragments are the subject of the first

part of this paper. It applies as well to the series of manuscripts in the Shehid 'Ali Pasha collection, which is a very old, although fragmentary series which has been used for the edition in only a few volumes.

Hellmut Ritter lived in Istanbul from 1927 to 1949. During that period, he was in charge of the Istanbul office of the German Oriental Society ('Aussenstelle der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft'). In this function, he acquired a very profound knowledge of the huge collections of manuscripts in Istanbul libraries, which owed a great deal to his close friendship with librarians and scholars in Istanbul. Among the many manuscripts he discovered and described, six volumes of Şafadī's draft of *al-Wāfi* in the Nuru Osmaniye library assume a prominent place<sup>3</sup>. Even earlier, Gabrieli had given a detailed description of another volume of this draft (in Gotha)<sup>4</sup>, and hinted at another one (in the Taimūriyya library in Cairo)<sup>5</sup>. All these volumes present a number of common features. Several previous authors and editors have mentioned them;<sup>6</sup> thus, I will give only a very brief survey. In the draft, the alphabetical order of the entries is not yet wholly established; there are many scraps of paper that Şafadī later added (by gluing them into the volume); the script sometimes runs vertically, sometimes horizontally. Above all, the volumes seem to have fallen out of their binding at some moment in their long history; they later were bound again, but not always in alphabetical order, so that some volumes contain biographical entries from various parts of the alphabet. Moreover, Şafadī used several kinds of paper (reddish, whitish, brownish). Some pages have turned quite black, and fall apart on touch as if they had at one time been (nearly) burnt; this has led Josef van Ess to the conclusion that the books may have been rescued from a fire (those that have survived)<sup>7</sup>. These pages cannot be read on microfilm and are hardly legible in the original. Thus, working with these volumes presents certain difficulties.

All the same, autograph copies of a work which is being edited are, of course, a very good basis, and Ritter, in his preface to the first volume of *al-Wāfi* which he himself edited, stresses that he would not have used any other manuscript beside the *musawwada*

had it been complete. But as it was fragmentary, he decided (on very good grounds) to take, as a basis for the edition, a series most volumes of which are kept at the Topkapı Saray library. This is not only a very old (fair) copy of the work, but also the most complete one; of the 29 volumes it once comprised, only volumes 5, 6, 15, 16, and 29 are missing. Moreover, this series has twice been collated with the (then still complete) *musawwada*<sup>8</sup>.

Let us now turn to the description Ritter gave of six autograph volumes in the Nuru Osmaniye library (NO). They are rather cursory due to the state of the books, and this has maybe contributed to certain inconsistencies in their utilization.

NO 3191. Ritter: From the beginning to *Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad*.

This volume contains the introduction, followed by *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*. But apart from that, there are biographical entries from the whole *Muḥammad* section, with particularly important groups of *Muḥammad b. H.*, *M.b. 'Abd al-*, and *M. b. Y.*. This volume has been used for vol. 1 of the edition. According to Ritter's description, it ought to have been used for volumes 2 and 3 (which is not the case, at least there is no mention of that in the *khātima*), and moreover, for volumes 4 and 5 as well. Their editor could not possibly have known from Ritter's description that there was something in NO 3191 for these volumes.

NO 3192. Ritter: *Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. 'Ubaid* to *Ayān*.

This volume presents almost exclusively entries from the *Aḥmad* section, but with widely scattered patronyms. It has been used for volumes 6 and 7, but not for vol. 8. On the other hand, the editor of vol. 9 has made use of those relatively few entries following *Aḥmad*.<sup>9</sup>

NO 3193. Ritter: *Ja'far b. Aḥmad* to *Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk*.

From this description it is obvious that there must be lacunae in the volume: one volume cannot cover so much of the alphabet. Thus, its contents are not sufficiently described by the first and the last entry alone. The volume begins with entries from the letter *jīm* (up to p. 171)<sup>10</sup>. Then follows *ḥarf al-ḥā'* with *Ḥābis Abū Ḥayyā' b. Rabī'a al-Tamīmī* as its first entry; this letter ends on p. 249. After that there is a lacuna, the following entry (p. 250) being *Sulaimān Shāh b. Shāhinshāh b. 'Umar. Sīn* ends on p. 530 and is followed by another lacuna: *ṣād* (only a few entries — *Suḥaib* and *Ṣāliḥ*). On p. 537: *Tāhir* (but there also are two *Zāfir*) and other names beginning with *ṭā'*. The last entry cited by Ritter is the last but one, the last being *Ṭalḥa b. 'Alī*.

This volume, which is in a particularly bad state of conservation, ought to have been used for vols. 11 (and 12) for *jīm* and *ḥā'*, 15 for *sīn*, and 16 (the last pages: *ṣād* and *ṭā'*). Only these last pages have been made use of. Thus NO 3193 is one of the least utilized volumes of the *musawwada*.

NO 3194. Ritter: *'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Miṣbāh* to *'Alī b. 'Asākir*.

This is correct, but does not give a fair picture of what the volume contains. The second entry (after *'Abd al-Wahhāb*) is *'Amr b. Ma'dī*, and the following entries are in alphabetical order, that is, *'Amr* followed by *'Imrān* and *'Anbasa*. On p. 91, *'Īsā*; p. 160, *'Alī*; p. 170, *'Umar* again; p. 176, more *'Alī*. The patronyms are in such disorder that it is of no use to quote them. There is a single *'Uthmān* on p. 289, and after that *'Abd al-Wahhāb* up to p. 318, followed by *'Atīq*, *'Utba*, and *'Utaiba*. From p. 385 onwards *'Alī* continues until the end of the volume. This volume, too, is in a very bad state of conservation.

The manuscript contains many biographical entries beyond the limit indicated by the last *tarjuma*. It can be used for vol. 19 (*'Abd al-Wahhāb* and some *'Utba*), vol. 20 (more *'Utba*, several *'Utaiba* and *'Atīq*, as well as some *'Alī*), vols. 21 and 22 (more *'Alī* which have indeed been used), and vol. 23 (most of the first part of the volume).

NO 3195. Ritter: *'Abda b. Sulaimān* to *'Abd al-Wāḥid*.

This volume is also in a bad state of conservation. Ritter's description is correct. From p. 11 on: *'Abd al-Malik*; p. 29: *'Abd al-Muḥsin*; p. 43: *'Abd al-Razzāq*; from pp. 50 to 64: *'Abdān*, *'Ubaida*, *'Ubaid*; p. 65: *'Abd al-Rahmān*; p. 158: *'Abd al-Karīm*, p. 199: *'Abdallāh*; p. 292 to the end of the volume: *'Abd al-Laṭīf*, and in alphabetical order up to *'Abd al-Wāḥid*.

Apart from the *'Abdallāh* section in this volume, which has been used for vol. 17, most of the material is important for vol. 19 of the edition.

NO 3196. Ritter: *Fīrūz Abū Lu'lu'a* to *Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad*.

This is correct, but there are many lacunae in the volume. One of these has been noticed by Ritter. The first entry is incomplete, the second is *Quss b. Sa'āda*, followed by other names beginning with *qāf* up to p. 221. Then, some *Laith* (thus, *kāf* is missing altogether), and on p. 230, *Makārim b. Wazīr* (*lām* is very incomplete, and *mīm* starts somewhere in the middle). *Mīm* is very incomplete as well, since there are only some names beginning with *mīm-kāf* and *mīm-lām*. The following lacuna is the one noted by Ritter. On p. 268, *Huraira* and more *hā'* up to p. 361 (*Harthama b. al-Hunaid*). *Wāw* is missing, and on p. 262: a single *Ya'qūb*, followed by *Yazdajird* and *Yazīd*. From then on, the alphabetical order is roughly respected, apart from the patronymics; it is quite possible that there are *Ya'qūb* entries which appear later than *Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad*.

The *qāf* section in this volume is important for vol. 24. The editor of vol. 26 will find only a few entries of interest, whereas vol. 28 is richly served. Vol. 29, in turn, will hardly contain anything from NO 3196.

NO 3197.

This volume is not mentioned by Ritter. Yet it is

part of the *musawwada*, altogether equal to the other volumes in its outward aspect and inner disorder<sup>11</sup>. But, it has surprisingly enough been used for the edition, in vol. 5; the editor of that volume even mentioned it in his *khātima*. But this publication did not attract much notice, and to my knowledge, there is no description of the manuscript.

The volume begins with *Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Qādī al-Kabīr al-Zāhid al-Awhad Qutb al-Dīn b. al-Mukarram*. This man is mentioned in the edition (vol. 10, no 4751), where there is a reference to Ṣafadī's *musawwada*, quoted not as NO 3197, but as *Dār al-kutub* 1219. This is something of a riddle, and a solution will be proposed after the description of the Istanbul manuscripts of the *musawwada*. *Abū Bakr* in NO 3197 runs up to p. 77 (but there is a small *Sālim* section between pp. 22 and 27). Up to here, the editors of vol. 10 had the corresponding entries via DK 1219. They did not have the following entries, although they fall into vol. 10: *Bakrān*, *Bilāl*, *Bakr* up to p. 109, from then on a few names beginning with *tā'*: *Tūrānshāh*, *Tūbal*, *Tawba*. (Some *Aḥmad* and *Ibrāhīm* are interspersed throughout; these would have been important for vol. 5, but have evidently not been used.). Pp. 131 to 139: *Sālim* again (vol. 15); p. 139: *Ḥamd b. Ḥumaid* and so on in relatively good alphabetical order up to p. 336, taking us far into the *khā'* section (not used in vol. 13).

There is a leap after that, and p. 337 has *'Umar*, with patronyms from the end of the alphabet: *'Umar b. 'Alī* and *'Umar b. Muḥammad*, mostly, up to p. 393. Some of the *'Umar* entries have been used in vol. 22, but most of them are of interest for the editor of vol. 23.

Then there is another leap, and p. 394 gives *Muḥammad b. Muḥriz b. 'Abdillāh al-ma'rūf bi-Rukn al-Dīn al-Wahrānī*. The rest of the volume contains entries from the *Muḥammad* section, mostly *Muḥammad b. M.*, but also *b. Naṣr*, *b. Ghālib*, *b. al-Ḥasan* and, above all, *b. Yūsuf*; these begin on p. 429 and continue to the end of the manuscript (p. 462). This last section has been used for vol. 5 of the edition.

In all, the larger half of NO 3197 has been used for the edition, although there is no mention of it in Ritter's article, either directly (vol. 5) or via DK 1219 (vols. 10, 18, and 22). The manuscript had to be discovered several times...

#### *Aya Sofya (AS) 4036.*

This volume was found by Ritter after his article was printed; it is mentioned in *GAL*, S II, p. 28. (The other mentions of autographs of *al-Wāfī* in *GAL* are not correct; AS 2966, '8, '9 are fragments of autograph copies of another work by Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr*.) The old *defters* catalogue of the Aya Sofya collection shows something altogether different under this signature. Nevertheless, there is no description of AS 4036, so the editors of *al-Wāfī* could not possibly know for which volume the manuscript would have to be used.

AS 4036 begins on fol. 1<sup>12</sup> with *'Uthmān b. 'Umar*

*b. Fāris al-'Abdī al-Baṣrī*, but before that, we have a glued-in scrap of paper containing *'Uthmān b. Abī 'Ātika*. Fol. 14a: *'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Ma'tūq*; fol. 17a: *'Alī b. Aḥmad*; fol. 35a: *'Allān al-Warrāq al-Sha'ulī*, but on fol. 37a: more *'Alī b. Ibrāhīm*.

Fols. 44a to 54b: an *Aḥmad* section with patronyms from the end of the alphabet.

Fol. 55a: *'Uthmān b. 'Alī* and *'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī*, followed by more *'Uthmān* with patronyms from the second half of the alphabet. The alphabetical order is quite well respected. As far as I can tell, there is nothing in the manuscript later than *'Alī b. Aḥmad*.

The last entry (fol. 146a) concerns one *'Aṭṭāf*, and in the very end (147b) there is one *b. 'Aṭāya Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir*.

Apart from those *Aḥmad* (relatively few of them, vol. 8), all of the material in AS 4036 falls into vol. 20; it is one of the most compact fragments of the *musawwada*.

#### *Dār al-Kutub (DK) 1219.*

As has already been mentioned, part of the material from NO 3197 has not been used in the edition directly, but with reference to DK 1219. This is, however, not another autograph volume of *al-Wāfī*, but a set of photograph copies of the NO manuscripts. Many pages are nearly or altogether illegible, at least on a microfilm which was made from these photographs in 1948 and is now in the German Oriental Institute at Beirut (Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Beirut, OIB); it has been registered there in the inventory book with the no. 261<sup>13</sup>. Thus, the original photographs must have been taken before that date. It is impossible from DK 1219 to reconstruct the NO manuscripts since somebody has tried to arrange the photographs according to alphabetical order. Thus, it is no surprise that in their references to the *musawwada*, those editors who have worked with DK 1219 often do not give a page or folio number.

After the entry which closes NO 3194 (*'Alī b. 'Asākir*), there is a photo of a scrap of paper which reads: *qad ustunsikha maḥall al-futughraf Shahbal qabālat al-Bāb al-'Ālī*, and, in Ottoman: *Bāb-ı 'ālī karshısında Shehbal fotograflıkhanesinde istinsākh edilmiştir*. The studio is obviously "Photo Chehbal, Ruchdi Zadé Frères, Vis-à-vis de la Sublime-Porte"<sup>14</sup>.

To complete this section, I would like to give a brief survey of other (mostly smaller) fragments of the *musawwada* kept in other places than Istanbul.

*Taimūriyya* 976. Described by Gabrieli in *Appendice*, p. 1163 (no. 43): 28 fol., 90 *tarājim* from various parts of the work.

*Taimūriyya* 2410 *tārīkh*. First mentioned in the *khātima* to vol. 17. Short description by Aiman Fu'ād Sayyid in a letter to U. Haarmann (dated Oct. 8, 1990): Autograph. 12 fol., containing four *Aḥmads*, one *Tashtimur*, *Ṭa'ma*, *Ṭughān*, five *Ṭughā'īs*, one *Ṭughrā'ī*, seven *'Abdallāhs*: twenty entries in all.

*Taimūriyya tāriḫ* 125 *mīm*. Description by Togan cited in Gabrieli's *Appendice*. The first fragment ought to be an autograph fragment, if one takes into account the outward aspect as described by Togan (glued-in scraps of paper, one folio upside down). But then, this would be the only instance known to me where biographical entries occur twice in the *musawwada* in a somewhat systematic fashion: The *Tūbal* and *Tawba* mentioned by Togan are to be found in NO 3197, p. 120 ff. as well.

*Gotha 1733*: Detailed description by Gabrieli in *Como si possa* (with an illustration showing Şafadī's handwriting). This volume has not been used at all for the edition. This is perhaps a consequence of the political situation in Germany, but in any case, the Gotha library is known to have been not very cooperative.

*Zāhiriyya 9825 or 9835*. The only mention of this fragment is in the inventory booklet of the OIB, nos. 239 and 256. Both signatures are given. In this case, it is not sure at all whether this really is an autograph. 10 fol., biographical entries from 'Abdallāh b. Ṭa'ūs to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥākim. Nothing is known about the whereabouts of the OIB microfilm.

The following diagram shows the utilization of the different fragments of the *musawwada*.

<i>utilized</i>	<i>to be utilized</i>
vol. 1: NO 3191	-
vol. 2: -	NO 3191, 3197
vol. 3: -	NO 3191, G 1733
vol. 4: -	NO 3191, 3197, G 1733
vol. 5: NO 3197	NO 3191, G 1733
vol. 6: NO 3192	T 976, T 2410?
vol. 7: NO 3192	T 976, T 2410?
vol. 8: -	NO 3192, T 976, T 2410?, G 1733, AS 4036
vol. 9: NO 3192	-
vol. 10: DK 1219	NO 3197
vol. 11: -	NO 3193, 3197, T 976
vol. 12: -	T 976
vol. 13: -	NO 3197, T 976
vol. 14: -	-
vol. 15: -	NO 3193, 3197
vol. 16: DK 1219	NO 3195?, T 2410, G 1733
vol. 17: NO 3195, T 976, T 2410	Z 9825/35?
vol. 18: DK 1219	NO 3195?, G 1733
vol. 19:	NO 3194, 3195, G 1733
vol. 20:	NO 3194, AS 4036
vol. 21: NO 3194	-
vol. 22: DK 1219	NO 3194, 3197?
vol. 23:	NO 3194, 3197, G 1733
vol. 24:	NO 3196, T 976
vol. 25:	T 976
vol. 26:	NO 3196, T 976
vol. 27:	-
vol. 28:	NO 3196
vol. 29:	NO 3196?

Abbreviations: AS: Aya Sofya, DK: *Dār al-Kutub*, G: Gotha; NO: Nuru Osmaniye, T: *Taimūriyya*, Z: *Zāhiriyya*.

I have not included the fragments T *tāriḫ mīm*, 125 because of their uncertain status. Furthermore, I would like to stress that in some cases, one single biographical entry leads to the corresponding manuscript's mention in the right column.

What does all this mean for the edition? It is obvious that the autograph fragments have not been fully used for the edition; to what extent they were left out will be assessed below. In the first place, the consequences for the edited text itself will be discussed. Two aspects are of some importance: the variants first, and then, biographical entries from the *musawwada* not included in any of the fair copies the edition is based upon.

The variants seem to be few in number and minor in contents. This shows the accuracy and competence of those scribes and collators who were responsible for the fair copies, especially of the 'basis series' in 29 volumes. Where variants are more than details, they sometimes offer more precise dates of a person's death, e.g., the month is added.

Biographical entries not included in any of the fair copies are another question. These seem to be more numerous, but whether they were left out on purpose or accidentally is not to be traced; in any case, we would like to have them. The following tests have been made:

First, the editors of vol. 10 found three items (out of 53 *Abu Bakrs* they found in the *musawwada*) which were not included in any other manuscript they used (all of them are in NO 3197).

Second, out of the 78 *'Abdallāhs* that the editor of vol. 17 found in NO 3195, all were also included in some other manuscript.

Third, in the list of biographical entries from the Gotha fragment that Gabrieli made for his description, there are 192 names from already published sections. Out of these, three were apparently missing in the edition. Two more might be double entries which were dropped when the fair copies were made<sup>15</sup>.

Fourth, to enlarge the numerical basis for a statistical statement, the first 200 entries of NO 3197 were checked in the edition. These include the *Abū Bakr* entries mentioned above. Apart from the three items quoted, I have not been able to locate 7 more entries in the edition<sup>16</sup>.

In all, 470 *tarājim* were checked. Of this number, thirteen are not included in any manuscript except the *musawwada*; that is a proportion of roughly 2.8%.

This number is evidently subject to the usual considerations. It is indeed remarkable that the 'missing entries' are very unequally distributed over the work. Moreover, a body of 470 items does not seem to be very large compared to the 14,000 entries *al-Wāfī* can be estimated at. And finally, there is of course the possibility that I have overlooked one of the 13; this

cannot be excluded, however conscientiously one works.

The quoted number of 13 out of 470, or 2.8%, indicates the entries peculiar to the *musawwada*, not those effectively missing in the edition. After all, the *musawwada* fragments have been used to some extent. If we want to estimate how many biographical entries have been omitted from the edition, we must first consider how many items in all there are in the autograph fragments, and after that, we must attempt to calculate to what extent they have been utilized or could still be consulted for the volumes not yet published.

The overall volume of the *musawwada* fragments can be estimated at 4,000 pages (this can be calculated from the descriptions). This corresponds to a total of roughly 3,500 biographical entries; Gabrieli counted 228 entries on the 264 pages of the Gotha fragment; the first 200 entries in NO 3197 take up 216 pages. 2.8% out of 3,500 would give 100 biographical entries. These are the items peculiar to the *musawwada* (let us not forget the considerations and caveats). The next estimate is the most sensitive one, since it concerns the extent to which the editors were able to make use of the *musawwada* fragments. No use at all has been made of the larger fragments G 1733 and NO 3193. Probably less than half has been used of NO 3191, probably more than half has been used of NO 3197. Complete or nearly complete use has been or still can be made of NO 3192, 3194, 3195, 3196 and AS 4036. Only in vol. 17 have the smaller fragments been hitherto used at all. All this means that nearly two-thirds of the entire *musawwada* has been used or can still be used for the edition.

This would mean that between 30 and 40 entries are not included in the edition and will not be even under the most favorable circumstances. This number is not the result of a count, but should be taken as a qualified guess.

There still is the possibility that further fragments of the *musawwada* might yet come to light, particularly in Cairo and Damascus (the *Taymūriyya* and *Zāhiriyya* libraries).

In the same article<sup>17</sup>, Ritter also described some manuscripts of *al-Wāfi* in the Shehid 'Ali Pasha collection (SAP). According to Ritter, they belong to one of the oldest extant series of that work. Ritter presumed that Şafadī himself supervised the copyist's work. He assumed that this was so because there are additions in the margins in Şafadī's own hand, at least one scrap of paper (written by Şafadī) is glued into one volume, and there is a note saying that the historian Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Duqmāq read the book. Thus, the volumes in the Shehid 'Ali Pasha collection are as important a basis for the edition as those of the 'Topkapı'-series.

SAP 1967. *Ja'far b. al-Ḥusain Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Sībī to al-Ḥirmazī*.

Falls into vol. 11 entirely. Not used.

SAP 1965. *Ziyād b. al-Aṣfar to Sunqur Shāh*.

Falls into vol. 15 entirely. Used.

SAP 1968. *al-'Abbās b. Abī 'l-Futūḥ to 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad (...)* *Najm al-Dīn al-Baghdādī*.

Falls partly into vol. 16 (not used) and partly into vol. 17 (not used; could not be made available).

SAP 1969. *'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad 'Ain al-Dawla to 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Wahhāb*.

Falls partly into vol. 17 (see above) and partly into vol. 18 (not used).

SAP 1970. *'Abd al-Salām b. 'Alī to 'Ubaidullāh b. al-Faḍl Shaiṭān al-Ṭāq*.

Falls partly into vol. 18 (see above) and partly into vol. 19.

SAP 1971. *Maḥmūd b. 'Abd b. Maḥmūd to Munabbih b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad*.

Falls into vols. 25 and 26.

The Shehid 'Ali Pasha series has thus been used for vol. 15 only. Maybe we should say that it could be used for that volume only; obviously, there were difficulties in preparing the work. So we are lucky that SAP 1965 could be used, in that vol. 15 of the 'Topkapı'-series is missing. For those parts it covers, SAP 1965 is a full equivalent.

D. Krawulsky, who edited vol. 17, gives a tentative diagram listing which manuscripts depend on which earlier ones. She believes that the basis series was copied from another fair copy which was written under Şafadī's supervision. This is indicated by collation entries in the basis series. The London and Oxford manuscripts have both been copied from a series which apparently has not survived (perhaps London was also copied from Oxford). Apart from these three manuscripts, Krawulsky made use of a Paris manuscript (BN Arabe 2066). Although this is a rather recent copy, Krawulsky thinks that this Paris manuscript may have been copied from a manuscript written when Şafadī was still alive. She is not explicit about whether the Shehid 'Ali Pasha series may be this very early copy, but the question arises by itself.

There are some hints that this is exactly what happened, but we cannot be altogether sure.

As has already been mentioned, the Shehid 'Ali Pasha series contains several notes written by Şafadī in the margins and even a glued-in scrap of paper. The biography of *'Abdallāh al-Manūfī al-Mālikī* (vol. 17, no. 593) which, of the manuscripts used by Krawulsky, is to be found only in the London and Paris manuscripts, is included in SAP 1968 on a scrap of paper written by Şafadī, glued in between fols. 35 and 36. This is where the *'Abdallāh* section ends. Şafadī may have waited until the last moment to add this biography to the fair copy because he could not ascertain this man's patronym<sup>18</sup>.

This Manūfī died on Ramaḍān 7, 749 (November 30, 1348). Şafadī tells two stories about him, both on the authority of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī<sup>19</sup>. When he

learnt that Manūfī had died, did Şafadī ask al-Subkī what he knew about the deceased? If he did, he may have written down what al-Subkī had told him and glued the paper into the fair copy he happened to have at hand. This is of course only an idea, but we know for certain that Şafadī was always asking people in his circle about people and dates.

There are a small number of notes written by Şafadī in the margins. Apart from these, the margins are practically clean, no notes having been written on them. Thus, the marginal notes are very easily detected.

The variant about 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain 'b. Naqqār" (vol. 17, p. 50 line 3ff — no. 44), which Krawulsky found only in the Paris manuscript, is such a marginal note, written most probably by Şafadī (SAP 1968, fol. 32).

The variant in the biography of 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm "al-Wānī" (no. 505), where we learn (contrary to what the basis series says) that this man did not die in Jumādā I, but in Rajab of 749 in Damascus, and the additional information that he vomited blood and died after two days (of the plague), is included in SAP 1969 in a marginal note probably written by Şafadī on fol. 4b.

So far, the hints seem to be quite clear. The Paris manuscript ought to have been copied from Shehid 'Ali Pasha, and we may even assume that this copy was already made before 749. It is known that Şafadī continued working on *al-Wāfī* in a relatively systematic fashion up to 753, but this does not exclude the possibility that fair copies were made before that date<sup>20</sup>.

But, as has been mentioned before, there are doubts about all that. I should have liked to find the biography of 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Wazīr 'Alam al-Dīn b. al-Qādī Tāj al-Dīn b. Zanbūr (only in Paris, vol. 17 no. 54) in its place (or any place) on a glued-in paper or a marginal note in SAP. But disappointingly, I did not find it at all.

The verses mentioned with the biography of *al-Shaikh Taqī al-Dīn b. Tamām* (vol. 17 no. 48, verses only in Paris manuscript) are likewise missing in SAP.

Thus, we cannot tell from which manuscript these Paris particularities were taken. But we still may assume that the writers of that manuscript had (among others) the Shehid 'Ali Pasha manuscripts at their disposal.

To propose an explanation, I wonder whether it is possible that Şafadī (who, as we know, never wrote a fair copy of *al-Wāfī* himself)<sup>21</sup> dictated it instead, and that on this occasion, several fair copies were made simultaneously. This would resemble a public collation, a procedure known to have taken place for *A'yān al-Aşr*.<sup>22</sup>

## NOTES

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*Author's note.* This paper is based on research I did in Istanbul in 1990 and 1991. On this occasion, I would like to thank Prof. Erika Glassen, director of the Orient Institut, who first called my attention to Şafadī, and Prof. Ulrich Haarmann, co-publisher of *Bibliotheca Islamica*, for his encouragement and support. Information about Cairo manuscripts is due to Prof. Aiman Fu'ād Sayyid, whose help I gratefully acknowledge. Above all, I am greatly indebted to the director of the Süleymaniye library, Muammer Ülker, and the head librarian, Mine Özener, as well as the library's staff who kindly and generously helped me in my work. — An earlier version of this paper was presented to the XXV. Deutscher Orientalistentag at Munich, April 1991.

<sup>1</sup> Ritter, Hellmut: Über einige Werke des Şalāḥaddīn Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī in Stambuler Bibliotheken. — In: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 12 (Rome 1929), p. 79 ff.

Gabrieli, G.: Come si possa ricostruire dai manoscritti il grande dizionario biografico (*al-Wāfī bi'l-Wafāyāt*) di al-Şafadī. — In: *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei ser. 5*, vol. 21 (Roma 1912), p. 726 ff. The Gotha autograph carries the no. 42.

Gabrieli, G.: Appendice. Altri manoscritti di Şafadī *Wāfī*. — In: *Rendiconti*, vol. 25 (Roma 1917), p. 1165 f. The Cairo autographic fragment has the no. 43. This article includes a description of the Cairo manuscript *Taimūriyya tāriḫ mīm 125* by Z.V. Togan (in French).

The first volume of the edition includes a general description of the principles underlying the project. Gabrieli's article as well as the first volume of the edition include photographs of Şafadī's handwriting as well as proof for the authenticity of the autographs.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Little, Donald: al-Şafadī as Biographer of his Contemporaries. — In: *Essays on Islamic Civilization presented to Niyazi Berkes*. Leiden 1976. Little quite rightly states that vol. 2 of the edition was published nearly twenty years after vol. 1. His remark that the edition advanced so slowly after the Second World War that it would get no further than the *Muḥammad* section seems to be belied, however, by the fact that the remaining (9 out of 29) volumes have all been assigned to editors and are now in various stages of preparation.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note 1. The Nuru Osmaniye *defter* catalogue mentions seven volumes of *al-Wāfī*; cf. *Nuru 'Osmaniye Kütübhānesinde Maḥfūz Kütüb-i Mevjudenin Defteri*, Der Se'adet (no year), nos. 3191-3197.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. note 1.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, Ritter in his commentary, vol. 1 of the edition, and the article by Van Ess cited in note 7.

<sup>7</sup> Van Ess, Josef: Şafadī-Splitter I. — In: *Der Islam* 53 (1976), p. 247 note 13.

<sup>8</sup> Ritter in vol. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the corresponding list in the *khātima* van Ess wrote to this volume which he edited.

<sup>10</sup> All the volumes in NO have several paginations, cf. Krawulsky's *khātima* to vol. 17. She has also discovered which is the original one, which I could not use, however, since the numbers are not to be found on every sheet; even if they were, they would not permit one's locating a quota-

tion in the given volume. Thus, the page numbers in this article refer to a simple chronological pagination, which is in small oriental (not European) Arabic numbers. Every page, including the pages glued in and those with no text on them, has its own number. It is thus the only pagination fit for quoting.

<sup>11</sup> I believe that Ritter (who mentions in his article that he did the descriptions rather in a hurry) was led astray by the fact that NO 3196 takes us nearly up to the end of the alphabet. It is not evident that there is another volume that begins with *bā'* again.

<sup>12</sup> The pagination mentioned for the NO manuscripts (cf. note 10) is missing in AS 4036. This manuscript was at some point paginated in the same fashion as the NO volumes, but it counts folios instead of pages.

<sup>13</sup> The inventory booklet kept at the OIB lists all the microfilms available there. Although the Orient-Institut is officially not in Beirut (but in Istanbul) at the present date, the library and with it the microfilms have not been moved.

<sup>14</sup> I owe the reference to "Photo Chehbal" to Dr. W.D. Lemke of the Orient Institut.

<sup>15</sup> The 3 entries from the *Abū Bakr* section are mentioned by J. Sublet and A. Amara in their *khātima* to vol. 10. — The 3 entries from the Gotha list are: *Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muẓaffar b. 'Abdallāh Fakhr al-Dīn*; *Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im Sharaf al-Dīn b. al-Mu'in al-Manfalūṭī* and *Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān Sharaf al-Dīn "b. bint Abī Sa'īd"*. The two doubles are: *Ṭaybughā al-*

*amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Majdī* and *Ṭaydimur al-Amīr Saif al-Dīn al-Ismā'īlī*. They are apparently mentioned twice in the Gotha ms, once with their nisba and once without.

<sup>16</sup> The names are: *Ibrāhīm Abū Rāfi' mawlā Rasūl Allāh* and *Ibrāhīm Abū Ishaq al-Bazdawī al-Qairawānī*: both NO 3197, p. 7. Further: *Ḥamdān b. Hawas mutawallī Dimashq*, p. 143; *Ḥamza b. As'ad b. 'Alī b. al-Qalānisī*, p. 175; *Ḥumaid b. Faḍl b. 'Īsā*, p. 171; and *Ḥumaid b. Hawas al-'Uqailī*, p. 191. The seventh person is *Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Khattābī*, p. 112. This entry has been crossed out in the ms, but it is quite legible (several other entries have been deleted in such a way that everything but the person's *ism* is illegible). We have to include this *Ḥamd* in the missing biographies even if Ṣafadī did not want to have him in the final version.

Both the volumes and the registers have been checked. There are instances where a *tarjuma* is missing in the register, but is present in the book.

<sup>17</sup> Ritter, article quoted in note 1.

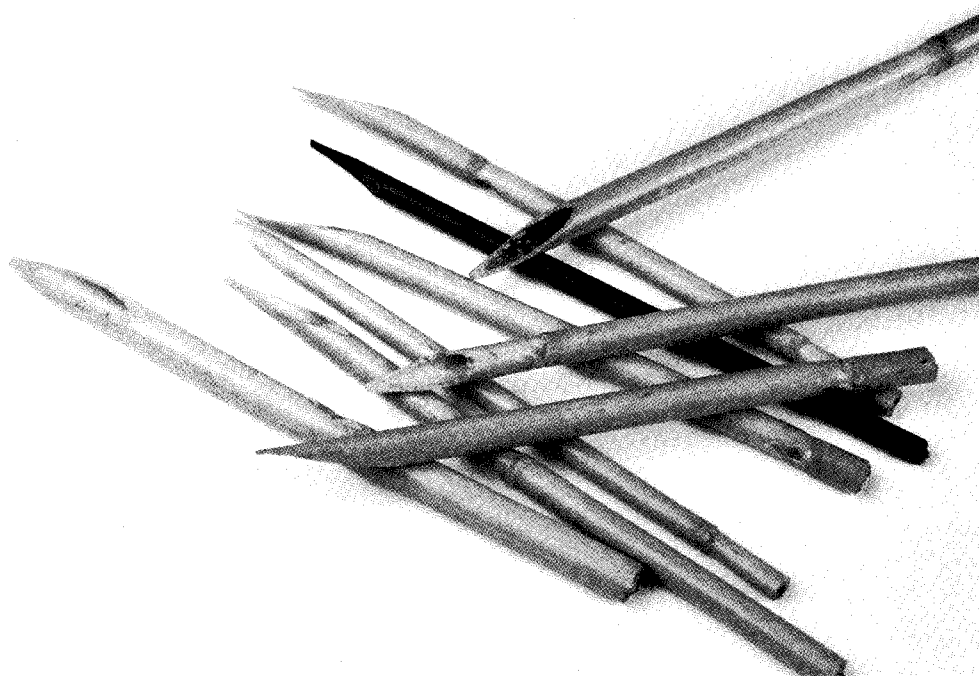
<sup>18</sup> Other instances of persons whose patronyms were unknown to Ṣafadī are quoted by van Ess, *Ṣafadī-Splitter I* (note 7), p. 252. These are also placed at the end of the corresponding section.

<sup>19</sup> For Subkī as a source for Ṣafadī, cf. Little's article quoted in note 2, p. 205.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. van Ess, *Ṣafadī-Splitter*, p. 249.

<sup>21</sup> This is suggested by van Ess in his article, l.c.

<sup>22</sup> Little, l.c., p. 209.



العبد البصري

عثمان بن عيسى بن فارس الجعدي البصري قال له رجل صالح ثبت  
وقال الجعدي ثبتت في سنة سبع ومائتين وروى له الجماعة

قطعة تالفة من السقط بدمحمد



٤٠٤٦

مردوف هذه السجدة سلطان الأعظم والملك المعظم  
والعظيم حاكم الحرمين الشريفين السلطان السلطان  
محمد خان ومعه صاحبها محمد خان السلطان السلطان  
احل الله لنا هذه داود وحمزة العظمى  
المصطفى داود وحمزة العظمى  
محمد خان



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من آل أبي طالب  
رشتة في قلوبنا وفضلنا في  
عزنا وفضلنا في قلوبنا وفضلنا في  
بالقوة في سنة فخر وعظيم وفضلنا في  
ذو القعدة سنة اربع مائة واربعمائة

MS Aya Sofya 4036, Al-Şafadī's *al-Wāfī bi'l-Wafāyāt*. Beginning of the volume. Autograph. Note glued-in scrap (on darker paper). Reproduction by courtesy of Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul.

