

01 Aralık 2016

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21 Kasım 2017

250523

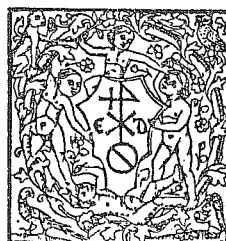
ÉCOLE PRATIQUE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES  
SCIENCES HISTORIQUES ET PHILOLOGIQUES – II

HAUTES ÉTUDES ORIENTALES – Moyen et Proche-Orient 5  
51

Documents et histoire  
*Documents and History*  
Islam, VII<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle  
*Islam, VIIth-XVIth century*

Actes des premières Journées d'étude internationales  
École pratique des hautes études, IV<sup>e</sup> section  
musée du Louvre, département des Arts de l'Islam  
Paris, 16 et 17 mai 2008

Textes réunis par  
ANNE REGOURD



LIBRAIRIE DROZ S.A. – 11, rue Massot, Genève – 2013

Papyrus (160017)

12 Ocak 2018

A catalogue of dating criteria for undated  
Arabic papyri with 'cursive' features

EVA MIRA GROB

*Introduction: documentary Arabic papyri*

The total amount of documentary Arabic papyri and papers held by libraries and collections is estimated to approach 130.000 items. Of these 130.000 items around 2.250 (ca. 2%) have been published with full edition and translation. This paper refers only to these published documents. The majority of the published documents are written on papyrus (ca. 1.350 items or 60%), followed by 35% written on paper (ca. 800 items) and 5% on parchment (ca. 100 items). The Arabic *papyrus* documents cover a period of about three hundred years. The first pieces appear soon after the invasion of Egypt by the Arabs in 18/639, and huge numbers accumulated by the IIIrd/IXth century. In the IVth/Xth century we observe the rise of paper as a writing material and the total decline of papyrus.<sup>1</sup> Only a few last-scattered pieces are left after the mid IVth/Xth century.<sup>2</sup>

1. The distribution of dated Arabic papyri suggests, that the import of paper in a larger scale started in the second half of the IXth century (see graph 1).
2. Youngest dated pieces with full edition and translation so far: P.Cair.Arab. 283 (P.Cair. EgLib. inv. 247v) 360/970–971; P.GrohmannProbleme 15 (Vind.inv. A.P. 14003) 320/932; CPR XXI 82 (Vind.inv. A.P. 14000r) 320/932. The five papyri documents of P.Ryl.Arab. I dated after 320/932 provide unfortunately no picture of the original: P.Ryl.Arab. I X 11 (P.Ryl. inv. G I 11) 324/936; P.Ryl.Arab I XV 44 (P.Ryl. inv. E IV 18) 349/961; P.Ryl.Arab. I XV 63 (P.Ryl. inv. D V 4 B) 370/981; P.Ryl. Arab I X 12 (P.Ryl. inv. F III 16r) 402/1012; P.Ryl.Arab. I X 10 (P.Ryl. inv. F I 7) 490/1088. The dating of the last two is however very doubtful: the editions show that the numbers are extremely damaged. In PERF, another three documents dated

115-136

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SUVA GELEN DOKUMAN



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papyrus

Papyrus aq bk.  
- KÂĞIT

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Kitap Tanıtma ve Tenkileri

Nabia Abbot, *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute*, The University of Chicago Press, 1938.

Dr. Nabia Abbot ile Şikago Üniversitesinin Şarkiyat Bölümünde tanıştım. Arasına görüştüğümüzde, bana, Kuran Kerim, Hadis Şerif'e ve Arap edebiyatına ait kartonlara iştirilmiş olduğu, üzeri yazılı deri parçalarını ve ufalmış, kırılmış papirüz kâğıtlarının kutularını gösterir ve çalıştığı konu hakkında bilgi verirdi. Irak Araplarından olup Birinci Dünya Savaşında memlektinden ayrılmıştır. Dr. Nabia Abbot yaşlı ve oldukça yorgun gözükmekte olup ince hünyeli ve orta boyludur. Çalıştığı konu ve verdiği eserler bir ömür vermeyince insana bir şey vermeyen cinstendir. Gerçekten her ilim dalı öyledir. İnsan bütün varlığını vermeyince bir parmak basacak kadar yer kendisine verilmez. Nabia Abbot'un burada dört eserini tanıtacağız. Bu eserler birbirini tamamlayan tek konuda eserlerdir. Bunun için biri bir kimseye lâzımsa ötekiler de ona lâzımdır. İkisi eskiden basılmış olmalarına rağmen bazı ilgili kimselerin son eserini duydukları halde, ki bu eskilerin bir devamıdır, öncekiler ellerine geçmemiş veya gözlerinden kaçmış olabilir. Eskilerin nüshaları bitmiş olduğundan, onların da tanıtılmalarının aynı konuyla ilgilenen kimseleri memnun edeceğine kaniyiz.

Yukarda adını ve basılış tarihini verdiğimiz eser yüz bir sayfa esas kitap olup baş tarafında XI ve XII sayfaları kaynak eserlerin kısaltılmalarına dair, ve XIII den XVII'e kadar ki sayfalar da bibliyografyaya ayrılmış ve sonuna dört levha Arapça fotokopi ilâve edilmiştir.

Eserin planı şöyledir:

1- Giriş

a) Tarihi özet: 1 - 5 sayfaları arasındaki bu konuda yazar on sekizinci Asırda Batıda başlayan "papyrology" papirüscülük, papyrus incelemesinin, ilk anda beşinci ile onuncu asırlardaki Latin yazmaları üzerinde iken, on doku-

İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, c.15, s.213, 1967 (ANKARA)

Not: Bu makale 213-223 sayfaları arasındadır.

Dergi Ansiklopedi kütüphanesinde mevcuttur.

٢٠١٣

## جهود المستشرقين في دراسة البرديات العربية ونشرها

جاسر أبو صفية

الجامعة الأردنية، عمان، الأردن

### ملخص

هذا البحث محاولة أولية لتعريف جهود المستشرقين في دراسة البرديات العربية ونشرها. وقد اقتضت طبيعة البحث أن يمهّد له بنبذة عن البرديّ وأسمائه في العربية. وأن يتّبع ذلك بحديث موجز عن اكتشاف البرديات وأماكن وجودها وقيمتها العلمية للباحثين في اللغة والأدب والتاريخ والنظم المالية في العصور الإسلامية الأولى.

ثمّ عرّضت لجهود المستشرقين في اقتناء البرديات وتنظيفها وفهرستها ودراستها ونشرها. وقد جرى الحديث في هذا المجال على العلماء الألمان والتشيك والنمساويين والإنجليز والإيطاليين. ووقفت عند جهود الباحثة العربية نبيهة عبود بوصفها واحدة من المستشرقين.

وأمل مثل هذه الدراسة تعثرها العيوب وتحتاج إلى مزيد من الدرس لإكمال ما فيها من نقص، وما ذلك إلا لأنّ الدراسات التي كتبها المستشرقون حول البرديات العربية ما تزال غير ميسرة لنا في المكتبات العربية. فإن كان في هذه الدراسة من العيوب والأخطاء ما أشرت إليه فعذري أنني حاولت واجتهدت راجياً أن أستكمل هذا الموضوع في المستقبل القريب إن شاء الله.

### تمهيد

لعلّ من المفيد قبل أن أتحدّث عن جهود المستشرقين في دراسة البرديات العربية ونشرها، أن أقدم بين يديّ الموضوع بنبذة عن البرديّ وأسمائه في العربية، وأتبع ذلك بذكر اكتشاف البرديات، وأماكن وجودها وقيمتها العلمية للباحثين في اللغة والأدب والتاريخ والنظم المالية.

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30 AGUSTOS 2005

IRCICA Ktp.

the same meaning as *jarīd*, is mentioned in Arabic sources as a writing material.<sup>55</sup> The modern Arabic word *jarīdah*, 'newspaper', comes from the word *jarīd*.

*karānīf* (sg. *kurnūfah*): this is defined as the palm trunk, or the stalk of the palm-leaf which remains on the trunk or leaf-stalk.<sup>56</sup> The use of *karānīf* as writing material is associated with the Qur'ān.<sup>57</sup>

*karab* (pl. *akrāb/kirāb*): defined by Arabic authors as stumps, lower ends of palm-branches which are thick and broad, it is also defined as small pieces of *karānīf*. *Karab* is recorded as a writing material for the Qur'ān.<sup>58</sup>

*bān*, 'ben-tree, Moringa': this is attested by the pre-Islamic poet Labīd as a writing material used in the Yemen, and it is mentioned together with *asīb*. It could be that some of the newly discovered wood-sticks were made from this kind of tree, but this has yet to be verified. Labīd speaks of a young Yemeni, who writes in *zabūr*-script on *bān* and *asīb* with a pen (*qalam*).<sup>59</sup> The *bān*-tree is mentioned together with the *'ilb*-tree in Sabaeen inscriptions.<sup>60</sup>

*'ilb* (sg. *'ilbah*, pl. *'ulūb*), '*ilb*-tree' or *Zizyphus spina christi*: archaeological discoveries from the Yemen have brought to light small objects of wood on which writing appears. These are amulets or pendants. It has been suggested that these objects were made from the *'ilb*-tree.<sup>61</sup> *'ilb* is a Yemeni word, explained by the Arabic *sidr*.<sup>62</sup> *Sidr* is mentioned in a *ḥadīth* as being used for writing.<sup>63</sup>

*'ar'ar*, 'juniper': some Arabic sources mention this tree as being used as writing material. Apparently wooden tablets were made from *'ar'ar*.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Alī, *al-Mufaṣṣal fi tārīkh al-'arab qabla al-Islām* VIII, 132.

<sup>56</sup> M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache* I (Wiesbaden 1970), 150–51.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 151; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān* I, 21.

<sup>58</sup> al-Firūzabādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, art. *krb*; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2602.

<sup>59</sup> Abbās, *Sharḥ Diwān Labīd*, 138.

<sup>60</sup> A. F. L. Beeston, M. A. Ghul, W. W. Müller and J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary* (English-French-Arabic) (Louvain-la-Neuve-Beirut 1982), 33.

<sup>61</sup> Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie* I, 94.

<sup>62</sup> al-Selwi, *Jemenitische Wörter*, 160–61.

<sup>63</sup> al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā* II, 484.

<sup>64</sup> According to al-Aṣma'ī, Arabs used to write on *al-'asīb*, *al-bān* and *al-'ar'ar*, cf. Abbās, *Sharḥ Diwān Labīd*, 138.

Wood was used for writing in both North and South Arabia. It was prepared from the different kinds of trees discussed above. In addition, a kind of wood called *rausam* was used for writing.<sup>65</sup> The use of wood for writing has been confirmed through archaeological and epigraphical discoveries, particularly the wood-sticks found in South Arabia. Arabic sources give us some information about this subject in North Arabia. Tablets (*alwāḥ*) of wood were employed as a writing material; the North Arabs also used camel saddles (*rahl*, *ikāf*)<sup>66</sup> and small saddle boards called *aqṭāb*,<sup>67</sup> (sg. *qatab*) for writing, as well as divining arrows (*sihām al-istiḡsām*; *aqḍāḥ*)<sup>68</sup> and walking sticks (sg. *'asā*). This practice is recorded for North Arabia, and by al-Hamdānī for South Arabia.<sup>69</sup> Arrows are mentioned in Arabic sources as being used for writing in the Yemen.<sup>70</sup>

### Papyrus

*Qirtās* (also *qurtās*, pl. *qarātīs*) is defined as paper, a sheet of paper, or as parchment, papyrus or a document. Arabic sources do not give a specific meaning for it; it signifies sheets for writing, which could be of parchment or papyri. Papyrus was used not only as a sheet for writing, but also in the form of a scroll. Papyrus as a writing material was already used in Egypt in the third millennium BC.<sup>71</sup> From the beginning of the first millennium BC it was used for writing alphabetical scripts such as Aramaic, Phoenician and Hebrew. Aramaic papyri have been found in several places such as Wādī al-Dāliyah, in the Jordan valley, and in Egypt. Papyrus was used for writing Aramaic in Mesopotamia from the beginning of the ninth century BC.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>65</sup> al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, art. *rsm*.

<sup>66</sup> al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī, *Diwān al-mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. C. J. Lyall (Oxford 1921, reprint Baghdad 1965), 460.

<sup>67</sup> al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, art. *qtb*; al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-Itqān* I, 207.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*, 4 vols, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqa et al. (Beirut, n.d.), I, 152.

<sup>69</sup> al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-Iklīl* VIII, 221.

<sup>70</sup> Zakariyyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-'ibād*, 2 vols, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen 1848–9), I, 32.

<sup>71</sup> A. Schlott, *Schrift und Schreiber im Alten Ägypten* (Munich 1991), 62–85; M. A. Hussein, *Vom Papyrus zum Codex: Der Beitrag Ägyptens zur Buchkultur* (Leipzig 1970), 16–22.

<sup>72</sup> A. Lemaire, 'Writing and Writing Materials', in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D. N. Freedman, 6 vols (New York 1992), VI, 999–1008.

۲۱۶/۴) و ریشه بردی (و نیز ساقه تازه هر گیاه) را عنقر یا عنقر نامند (بیرونی، همانجا؛ ابوالخیر، ۴۳۹/۲). همچنین این گیاه را در خراسان «لُخ» (بیرونی، ۱۰۱؛ کاسانی، ۱۲۱/۱)، در شیراز «تک» (حاجی زین عطار، ۵۶) و در اصفهان «بیزر» نامند (حکیم مؤمن، ۱۵۰؛ عقیلی، همانجا).

**کاربردهای درمانی و دارویی پاپیروس:** پزشکان دوره اسلامی درباره طبع بردی (در آثار پزشکی همیشه معادل پاپیروس) دیدگاههای مختلفی داشته‌اند، از جمله: سرد کننده از درجه دوم و خشک کننده و گیرنده (مقبض) در اعتدال (ابن بیطار، الجامع، ۸۷/۱، سطر ۲۷: به نقل از عیسی بن حکم دمشقی)، سرد و خشک از درجه دوم (ابن جزار، ۷۰؛ ابومنصور، ۶۸؛ نیز حاجی زین عطار، همانجا)؛ سرد و خشک بدون اشاره به درجه (ابن رین، ۴۰۴؛ ابن سینا، ۲۷۸/۱)؛ و نیز سرد از درجه دوم و خشک از درجه اول (حکیم مؤمن، نیز عقیلی، همانجاها).

گرچه جالینوس تأکید داشت که این گیاه نه به صورت طبیعی، که تنها خاکستر آن (به ویژه حل شده در سرکه) در پزشکی کاربرد دارد (ابن وافد، ۱۰۴؛ غافقی، ۷۶/۲؛ ابن بیطار، همان، ۸۷/۱)، اما دیوسکوریدس بر آن بود که چون خواهند سر زخم کهنه چرکین (ناسور) را باز کنند، بردی را در آب می‌افکنند و سپس پهن می‌کنند تا خشک شود. سپس نوک آن را در زخم فرو می‌کنند. بردی رطوبت زخم را به خود می‌گیرد و باد می‌کند و زخم را می‌گشاید (نک: رازی، ۱۷۰/۲-۱۷۱؛ ابن وافد، نیز ابن بیطار، همانجاها). به نظر ماسرجویه جندی شاپوری بوی بد دهان کسی که سیر یا پیاز خورده، یا شراب نوشیده است، با لیسیدن بردی از میان می‌رود (نک: ابن بیطار، همانجا؛ قس: جرجانی، ذخیره...، ۶۵۹، سطر ۱۳؛ حکیم مؤمن، ۱۵۱). ابن جزار نیز نوشیدن افشرد برگ سبز کوبیده شده بردی را برای درمان بیماریهای طحال بسیار سودمند می‌دانست (ص ۷۰؛ نیز ابن بیطار، همانجا؛ حکیم مؤمن، ۱۵۰-۱۵۱).

یعقوب کشکری برای بیرون آوردن آب از گوش این دستور را یاد کرده است: بیمار را طوری به پهلو می‌خوابانیم که گوشی که در آن آب رفته، رو به بالا باشد. نیمی از یک قطعه بردی به طول یک ذراع را با پنبه می‌پوشانیم و در روغن می‌افکنیم تا خوب روغن اندود شود. سر دیگر بردی را در گوش بیمار فرو می‌کنیم و سر روغن اندود را آتش می‌زنیم. بردی همچنان که آتش می‌گیرد، آب درون گوش را به خود می‌گیرد. آن هنگام که بیمار از آتش به رنج افتد، آب نیز از گوش وی کاملاً بیرون آمده است (ص ۱۰۸؛ قس: ابن سینا، ۱۵۹/۲). حکیم مؤمن نیز آب این گیاه را به تنهایی جلا دهنده دندان و بند آورنده خون ریزی، و همراه با سرکه برای درمان طحال نیک می‌شمرد (همانجا).

اما کاربرد خاکستر بردی و نیز سوخته کاغذ فراهم آمده از پاپیروس، به ویژه به عنوان بند آورنده خون ریزی و خشک کننده زخمها بسیار رایج تر بود. در واقع در آثار پزشکی مقصود از کاغذ (قرطاس) و

۱۳۰۶ش، شقایق، خرم آباد، ۱۳۷۶ش، س ۱، ش ۱؛ ساکی، علی محمد، جغرافیای تاریخی و تاریخ لرستان، خرم آباد، ۱۳۲۳ش؛ سرشماری اجتماعی - اقتصادی عشایر کوچنده (۱۳۷۷ش)، جمعیت عشایری دهستانها، کل کشور، مرکز آمار ایران، تهران، ۱۳۷۸ش؛ سرشماری اجتماعی - اقتصادی عشایر کوچنده (۱۳۶۶ش)، نتایج تفصیلی، استان لرستان، مرکز آمار ایران، تهران، ۱۳۶۹ش؛ همان (۱۳۷۷ش)، مرکز آمار ایران، تهران، ۱۳۷۸ش؛ قلیبرگ، ک. گ. ایل پایی، ترجمه اصغر کریمی، تهران، ۱۳۶۹ش؛ کریمی، بهمن، جغرافیای مفصل تاریخی غرب ایران، تهران، ۱۳۱۶ش؛ کیهان، مسعود، جغرافیای مفصل ایران، تهران، ۱۳۱۱ش؛ مردوخ کردستانی، محمد، تاریخ چاپخانه ارتش؛ نیز:

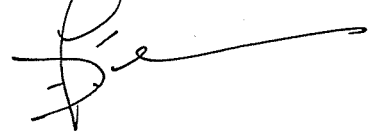
Edmonds, C. J., *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London, 1957; EI<sup>2</sup>; Field, H., *Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran*, Chicago, 1939; Mortensen, L. D., *Nomads of Luristan*, Copenhagen, 1993.  
معصومه ابراهیمی

**پاپیروس** (تلفظ اصلی: پاپوروس<sup>۱</sup>)، نام یونانی گیاهی که در مصر باستان از آن برای تهیه کاغذی به همین نام بهره می‌گرفتند (برای این کاربرد، نک: ه. د. کاغذ) و در پزشکی کهن نیز کاربرد دارویی داشت. این واژه در متون عربی و فارسی به شکل فافورس یا پاپوروس یا پاپورس (نک: ابوالخیر، ۸۴/۱؛ شرح لکتاب...، ۲۵؛ ابن بیطار، تفسیر...، ۱۳۴، قس: الجامع...، ۸۷/۱، سطر ۱۰: که این بار هنگام نقل سخن دیوسکوریدس به غلط «پانوروس» آمده است)، فافیروس (غافقی، ۷۶/۲) و فافیر ابابیر (همو، ۷۵/۲؛ ابوالخیر، همانجا؛ ابن بیطار، تفسیر، همانجا، الجامع، ۱۵۵/۳، سطر ۲۰). و نیز در متن چاپی آثار داروشناسی دوره اسلامی به صورتهای تصحیف شده عافر، غافر، فافیور و مانند آن آمده است (نک: همان، ۸۶/۱؛ عقیلی، ۲۱۱).

در بیشتر آثار گیاه - داروشناسی دوره اسلامی و نیز واژه‌نامه‌های عربی بردی را نام عربی این گیاه دانسته‌اند (شرح لکتاب، همانجا؛ ابن بیطار، تفسیر، همانجا، الجامع، ۸۶/۱-۸۷؛ غافقی، ۷۵/۲، به نقل از ابن جلجل)، اما برخی همچون ابوالعباس نباتی، مشهور به ابن رومیه (ابن بیطار، همان، ۸۶/۱)، غافقی (همانجا) و ابوالخیر اشیبلی (۸۴/۱-۸۵) برای بردی چند گونه (صنف) - و از جمله آنها: پاپیروس - بر شمرده‌اند (قس: خلیل بن احمد، ۲۵۰/۵، که تلویحاً «بردی مصر» را نوعی از انواع بردی دانسته است). در برخی لهجه‌های عربی (از جمله عربی اندلس)، بردی را خصوص نیز نامیده‌اند، زیرا برگ آن شبیه «برگ نخل» (= خوص) است (ابوالخیر، ۸۳/۱، ۲۲۰؛ غافقی، نیز ابن بیطار، همانجا، که هر دو از ابن جلجل نقل کرده‌اند؛ نیز نک: عقیلی، همانجا؛ قس: رازی، ۲۲۸/۳، به نقل از عیسی بن حکم دمشقی، مشهور به مسیح به شباهت خواص درمانی خوص و بردی نیز اشاره کرده است).

به گفته خلیل بن احمد فرایدی بردی سبزی را که در رویشگاه خود بسیار مانده باشد، حَقاً (مفرد آن: حفاة) گفته‌اند (۳۰۶/۳؛ قس: بیرونی، ۱۰۲؛ نیز ابوالخیر، ۴۱/۱، ۸۳، ۸۴، ۱۸۹، که بردی و حفا و نیز آبء را بدون هیچ شرطی معادل هم دانسته‌اند). نیز بخشی از نوک ساقه آن را که شبیه به پنبه است (قطن البردی) طوط (دینوری، ۲۵۴؛ خلیل بن احمد، ۲۰۴/۴، ۴۶۹/۷؛ ابوالخیر، ۸۴/۱)؛ پنبه سفید رنگی را که از ریشه بردی گرفته می‌شود: خراط (ابوالخیر، ۲۰۳/۱؛ خلیل بن احمد،

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Irigoien, Atm

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français

JEAN IRIGOIN

LES PAPIERS NON FILIGRANÉS  
ÉTAT PRÉSENT DES RECHERCHES  
ET PERSPECTIVES D'AVENIR

INTRODUCTION

Parler de papiers non filigranés, c'est donner à un produit manufacturé une qualification négative et rassembler sous une même étiquette des produits d'origine variée et de fabrication différente dont l'élément commun, base du groupement, est l'absence d'une particularité technique. Le filigrane, marque visible en transparence. Inventé aux alentours de 1280 par un papetier italien de Fabriano, le filigrane n'apparaît pas dans les papiers antérieurs à cette date quel qu'en soit le lieu de fabrication, de l'Extrême-Orient à l'Europe occidentale; il n'apparaît pas non plus, jusqu'au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle du moins, dans les papiers postérieurs à 1280 qui ne sont pas issus d'une fabrique européenne.

C'est dire la difficulté et la complexité d'une enquête portant sur les papiers non-filigranés; elle dépasse les forces et la compétence d'un seul homme. Voilà pourquoi, en 1987, à l'initiative de Louis Holtz, directeur de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, s'est constituée à Paris une équipe de chercheurs regroupant des spécialistes des manuscrits médiévaux appartenant à l'IRHT (CNRS), à la Bibliothèque nationale (BN) et à l'École pratique des hautes études (EPHE),<sup>1</sup> et couvrant les domaines linguistiques où ont été utilisés des papiers non filigranés, soit, de l'est vers l'ouest, le persan, le géorgien, l'arménien, le turc, le syriaque, l'hébreu, l'arabe, le copte, le grec et le latin; des spécialistes de l'Extrême-Orient<sup>2</sup> sont venus s'associer à ces premiers travaux pour lesquels le groupe a bénéficié de l'expérience et des avis d'un praticien de la fabrication du papier à la main, Albert Lacombe, fondateur du Musée du Papier d'Angoumois (Moulin de Fleurac). A l'automne de 1991, l'équipe a été

<sup>1</sup> Soit, dans l'ordre alphabétique, M.-Th. Bavavéas (IRHT), A. Berthier (BN), A. Boud'hors (CNRS), F. Déroche (EPHE), A. Desreumaux (CNRS), M.-O. Germain (BN), M.-G. Guesdon (BN), Ph. Hoffmann (EPHE/ENS), G. Humbert (IRHT), B. Mondrain (EPHE), F. Richard (BN), Y. Sauvan (BN), M. Zerdoun (IRHT), plus le signataire de ce rapport.

<sup>2</sup> H. Vetch (CNRS) et J.-P. Drège (EPHE).



عن علم البردي ان هذا النبات ظل ينمو في دمياط وجهات قليلة اخرى حتى سنة ١٨٢٩ ، بينما يقرر Coumbe (٢) ان المنابع المحلية لنبات البردي في مصر بدأت تجف منذ القرن الثالث عشر الميلادي ، وهو في هذا يتفق مع ما ذكره ابو العباسي النباتي ، ثم يذكر ان قلة متفرقة من هذه المنابع التي ينمو فيها نبات البردي ظلت تشاهد حتى سنة ١٥٩١ م ، ولكن منذ سنة ١٦٧٤ م انعدمت الاشارات عن وجود ذلك النبات في مصر .

والحقيقة التي أجدها اقرب ما تكون قبولا للمقبل هي ان نبات البردي كانت زراعته تزداد وتقل حسب مركز مصر قوة وضعفا ، فان كانت مصر في مركز قوى ازدادت زراعة هذا النبات وتمت صناعة اوراقه التي كانت تصدر الى بلدان منطقة الشرق الادنى والى بلدان ومدن حوض البحر الابيض المتوسط باعتبار مصر مركز الاشعاع الحضاري في هذه المنطقة وهي التي تصدر مادة الكتابة الوحيدة التي عرفها العالم في هذه الفترة المبكرة من تاريخ البشرية واقصد بها اوراق البردي المصنوعة في مصر والتي كانت تشكل السلعة الرئيسية في صادرات مصر حينذاك كما يشكل القطن السلعة الأساسية لصادرات مصر حاليا .

وان كانت مصر في مركز ضعيف نتيجة لما كان يصيبها احيانا من وقوعها تحت سيطرة اجنبية او بسبب ركود حياتها الاقتصادية فان زراعة وصناعة اوراق البردي كانت تتأثر بذلك وتنكمش الى حد كبير ليس في مصر فحسب بل في حوض البحر الابيض المتوسط ومنطقة الشرق الادنى بأكملها .

ومع ان استعمال ورق البردي في الكتابة قد توقف منذ حوالي ستة قرون ، فقد اعادت مصر زراعة هذا النبات في الستينات من هذا القرن ، وشيدت معهدا لتصنيع ورق البردي من جديد ، ويقوم المعهد بتقليد بعض اللوحات الفرعونية والاسلامية المنقوشة على اوراق بردي او آثار اسلامية ويعرضها على الآلاف من زوار هذا المعهد ومعظمهم من السائحين

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DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ  
9 (1978) S. 118-144

أوراق البردي العربي  
مصدر أصيل للتاريخ الإسلامي

Page 1

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الدكتور أحمد الشامي  
رولة تطر / الرمسة

مقدمة عامة عن نبات البردي واماكن تواجد وزراعته :

لا شك ان نبات البردي الذي صنعت منه اوراق البردي عرف في مصر منذ عهد الفراعنة فالنقوش المرسومة على المعابد المصرية والتي تمثل اشكالا لهذا النبات ، والسفن التي صنعت من سيقانه والتي تركت رسوماها على جدران معبد الدير البحري ، والوثائق الفرعونية المكتوبة على اوراق من البردي بالهيروغليفية او الهيراطيقية او الديموطيقية ، وهي الكتابات المستعملة في اللغة المصرية القديمة ، كل هذه ادلة مادية لا تقبل الشك في ان مصر عرفت هذا النبات منذ فجر التاريخ .

كانت سيقان هذا النبات تنبت طبيعيا في مستنقعات الدلتا ومياهاها الراكدة خاصة في الحجر وفي شريط مستد بالاسكندرية ، واستمرت تربية نبات البردي في مصر مدة طويلة اختلفت المصادر العلمية في تحديدها ، فالمرجع الاوروبيه تذكر ان نبات البردي ظل ينبت في مصر حتى منتصف القرن العاشر الميلادي (١) بينما المصادر العربية تقرر ان زراعة نبات البردي استمرت في مصر بعد ذلك التاريخ لعدة قرون ولكنها كانت قليلة ، فأبو العباسي النباتي يذكر ان نبات البردي كان ينمو في مصر حتى سنة ١٢١٦ م ، والقلقشندي يذكر ان هذا النبات ظل موجودا في زراعة مصر الى اوائل القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي ، ويذكر جروهمان في مقدمة كتابه

Kağıt

probably still in the 14th century, as is shown by its *mihrab* built in Saldjükid style.

In the north-eastern part of the town, on a hillock in the Imaret ward, lies the tomb of *Shaykh Süleymân-i Turkomâni*, who is said to have introduced to *Kırşehir* the Mewlewî order, and to have built a Mewlewî *khân*, nothing of which has survived. The tomb has no inscription and so nothing is known about its construction or about the death of the man who is buried there. A wooden panel on the tomb gives 693/1294 as the year of his death, but this can not be correct since there exists a foundation deed (*wakfiyye*) of *Shaykh Turkomâni*, dated Muḥarram 697/October-November 1297 (see C. H. Tarım, *Kırşehir tarihi*, 82-5). The biographical work *Nafaḥât al-uns* of the Persian poet *Djâmi* (Turkish tr. *Lâmi'i*, Istanbul 1289/1872, 652; M. F. Köprülüâde, *Türk edebiyâtında ilk mütaṣawwıflar*, Istanbul 1918, 236, n. 1) mentions 714/1314 as the year of his death; this seems more probable. Until recent times, descendants of *Shaykh Süleymân-i Turkomâni* have been known in *Kırşehir*, as may be seen from *inter alia* their tombs, all of which carry Mewlewî characteristics. It seems probable that the dignity of *Shaykh* of the Mewlewî community in *Kırşehir* was hereditary in their family.

The poet *Gülşehri* in all probability also originated from *Kırşehir*. He was one of the first to write poetry in Rüm Turkish, and by doing so was largely instrumental in this language's, the later Ottoman-Turkish, finding its place among the literary languages of Islam. Nothing is known about his life, nor is there any trace of his tomb in *Kırşehir* or elsewhere. But on the basis of his pen-name (*makhlâş*) *Gülşehri* [q.v.] there can be no doubt that he originated from *Kırşehir*. Because his *Mantiḫ al-ṭayr* contains many references to the prophet Süleymân (Solomon), it has been supposed that *Gülşehri* can be identified with *Shaykh Süleymân-i Turkomâni*. The identification, however, is in no way proved and remains controversial.

From an artistic point of view, the most important building in *Kırşehir* is the *türbe* of the poet *‘Ashik Pasha* [q.v.; see also M. Fuad Köprülü, in *IA*, s.v.], born at *Kırşehir* in 670/1272. His grandfather *Bâbâ Ilyâs* had been the founder of the *Bâbâi* sect, and one of his followers, *Bâbâ Ilyâs*, had been the leader of the great dervish revolt which had been crushed with great difficulty in 1242 on the *Mâliyye* plain near *Kırşehir*. *‘Ashik Pasha*, himself a dervish also, died in the odour of sanctity on 13 Şafar 733/3 November 1333; his tomb at *Kırşehir* became a highly-visited place of pilgrimage. The magnificent *türbe*, which guards the mortal remains of the poet, was built after his death and has a style of architecture all of its own. It has nothing in common any more with the Saldjükid tombs, generally called *kümbed* ("cupola"), but it departs also from the customary style of the Ottoman *türbes*. A characteristic feature of *‘Ashik Pasha's türbe* is that before it extends a closed entrance hall which is accessible at the side through a grand portal.

From an historical point of view, the most remarkable monument of *Kırşehir* is perhaps the modest sanctuary of *Akhî Ewrân* which consists of the saint's *türbe*, a *tekiyye* and a mosque. On the role of this sanctuary in the economic life of *Kırşehir*, see *AKHÎ BABA* and *AKHÎ EWRÂN*. When in 1925 the dervish monasteries were closed, the role of the *tekiyye* of *Akhî Ewrân* came also to an end, and so *Kırşehir* was reduced to the status of a provincial town.

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**KİRTÁS** stands for 1. papyrus, papyrus roll, 2. parchment, and 3. later also rag paper; from the Arabic texts, it is not always clear which material is meant. The word *kirtās*, *karfās*, *kurfās*, or *kirtas*, *karfas*, has been adopted from the Greek word *χαρτη* through the Aramaic; from the Arabic, it has been adopted by the Spanish as *alcartaz* meaning "bag", and by the Portuguese as *cartaz* meaning "paper, permit; placard". In the *Qur‘ân*, it is mentioned in the singular, *kirtās* (Sūra VI, 7), and in the plural, *karāfīs*, meaning "[written] papyri" (Sūra VI, 91). Sometimes a genuine Arabic word is used: *warak al-kaṣab*, "reedy sheet", and *waraḫ al-bardî* or *al-abardî*, "sheet made of the papyrus plant" [see *KAŞAB, POPYRUS*]. The Arabs attribute the invention of the *kirtās*, "papyrus", to the biblical Joseph (Ibn Kutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, Göttingen 1850, 274, etc.). Nothing is said about its production. Only in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990), 21, and in al-Birūnî's *India*, 81, completed in 421/1030, are there two statements: that *kirtās* is obtained from the reed of the papyrus (*kaṣab al-bardî*), or else from its pulp (*luḫb al-bardî*). Only in the 7th/13th century after the termination of the production of papyrus in the 5th/11th century, Ibn al-Bayṭar (d. 646/1248) related in his *Djami‘ li-mufradât al-adwiya wa ‘l-aghāhiya*, Cairo 1291/1874-5, i, 87 from his teacher *Abu ‘l-‘Abās al-Nabātî* (d. 637/1239), that the Egyptians, in former times, used to split the stalk of the papyrus in two parts, cut [the pulp obtained thereby] into strips, put them [crosswise, in two layers] on an even pad made of wood, spread size on them which they had obtained from the seeds of the blue lotus (*Nymphaea coerulea* Sav.), dry [the strips combined thereby], and beat them carefully with a beetle until they got an even [piece].

*Kirtās* was not usually sold as pieces, but rather as rolls of pieces stuck together. From these rolls, pieces could be cut, irrespective of the glued joints which were usually not visible. The smallest piece used in trade was a sixth of a roll, which was called a *ṭumār* (Greek *τομάριον*) or *ṭumār kirtās* (Greek *τομάριον χάρτου*). On the front surface (*recto*), the strips of the papyrus ran horizontally, hence parallel to the writing, while on the reverse-surface (*verso*), the strips ran vertically. In the early ‘Abbāsid period several sheets were, sometimes, bound into a booklet (*kur-rāsa*). Because of the high price of the material, it was usual to write on the reverse surfaces as well or to wash the written papyri and write on them again (thus forming an opistograph or palimpsest). The sizes of the sheets were probably generally the same as those of the Ancient World. The usual size was 30-40 cm. high and 20-30 cm. wide, but the width later was increased. The manufactories producing the different kinds of papyrus were run by the government or were under governmental supervision; it seems that this governmental control was certified by an official note on the back side of the first sheet of a roll.

The word *kirtās* did not remain confined to

27 EYLÖL 1968

Kê-Ti-Mu, was once courteously invited by the Tali Sultan to lead religious affairs, but the invitation was turned down. Under these circumstances, the Kê-Ti-Mu rendered assistance to the Manchu government to suppress the Tali rebellion for the sake of preserving their own religious interests.

After only 18 years, the Tali sultanate collapsed. Its fate was sealed following the defection to the Manchu of most of its Han leaders and its lack of modern weaponry in order to continue to fight. The defection of the Han leaders resulted from unbalanced power-sharing in the Tali court. The sultan was accused of favouring his Muslim followers in administrative and military affairs. Towards the end of its rule, the Tali court sought military assistance from Western powers. At the beginning of 1872 a Panthay mission, mediated by the British Government of India, and headed by the sultan's adopted son, Prince Hasan, was sent to London to secure arms and recognition from Queen Victoria as a tributary of Britain. However, at that time the British government's relations with Peking, from whom they hoped to gain further trade advantages, outweighed other considerations and the mission was not well received. Nor did it obtain the support of the Ottoman government in Istanbul, where it stopped on its way back to Yunnan.

The Yunnanese Muslim rebellion was not simply a political uprising against Manchu corruption, as it has been sometimes viewed. It was in reality a search for ethno-religious identity and social status. Prior to the Manchu period, Muslims were included in the Middle Kingdom, China, as Muslim Chinese and were treated equally with their Han counterparts. Under Manchu rule, they were classified as a minority, and their previous equal rights were gradually eroded. In these circumstances, a rejection of Manchu rule developed and was fanned by the religious undercurrents of reform brought by the Süfi Djahriyya movement, these currents thus crystallising in the ideology of a secession movement, fighting for its own separate future.

The suppression of the rebellion was highly significant in Chinese history. It was another triumph of the Han supremacy and Confucianism which had never been challenged or set aside by non-Han elements. The status of Yunnanese Muslims was now reduced to its lowest level. They were forced to abandon their ethno-religious identity and to assimilate further into Confucian society. Many of those who did not want to live under these conditions fled to Burma [q.v.] and formed solid communities there in order to maintain their traditions, these being the forebears of the present-day Chinese Muslims in Burma.

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(CHANG-KUAN LIN)

**PAPYRUS**, a term of Greek origin, πάπυρος, is one of the world's oldest writing materials; it seems to have been used in Egypt, the land of its provenance, since the 6th dynasty, ca. 2470-2270 A.D. As an equivalent for this word the Arabs, after their conquest of this country, used *bardi*, *abardi*, or better still *warak al-bardi*. However, these expressions were not of widespread usage, and in Egypt the term employed was *fäfir*, corresponding more closely to the original Greek. Elsewhere, the word *kirfäs* was also used, derived from the Greek χάρτης, through the intermediary of the Aramaic *karfäs*. And since this last term denoted not only papyrus but also parchment and later even paper, it became necessary in this context to add the adjective *misiri* "Egyptian", as was done by Ibn al-Nadim in his *Fihrist*, 21, ll. 10 f.

The use of this material extends over some seven centuries, lasting until the 8th/14th century. Its utilisation increased following the arrival of the Arabs in Egypt and remained dominant even in the 3rd/9th century, despite the introduction of paper [see KĀGHAD].

Arabic papyrology is the scientific study of texts written on papyrus, although it is conventional, as A. Grohmann (*Einführung*, 3, l. 1) has pointed out in his definition of this branch of scholarship, to include automatically within its scope non-literary documents written on other materials, such as leather, parchment, cloth, paper, ostraca, bone or wood. However, the mass of documents on papyrus is by far the most important.

Despite the antiquity of papyrus as a writing mate-

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KĀGĪT