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# The Prophet Shaving: Persians and the Origin of the Malay *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur*

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**Abstract:** This article is about a well-known anonymous folk story in the Malay-Indonesian world, called *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (“The Story of Prophet Shaving”), found in various different languages across the region. The only scholarly conjecture about its origin is based on the copy of a Malay manuscript held in Leiden which has been deliberately blackened and struck through by a reader who stated in the margin that the story is written by a *Rāfiḍī* and should not be believed. Although earlier scholars mentioned the title or the synopsis of this story in their works and bibliographical catalogues, the question “what is the origin of this story?” remained unanswered. In order to follow up on previous studies and to find an answer, this essay examines numerous original manuscripts and texts in various languages and provides a comparison between the Malay versions and their prototype. Also, to the best of my knowledge, the first edition and English translation of the prototype are presented.

**Keywords:** The Prophet Shaving, *Nabi Bercukur*, Sufism, Persians, Qalandar, Salmān al-Fārisī, Barber, Malay *Hikayat*

## Introduction

That God commanded Muḥammad to shave his hair,<sup>1</sup> and sent the angel Gabriel to do it, and that subsequently other heavenly nymphs became engaged in the undertaking and grabbed his hair strands before they touched the ground, are the main themes of a commonly known Malay story entitled *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (“The Story of Prophet Shaving”), around which other issues on the divine virtues

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1 E.g., see the manuscript KITLV Or. 62 “*Ini hikayat tatkala Nabi Allah kita Muhammad Rasul Allah s.a.w. bercukur dengan firman Allah Ta’ala*”. See also: T. ISKANDAR, *Catalogue of Malay, Minangkabau, and South Sumatran Manuscripts in the Netherlands*, Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1999, 752.

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and significance of both Muḥammad and this story revolved. The story is known in different languages of the Malay Archipelago, variously entitled *Nabi Paras*, *Nabi Cukur*, *Nabi Muḥammad Bercukur*, *Nabi Meucuko*, *Paras Nabi*, *Singir Parase Nabi Muḥammad*, *Paras Rasul* and *Serat Parasipun Kangjeng Nabu Muḥammad*,<sup>2</sup> *Hikayat Rasulallah Bercukur*,<sup>3</sup> and on one occasion with the completely different title *Hikayat Abu Bakar*.<sup>4</sup> In Malay Islamic literature, it is usually listed along with other Prophetic stories related to Muhammad's miracles and prophecy, in JUYNBOLL's words "Mohammedaansche Legendes,"<sup>5</sup> including *Hikayat Nur Muḥammad* ("The Story of the Light of Muḥammad"), *Hikayat Bulan Berbelah* ("The Story of the Splitting of the Moon"), *Hikayat Nabi Wafat* ("The Story of the Death of the Prophet") as well as *Hikayat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah* ("The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah"). Likewise, the printed version chiefly appeared along with some of the abovementioned prophetic stories.<sup>6</sup> Scholarly debates around Malay hagiographies of Muḥammad suggest that the Prophet Shaving should have been impressed by Muḥammad's biography (*sīra*) as well as various Islamic traditional sources (*ḥadīth* collections). Certainly, traces of non-Islamic as well as fictional elements can be seen in such stories, too.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, we may confidently declare that the Prophetic-Celestial episodes of this *hikayat* pertaining to Muḥammad, Gabriel, and heavenly nymphs are not found in other known Malay stories. The other Malay folk story that briefly touches upon the shaving process of some Muslims is the *Hikayat Maharaja Ali*. Originally influenced by Indo-Persian sources,<sup>8</sup> a copy of the *Hikayat Maharaja Ali* from the nineteenth century includes an episode in which Solomon, who is still a child, is solving a baffling legal matter in the court of his father, the Prophet David. Due to his investigations, David is convinced that the judge (*qāḍī*), the orator (*khaṭīb*), the imam, and

<sup>2</sup> Dick VAN DER MEIJ, *Nabi Aparas: The Shaving of the Prophet Muhammad's Hair: A Facsimile Edition of a Javanese Manuscript from Lombok, MS M53 in the Private Collection of Dick Van der Meij*, Leiden: Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS): Legatum Warnerianum in Leiden University Library, 1996.

<sup>3</sup> See the Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> This version is held in Batavia. See H. JUYNBOLL, *Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche handschriften der Leidsche universiteits-bibliotheek*, Leiden: Brill, 1899, 187.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 180. FANG says: "Stories of the Prophet Muhammad." See Liaw Yock FANG, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, trans. R. Bahari and H. Aveling, Jakarta and Singapore: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia and ISEAS Publishing, 2013, 214.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>7</sup> FANG, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, 215.

<sup>8</sup> BRAGINSKY invites readers to reexamine BAUSANI's claim about the Indo-Persian origin of the *Hikayat Maharaja Ali*.

mu'idhdhin (“one who calls to prayer”) lied to him. As such, David orders the court to punish them:

[...] dan kadzi (dan) khatib dan imam dan bilal kĕempat-nya itu di-chukor kĕpala-nya ĕmpat pĕrsĕgi dan muka-nya di-choreng-choreng dĕngan arang, sa-tĕlah sudah, maka di-kĕlilingkan di-luar nĕgĕri; tĕlah sudah, maka kĕempat-nya itu pun di-kĕluarkan dari dalam nĕgĕri itu dan di-suroh ia ka-nĕgĕri lain.<sup>9</sup>

[...] And the qadi, khatib, imam and muezzin had their heads shaved in the form of a square [their heads were shaven at the four corners], and with their faces covered with charcoal they were paraded through the city and then exiled to another country.<sup>10</sup>

This episode from the *Hikayat Maharaja Ali* obviously refers to a widespread legal (*fiqhī*) punishment known as ignominious parading (*tashhīr*) through which “the heads of the condemned were either shaved or covered with demeaning hats or hoods. Most conspicuously, however, their faces were blackened during the parade.”<sup>11</sup>

As such, the triangular relationship between Muḥammad, Gabriel, and the nymphs could only be traced in the Malay *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur*.

## The *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* Editions

The Prophet Shaving was largely reproduced and, sometimes with minor changes, copied into various Austronesian languages in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, it can be traced back to former Malay-Indonesian tales of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, where the “shaving” of Muḥammad’s head is sporadically indicated along with other [prophetic] stories, when the figure of Muḥammad was “a popular focus of the emerging story-telling genre” in the Archipelago.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> C. O. BLAGDEN, “Hikayat Maharaja Ali”, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 7, no. 3, 108 (1929): 415–43 [428].

<sup>10</sup> To read a comprehensive analysis of the *Hikayat Maharaja Ali*, see Alessandro BAUSANI, “Note Sulla Struttura della ‘hikayat’ Classica Malese”, *Annali dell’ Ist. Uni. Orientale di Napoli* 12 (1962), 1953–1992 (Italian). The latter was translated: Alessandro BAUSANI, *Notes on the Structure of the Classical Malay Hikayat*, trans. Lode Brakel [No. 16], Monash University: Department of Indonesian & Malay Languages, March 1979, 31 and 75.

<sup>11</sup> Christian LANGE, “Legal and Cultural Aspects of Ignominious Parading (*Tashhīr*) in Islam”, *Islamic Law and Society* 14, no. 1 (2007): 81–108 [83–84].

<sup>12</sup> Peter G. RIDDELL, *Malay Court Religion, Culture and Language: Interpreting the Qur’ān in 17th Century Aceh*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 19.

A large part of *Mohammedaansche Legendes*<sup>13</sup> flourished based on the translation, interpretation, and reading of Persian theological and mystical works in the Sufi environment (*Wujūdiyyah*) of Indonesia.<sup>14</sup> The *wujūdiyyah* circle represented by the mystic Hamza Fansuri (sixteenth century/early seventeenth century) and his disciples was largely inspired by Persian mystical and poetic tradition that already pervaded South-East Asia.<sup>15</sup> However, the “Reformist environment” of the mid-seventeenth century led by the “Shari‘a-Minded Contributors” as well as the anti-Fansuri scholar and *Shaykh al-Islam*, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. c. 1658), significantly changed the reception of some mystical materials.<sup>16</sup> Al-Rānīrī publicly opposed the mystical and poetic works produced by Fansuri, burning them near the Banda Aceh mosque:

By using the rhetoric of plurality, pitting the *ulama*’s more legalistic Islam against “indigenous mysticism,” Raniri and his fellow *ulama* defined Arabic as the supra-language of the Malay world ... Arabic silently assumed supremacy as the supra-language when enough Arabs occupied the Malay world.<sup>17</sup>

Older examples of *Nabi Bercukur* confirm that they had made inroads into the Archipelago before al-Rānīrī’s reformism. There are a couple of Javanese and Sundanese manuscripts from Cirebon dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>18</sup> The Sundanese version, *Hikayat Nabi Cukur*, is a rendition of the Javanese edition. In this regard, Gerhardus Jan GRASHUIS also contends: “The language of the work is really good, but there are Javanese words in it; it could be concluded that the scribe had a Javanese sample”.<sup>19</sup>

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**13** We may also name “Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah” that was widely practiced in the sixteenth century. See Vladimir BRAGINSKY, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature: A Historical Survey of Genres, Writings and Literary Views*, Leiden: KITLV, 2004; Majid DANESHGAR, “New Evidence on the Origin of the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah”, *Archipel* 96 (2018): 69–102.

**14** *Wujūdiyyah* mystical circle was largely impressed by Ibn ‘Arabi as well as Persian promoters of *Wahdat al-wujūd* (“The Unity of Existence”). Indonesian *Wujūdiyyah* led by the famous Hamza Fansuri who widely cited the works of Arabs and particularly Persian poets and authors in his works.

**15** See BRAGINSKY, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature*; Majid DANESHGAR, “An Old Persian-Malay Anthology of Poems from Aceh,” *Dabir* 7 (2020): 61–90.

**16** RIDDELL, *Malay Court Religion, Culture and Language*, 37.

**17** Jennifer W. NOURSE, “The Meaning of *Dukun* and Allure of Sufi Healers: How Persian Cosmopolitans Transformed Malay-Indonesian History”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44, no. 3 (2013): 400–422.

**18** E.g., from “Dr. H. Bambang Irianto Collection of Cirebon Manuscripts [14th century–18th century].”

**19** “De taal van het stuk is vrij goed, maar er zijn Javaansche woorden in, waaruit men zou kunnen opmaken dat de bewerker een Javaansch model heeft gehad”, Gerhardus Jan GRASHUIS,

The Sundanese version, EAP211/1/1/20, begins by addressing Q 48:27 “... You will surely enter *al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*, if God wills, in safety, with your heads shaved and [hair] shortened, not fearing [anyone] ...”; a verse which is found in almost all versions of the *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur*. The shaving scenario then links to other stories about birth and death (of the Prophet) (*maulid dan wafat*) on the basis of Q 39:30 “Indeed, you are to die, and indeed, they are to die.”<sup>20</sup> Other sixteenth and seventeenth century-manuscripts of the *Prophet Shaving* are incomplete and accompanied with Arabic supplications and God’s attributes,<sup>21</sup> as well as magical tables.<sup>22</sup> Such a combination is seen in the *Jawi* versions of the story too, including but not limited to KITLV Or. 147, KITLV Or. 62, Cod. Or. 6558, and Cod. Or. 1953 in the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, and the Leiden University libraries.<sup>23</sup>

Manuscript copies of the version were [again] reproduced from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century.<sup>24</sup> Nonetheless, printed (and lithographed) versions were produced in different forms up until 2007.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile, other undated printed volumes were (re-)produced – based on the earlier lithographs and manuscripts – which suggests how popular the story of the shaving of the Prophet Muḥammad has been among Malays and other Indonesian peoples for centuries. The importance of the Javanese manuscript written on “palm-leaf” (Lontar) also prompted Dick VAN DER MEIJ to Romanize and translate it into English.<sup>26</sup>

## A Clue about the Origin of the Work

Despite the existence of many copies of this story across the Malay-Indonesian world, there is no clear information about the main author or its bibliograph-

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*Soendaneesch leesboek*, Leiden: A. W. Sijtit, 1874, 135. To read his brief transliteration of the Sundanese version, see 42–43.

20 Esp. fl. 9.

21 See EAP211/1/1/21.

22 See EAP211/1/2/2.

23 About these, see: ISKANDAR, *Catalogue of Malay, Minangkabau, and South Sumatran Manuscripts in the Netherlands*.

24 EAP144/4/10: *Hikayat Isra’ dan Mi’raj Nabi Muhammad dan Nabi Bercukur* (Surau Parak Laweh Pariangan Collection [Arabic and Minangkabau] 1914).

25 See Appendix below.

26 Dick VAN DER MEIJ, *Nabi Aparas*, 1996; idem, “The Shaving of the Prophet’s Hair (*Nabi Aparas*): The Philology of Lombok Texts”, *Studia Islamika* 17/3 (2010): 441–486.

ical details.<sup>27</sup> Most copies either include the scribe’s (in manuscripts) or the publisher’s (in lithographs) names without addressing how and under what circumstances they accomplished the work. The only clue, which has attracted the attention of a number of scholars, is found in a manuscript version of the story in the Netherlands. The eighth treatise (fl. 214–233) in the manuscript collection of Cod. Or. 1953 at the Leiden University Library is *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur*. Unlike other copies, this version bears unusual features as well as two marginal notes (in a different hand) on the first and last pages. The notes say:

(first page) *Karangan Rāfiḍī hikayat ini, jangan percaya* (“This is the story of a Rāfiḍī, do not believe it”) (fl. 214)

(last page) *Jangan percaya hikayat Bercukur ini karena karangan Rāfiḍī Kafir, percaya karangan Rāfiḍī* (“Do not believe the Story of Shaving because it is the story of a heretic Rāfiḍī, do not believe the story of a Rāfiḍī”) (fl. 233)

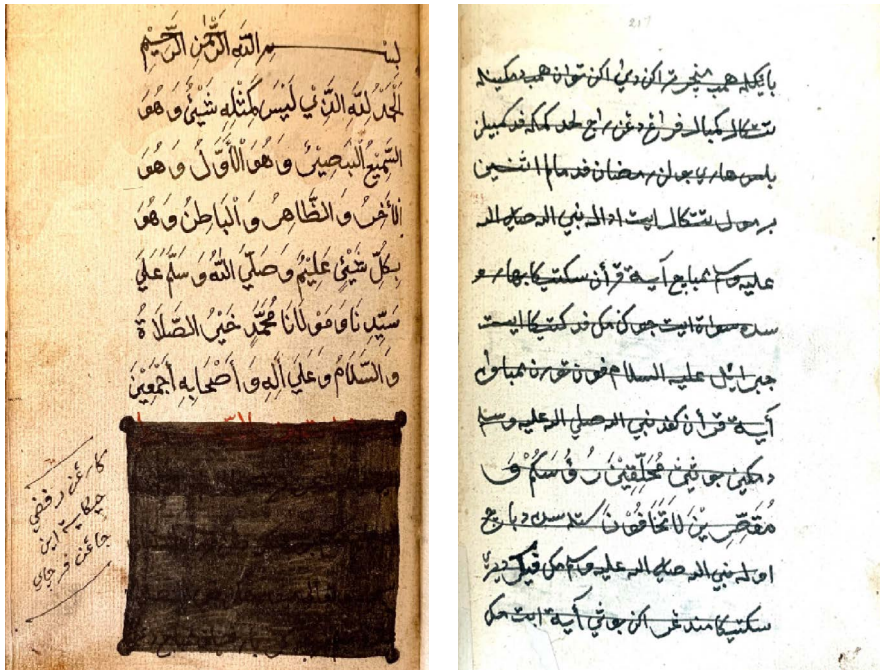


Fig. 1: fl. 214 (left) and 217 (right) from the *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* manuscript, Cod. Or. 1953. Permission has been granted from the Leiden University Library.

27 This is also expressed by VAN DER MEIJ, *Nabi Aparas*, 1996, 10.

JUYNBOLL was among the first scholars to raise this issue in 1899:

Here, however, the whole story has been omitted and several parts have been totally blackened in the same way as is done by Russian censorship. To explain this, it is written in the margin (probably by a reader with strong beliefs) [...] (this is a Rāfiḏī story, do not believe it). The history of how Muḥammad was shaved by Archangel Gabriel is therefore apparently considered by some to be heretical.<sup>28</sup>

In line with JUYNBOLL, other historians, philologists, and scholars, including, among others, R. WINSTED,<sup>29</sup> I. Hamid,<sup>30</sup> L. Y. FANG,<sup>31</sup> T. ISKANDAR,<sup>32</sup> E. WIERINGA,<sup>33</sup> J. WITKAM,<sup>34</sup> I. BRAGINSKY,<sup>35</sup> and Mulaika HIJJAS,<sup>36</sup> raised this matter in their catalogues as well as in historical studies, which proves the importance of this marginal note and the interest it generated.

Here, the term *Rāfiḏī* (*Rāfiḏīte*) immediately conveys a broad set of meanings. Although it is literally defined in a different way as “rejectionist,” in Islamic sectarian discourse it has often been used to address the Shī‘ī believers: “in subsequent generations, after having gone through several changes of meaning, the

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**28** “Hier is echter ‘tgeheele verhaal doorgeschrapt en verscheidene gedeelten zijn totaal zwart gemaakt op dezelfde wijze als dit door de Russische censuur geschiedt. Ter verklaring hiervan staat in margine geschreven (waarschijnlijk door een vromen rechtgeloovigen lezer). dit is een Rafiditisch verhaal, geloof het niet. De geschiedenis, hoe Mohammad door den aartsengel Gabriel geschoren werd, wordt dus blijkbaar door sommigen als kettersch beschouwd.” JUYNBOLL, *Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche handschriften der Leidsche universiteits-bibliotheek*, 187.

**29** Richard WINSTEDT, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1969, 104–105.

**30** Ismail HAMID, *Antologi Hikayat Nabi Muhammad: Suatu Analisis*, Kuala Lumpur: Institut Bahasa, Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1988; idem, *The Malay Islāmic Hikāyat*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1983) 56.

**31** Liaw Yock FANG, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, trans. R. Bahari and H. Aveling, Jakarta and Singapore: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia and ISEAS Publishing, 2013.

**32** ISKANDAR, *Catalogue of Malay, Minangkabau, and South Sumatran Manuscripts in the Netherlands*.

**33** Edwin P. WIERINGA, *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 1998).

**34** Jan J. WITKAM, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden II*, Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007, 292–293.

**35** Vladimir BRAGINSKY, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature. A Historical Survey of Genres, Writings and Literary Views* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004).

**36** Mulaika HIJJAS “‘Pengaruh Segala Perempuan’: Fatima in Malay didactic texts for women”, in: *Shi‘ism in South East Asia: ‘Alid Piety and Sectarian Constructions*, edited by Chiara Formichi and Michael R. Feener, London: C. Hurst & Co., 2015, 79–98.

term “Rāfiḍa” became a popular pejorative appellation of the Imāmiyya [...].”<sup>37</sup> This becomes more evident when one observes that the last page of this copy clearly introduces a *Rāfiḍī* as a heretic (*kāfir*) and that this version is bound with other Malay Jawi stories impressed by Shī‘ī themes (e.g., *Hikayat Zulfikar* and *Hikayat Nabi Bersuami*).<sup>38</sup>

The only statements trying to find a link between the marginal note of Cod. Or. 1953 (viii) and the origin of the manuscript are those of WINSTEDT and ISKANDAR. Although Richard O. WINSTEDT states that “to those who have sat at the feet of missionaries from the Hadhramaut it is heretical,”<sup>39</sup> ISKANDAR contends that “A *Rāfiḍī* is a heretic, a term often used in Malay literature for Shi‘ites [...], which could point to the Persian origin of this story.”<sup>40</sup> Nonetheless, questions about the origin of the text in general, and whether this is a Middle Eastern story – in terms of the origin and possibly the language – remained unanswered. Thus, this essay, on the basis of original sources and manuscripts, aims to answer this question.

## Shaving of Muḥammad’s Hair in Islamic Literature

### Qur’ān and Tradition

One of the obvious references to the *act* of shaving and trimming in the Qur’ān is that of Q 48:27:

Certainly has God showed to His Messenger the vision in truth. You will surely enter *al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*, if God wills, in safety, with your heads shaved and [hair] shortened, not fearing [anyone]. He knew what you did not know and has arranged before that a conquest near [at hand].<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Etan KOHLBERG, “The Term ‘Rāfiḍa’ in Imāmi Shī‘ī Usage”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99/4 (1979): 677–679. See also: Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, Baghdad, 2010, 206–208.

<sup>38</sup> E.g., Baroroh BARIED, “Le Shi‘isme en Indonésie”, *Archipel* 15 (1978): 65–84.

<sup>39</sup> WINSTEDT, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, 104.

<sup>40</sup> T. ISKANDAR, “Aceh as a Crucible of Muslim-Malay Literature”, in: *Mapping the Acehnese Past*, eds. R. Michael Feener, Patrick Daly, Anthony Reed, Leiden: KITLV, 2011, 41–42.

<sup>41</sup> Also, see Q 2:196 “[...] And do not shave your heads until the sacrificial animal has reached its place of slaughter [...]”. The Qur’ānic translations are based on the *Saheeh International* [online source], with minor modifications by the author.

Based on this verse, the Prophet's dream about the opening of Mecca and entering the Sacred Mosque came true. The majority of classical commentators of the Qur'ān agreed that Muḥammad "saw in his sleep in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya before his departure from Medina that he would enter Mecca together with his Companions safely whereafter they would shave completely or shorten their hair."<sup>42</sup>

Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī's (d. c. 552/1157) Persian commentary "Rawḍ al-Jinān wa Rawḥ al-Janān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān" that provides a comprehensive account of the Prophet shaving during his pilgrimage mentioned the barber's name ("ḥallāq") as "Khīrāsh b. Umayya al-Khazā'ī".<sup>43</sup> However, the name of Gabriel, as well as the appearance of heavenly nymphs, while shaving the head of Muḥammad is not mentioned in any of the available Qur'ānic commentaries (*tafāsīr*). Even in traditional Islamic compendia, including *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, it is said that Muḥammad during his last pilgrimage allowed people to collect his hair while he was being shaved.<sup>44</sup> Other sources also mention that the famous Medinan barber, Khīrāsh b. Umayya, had shaved the Prophet's hair in Mīna during the pilgrimage.<sup>45</sup> In addition to these primary Islamic sources, the Prophet's biographical literature (*sīra*), particularly that of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Wāqidi (d. c. 207/823), addresses the act of shaving. A part of it, about the Final Pilgrimage (*Ḥajjat al-Wadā'*), includes a note about "Shaving of the Messenger of God's Hair" in which, again, the interest of the Prophet in dispensing his forelock among his Companions, and the latter's enthusiasm for it, are reported.<sup>46</sup> In the section on "the Raid of al-Ḥudaybiyya," when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked whether he and other Companions at 'Arafat would enter the Ka'ba when they arrived in Mecca, the Prophet replied: "Indeed, you will not enter it. But I will take the key of the Ka'ba, and I will shave my head and your heads in the heart of Mecca. And I will stand with those who stand at 'Arafat".<sup>47</sup>

All these sources proved to Muslims the importance of shaving principles, which led them to address it in their legal (*fiqhī*) treatises. In this regard, there

<sup>42</sup> Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Maḥallī and Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr Jalālayn*, trans. Feras Hamza, Amman: Fons Vitae, 2008.

<sup>43</sup> Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, *Rawḍ al-Jinān wa Rawḥ al-Janān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, ed. Moḥammad-Mahdi Naseh, Mashhad, n.d., vol. 17: 358. Also see vols. 3:95; 12:244.

<sup>44</sup> al-Bukhari, *Saḥīḥ* [online source]

<sup>45</sup> See: M. A. J. BEG, "Ḥallāq", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs [online source]

<sup>46</sup> See al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, trans. Rizwi Faizer, Amal Ismail and Abdulkader Tayob, ed. Rizwi Faizer, Abingdon: Routledge, 2011, 542–543.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 300.

are several legal sources in different languages about “Aḥkām al-Ḥalq” (Rules of Shaving) or “Aḥkām al-Taqṣīr” (Rules of Shortening and Trimming the Hair), which are produced in accordance with Qur’ānic verses and the abovementioned [and other] traditions. Again, none of these sources clearly hints at the name of Gabriel as the barber and the heavenly nymphs as collectors of Muḥammad’s hair strands. Also, they are silent on whether the shaving story of Muḥammad has particular qualities of magical charm.

## Šūfī Chivalry Sources

The most obvious reference addressing the mechanism of Muḥammad’s head being shaven by Gabriel is found in the Persian Safavid Šūfī treatises called *Futuwwat-nāmah* (Chivalry Book). In Šūfism and among the followers of the spiritual Chivalry school (*Ahl-e futuwwat*),<sup>48</sup> the spiritual chain is “return to Ali as the *fata* exemplar and then to Salmān the Persian [Salmān al-Fārisī], the patron of Irano-Mesopotamian artisan guilds.”<sup>49</sup> Moreover, Salmān is largely viewed as the successor of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib among [Ḥaydariyya] *Qalandars* (lit. travelling dervish) from the thirteen century<sup>50</sup> and their followers, *Khāksārān* (lit. “dust-like and wandering dervish”), particularly in the Qajar Period (1789–1925).<sup>51</sup> They produced treatises (*risālāt*) about various guilds,<sup>52</sup> including shoemakers (*kafsh-dūzān*), cooks (*ṭabbākhān*), butchers (*qaṣṣābān*), bakers (*shāṭīrān*), carpenters (*najjārān*), tailors (*khayyāṭān*),<sup>53</sup> and also barbers (*salmāniyān*).<sup>54</sup>

A large number of these chivalric treatises include a set of *earthly* questions and *divine* answers. For instance, the *Chivalry Book for the Shoemakers (futuwwat-nāmah-yi kafsh-dūzān)* begins with the following statements:

<sup>48</sup> Also known as *Javānmardī*.

<sup>49</sup> Milad MILANI, *Sufism in the Secret History of Persia*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, 97.

<sup>50</sup> Shahrokh RAEI, “Haydariyya”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, edited by Kate Fleet, et al., Leiden: Brill, 2020, 43–45. On some particular features of Qalandars, see Cyrus Ali ZARGAR, *Sufi Aesthetics: Beauty, Love, and the Human Form in the Writings of Ibn ‘Arabi and ‘Iraqi*, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2011.

<sup>51</sup> Mohsen ZAKERI, “Javānmardī”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* XIV/6 (2008), 594–601; Zahra TAHERI, “Kāksār”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* XV/4 (2010), 356–359.

<sup>52</sup> See: Franz TAESCHNER, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*, Zürich und München: Artemis, 1979.

<sup>53</sup> Also known as “Na’layn-dūzān.”

<sup>54</sup> Some scholars believe that barbers were known as rose-water Sprinklers (*Gulābiyān*) in some cities. See *Chahārdah resālah dar bāb-i futuwwat va aṣnāf*, edited and introduction by Mihran Afshari and Mahdi Madayini, Tehran: Chishmah, 1388/2009, 231.

[...] Be aware that it is compulsory to read this treatise of the “Shoemakers.” Whoever does not know about it, income from his business is prohibited (*ḥarām*). Question: while wearing/making a leather belt, what should be recited? Say this answer: one time *sūrat al-Fātiḥa* (Q 1) and three times *sūrat al-Iklāṣ* (Q 112).<sup>55</sup>

In all the treatises about different professions and guilds, the Archangel Gabriel is manifested as the one who is able to provide celestial responses to the questions, is familiar with all relevant guilds, and communicates between God and his messengers. For instance, the *Chivalry Book for the Shoemakers* displays the role of Gabriel as follows:

Question: if you are asked: who has reported the sermon of leather-making? Say: Adam, peace be upon him. When Prophet Adam left heaven and his repentance was accepted [by God], he mourned before the divine throne and said: O Lord! My foot is bare. Send me a footwear. The Almighty God commanded Gabriel: go to the fourth sky and bring a chest and pass it on to him. Then Gabriel brought the chest and gave it to Adam. When Adam opened the chest, he observed that, due to God’s power, there was a “shoe,” a clean and spotless one. [...] If you are asked: do you possess a needle and where can I find a cutter? Say that: the great Gabriel has brought it from heaven [...] If you are asked where a cutter can be found? Say: from the *Dhū l-faqār*<sup>56</sup> of Ḥazrat ‘Alī, may God ennoble his person (*Karramallāh Wajhah*).<sup>57</sup>

Similar sets of questions and answers are found in the *Chivalry Book for the Barbers [and Shampooers]* (*futuwwat-nāmah-ye salmāniyān [va dallākān]*), too, who acquired their name and guild (barber; in Persian: *salmānī*) from Salmān al-Fārisī.<sup>58</sup> In their chivalry books, the name of their supplies, especially razor/blade, mirror, and stone, are mentioned and there is a particular section about each of these instruments. According to some manuscript versions of *Chivalry Book for the Barbers*, Gabriel shaved the head of Muḥammad, then Muḥammad shaved ‘Alī’s and ‘Alī shaved Salmān’s; “and ‘Alī transferred the stone and blade to Salmān to shave the head of some Companions and to shorten the hair of those

55 Mehran Afshari, ed., *Futuwwat-nāmah-hā va Rasā'il-e Khāksāriyyah*, Tehran: Chishmah, 1394/2015; its *Futuwwat-nāmah Kafsh-duzān* II: 236.

56 The name of ‘Alī’s sword.

57 Ibid., 237 and 240.

58 Travelers as well as scholars opine that Persian barbers (*Salmāniyān*) used to work as shampooers and workers in baths: “Barbers in Persia still are often dentists and surgeons as well as barbers. Shampooers in baths are also barbers, but have no shops and do not practise surgery.” *The Adventures of Haji Baba Ispahan, translated from English into Persian by Haji Shaikh Ahmad Kirmani and Edited with Notes by Major D. C. Phillott*, Calcutta: the Baptist Mission Press, 1905, 404.

who could not shave.”<sup>59</sup> It is also said that ‘Ali was the main initiator and transferred the shaving tradition to Salmān al-Fārisī.<sup>60</sup> Relevant Qalandar barbers used to follow a specific service or treatment in the Muslim world particularly in Iran and India; for example, they had a “quadruple shaving” (*chahār-ḍarb*) method, through which not only the head, but also the beard, eyebrows as well as moustache were shaved.<sup>61</sup> Scholars contend that quadruple shaving or “four shaves” has some metaphorical messages:

[it] was symbolic of a denial of sexuality and a range of associated behavioural traits that were considered reprehensible. At the same time, [it] was also symbolic of the Qalandar separating himself from what might be termed society, yet he still lived within a “particular disciplinary regime.”<sup>62</sup>

The majority of the manuscripts for the barbers are long and include an introductory part as well as various chapters (*bāb/faqh*). For example, in a manuscript (Ms. 229) ascribed to Salmān al-Fārisī, found in the library of Mirzā Moḥammad Kazemeinī in Yazd and recently edited in Persian by local researchers, the introductory parts include:

Be aware that this treatise about head shaving that [...] <sup>63</sup> Salmān Fārisī, by which [...] get familiar with business and trading, as well as *shari‘at*, *tariqat*, *ḥaqīqat* and *ma‘rifat* until in this world and the hereafter [...]. <sup>64</sup> It is reported that when Ḥazrat Amīr al-Mu‘minin ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and ‘Abdallāh ‘Abbās and Abūdhār Ghaffārī and Salmān Fārisī [...] that then the Master of the universe and of Adam and the lord of the both universes, [the Prophet] Muḥammad Muṣṭafā returned from the battle of Uḥud, bring along a lot booty, and he aged fifty three years and seven months, and he recited the Qur‘ān and *Sūra Innā Fataḥnā* [Q 48] and he reached this verse [Q 48:27] [...] Right after, Gabriel emerged and the Prophet said: O brother Gabriel! God has promised in the Glorious Qur‘ān to shave my head. O Gabriel, go and ask how to shave the head. Gabriel conveyed the message, and a proclamation was announced by the Sublime Lord that [...]

<sup>59</sup> Ms. 860 kept in the Ilahiyat Faculty of the Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Iran, compiled and edited by Mehran Afshari in *Futuwwat-nāmāh-hā va Rasā‘il-e Khāksāriyyah*, 269 and 282.

<sup>60</sup> “[...] beschreibt die Initiation des Lehrlings bei den Selmaniyyan, das heißt den Barbieren, deren Patron Selman-i Fārisī ist, der selbst von Ali initiiert worden ist.”, Franz TAESCHNER, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam: Texte zur Geschichte der futuwwa*, Zürich-München: Artemis-Verlag, 1979, 485.

<sup>61</sup> Javad Boroumand SA‘ID, *Ā‘in-i Qalandarān*, Kerman: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Shahīd Bāhunar, 1384/2005, 49.

<sup>62</sup> Lloyd RIDGEON, “Shaggy or Shaved? The Symbolism of Hair among Persian Qalandar Sufis”, *Iran and the Caucasus* 14, no. 2 (2010): 233–263.

<sup>63</sup> Illegible.

<sup>64</sup> Illegible.

After mentioning that the razorblade is from the light of Muḥammad and that his community's sins are forgiven with the cutting of every strand of his hair, then Salmān reports (viz., answers) what he witnessed upon observing the reflected light of Muḥammad's shaved head. The introductory part ends as follows:

After Gabriel finished shaving the Prophet's head, he put a crown made of light on the Prophet's head [...] and put cloths made of four leaves from the tree of Tuba on his shoulder [...] those leaves [...] and one became a blade, the other [...] <sup>65</sup> and one white and the other green [...] Then Gabriel and the other angels and nymphs moved those twelve thousand and one hundred hair strands to the skies and [...] <sup>66</sup>

After this introduction, several chapters follow: on stone and razorblade, on quality of stone and blade, on head shaving, on mirror, etc.

There are a number of commonalities (with slight changes) between the previously known *Chivalry Books for the Barbers* and the Malay *Hikayat Nabi Ber-cukur*, but there are still various points noted in the Malay version(s) whose parallel is not found in the abovementioned Persian sources:

- Opening declaration (I): “whosoever reads the story from start to finish, all his sins shall be forgiven.”
- Middle part (II): “And Gabriel returned and asked Allah, and Allah said, “in the presence of his own Light and by thee, and for a cap thou shalt fetch a green leaf of the *tuba* tree from paradise.” <sup>67</sup>
- Middle part (III): “the angel [...] called the *houris* who came down and caught each a hair of the Prophet so that not one of the 126,666 hairs fell to earth but each was bound on the right arm of a *hour*i for an amulet.”
- Ending supplication (IV): “[...] whoso cherishes not this story, I am not his Prophet. Give it not to unbelievers and heretics, but whoso cherisheth it, the mercy and blessing of Allah shall descend upon him, no thief shall enter his house, no enemy prevail against him.” <sup>68</sup>

Apart from these textual differences, none of the abovementioned Persian works are as short as the Malay version, but they include more subsequent and uninterrupted sections about the barbers' business supplies (razorblade, stone, and mirror) and none of them ends with a supplication that has particular [magical] qualities used to ward off disasters.

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<sup>65</sup> Illegible.

<sup>66</sup> Ms. 229, *Aḥkām-e sar tarāshīdan/Salmān Fārsī* (“The Principles of Shaving Head/Salmān the Persian”), eds. Hosein Masserat and Ali Akbar Shir Salimian, Yazd, 1393/2014 [online source].

<sup>67</sup> In previous Persian sources, Muḥammad's cloth is from the *tuba*'s leaf, not his cap.

<sup>68</sup> WINSTED, 104

## The Prototype of the Malay Story

### “The Shaved-head Book”

While examining sources in various libraries in 2018, I found an anonymous Persian manuscript, Ms. 5–22834, in the Iranian National Library that includes several treatises, one of which, entitled *Maḥlūq-nāmah*<sup>69</sup> (“The Shaved-head Book”), is also written in one instance as *Risālah-yi Muṭribīn*<sup>70</sup> (“The Treatise of the Contortionists/Modulators”)<sup>71</sup> who were also part of the Šūfī Qalandars during the Safavid and Qajar period. While comparing the manuscript with the Malay version of *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur*, it came to my attention that it (a) has the highest level of similarity with the Malay version; (b) is present as a single short story; and (c) comes with other stories about the Prophet as well as other chivalric notes (see the Appendix II).<sup>72</sup>

### Comparative Analysis

In order to provide a comparison, the Persian manuscript is compared with the early printed Malay Jawi versions<sup>73</sup> as well as those in Javanese; the latter already having been translated by van der Meij.

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**69** One may wonder if it can be read it as *makhlūq-nāma* (dealing with the creation of Muḥammad, his light and his hair strands); however, the author was informed that another manuscript known as *Maḥlūq-nāmah* is kept in India. This issue will be addressed in another study.

**70** *Moṭreb* was apparently one of the roles played by Qalandars, too. On the meanings of *muṭrib*, see *Lughatnāmah-yi Dehkhodā*.

**71** Although there are also a couple of works entitled *Tarāsh-nāmah* (“The Book of Shaving”), they are poetic and do not represent a prose-shaving story.

**72** Dick VAN DER MEIJ states that other versions of the story in Javanese are found not only in a single manuscript but also along with other long and short texts. See his 1996, 12.

**73** That of Batavia in 1853 and India in the twentieth century. See Appendix.

## Opening Parts (I)

Subject	Malay Jawi <sup>74</sup>	Javanese Texts translated by van der Meij	Persian prototype <sup>75</sup>
The story begins with a question asked by a Companion of the Prophet about the process of his shaving and thereby this story brings particular divine qualities for the readers/holders	<p>كئدكسو داهنن نسجاي دامئون  اوله الله سبحانه وتعالى سكل دو  سا حتى فد سكل وفة مك داتقله  سنورغ درقد قوم صحابة نبى الله  مك اى فون برتائ كئد ابوبكر  صديق رضى الله عنه برتائ افاله  كيرا فرى كلميان معجزة نبى  الله برچوكور ايت دهد افن سياق  نبى الله برچوكور ايت دان كوفيه  درقد مان اكند فاكى نبى الله  برچوكراية دان براف تاهن لمان  سده نبى الله برچوكور مك اوچر  ابوبكر الصديق رضى الله عنه  دمكين بوتين هي مؤمنين يغفرچيا  اكن الله جك توانهمب هندق مند  غرقرى كلميان معجزة نبى الله  برچوكور اية باقله همب چترا  كن كند توانهمب ادفون تتكلا نبى  الله برچوكور ...</p>	<p>Verily, with the intercession of the Prophet Messenger you will receive the gift of Heaven and people who repudiate are infidels. Now will be told the story of the Prophet <i>wali</i> when his hair was shaved.  A person came to Abu Bakar and asked, "Under what circumstances was the exalted Prophet's hair shaved? [...]  Now, please tell me."</p>	<p>بدان اسعدك الله تعالى في الدارين كه اين رساله ي سر تراشان سوال و جواب بدانيد و آگاه باشيند كه اين رساله از براي سلمان فارسي كمر بستگان (؟) سر تراشان جمع كرده شد ...  و اين كسب نامه را يكساعت از خود جدا نكني تا لايق فضل ارزنده و زياده گردد ...  از براي سلمان فارسي مي پرسيد سلمان جواب بگو ميداد. بسم الله وبالله و على الله و ...</p>

<sup>74</sup> As there are slight differences between different Malay and Indonesian versions, particular attention will be paid to the selected similarities. Thus, the Jawi text is not fully compatible with Javanese and Persian texts.

<sup>75</sup> For the complete English translation, see Appendix III.

Subject	Malay Jawi	Javanese Texts translated by van der Meij	Persian prototype
<p>Muḥammad returns from a battle, and he receives Gabriel who recites to him verse Q 48:27. Muḥammad shows interest in shaving his head and asks Gabriel about the process of shaving.</p>	<p>مک اوجر ابوبکر الصديق رضی الله عنه دمکين بوتیئ هی مؤمنین یغفرچیا اکن الله جک توانهمب هندق مند غر فری کملیان معجزه نبی الله برچوکور ایه بابقله همب چترا کن کفد توانهمب ادقون تتکلا نبی الله برچوکر ایه بابقله همب چترا کن کفد توانهمب ادقون تتکلا نبی الله برچوکر ایه وقه رسول الله کمبالی درفد فراغ دغن راج لحد فد سمبیلن هاریبولن رمضان هاری اثنین تتکلا ممباج قرآن فد کتیک اینته ای تورن دباو اوله جبرائیل کفد نبی دمکین «محلوقون رؤسکم» الخ تله ایت دباچ رسول الله مک نبی برقیکر لالومند غر بوپئ ایه ایت یغد باوا اوله جبرائیل مک اوجرئ یا نبی الله بهو الله سبحانه و تعالی منبلیق قد قرآن المجید میور هکن توانهمب این برچوکور ستله دغر اوله نبی الله کات جبرائیل یغد مکین ایه مک سیدا رسول لله کفد جبرائیل یاتوانکو جبرائیل ما هو له همب برچوکر جک دمکین دغن فرمان الله تعالی مک سید رسول الله صلی الله علیه و سلم یاتوانکو جبرائیل جک همب برچوکر ایه دهد افن ...</p>	<p>“[...] ‘the exalted Prophet’s hair was shaved while he was waging war on Allah’s road. He was shaved in the village of Mecca, on a Monday.’ While the Prophet Messenger was reading the Koran, Jabrail arrived, bringing a Koranic verse from Allah[...] The fact of the matter is that you are ordered to have your hair shaved.’ The Prophet Muḥammad said to Jabrail, ‘Well my brother, who is to shave me?’ Jabrail said softly, ‘I will convey your question to the Great One.’ Then Jabrail left to ask the Highest [...] the Immaterial One said, ‘He is to be shaved in the month of Ramadan [...] and you will shave his hair.’”</p>	<p>پیغمبر خدای از جنگ باز آمدند که (..)، و باز در مکه مبارک آمد. تا چند سال و شش ماه بود. به خواندن قرآن مشغول بودند که این آیت رسید: «مُحَلِّقِينَ رُؤُسَكُمْ وَمُقَصِّرِينَ لَا تَخَافُونَ» حضرت پیغمبر علیه السلام فرمودند یا اخی جبرائیل خدایتعالی در قرآن مجید و فرقان حمید اول مخلوق را یاد کرده است. پس میخواهم که مخلوق شوم. حضرت جبرائیل از حضرت حمدیت رفت باز آمد. حضرت رسول علیه السلام فرمودند که یا اخی جبرائیل در نظر که مخلوق شویم و جبرائیل علیه السلام فرمود که در نظر نور پاک خود (!) مخلوق شو.</p>

## Commentary

- In all known Malay-Indonesian versions, the noted Companion who answers the question about what he witnessed is Abū Bakr. However, almost all available Persian versions include the name of Salmān al-Fārisī (Salmān the Persian).<sup>76</sup>
- In all stories Muḥammad returns from a war when he is received by Gabriel. In the Persian prototype as well as in the Javanese text, the details of the war are not identified. However, in the Jawi version it is mentioned that the Prophet participated in a battle with a King (*Rājā*) known as Laḥad (لحد). Moreover, in Ms. 442 (fl. 8) and Ms. 282 (fl. 7), of the National Library of Malaysia (Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia), he is mentioned as King Laḥna(t) (رجا لحنة) and King Laḥa(t) (رج لحة), respectively. It could possibly be a misreading of the Arabic term for the battle of Uḥud (احد), which is also mentioned in the Persian version, Ms. 229, at the Mīrẓā Muḥammad Kaẓimaynī Library of Yazd, Iran. However, this seems weird, as according to Islamic traditions, there are *almost* no battles in Ramadan (*Uḥud* is unanimously dated to Shawwāl in year Three), and likewise no pilgrimages in Ramadan (which might be linked to shaving).<sup>77</sup> As such, FANG’s idea about the role of *Maghāzī* stories (Prophetic battles) in Malay *hikayat* moderately makes sense: “Another Battle, the Battle of *Uhud* [...] Most of these battle stories, however, are fictitious or hail from the Malay World itself”.<sup>78</sup>

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**76** The manuscript Or. 1758 kept in the Leiden University Library includes the “Hikayat Sulayman [sic] al-Farisi,” whose content is very different from the *Nabi Bercukur* and other “shaving” stories.

**77** I thank Andreas Görke for his advice regarding this issue.

**78** FANG, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, 215. On this subject, another fictional account mentioning that Muḥammad shaved (himself) after returning from a war is found, according to BROWN, among the followers of the Bektashi Order in Turkey, who are influenced by earlier Qalandars as well as Shi’i teachings and Imamate principles and wore sleeveless vests known as *Haideri*: “The angel Gabriel once visited the holy Prophet, during the war called the *Ghaza i Ahwet*, and asked him what he was occupied in, and he replied in reciting the verses of the Koran, shaving his beard and cutting his hair.—*Vide* Koran, xlvi. 27.” John P. BROWN, *The Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism*, London: Trubner and Co. 1868, 143–145; Bektashis also wear a cap which is white (“not green”); regarding Bektashis and their relationship with Shi’i teachings, see; John Kingsley BIRGE, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London: Luzac & Co. and Conn.: Hartford Seminary Press, 1937.

## Middle part (I)

Subject	Malay Jawi	Javanese Texts translated by van der Meij	Persian prototype
Muhammad asks Gabriel about a skullcap that he can wear after shaving his head	<p>جبرائیل دغن فرمان کو دان کفیه اکن دفاکی اوله ککشهکو دان لاکئی اگو تیتیهکن اگوک جوک فرکی کدالم شرکا ماسق مغمبیل اولهم داون کایو یغبرنام طوبی یغ امت هیجو کلیغ کلیغ کیلو ن چهین سفرت چهیا متھاری دان بولن یغبرنام امفت بلس مک دفریوائن اکن کفیه یغ دفاکی اوله نبی محمد رسول الله سبحانه وتعالی ایت یاعینله درقد نکره اهد کود سوره فاکئی اولهم کفد ککشهکو ایت دان ستله سده الله تعالی سبحانه و تعالی برسبد کفد جبرائیل دمکینله کنان هی جبرائیل فرکیله کدالم شرکا ستله سمقی کفنتو شرکا کفد ملک رضوان دمکینله بوپین هی ملک رضوان بوکا کنله همب فنتو شرکا ایت مک سهوه ملک رضوان سیاف که اورغ یغ برسرور 2 دلوار فنتو ایت مک کات همب جبرائیل مک ملک رضوان فون سیگراله ممبوکاکن فنتو شرکا ایت مک ملاءیکه جبرائیل فون سیگراله دتغ لالو سیگراله ماسق کدالم شرکا مک کات ملک رضوان افاکه فکر جابن سید دتغ کمار ی این مک کات ملاءیکه جبرائیل کفد ملک رضوان همب این دتیتیهکن الله تعالی سبحانه وتعالی دسوره اکن مغمبیل داون کایو طوبی یغ امت کلیغ کمیلغ کیلو 2 ن و رنن سهلی اکن دفاکی کفیه نبی محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیه و سلم سده برچوکور ایت مک اوچر ملک رضوان کفد جبرائیل دمکینله سیدان یا جبرائیل ...</p>	<p>“Well, Jabrail what will my head cloth be after I have been shaved?” Then Jabrail left to ask the All Highest ... Having arrived before God, Jabrail said, ‘Well my Lord, Great One, I would like to ask you, what will be the head cloth of your beloved when the exalted Prophet Muhammad’s hair has been shaved?’ The Immaterial One spoke to Jabrail, ‘Leave at once and enter Heaven and pick one leaf of the Kastuba tree. Go now and fetch it at once. You will need only one leaf to make a head cloth and it is My gift.’ Jabrail left immediately to pick a Kastuba leaf. He took one and it had a beautiful color because there is nothing that can match the color of the tree, nothing is like it. He quickly took it with him and in a short while he arrived at the Prophet Messenger. When he had greeted him, (he said), ‘Well Prophet, my Lord, this is a Kastuba leaf. This is what you will wear when your hair has been shaved.’</p>	<p>خدایتعالی فرمودند که بنورتو فضل کرم (...). پیغمبر علیه سلام (sic) فرمودند که کلاه از چه پور(شیم)؟ جبرائیل باز در ساعت بدرگاه رفت و باز آمد. فرمود که خدای تعالی فرمود که بزو بر درخت طوبی بگو که بر تن تو کلاه سبز نگاه داشته؛ محمد علیه السلام را بفضل کرم بدهند. و حضرت جبرائیل تن درخت طوبی را پاره کرد. کلاه سبز بیرون آورد. سر پیغمبر علیه سلام بداد. و حضرت رسالت پناه بر سر مبارک خود پوشید بودند. حضرت پیغمبر علیه سلام فرمودند که استره بر سر من گردانید. و جبرائیل فرمود که یا رسول الله حکم شده است که بر سر پیغمبر استره برآیند (۴). بیست و یکم ماه رمضان المبارک بود.</p>

## Commentary

- In both Persian and Malay versions the name of the tree in heaven from which a skullcap for Muḥammad will be made is “Tuba.” However, in the Javanese version it is read as “Kastuba”.
- In other available Persian sources, the leaves of the Tuba trees are used to make a garment (*khirqah*) for Muḥammad to put on his shoulder, not a skullcap (*kulāh*).
- In all Malay and Javanese versions the shaving act will be done on the 19th of Ramadan, while in all available Persian sources it will be on the 21st of Ramadan.

### Middle part (II)

Subject	Malay Jawi	Javanese Texts translated by van der Meij	Persian prototype
In the presence of others, Muḥammad's hairs do not fall down; heavenly nymphs collect them before touching the earth, as God stated how sacred they are.	<p>کامشة صحابة نبی حاضر له مغادف کفد رسول الله وقت بر چوکر ایه مک فرمان الله تعالی منیتهکن سکل انق بیدادی هی سکلانق 2 کن بیدادی کلوار له اغکو سکلین دری دالم شرک فرکیله اغکو سگراتورن کدنیا مغمبیل رمبوة ککاسیهکو یغد چوکر اوله جبرائیل دان سهلی رمبوتن فون جاغله کوگورکیومی امبیل اولهم سهلی سؤرخ رمبو عزیمه ایکتکنله فد لغن کامویغ کانن سفای کومفو نبی سکلین دوس کامبو برسیدا رسول الله کفد جبرائیل یا جبرائیل حکمة افکه دی این مک رمبوه همب سهلی جوافون نیاد کوگورکیومی مک اوچر جبرائیل یا نبی الله کر ان سکل انق</p>	<p>“Afterwards they prayed two sequences of prayers (<i>raka'at</i>). Thus was the shaving of the Prophet, to the satisfaction of all who witnessed it. Each strand of hair was taken up and none fell on the ground. The Prophet said to Jabrail, ‘Why is it that really of all my hair, none falls on the ground? Jabrail said kindly, ‘Well Muḥammad my Lord. The reason that they do not fall on the ground is that for all the number of your hairs there is an equal number of nymphs to catch them (before they reach the ground).’ The Prophet said kindly, ‘How many hairs do I have?’</p>	<p>چنانچه یاران پیغمبر علیه سلام (sic) استاده بُودند و میدیدند (که) بقدرت ربّ عزّت هر مونی که جُدا میشود بر زمین نمی افتندی؛ و حضرت رسالت پناه فرمودند: علیه سلام (sic) یا اخی جبرائیل این چه حالست؟ گفت: یا رسول الله از سر مُبارک شما دوآزده لک سیزده هزار و سی دو موی است. حوران بهشت را فرمان شد که دوست باید بجهت (؟) مخلوق شود. محبوب من دُوآزده لک سیزده هزار و سیصد دُو مونی است. و دامن خود را فَرّ (؟) کنبد و با عزّت و حرمت نگاه دارد که شما را بیآفریدم بیآفرزم. مویهای مُبارک یک یک قسمت کرده بگیریند.</p>

Subject	Malay Jawi	Javanese Texts translated by van der Meij	Persian prototype
	<p>2 كن بيدادري تيتيهكن اوله  الله سبحانه وتعالى تورن  كدنيا مغمبيل رمبوة توانهمب  اين مهلى سورغ جوافون  تبادا له سمقى قرى كبايقن  انق بيدادري اية اداقون بايق  رمبوت توانهمب ايه سكتى  دوالقسا(؟) انم ريب انم راتس  انم قوله انم هلى دمكينله بايقن  انق 2 كن بيدادري ستله ددغر  اوله نبى الله كات جبرائيل  دمكين اية مك نبى الله قون  ديمله قون ديمله مك تورنله  قرمان الله سبحانه ...</p>	<p>Jabrail said, ‘You have much hair, no more than three hundred and thirty three thousand; three hundred and thirty-three in total. Now each hair will be used by a nymph and none will fall on the ground. The reason your hair is being fought over is that Allah has ordered the nymphs to do so. That was the order of the Lord the Most Sublime. The order of the Lord the Most Sublime to the nymphs was, ‘Go and leave at once and go to my beloved. All of you have to go and catch one hair and turn each hair of My Beloved into a charm, and each of you put one on your wrist.’”</p>	

## Commentary

- The number of Muḥammad’s hairs collected by nymphs varies. In most available Persian sources, it is shown as 1213332, in the Javanese versions it is 333333 or 133332,<sup>79</sup> and in the majority of the Jawi versions it is 126666.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> VAN DER MEIJ, 1996, 24.

<sup>80</sup> The Leiden copy of Or. 1953 (fl. 228), however, shows “enam ribu enam ratus enam puluh enam” (viz., 6666). A marginal pencil note (perhaps by the collector) on fl. 218 shows “3333333333,” although it is not clear whether it is related to the number of Muḥammad’s hair flocks.

## Final Remarks

### On Qalandars in the Malay-Indonesian World

Given their lifestyle as “traveler and wanderer,” Qalandar ascetics initiated their mission in the thirteenth century and very soon infiltrated most of the Islamic world, including Ottoman Turkey (esp. Anatolia) and India.<sup>81</sup> Their autonomy in following a mystical path allowed them to freely continue and rapidly develop their rituals in India, such as “shav[ing] their heads and all hairs of their faces.”<sup>82</sup> They also had a significant influence on their Indian Şūfi and Hindu mendicant interlocutors, especially the Qalandar *pirs* (saints) of the Hindu forest who “has much in common with the *qalandar*, the wild saint-renouncer who throws off the formal constraints of institutional Şūfism and seeks an individual path to knowledge and divine rapture.”<sup>83</sup> Subsequently, the Indian Qalandars’ treatises were introduced to Indonesian: “One of the striking features of this South Indian qalandar tradition is the fact that the lands of the Indonesian archipelago tend to figure in a significant number of Şūfi legends and chronicles.”<sup>84</sup>

Although it is hard to provide an accurate answer to the question by which way a Persian or Indian story emerged in the Malay world, we may assume that Persian stories such as *Nabi Bercukur* (like some other stories) were imported to the Archipelago through the Indian subcontinent. The above comparisons, as

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**81** John P. BROWN, *The Darvishes: Or Oriental Spiritualism*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2008, 173. Also, a number of Turkic treatises similar to *futuwwat-nāmāhs* are found in Eastern Turkistan and Uyghur. Some of them were already collected by Martin Hartmann (e.g., *Risale der Haarschneider*, *Risale der Weber*, *Risale der Schuster*). Whether these materials made inroads to the Malay Archipelago is the subject of my forthcoming research. Martin HARTMANN, “Die osttürkischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hartmann,” *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin* 7, N. 2 (1904): 1–21.

**82** Muzaffar ALAM, “III. Competition and Co-existence: Indo-Islamic Interaction in Medieval North India,” *Itinerario* 13/1 (1989): 37–60, esp. 40 and 43.

**83** Susan BAYLY, “VIII. Islam and State Power in Pre-colonial South India,” *Itinerario* 12, no. 1 (1988): 143–164, esp. 154. However, it should be noted that the notion of “Qalandar” and “Qalandari” has been seriously reexamined by various groups of scholars. Some believed that it was a pre-Islamic Persian path (e.g., Shafi’i Kadkani), or it was an Indian product. Christiane TORTEL, for instance, believes that Islamic Qalandars had already been shaped, based on an Indian ascetic that penetrated Western and Central Asia. See Christiane TORTEL, *L’ascète et le bouffon: qalandars, vrais ou faux renonçants en islam ou l’Orient indianisé*, Arles: Actes sud, 2009; Mostafa VAZIRI, *Rumi and Shams’ Silent Rebellion: Parallels with Vedanta, Buddhism, and Shaivism*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

**84** BAYLY, “VIII. Islam and State Power in Pre-colonial South India”.

well as original sources, demonstrate that the Persian chivalry books of barbers in general, and the “head-shaved book” manuscript in particular, can be considered as the prototype of the Malay *Nabi Bercukur*, which probably made inroads into the Malay-Indonesian world as an independent Islamic work (not necessarily attached to Qalandars) in the sixteenth century; when other mystical paths were gradually introduced to Indonesia.<sup>85</sup>

However, the Shari‘a-centric context of the Archipelago from the mid-seventeenth century as well as the lack of adequate sources about Sufi rituals and practices in Southeast Asia made it hard to determine whether shaving was actually practiced by Malay Sufis. This is despite the fact that *santri birahi* or *santri dul* from the nineteenth-century Java were “communities of heterodox, dervish-like ascetics engaging in ecstatic practices” who used to grow their hair very long. Whether *santri birahi* was based on “pre-Islamic, Bhairava-centred tantric lore,” “the hybrid matrix of Javanese religiosity”<sup>86</sup> or “reminiscent of Qalandar”<sup>87</sup> whose “long unkempt, ungroomed, matted hair is symbolic of a “total detachment” of sexual interest”<sup>88</sup> already popular among the fifteenth century-Qalandars, needs further investigation into Sufi practices (not written legacy) in the Malay-Indonesian world.

## Persian Story of Shaving and the Malay Renditions

In addition, the chivalry book literature flourished during the Safavid period, from the early sixteenth century. As a political instrument against other Islamic communities, Safavids often tended to show a higher level of affection to the Prophet, his household, Shi‘a Imams<sup>89</sup> and Salmān al-Fārisī. Unsurprisingly, the Persian prototype includes not only the name of Salmān al-Fārisī but also

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**85** See: Martin van BRUINSEN, “The Origins and Development of Sūfī Orders (*Tarekat*) in Southeast Asia”, *Studia Islamika* 1/1 (1994): 1–23, esp. 5.

**86** Andrea ACRI, “Becoming a Bhairava in 19th-century Java”, *Indonesia and the Malay World* 47, no. 139 (2019): 285–307.

**87** Personal communication with Martin van Bruinssen.

**88** RIDGEON, “Shaggy or Shaved?”; Also: Edmund Ronald LEACH, “Magical hair”, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 88, no. 2 (1958): 147–164.

**89** On Safavids and their rivals, see Rudi MATTHEE, “Safavid Dynasty”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (2008), at [https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-iranica-online/safavid-dynasty-COM\\_509?s.num=0&s.f.s2\\_parent=s.f.book.encyclopaedia-iranica-online&s.q=Safavid+dynasty](https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-iranica-online/safavid-dynasty-COM_509?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.encyclopaedia-iranica-online&s.q=Safavid+dynasty)

the names of both Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (see Appendix III [84]) as well.<sup>90</sup> As such, and on the basis of current findings, being originally a Persian Ṣūfī source influenced by a Safavid-based Shī‘ī agenda *might* have stimulated the Malay reader of the Cod. Or. 1953 (viii) to call the *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* a work of Rāfiḏī, which should not be taken into account by other readers.

As demonstrated earlier, all Persian sources about Muḥammad’s shaving begin with a question and answer, between a questioner and Salmān al-Fārisī. To the contrary, the name of Salmān, originally known as the Persian companion of the Prophet, is replaced with Abū Bakr, the first caliph in Islam, in all available Malay and Indonesian manuscripts. This might be a reasonable answer for JUYNBOLL’S wondering as to why there is a Batavian copy of *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* called *Hikayat Abu Bakar*.<sup>91</sup> This name substitution (i.e., Abū Bakr instead of Salmān), as well as the statement made by JUYNBOLL that the Cod. Or. 1953 (VIII) was “censored,” can be linked to another conjecture that not only is the text actually blackened and censored but it has also literally been censored and “de-Shī‘itized.” “De-Shī‘itization” is a notion that was at the outset described by L. F. BRAKEL<sup>92</sup> and developed by Edwin WIERINGA,<sup>93</sup> through which Shī‘ī elements used either to be removed or replaced with Sunnī ones. The most obvious example is that of the Malay *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, which is the direct translation of a Persian story about the death of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the grandsons of Muḥammad, which ends with the revenge of their half-brother, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. A name found in the Persian version is Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (the sixth Imam of Shī‘a) that is replaced with Abū Bakr in almost all Malay renditions.<sup>94</sup> Although there has long been controversy about the (im)possibility of “de-Shī‘itization” in Southeast Asia and the requirement to gather more data, *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* in general and the Cod. Or. 1953 (VIII) in particular apparently includes the most evident traces of censorship that may give a hint how

<sup>90</sup> Although Sunni communities (including Ottomans) also paid attention to the Prophet’s household, Safavids had attempted to link them to their ideology. Also see Fahmida Suleman, ed., *People of the Prophet’s House*, London: Azimuth Editions Publishers in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2015.

<sup>91</sup> It should be noted that some mystical paths like Malamatiyya traced “its origins to both Abū Bakr and Salmān al-Fārisī.” Itzhak WEISMANN, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2007, 24.

<sup>92</sup> L.F. BRAKEL, *The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1977.

<sup>93</sup> Edwin WIERINGA, “Does Traditional Islamic Malay Literature Contain Shi‘itic Elements? ‘Ali and Fātimah in Malay Hikayat Literature”, *Studia Islamika* 3, no. 4 (1996): 93–111.

<sup>94</sup> See, BRAKEL, *The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, and idem, *The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah: A Medieval Muslim-Malay Romance*, Berlin: Springer, 1981.

Islam and Islamic teachings of the core lands of Islam made inroads into South-east Asia.

## Appendix I

- *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (حکایت نبی برچوکور), n.p., n.d., 1845.
- *Hikayat Nabi Cukur* (حکایت نبی چوکور),<sup>95</sup> Batavia, 1853; as a sole printed book.
- *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (حکایت نبی برچوکور), Banten, 1855; as a sole printed book.
- *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (حکایت نبی برچوکور), Singapore, n.d.; as a sole printed book.<sup>96</sup>
- *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (حکایت نبی برچوکور), Singapore, n.d.; along with *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* and *Nabi Wafat*.
- *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (حکایت نبی برچوکور) and *Bercukur* (برچوکور), Singapore, 1871; along with *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*, *Hikayat Mukjizat Nabi*, and *Hikayat Nabi Wafat*.<sup>97</sup>
- *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (حکایت نبی برچوکور), Singapore, 1889 [with two different publishers]; along with *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*, *Hikayat Mukjizat Nabi*, and *Hikayat Nabi Wafat*.<sup>98</sup>
- *Nabi Bercukur*, Pulau Pinang, 1900; along with *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* and *Nabi Wafat*.
- *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (حکایت نبی برچوکور), Singapore, 1930; along with *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* and *Mu‘jizat Nabi* and *Nabi Wafat*.
- *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (حکایت نبی برچوکور), Singapore, 1936; along with *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* and *Mu‘jizat Nabi* and *Nabi Wafat*.
- *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur* (حکایت نبی برچوکور), Penang, 1938; along with *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* and *Nabi Wafat*.
- *Nabi Muhamad Bercukur*, Singaraja, 1983 [Javanese version; Romanized text],<sup>99</sup> as a sole printed book.

<sup>95</sup> However, the story begins with “حکایة رسول الله برچوکور”/*Hikayat Rasulallah Bercukur*”.

<sup>96</sup> Also see: I. PROUDFOOT, *Early Malay Printed Books: A Provisional Account of Materials Published in the Singapore–Malaysia Area Up to 1920, Noting Holdings in Major Public Collections*, Kuala Lumpur: Academy of Malay Studies and the Library of University of Malaya, 1993, 361.

<sup>97</sup> See also: PROUDFOOT, 369.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> The actual source is not available to the author.

- *Nabi Bercukur*, Pulau Pinang, 1995; along with *Hikayat Nur Muḥammad* and *Nabi Wafat*.
- *Nabi Aparas* (The Shaving of the Prophet Muḥammad’s Hair”), ed. Dick van der Meij. Leiden, 1996 [A Javanese version from Lombok].
- *Nabi bercukur*, Riau, 2007[Romanized text]<sup>100</sup>; along with *Hikayat Nur Muḥammad* and *Hikayat Nabi Wafat*.

## Appendix II

The whole Ms. 5–22834 (239 folios; page measures: 105×145; lines 12×85) in the Iranian National Library, Tehran, includes the following sections:

1. A Qur’ānic verse for all believers (Q 10:41): “And if they deny you, [O Muḥammad], then say, “For me are my deeds, and for you are your deeds. You are disassociated from what I do, and I am disassociated from what you do.” Fl. 15.
2. The ninety-nine names of Muḥammad (*Asnād-e navad-o-noh nām-e Ḥazrat-e Muḥammad*), including marginal notes about the virtues of Muḥammad’s names. Copied by Mullā Muḥammad Kurdizī, 16–22.
3. *Mi’rāj-nāmah* (“Muḥammad’s Nocturnal Journey to Heaven and Hell”), 23–80.
4. The great Supplication (*Du’ā-ye Mu’azzam*). “Muḥammad was in the Medina’s mosque when a man went to him and asked why his fish that is in the pot for three days and nights, is not cooked. While the Prophet was thinking, Gabriel appeared and said: ‘O Prophet: ask me!’”, 81.
5. *Risāla-ye Moṭrebīn/Maḥlūq-nāmah* (“The Shaved-head Book”), 82–92.
6. On creation of Adam from the earth [with new hand and paper quality] and the length of Adam’s hair; cutting his hair; on cutting nails; what should barbers do after shaving to gain a pure (*ḥalāl*) income and not be embarrassed on the Judgment Day. 93–122.
7. A mystical treatise (apparently a *futuwwat-nāmah*) addressing how to sweep; mentioning the name of Ḥassan al-Baṣrī; the name of four spheres of *ma’rifā*/wisdom (Shams Tabrīzī, Maulā Rūm, Sa’dī, and Shāh Qāsim Anvār) (fl. 134); the name of the twelfth Imam. Dated 20. Jumādā al-thānī. 1249/1833.
8. *Saqāb(?) -nāmah* (“the book of Water Carriers [?]”), including notes on *Tanūra* (Qalandar’s garment), 140.
9. Seven supplies of Dervishes made of the light of Muḥammad, 141–180.

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<sup>100</sup> The actual source is not available to the author.

10. Khvāb-nāmah Ḥazrat-e Yūsuf (“The book of Dream Interpretation of the Prophet Joseph”) [a poetic treatise], 181–204.
11. *Goftār-e Shāh-Ni‘matullāh Walī* (“the statements of Shāh-Ni‘matullāh Walī”) [poetic notes], 204–212.
12. *A Futuwwat-nāmah Dehghānī* (“on the Chivalry Book of Farming”), 213–225.
13. Conversation between a Dervish and the Prophet Muḥammad and the latter’s recommended supplication, 225–227.
14. *Risāla Dehghānī* (“A Treatise on Farming”), 227–233.
15. “if you are asked how many sons does Adam have,” say “thirty six,” 233–235.
16. Poetic phrases dealing with pitcher/jug (*kūzah*), 263–237.
17. Additional notes, names, and marginal phrases, 238–239.

## Appendix III

### The Edition and English Translation of the Prototype

[82]

هذا رساله مطرب اينست

*This is the Treatise of the Contortionists/Modulators*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَالْعَاقِبَةَ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ وَلِصَلَوَاتِ (٤) وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ أَجْمَعِينَ. بدان أسعدك الله تعالى في الدارين که این رساله ی سر تراشان سوال و جواب بدانید و آگاه باشید که این رساله از برای سلمان فارسی

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, the Lord of the Worlds, and [Praising Muḥammad] Be aware that the Almighty makes you happy in the two worlds, if you learn about this treatise of the shavers (viz., barbers) and be aware that this treatise has been compiled for the sake of Salmān al-Fārisī,

[83]

کمر بستگان (٤) سر تراشان جمع کرده شد. باید که این تکبیرات آینه و تیغ و سنگ و مقراض/مقراز و شانه و مقرض و ناخن گیر و از این جمله گی باخبر شد و هر صاحب کسب که این تکبیرات نداند، لقمه کسب بر وی حرام باشد. و در میان کمر بستگان فردای قیامت رُویش سیاه گردد. نَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْهَا (٤). پس باید که رساله تکبیرات را صاحب کسب یاد کرده و بیاموزد و با خود نگاه

[and/who was one] of the loin-clothed people (viz., Shampooers) and head-shavers (viz., barbers). One should be aware of the invocations of razor, stone, scissors, comb, nail clipper all together. And every business holder [in each guild] who is not familiar with these, his morsel is forbidden, and his face will be black in the presence of other loin-clothed people on and after the Day of Judgement.

We seek refuge in God from them. So should the business [guild] holder remember, learn and keep this treatise of invocations with himself

#### [84]

و این کسب نامه را یکساعت از خود جدا نکنی تا لایق فضل ارزنده<sup>101</sup> و زیاده گردد. بتاریخ بیست و پنج ماه محرم بود که این کسب حواله سلمان فارس کردند. از مهتران چهار کس (را) سر تراشیدن: اول سر داود پیغمبر، دوم سر مالک قبر (؟)، سیوم سر مبارک امام حسن، چهارم از حسین بن علی کرم الله وجهه. از برای سلمان فارس می پرسید سلمان جواب بگو میداد: «بِسْمِ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهِ وَعَلَى اللَّهِ وَ...»

And do not separate this treatise for lawful livelihood from yourself even for one hour so the virtue will become impervious and great. It was on twenty-fifth of the month of Muḥarram that this treatise was committed to Salmān al-Fārisī. Among the noblemen, the heads of four were shaved: first the head of the Prophet David, second the head of [...], third the sacred head of Imam Ḥassan, fourth that of Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, may God ennoble his person. One person had asked from Salmān al-Fārisī and Salmān [then] responded to him:<sup>102</sup> “In the Name of God and by God and in/to God and [...]

#### [85]

و سبفت (... منى. بسم الله أكبر لا إله إلا الله ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العظیم». سوال اگر ترا پرسند که موی سر تراشی کدام آیت میخوانی؟ جواب بگو «کَمَا قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى: مُخَلِّقِينَ رُءُوسَكُمْ وَمُقَصِّرِينَ لَا تَخَافُونَ». سوال اگر ترا پرسند که آینه به دست میگیری، کدام آیت میخوانی؟ جواب بگو: «فَتَبَارَكَ اللَّهُ أَحْسَنُ الْخَالِقِينَ، اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ». اگر تو را پرسند که پاکی در سنگ میزنی چه میگویی؟ جواب «يَا هُوَ يَا مَنْ

[...] In the Name of God, God is the greatest; there is no god but God. And there is no power and no strength save in God the Almighty.” If you are asked to shave the hair of the head, which verse will you recite? Say: “as stated by God the Almighty ‘with your heads shaved and [hair] shortened, not fearing [anyone]’ (Q 48:27).” If you are asked to hold a mirror, which verse will you recite? Say: “(So) Blessed is God, the best of creators, God is the Lord of the Worlds” (Q 23:14). If you are asked how to sharpen a razor using stone, which verse will you recite? Say: “*Yā Hū*<sup>103</sup> (“O Thou/He”) *Yā man* (“who are/is”)

#### [without folio number]

يَا مَنْ هُوَ». سر تراشی را باید که اینچنین بخواند و سر تراشد که رسم کلام است. سوال اگر ترا پرسند که به اذن کی سر میتراشی؟ جواب بگو که باذن صاحب کسب (؟) میتراشم. اگر تو را پرسند که رگ زدن و رگ

<sup>101</sup> فضل او زنده

<sup>102</sup> Or responded him with “let’s ask.”

<sup>103</sup> It is formally and literally read as *Yā huwa*, but in Šūfi literature it is known as *Yā Hū* (e.g., *Yā Hū wa Yā man Hū*).

گشادند<sup>104</sup> از که مانده است؟ جواب بگو که از چهل تن مانده است. روزی روزی حضرت رسول صَلَّ اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ پیش چهل تن رفته بودند. کسی برای اشارت کردن

*Yā man hū* (“who are/is Thou/He, God”). The head shaver should recite like this while shaving,<sup>105</sup> which is the authentic manner of shaving. If you are asked who has granted you permission to shave? Say this response: “I shave with the permission of the owner of the trading/guild.” If you are asked about the phlebotomizing and phlebotomy, say that it came from forty ones. Once upon a time, Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him, visited forty ones. One for receiving a command

### [without folio number]

بخدمت حضرت پیغمبر علیه السلام ایستاده شد. یک کس استاده شد و خدمت بجا آورد. و حضرت رسالت پناه صَلَّی اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ نشستند. اما بخاطر مُبارک آنحضرت (sic) گذشت که یک کس استاده، دیگران نشسته ماند(ه). حقّ تعالی ایشان را معلوم ساخت که مگر در دل مُبارک حضرت چیزی گذشته باشد که یک ساعت کس را فرمودند که رگ هفت(؟) اندام را بگشادند. و چون رگ گشادند چهل

stood before the Prophet. One stood and served. And [then] the Prophet sat down. But the Prophet still pondered that “someone was still standing while others [viz., thirty-nine ones?] were sitting.” God the Almighty made them/him aware of what the Prophet was thinking about. Then one was ordered to open the veins<sup>106</sup> of the seven limbs [viz., head, chest, stomach, two hands and two feet].<sup>107</sup> Right after the phlebotomy, forty

### [86]

(چهل) قطره خون چکیدن گرفت از چهل تن. پیغمبر علیه السلام پرسید: که از تن(ی) گشاید و از چهل تن خون تن خون (sic) چکیدن گرفت. سبب چه باشد؟ یکی (؟) گفت: یا رسول الله که ما چهل تن یک جانیم و یک تنیم. بعد از آن خاطر شریف پیغمبر علیه السلام تسلی گشت. سوال اگر تُرا پرسند که تکبیر تیغ کدام است؟ جواب بگو که «سيف الله ابراهيم خليل الله» و چشم پاک و نظر بر جان محمّد مصطفی صَلَّی اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ

(forty) drops of blood began to drip from the forty ones. The Prophet asked: “that it was made only on one body, but from forty bodies the blood began to drip. What is the reason?” One replied: “O the Messenger of God! we forty ones are actually [in] one soul and one body.” Then the Prophet’s concern was relieved. If you are asked what is the razor blade invocation? Say that: “The Sword of God, Abraham, the Friend of God.” And the pure eye upon the soul of Muḥammad, peace be upon him. Oh God, peace

<sup>104</sup> Perhaps, it refers to cupping and phlebotomy.

<sup>105</sup> It can also be read as “the head shaving should be performed liked this ...”

<sup>106</sup> This can also be read as “God the Almighty made them/him aware that perhaps the Prophet was thinking about something. Then one was asked to open the veins ...”

<sup>107</sup> Phlebotomy.

**[87]**

عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ بَارِكْ وَسَلِّمْ مَحْلُوقٌ كُشْتُ؛ نام حضرت رسالت پناه علیه در نظر مخلوق شد. و کلاه از که یافت؟ و چند سال بود و کدام روز بود؟ استره از چه بود؟ یاران حاضر بودند. پیغمبر خدای از جنگ باز آمدند که (...), و باز در مکه مبارک آمد. تا چند سال و شش ماه بود. به خواندن قرآن مشغول بودند که این آیت رسید: «مُحَلِّقِينَ رُءُوسَكُمْ وَمُقَصِّرِينَ لَا تَخَافُونَ»

be upon Muḥammad and his household, [confer] blessing, [he] was shaved; that the Prophet, peace be upon him, was now shaven-headed and got a skullcap. [And ask about] the skullcap, and what year and day? [Ask] about the shaving blade? The Companions were present. The Prophet of God returned from a battle that [...] and went back to the sacred Mecca. [And] stayed there for some years and six months. While [they were] reciting the Qur'ān, this verse was revealed: "with your heads shaved and [hair] shortened, not fearing [anyone]." (Q 48:27)

**[88]**

حضرت پیغمبر علیه السلام فرمودند با آخی جبرائیل خدایتعالی در قرآن مجید و فرقان حمید اول مخلوق را یاد کرده است. پس میخوایم که مخلوق شوم. حضرت جبرائیل از حضرت حمدیت رفت باز آمد. حضرت رسول علیه السلام فرمودند که یا آخی جبرائیل در نظر که مخلوق شویم و جبرائیل علیه السلام فرمود که در نظر نور پاک خود (؟) مخلوق شو. خدایتعالی فرمودند که بنور تو فضل کرم (...). پیغمبر علیه سلام (sic) فرمودند که کلاه از چه پو(شیم)؟

The Prophet, peace be upon him, stated: "O brother Gabriel, God the Almighty has firstly mentioned the name of the 'shaved' one [then those who shortened] in the Glorious Qur'ān and the Praised Criterion. Thus, I want to be shaved." The Archangel Gabriel went to the Glorified One and returned. The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: "O brother Gabriel, I want now to be shaved." And Gabriel said: "For the sake of/through your pure light, become shaved." The God Almighty stated that "your light [...] grace." The Prophet, peace be upon him, asked: "What sorts of skullcap shall I wear?"

**[89]**

جبرائیل باز در ساعت بدرگاه رفت و باز آمد. فرمود که خدای تعالی فرمود که بر تو بر درخت طوبی بگو که بر تن تو کلاه سبز داشته؛ محمد علیه السلام را بفضل کرم بدهند. و حضرت جبرائیل تن درخت طوبی را پاره کرد. کلاه سبز بیرون آورد. سر پیغمبر علیه سلام بداد. و حضرت رسالت پناه بر سر مبارک خود پوشید بودند. حضرت پیغمبر علیه سلام فرمودند که استره بر سر من گردانید. و جبرائیل فرمود که یا رسول الله حکم شده است که بر سر پیغمبر استره بر آیند (؟). بیست و یکم ماه رمضان المبارک بود.

Thereafter, the Gabriel went to the throne and returned. He said, "the Almighty God stated that [I should] 'go and tell the tree of Tuba that a green skullcap is located in its trunk; grant it to Muḥammad with grace'." The Archangel Gabriel tore the Tuba tree's trunk, drag out a green skullcap, and put it on the Prophet's head. And the Prophet put it on his sacred head. The Prophet stated "[now] start shaving my head". Gabriel said: "O Messenger, it has been ordered to

shave the Messenger's head." It was the twenty-first of the blessed month of Ramadan.

### [90]

چنانچه یاران پیغمبر علیه سلام (sic) استاده بُودند و میدیدند (که) بقدرت ربّ عزّت هر موئی که جُدا میشود بر زمین نمی افتندی؛ و حضرت رسالت پناه فرمودند: علیه سلام (sic) یا اخی جبرائیل این چه حالت؟ گفت: یا رسول الله از سر مُبارک شما دوازده لک سیزده هزار و سی دو موی است. حوران بهشت را فرمان شد که دوست باید بجهت (؟) مخلوق شود. محبوب من دوازده لک سیزده هزار و سیصد دو موئی است. و دامن خود را فآر (؟) کنید و با عزّت

While the Companions of the Prophet, peace be upon him, stood and they witnessed that due to the power of the Lord of Glory, no single hair that was shaved fall to the ground. the Prophet said: "[Peace be upon you] brother Gabriel, what is going on?" [Gabriel] replied: "O the Messenger of God! you have one million and two hundred and thirteen thousand and three hundred and thirty-two hair strands. The heavenly nymphs (*houris*) are commanded that [...] the friend [of God] is to be shaved. [God says] "My beloved is with one million and two hundred and thirteen thousand and three hundred and thirty-two hair strands. And now come and open your skirt and with dignity

### [91]

و حرمت نگاه دارید که شما را بیافریدم بیامُرم. مویهای مُبارک یک یک قسمت کرده بگیریند. هر که این مخلوق نامه بخواند و یا با خود نگه دارد و در دنیا و در آخرت با دولت و نعمت باشد. در نظر مخلوق (مخلوق) بزرگ و مهتر عزیز نماید و هیچ بلا و علت گرفتار نگردد. و هر که این مخلوق نامه را بخواند و یا بر خود نگه دارد، آنکس از امت من باشد و هر که نخواند و یا بر خود نگه ندارد از امت من نباشد. منکه پیغمبرم (؟) علیه السلام از وی بیزار باشم و او از شفاعت من بی نصیب باشد و محروم ماند. زنهار بعد زنهار

and reverence hold it, that I created you and absolve you." They shared the sacred hair strands among each other. Whoever read this "Shaved-Head Book" and or keep it with himself be in felicity and blessing in this world and the hereafter [and] be honored in the eyes of the great and the noble shaved one [viz., the Prophet Muḥammad], and are not affected by disaster and problem. And whoever reads this "Shaved-Head Book" or holds it for himself, "he would be from my community (*umma*) and whoever does not read or hold it does not belong to my community circle. I, the one who is a messenger, peace be upon him, will be averse to him and he will be deprived from my intercession and will remain excluded." [Their] requesting quarter after requesting quarter<sup>108</sup>

108 Seeking safety and refuge.

## [92]

غافل نباشد. عليهم<sup>109</sup>(؟) بكتابك بصري و اشرح به صدري. پیغمبر (sic) پیغمبر علیه سلام (sic) فرموده است هر که این مخلوق نامه را بخواند و اگر نتواند بع[...][...] دُور[...][...] پیش خود نگه دارد، و چون از دار دنیا برود و با ایمان و سلامت رود، ضامن پیغمبر علیه سلام (؟) باشد. و چون در جنگ نصرت یابد و پی قضای (؟) الهی او را خشنی (؟) نرسد؛ که این مخلوق نامه را نیکو نگه دارد و هر روز بگشاید و بخواند و ببیند، و ثواب یابد و رُوْزی او فراخ گردد.

will not stop. On them [?] [Oh God, shed light] upon my heart and expand for me my breast by Your Book. The Prophet, peace be upon him, stated: Whoever read this “Shaved-Head Book” and if he cannot that is [...],<sup>110</sup> then hold it, and when he passes away, he leaves faithfully and healthy [and safely]; the guarantor is the Prophet, peace be upon him. And if he wins in the battle, and [due to God’s eternal decision] he is not harmed; [he] then keeps this “the Shaved-Head Book” nicely and opens it, reads it and sees it daily and he gets rewarded and his daily provision increased.

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109 اللهم نور

110 Perhaps, “that is farfetched.”