

"THE CROWNS OF THIS COMMUNITY"... SOME NOTES ON THE TURBAN IN THE MUSLIM TRADITION

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I

The tradition recorded in Nabia Abbot's *Studies in Arabic Papyri II*¹ was only conjecturally read by the author: *balaghanā anna rasūla llāhi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama qāla: tijānu hādhihi l-ummati l-'amalu [] yaqūluhā fi l-'idayni wa-yauma l-jum'ati*.

Professor Abbot described the papyrus as a document written in the late second century of the *hijra*; she assumed that the author of the papyrus was Qutayba b. Sa'īd al-Balkhī (d. 240/854).²

This partly deciphered statement, attributed to the Prophet and transmitted in various versions in the compendia of *ḥadīth*, is often coupled with two or three additional statements ascribed to the Prophet. The first phrase of the combined statement, often quoted separately, and provided with explanations and comments, was transmitted in a concise form: *al-'amā'imu tijānu l-'arabi*, "The turbans are the crowns of the Arabs."³ This seems to be with all probability the correct reading of

¹ *Qur'anic Commentary and Tradition*, The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 76, 11, 1967, Document 3, verso, ll. 15-16.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 143-145.

³ See e.g., Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Faḍā'ilu l-qur'āni l-karīm*, al-Sayyid al-Jamīlī, ed. (Beirut, 1986), p. 144: *wa-huwa ka-qulihim: al-'amā'imu tijānu l-'arabi li-kaunihā taqūmu maqāma l-tijāni*; and see 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Tha'alībī, *Thimāru l-qulūb fi l-muḍāf wa-l-manṣūb*, Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, ed. (Cairo, 1384/1965), p. 159 (see the references of the editor). Muḥammad Darwish al-Hūt, *Asnā l-maṭālib fi aḥādītha mukhtalifati l-marātib*, Khalīl al-Mays, ed. (Beirut, 1403/1983), p. 208, no. 942 stresses the weak character of the tradition: *ṣuruḡuhu kulluhā ḡa'ifaton, wa-yurwā min kalāmi l-zuhri kamā dhakarahu l-bayhaḡī*. Muḥammad b. Aḡmad b. Jārallāh al-Ṣafadī l-Yamanī, *al-Nawāfilu l-'aṡira fi l-aḡādīthi l-mushtahira*, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṡā, ed. (Beirut, 1412/1992), 207, no. 1130 (see also the references of the editor); Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḡmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Maḡāṣidu l-ḡasana fi-bayāni kathīrin min al-aḡādīthi l-mushtahira 'alā l-alsina*, 'Abdallah Muḥammad al-Ṣadīq and 'Abd al-Waḡḡab 'Abd al-Laṡīf, eds. (Beirut, 1399/1979), 291, no. 717; (see the various versions and the references). Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Wā'iz al-Khargūshī, *al-Bishāra wa-l-nidhāra fi ta'bīri l-ru'yā wa-l-murāqaba*, MS. Br. Mus., Or. 6262, fol. 127a: *wa-aulā l-kiswati bi-taqdīmi l-dhikri al-'amā'imu fa-innahā tijānu l-'arabi . . .*; al-Rāḡhib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḡāḡarātu l-udabā'* (Beirut, 1961), vol. 4, p. 371; Abū Bakr Aḡmad b. 'Abdallah al-

the short phrase of the tradition, as given in the papyrus: *tījānu hādhihi l-ummati l-‘amā’imu*, “The crowns of this people are the turbans.”

This statement is attributed in several early sources to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.⁴ It is recorded in Mughultāy’s *al-Zahr al-bāsim* and is attributed to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, though Mughultāy mentions that it was attributed to the Prophet as well.⁵

This notion of equating turbans with crowns was rooted in the society of the Arab peninsula in the period of the Jāhiliyya. Wearing a turban implied strength and honour, symbolized the authority of a clan or tribal group and reflected high military position and leadership. *Mu‘ammam* or *mu‘aṣṣab*, “dressed in a turban,” referred to a man appointed as chief of his people. It corresponds to the expressions *tuwwija*, “he was crowned,” or *suwwida*, “he was granted the control of a tribal group,” which are used regarding the non-Arabs.⁶ The expression *al-mu‘ammam* also entailed the responsibility of the appointed chief: every offense committed by a member of the tribe was figuratively fastened to his turban; he was responsible for the evil deeds of the members of his clan or tribe.⁷ Before the advent of Islam, only the Arabs (i.e., the tribal society of the Arab peninsula-k) wore turbans, the crowns of the Arabs.⁸ The Bedouin provenance of the above statement – “The Crowns of the Arabs” is clearly reflected in ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-‘Azīzī’s explanation of the tradition: “The turbans are like the crowns for the kings of the Arabs, because the majority of the Arabs (i.e., the Bedouins-k) are bareheaded and turbans are scarce among them.”⁹

Kindī al-Samdī al-Nazwī, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ‘Āmir and Jādallāh Aḥmad, eds. (Cairo, 1979), I₂, p. 70; Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Aḥkām ahli l-dhimma*, Ṣubḥī l-Ṣāliḥ, ed. (Damascus, 1381/1961), vol. 2, p. 739.

⁴ Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, ed., n.p., n.d. (probably Beirut, fourth edition), vol. 3, p. 100 and vol. 2, p. 88; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’*, vol. 3–4, p. 371.

⁵ Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, MS. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 219b. And see Ibn al-Dayba’, *Taysīr al-wuṣūl ilā jāmi‘ l-uṣūl min ḥadīthi l-rasūl* (Cairo, 1390/1970), vol. 4, p. 186.

⁶ See L’A, s.v. ‘mm: (‘ammama) *wa-‘ummima l-rajul, suwwida, li-anna tījāna l-‘arabi l-‘amā’imu, fa-kullamā qīla fi l-‘ajami tuwwija, qīla fi l-‘arabi ‘ummima*. And see Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira fi l-amthāli l-sā’ira*, ‘Abd al-Majīd Qaṭāmish, ed. (Cairo, 1971), vol. 1, p. 123, no. 115: *fa-ka-anna ‘ummima bi-izā’i mā yuqālu fi l-‘ajami tuwwija*.

⁷ Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, vol. 1, p. 123; and see al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’*, vol. 3–4, p. 371: *wa-qauluhum ‘sayyidun mu‘ammamun, mu‘aṣṣabun’ fihī ta’wīlāni aḥaduhumā huwa l-muta‘aṣṣabu bi-jarā’iri qaumihi wa-l-ākharu bi-ma‘nā l-sharafi*.

⁸ Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-āthār*, MS., Cambridge Or. 913, fol. 204a: *ammā ṣāhibu l-tāj, fa-qāla abū l-faḍl ‘iyād fa-l-murād bihi l-‘imāma, lam takun ḥina’idhin illā li-l-‘arabi*; and see al-Majlisī, *Biḥāru l-anwār*, vol. 16, p. 131, Jawād al-‘Alawī and Muḥammad al-Ākhundī, eds. (Tehran, 1379): *wa-ammā l-tāju fa-l-murād bihi l-‘imāmatu, wa-lam yakun ḥina’idhin illā li-l-‘arabi*.

⁹ ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-‘Azīzī, *al-Sirāj al-munīr, sharḥ ‘alā l-jāmi‘ l-ṣaghīr fi aḥādīthi*

According to tradition, several eminent persons in Mecca, such as the leaders of tribal clans, attained a conspicuous privilege: when the leader wore a turban of a certain colour, no one else in Mecca had the right to wear one of the same colour. For instance, in the late period of the Jāhiliyya, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya who received the sobriquet *dhū l-ʿimāma* was granted such a privilege.¹⁰ According to a verse recorded in Ḥamza al-Isfahānī's *al-Durra al-fākhira*, a poet praised Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, saying: "When Abū-ʿUḥayḥa, (i.e., Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ -k), puts the turban on his head (in his characteristic way -k), any man who imitates him will be beaten, even if he is a man of wealth and [has a] large number" (scil. of relatives and allies).¹¹

A tradition recorded by al-Ābī¹² provides a vivid description of the rivalry between Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and the renowned warrior who distinguished himself in the battle of al-Fijār, al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Al-Zubayr was the leader of the Hāshimī branch of Quraysh in the war of Fijār. He initiated the confederation of the *ḥilf al-fuḍūl*, and was appointed by his father as his heir and trustee and became a mediator in the complicated problems of conflicts and peace making. He was the uncle of the Prophet and was highly respected in Mecca.¹³ According

l-bashīr l-nadhīr li-Jalāli l-Dīni l-Suyūfī (Cairo, 1377/1957), vol. 2, p. 474: *al-ʿamāʾimu tījānu l-ʿarabi, ay hiya lahum bi-manzilati l-tījāni li-l-mulūki, li-annahū aktharu mā yakūnūna bi-l-bawādī, ruʿūshum makshūfatun, wa-l-ʿamāʾimu fihim qalīlatun*; cf. al-Kinānī, *al-Dīʿama li-maʿrifati aḥkāmi sunnati l-ʿimāma* (Damascus, 1342), p. 6, ll. 1-3.

¹⁰ See Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā, *Kitāb al-dībāj*, ʿAbdallah b. Sulaymān al-Jarbūʿ and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-ʿUthaymin, eds. (Cairo, 1411/1991), p. 130.

¹¹ Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, vol. 1, p. 122: *Abū Uḥayḥata man yaʿtammu ʿimmatahu yuḍrab, wa-in kāna dhā mālin wa-dhā ʿadadi*. See also the reference of the editor. For more on Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, nicknamed *dhū l-ʿimāmati*, see Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, Ilse Lichtenstaedter, ed. (Hyderabad, 1361/1942), p. 165; and see Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallah al-Shiblī, *Maḥāsīn al-wasāʾil fī maʿrifati l-awāʾil*, Muḥammad al-Tūnjī, ed. (Beirut, 1412/1992), 241; al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, ed., vol. 3, p. 97; al-Jāhiz, *al-Tāj fī akhlāqi l-mulūki*, Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā, ed. (Cairo, 1732/1914), pp. 47, p. 196. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Isāba fī tamyīzi l-ṣaḥāba*, ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, ed. (Cairo, 1970), vol. 3, p. 289 inf., no. 3768; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf* vol. 1, Muḥammad Ḥamīdullah, ed. (Cairo, 1959), index; Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *al-Marāsīl*, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿIzzu l-Dīn al-Sayrawān, ed. (Beirut, 1406/1986), 241, no. 98, 3; Abū Bakr passed by the grave of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and cursed him because he opposed God (*kāna muḥāddan li-llāhi*) and His apostle. A son of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ replied by cursing Abū Bakr's father. The Prophet then prohibited the cursing of individual unbelievers, as this may enrage the living (descendants or relatives -k). However, he permitted the cursing of unbelievers as a group. See also Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qāshānī b. Bābah, *Raʿsu māli l-nadīmī fī tawārīkhi aʿyāni ahli l-islām*, Suhayl Zakkār, ed., Beirut, 1418/1997, p. 111.

¹² Mansūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī, *Nathr al-durr*, Muḥammad ʿĀlī Qarna and ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, eds. (Cairo, 1380), vol. 1, p. 395-6.

¹³ For more on him, see: Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallah al-ʿAskarī, *al-Awāʾil*

to the story recorded by al-Ābī, al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib returned from a journey in Syria and went to his dwelling. When he lay down, putting his head on the bosom of his maid-servant who combed his hair, he was surprised by her question: "Are you not frightened by the story?" She told him that Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ forbade any distinguished Qurashī (*al-abṭahī* -k) to wear a turban (similar to his own -k) on the same day that he wore it. Al-Zubayr, shocked by the news, seized the lock of his hair from the hand of the servant, ordered her to bring him his turban ("the long one"), jumped hastily on the saddled horse and hurriedly traversed the wādī in order to apprehend Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ. When Sa'īd received the news concerning al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, he fled in haste to al-Ṭā'if.

Since the *'imāma* was a symbol of strength and power, apostles, saints and prophets are said to have been granted the privilege of wearing the *'imāma* among their insignia. "I was ordered to wear the *'imāma*, the sandals, and the seal," said the Prophet.¹⁴ According to a tradition recorded by al-Zurqānī, one of the titles of the Prophet mentioned in the Gospel (*injīl*) was *ṣāhibu l-tāj*, which is glossed by the author *ṣāhibu l-'imāma*.¹⁵

In the traditions concerning the *imāma*, there is an evident tendency to praise the value of Bedouin dress, customs and weapons. The story of the appointment of 'Alī as the head of the expedition against some Arab tribes, reported by Abū 'Ubayda al-Ḥimṣī, contains a peculiar passage concerning the Prophet's attitude towards the Bedouins. The Prophet dressed 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in a black *'imāma*; he put the (fringes -k) of the *'imāma* on his back (or on his shoulder -k) and said: "You should use the Arab spears (i.e., the Bedouin ones -k) and Arab bows (*al-qisiyy al-'arabiyya*). By the means of these (weapons -k) God will grant victory to your faith (*yaṣṣuru llāhu dīnakum*) and will aid you in conquering the lands (*wa-yaftaḥu lakumu l-bilāda*).¹⁶

(Beirut, 1407/1987), 37-38: ... *wa-qāla l-zubayru, wa-kāna ṣāhibu ḥādḥā l-ḥilfi*...; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut, 1380/1960), vol. 1, p. 85 inf.: ... *wa-qāla 'Abdu l-Muṭṭalibi fī dhālika*:

*sa-ūṣī Zubayran in tawāfat maniyyatī:
bi-imsāki mā baynī wa-bayna banī 'amri
wa-an yahfaẓī l-ḥilfa l-ladhī sanna shaykhuhu:
wa-lā yulḥidan fīhi bi-zulmin wa-lā ghadri*

qāla: fa-auṣā 'Abdu l-Muṭṭalibi ilā 'bnihī l-Zubayri bni 'Abdi l-Muṭṭalibi, wa-auṣā l-Zubayru ilā Abī Ṭālibin, wa-auṣā Abū Ṭālibin ilā l-'Abbāsi bni l-Muṭṭalibi.

¹⁴ Al-Nazwī, *al-Muṣannaf*, I, 70. Cf. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maghribī, *Faṭḥ al-muta'al fī madḥi l-ni'al* (Hyderabad, 1334), p. 101: *wa-fīhi annahu ṣāhibu l-midra'ati wa-l-'imāmati wa-hiya l-tāju, wa-l-harāwati, wa-hiya l-qaḏību*. And see the statement of Mālik (b. Anas) in al-'Aynī's *Umdat al-qārī, sharḥ ṣāḥihī l-Bukhārī* (Beirut, 1348), vol. 21, p. 307: *al-'immatu wa-l-iḥtibā'u wa-l-inti'al min 'amali l-'arabi*.

¹⁵ Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ 'alā l-mawāhibi l-laduniyya li-l-Qaṣṭallānī* (Cairo, 1326), vol. 3, p. 135, l. 4.

¹⁶ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamayizi l-ṣāḥāba*, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī,

The debate over the quality of Arab weapons is repeated some seven centuries after the death of the Prophet. According to this report, the people of Khurāsān claimed that it is useless to fight with the Arab bow; the most useful and efficient weapon being the Persian bow. People in the border areas of the Muslim empire found the Persian bow incomparable to any other weapon because of its fine quality. A *ḥadīth* of the Prophet was quoted in order to refute the erroneous opinion as to the preference of the Persian bow; it is, in fact, the *ḥadīth* quoted in the preceding story with some minor changes.¹⁷

The importance of caring for the Bedouins' welfare is emphasized in the will of 'Umar, who named the Bedouins "the root of the Arabs and their mainstay."¹⁸ In another letter of 'Umar, which he sent to the Muslim warriors in Adharbayjān, he summoned them to follow the ways of their ancestor Ismā'īl, to wear the *izār*, the *ridā'* and the sandals,

ed. (Cairo, 1971), vol. 4, p. 25; and see another version, *ibid.*: The Prophet dressed 'Alī in an *'imāma* on the day of Ghadīr Khumm. See also al-Maqrzī, *Imtā'u l-asmā' bi-mā li-l-rasūli minā l-anbā'i wa-l-amwāli wa-l-ḥafadati wa-l-matā'*, Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, ed. (Cairo, 1941), vol. 1, p. 502: The Prophet sent 'Alī at the head of a troop to Yemen; he took a turban (*'imāma*), rolled it two or four times, placed it on a spear and handed it over to 'Alī as a flag. He then dressed 'Alī in a black turban, and wound it three times around his head, letting (the fringe of the *imāma* -k) hang one cubit in front of him and a certain distance (*shibr*) from behind him. The Prophet then said: "This is the proper way of winding the *'imāma*" (*ḥakadhā l-'imāmatu*). And see the version recorded in Dhahabī's *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, ed. (Cairo, 1382/1963), vol. 2, pp. 396-7. The Prophet stated that the angels sent by God to aid him on the day of Ḥunayn and on the day of Badr were clad in turbans wound in this fashion. He further remarked that the turbans distinguish between the Muslims and the unbelievers. Glancing at the attending people, the Prophet noticed a man with an Arab bow, and another with a Persian bow. The Prophet recommended the Arab bow and the Arab spears; by these God will aid the believers on Earth. See another version of the story of 'Alī who was sent by the Prophet on the day of Bī'r Khumm (the correct name of the place is evidently "Ghadīr Khumm" -k) with a group of warriors. The Prophet noticed a man with a Persian bow and another with an Arab bow among the warriors. The Prophet addressed the man with the Persian bow saying: "Throw away this bow, as it is a cursed bow and cursed is the man who carries it. You have to carry the Arab bow." The Prophet enjoined the use of Arab bows and Arab spears; by these weapons God will strengthen the faith (of Islam -k) and make your grip on the land firm (*wa-bihā yumakkinu llāhu fī l-būād*), in Abū Dawūd Ṣulaymān b. al-Ash'ath al-Sijistānī, *al-Marāsīl*, 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Izzu l-Dīn al-Sayrawān, ed. (Beirut, 1406/1986), p. 182, no. 28; and see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ḥal al-ḥadīth* (Cairo, 1343), vol. 1, p. 486, no. 1457.

¹⁷ Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidā'u l-ṣirā'i l-mustaqīm mukhālafatu aṣḥābi l-jahīm*, Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, ed. (Cairo, 1369/1950), p. 140. Note the expression, *rimāḥ al-qanā* in this version; and see the interesting remark of the editor concerning the need to improve the weapons of the Muslims. Cf. the tradition in al-Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan al-kubrā* (Hyderabad, 1355), vol. 10, p. 14-15.

¹⁸ See 'Umar b. Shabba, *Ta'rīkh al-madīna al-munawwara*, Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, ed. (Makka al-mukarrama, 1399/1979), vol. 3, p. 937: ... *wa-ūṣikum bi-l-a'rābi, fa-innahum aṣḥabukum wa-māddatukum* ...

to throw away the trousers (*al-sarāwīlāt*) and the boots (*al-khifāf*), to enjoy (the warmth of) the sun as that of a bath, and to stay away from alien fashions (*ziyy al-ʿajam*) and luxuries (*tanaʿum*). He advised them to live frugally, to gallop on horses and to engage in target practice with arrows.¹⁹

The pious among the Umayyad governors demanded justice for the Bedouins. The famous ascetic, ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ, a black slave in Mecca, was one of the great scholars widely respected for his knowledge of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* as well as his integrity. According to a report recorded in the *Tadhkira* of Ibn Ḥamdūn, ʿAṭāʾ entered the court of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik; when asked about his wishes, he bade the ruler to act according to the will of the Prophet. He asked to give the sons of the Muhājirūn and the sons of the Anṣār their pay, and to care for the welfare of the desert dwellers (*al-bādiya*), since they are the mainstay (*māddatun*) of the Arabs. He also requested that Sulaymān alleviate the *kharāj* tax levied on the *dhimmīs*, since they help defend the ruler from the Muslim community's enemies as well as their own. In addition, he asked to extend help to the people of the frontiers (*ahl al-thughūr*), because they serve by defending the community (*fa-innahu yudfaʿu bihim an ḥādhihi l-umma*).²⁰

The Prophet is said to have predicted that after his death there will ensue vehement civil wars (*fitan*) in which the dwellers of the deserts (*ahlu l-bawādī*) will not be wet by the blood of the people nor by the seizing of their possessions.²¹

The ʿimāma remained a symbol of strength, power, dignity, and honour. "The turban denotes the dignity of the believer and the strength of the Arabs; if they remove their turbans, they will lose their strength."²²

¹⁹ Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 10, p. 14 inf.; and see the explanation of some of the expressions in the letter of ʿUmar: al-Safārīnī, *Ghidhāʿu l-albāb li-sharḥi manzūmati l-ādāb* (Cairo, 1325), vol. 2, pp. 280-82; and see another version of this letter in Ibn al-Jauzī, *Manāqib amīri l-muʿminīna ʿumara bni l-khaṭṭābi*, Zaynab Ibrāhīm al-Qārūt, ed. (Beirut, 1402/1982), 127 inf.-128 sup.

²⁰ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (Ibn Ḥamdūn), *al-Tadhkira al-ḥamdūniyya*, Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ed. (Beirut-Tripoli [Tunis], 1984), vol. 2, p. 92; cf. al-Fāṣī, *al-ʿIqd al-thamīn fi taʾrīkhi l-baladi l-amīn* (Cairo, 1386/1966), vol. 6, p. 92; and see Abū Yūsuf, *Waṣīyyāt Abī Yūsuf li-Ḥārūn al-Rashīd*, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Bannā, ed. (Cairo, 1977), p. 25, no. 37.

²¹ Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-shāmiyyīn*, Ḥamdī ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Silāfi, ed. (Beirut, 1409/1989), vol. 2, p. 394, no. 1562.

²² See al-Māwardī, *al-Amthāl wa-l-ḥikam*, Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad, ed. (al-Dauḥa, 1403/1983), p. 133, no. 554 (197): *iʿtammū tazdādū ḥilman*. And see Anonymous, *Maḥāsīn al-masāʿī fi manāqib al-Auzāʿī* p. 54. (The saying is attributed to al-Auzāʿī). Cf. al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, vol. 3-4, p. 371 (attributed to the Prophet); al-Nazwī, *al-Muṣannaf*, I₂, p. 70 (attributed to the Prophet; another version, *ilman* is also recorded). This tradition was considered as "a weak one" by al-Bukhārī, but was considered sound by al-Ḥākim; see the discussion in Zurqānī's *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, vol. 5, p. 14 ll. 8-9. The tradition which claims that believers who

The Bedouin customs were considered worthy of imitation. The Prophet himself is said to have approved of them. Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī quotes the prophetic statements concerning the crowns of the Arabs, coupled with the saying about the fashion of sitting peculiar to the Arabs (scil. the Bedouins -k): *al-ih̄tibā' h̄jān al-'arab*. In this style of sitting, the Bedouin places the palms of his hands, or a part of his garment which is fastened to his shoulders, under his thighs while sitting on his heels. This manner of sitting, called *ih̄tibā'*, corresponds to the way the sedentary people sit, leaning their backs against a wall.²³ A tradition recorded in al-Tirmidhī's *Auṣāf al-nabī* says that the Prophet used to sit in the mosque in the *ih̄tibā'* manner.²⁴

A widely circulated saying describes the 'arab in the following way: "God distinguished the Bedouins by four (favourable -k) features: the turbans are their crowns, their customary way of sitting (*ih̄tibā'*) does not require walls, their swords are their clothing (*siḡānuhā*), and poetry is their *dīwān*."²⁵ The meaning of the statement *al-suyūfu siḡānuhā* can be gauged from a response given by one of the Shī'ī *imāms*: if a man has no garment (*thaub*), but is in the possession of a sword, he is permitted to gird himself with the sword and pray.²⁶ The same meaning is indicated in a statement of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: "The sword has the status of a cloth; the prayer of the believer is permitted if he is (merely -k) girded with a sword, except if he finds blood on it."²⁷

The word '*imāma* implies the idea of nobility and dignity, corresponding to the idea of crowns (*tījān*) of the non-Arab kings. The Arabs therefore say: "Never did an '*imāma*-wearing man lose his mind" (*mā*

remove their turbans will lose their strength is recorded in al-Daylamī, *Firdaus*, MS. Chester Beatty 4139, fol. 36b: *i'tammū tazdādū ḥilman wa-waqāran, fa-idhā tarakat ummatī l-a'immata tarakat 'izzahā wa-waqārahā*; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr* vol. 4, p. 392: *al-'amā'imū tījānu l-'arabi, fa-idhā waḍa'ū l-'amā'ima waḍa'ū 'izzahum*; al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimāru l-gulūb*, Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, ed. (Cairo, 1384/1965), p. 159, no. 222; *jā'a fī l-khabar: inna l-'amā'ima tījānu l-'arabi fa-idhā waḍa'ūhā waḍa'a llāhu 'izzahum*.

²³ Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *al-Majāzāt al-nabawiyya*, Maḥmūd Muṣṭafā, ed. (Cairo, 1356/1937), pp. 152-3, no. 156; and see Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūnu l-akhbār* (Cairo, 1964), vol. 1, p. 300; and see the detailed explanation of this manner of sitting in Lane's *Dictionary*, s.v. *ḥbw*.

²⁴ Al-Tirmidhī, *Auṣāf al-nabī* (ṣ), Samīh 'Abbās, ed. (Beirut-Cairo, 1405/1985), p. 128, no. 122; and see the description of the *ih̄tibā'* manner of sitting supplied by the editor.

²⁵ Al-Zamaksharī, *Rabī'u l-abrār*, MS. Br. Mus. 6511, fol. 106b; on *siḡān* see Abū 'Umar Yūsuf al-Qurṭubī, *Bahjat al-majālis wa-unsu l-mujālis*, Muḥammad Mursī al-Khulī and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qiṭṭ, ed. (Cairo, 1969), vol. 2, pp. 59-60; and see a slightly different version: "People used to say: the Arabs were singled out from among the other peoples by four features: the turbans are their crowns, the coats of mail (*al-durū'*) are their walls, the swords are their clothing (*al-suyūfu siḡānuhā*) and the poetry is their *dīwān*," in al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-gulūb*, p. 159, no. 222.

²⁶ Al-Majlisī, *Biḡāru l-anwār*, vol. 83, p. 191.

²⁷ Al-Majlisī, *Biḡāru l-anwār*, vol. 83, p. 189.

safha mu'tamim qattu). In accordance with this perception, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī explains the verse of al-Farazdaq:

*idhā mālikun alqā l-'imāmata fa-ḥdharū:
bawādira kaffay mālikin hīna yaghḍabu*

"When Mālik discards the 'imāma, beware of the fits of passion of his hands when he becomes angry." Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī explains convincingly that when the man is dressed in a turban his behaviour is quiet, without any fits of violence. In the same way he explains the famous verse:

*anā bnu jalā wa-ṭallā' u l-thanāyā:
matā aḍa'i l-'imāmata ta'rifūnī.*

The verse implies a threat of violence when the man removes the 'imāma.²⁸

II

A substantial change in the significance of the 'imāma took place with the advent of Islam. When the Prophet brought the clothes of the *ṣadaqa* and divided them among the Companions, he ordered them to wear the 'amā'im, in order to distinguish themselves from the people who preceded them.²⁹ This prophetic injunction clearly implies that the 'imāma is the headgear of the believers: the unbelievers of old did not wear 'amā'im.

Another tradition with an obvious Muslim tendency contains the dictum about the 'amā'im as crowns of the Arabs and the statement about the *ihtibā'*; the third phrase of the tradition says: the sitting of the believer in the mosque is his *ribāṭ* (i.e., his military station in which he expects to receive the order to fight the unbelievers -k).³⁰ This segment of the tradition is indeed innovative and surprising. The ancient

²⁸ Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *al-Majāzāt al-nabawiyya*, pp. 152-153, no. 156; see the editor's critical remark claiming that in this verse "*matā aḍa'i l-imāma*" means: "when I put on the 'imāma," and not "when I remove the 'imāma." In the preceding verse I read "*yaghḍabu*," following the edition of the *Dīwān* of al-Farazdaq by 'Abdallah Ismā'īl al-Ṣāwī (Cairo, 1354/1936), p. 31, penult. instead of *tu'ṣabu*, as read by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī. On *Ibn Jalā*, see *L'A*, vol. 14, pp. 152-3, s.v. *jalā*.

²⁹ 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Arāq al-Kinānī, *Tanzīh al-sharī'a al-marfū'a 'ani l-akhbārī l-shanī'ati l-mauḍū'a*, 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf and 'Abdallah Muḥammad al-Ṣiddīq, ed. (Beirut, 1399/1979), vol. 2, p. 272: ...*i'tammū khālifū l-umama qablakum*

³⁰ Shīrawayh b. Shahridār, *Firdaus al-akhbār*, Fawwāz al-Zimirī and Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim bi-llāh (Beirut, 1407/1987), ed., vol. 3, p. 117, no. 4110; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, vol. 4, p. 392, no. 5723; al-Shaukānī, *al-Fawā'idu l-majmū'a fi l-aḥādīthi l-mauḍū'a*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā l-Mu'allamī l-Yamanī, ed. (Beirut, 1393), p. 187, no. 538; al-'Ajlūnī al-Jarrāhī, *Kashf al-khafā'*, vol. 2, p. 72, no. 1783: ...*wa-l-idtijā'u fi l-masājidi ribāṭu l-mu'min*. 'Alī al-Qārī, *Risāla ḥāwiya li-masā'ila mushtamilatin 'alā l-'imāma wa-l-'adhaba kammiyyatan wa-kayfiyyatan*, MS. Hebrew University, Yahuda Ar., 990, 8, fol. 20 b, ll. 3-4.

customs of Bedouin society are mentioned in this tradition jointly with a Muslim virtue.

A tradition recorded by al-Tirmidhī states that the *'imāma* forms a sign which separates the Muslims from the unbelievers; Muslims wear turbans, unbelievers do not.³¹ A more detailed tradition says that what marks the difference between the believers and the unbelievers are the turbans placed on the caps of the believers.³²

Since turbans are exclusively worn by believers, the privilege of wearing them should not be granted to the unbelievers. This is exemplified by the treatment meted out by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz to the delegation of the Christian Banū Taghlib. They entered the court of 'Umar wearing turbans like those of the (Muslim -k) Arabs. They asked the Caliph to attach them to the heads of the Arabs (*alḥiqnā bi-l-'arabi*). The Caliph asked: "So who are you?" They answered: "We are the Banū Taghlib." Then 'Umar inquired: "Are you not from among the noble Arabs?" (*a-wa-lastum min awāsiṭi l-'arabi?*) They replied succinctly: "We are Christians." Then 'Umar ordered to bring him shears (*al-jalam*); he cut a part of their forelocks, removed their turbans and cut a part (*shibr*) of their dress (*ridā'*). He enjoined them to refrain from riding on saddles (*al-surūj*), and ordered them to put both their legs on one side of the riding beast.³³

³¹ Al-Kinānī, *al-Di'āma*, 6 inf.: ... *al-'imāma ḥājizaton bayna l-kufri wa-l-imāni, bayna l-muslimīna wa-l-mushrikīn*. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Maṭālibu l-'āliya bi-zawā'idī l-masānīdi l-thamāniya*, Yūsuf 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar'ashī, ed. (Beirut, 1407/1987), vol. 2, p. 257, nos. 2158-59; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Faṭḥu l-bārī, sharḥ ṣaḥīḥi l-Bukhārī*, Būlāq, 1301 (repr. Beirut) vol. 10, p. 232; al-'Aynī, *'Umdatul-l-qārī, sharḥ ṣaḥīḥi l-Bukhārī*, vol. 21, p. 308 ... *anna rasūla llāhi da'ā 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (r) yauma Ghadīri Khumm fa-'ammamahū wa-arkhā 'adhabata l-'imāmati min khalfihi, thumma qāla: ḥākadhā fa-i'tammū, fa-inna l-'amā'ima sīmā'u l-islāmi wa-hiya l-ḥājizu bayna l-muslimīna wa-l-mushrikīna*.

³² Al-Kinānī, *al-Di'āma*, 6-7; Ibn al-Dayba', *Taysīru al-wuṣūl ilā jāmī'i l-uṣūl min ḥadīthi l-rasūl* (Cairo, 1390), vol. 4, p. 186; Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Aḥkām ahli l-dhīmma*, vol. 2, p. 739 (and see the references of the editor); al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr* (Beirut, 1391/1972), vol. 4, p. 392, no. 5725 (and see the comments of Munāwī; and see *ibid.* 429, no. 5849, and see the important explication of al-Munāwī, *ibid.*); and al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, ed. (Cairo, 1382/1963), vol. 3, p. 546, no. 7522; al-Suyūfī, *al-Ḥawā' li-l-fatāwī*, Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, ed. (Cairo, 1378/1959), vol. 1, p. 111; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya (Insān al-'uyūn fī sirati l-amīni l-ma'mūn)* (Cairo, 1382/1962), vol. 3, p. 379; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamayizi l-ṣaḥāba*, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, ed. (Cairo, 1971), vol. 6, p. 336; cf. al-Daylamī, *Musnad al-firdaus*, MS. Chester Beatty no. 3037, fol. 190 b: *lā tazālu ummatī 'alā l-fiṭrati mā labisū l-'amā'ima 'alā l-qalānisi*; Ibn 'Arāq, *Tanzīhu l-sharī'a*, vol. 2, p. 272; 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī, *Sharḥu l-shamā'ili li-l-tirmidhī ('alā ḥāmishi jam'i l-wasā'il fī sharḥi l-shamā'il li-l-tirmidhī li-'alī l-qārī)* Cairo, 1318 (repr. Beirut), p. 165; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Silafī, ed. (n.p., 1405/1984), vol. 5, p. 71, no. 4614.

³³ Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidā'u l-ṣirāṭi l-mustaqīm*, Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Faqī, ed.

The change in the significance of the turban and its practical benefits, usually related in the books of *adab*,³⁴ is evident in a tradition transmitted by Mālik b. Anas. Mālik recommends that the believers wear the turban and the striped garment (like that worn by the Prophet -k) on the two feasts (*fi l-ʿidayn*) and on Friday, because the Prophet used to wear such clothes on these days. Mālik quotes the saying of the Prophet: "God strengthened Islam by the turbans and the flags."³⁵ He himself urged the people to wear turbans; he began to wear the *ʿimāma* when he was very young and he did not have even one hair on his face. He reported on the authority of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib³⁶ that he had been severely admonished by his father when he entered the mosque without an *ʿimāma*.³⁷ Mālik relates that in the court of Rabīʿa b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān³⁸ he saw more than thirty people wearing turbans.³⁹ In the mosque of the Prophet (in Medina -k), he met seventy men wearing turbans fastened under their chins (*sabʿīna muḥannakan*). All were righteous people: if one of them were to be put in charge of the treasury, he would be trustworthy (*amīn*). Mālik did not begin to issue *fatwās* before he was granted the permission (*ijāza*) of forty men wearing turbans fastened under their chins.⁴⁰ He reiterated his support for the fastening of the turban under the chin when he was asked about a believer who failed to fasten his turban in this manner. He disapproved of this act, stating that this is the fashion of the Nabatheans

(Cairo, 1369), p. 123; and see Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Aḥkām ahli l-dhimma*, Subḥī l-Sāliḥ, ed. (Damascus 1381/1961), vol. 2, pp. 742-44.

³⁴ See e.g., Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn l-akḥbār* (Cairo, 1383/1963), I, 300: A Bedouin was asked why he frequently (*tukthiru*) wears the turban; he answered: a bone containing (the organs of -k) hearing and seeing indeed deserves to be guarded from heat and cold. When the turban was mentioned in Abū l-Aswad al-Duʿalī's presence, he stated: "The turban is a form of protection in war. It insulates both in cases of heat and cold, it raises one's stature (*ziyādatun fi-l-qāma*) and is indeed a habit of the Arabs (*ʿādatun min ʿādāti l-ʿarab*).

³⁵ Mālik b. Anas, *Risāla fi l-sunan wa-l-mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ādāb*, ʿAbdallah Aḥmad Abū Zīna, ed. (Cairo, 1983), inf: *in istaṭaʿta allā taḍaʿa l-ʿimāmata wa-l-burda fi l-ʿidayni wa-l-jumuʿati fa-fʿal; balaghanī ʿani l-nabiyyi (ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam) annahu kāna yalbasu l-ʿimāmata wa-l-burda fi l-ʿidayni wa-l-jumuʿati wa-qāla: inna llāha taʿālā aʿazza l-islāma bi-l-ʿamāʾimi wa-l-alwiyyati.*

³⁶ See on him: Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb l-tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1326), vol. 6, p. 357, no. 682; and see Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā, al-qism l-mutammim li-tābiʿi ahli l-madīna*, Ziyād Muḥammad Maṣṣūr, ed. (al-Madīna al-munawwara, 1408/1987), 460, no. 392 (and see the references of the editor).

³⁷ Wakīʿ, *Akhbār l-quḍāt*, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, ed. (Cairo, 1366/1947), vol. 1, p. 202.

³⁸ See on him Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā, al-qism al-mutammim*, p. 320 (and see the abundant references of the editor).

³⁹ Wakīʿ, *Akhbār l-quḍāt* vol. 1, p. 202; and see Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt, al-qism al-mutammim*, p. 321.

⁴⁰ Al-Shaukānī, *Nayḥ l-auṣūr, sharḥ muntaqā l-akḥbār min aḥādīthi l-akhyār* (Cairo, 1372/1953), vol. 2, pp. 121-22.

and not the fashion of the people (i.e., the believers -k). Only when the turban is a small one, and its fringes do not reach the chin, or in the case of illness, is the believer permitted to refrain from fastening them under his chin and to remain at home. When Mālik was asked about letting down the fringes of the 'imāma behind the back of the believer, he stated that he knew only one man from among his contemporaries (*mimman adraktuhu*), who wore the turban in this way, namely 'Amir b. 'Abdallah b. al-Zubayr.⁴¹ "This fashion of wearing the turban is not forbidden (*laysa dhālika bi-ḥarām*), but (it is preferable -k) to let the fringes down on the front (*bayna yadayhi*)."⁴²

Shī'ī tradition asserts that a prayer recited by a believer wearing a turban not fastened under his chin is disliked.⁴³ The Shī'ī *imāms* urged their followers to observe the custom of fastening the turban under their chin. The Prophet is said to have stated: "The distinction between the Muslims and the unbelievers is the fastening of the turbans under their chin."⁴⁴ Another tradition attributed to the Prophet says that he enjoined the fastening of the turban under the chin and prohibited the wearing of the turban otherwise (*wa-qad nuqila 'anhu (ṣal'am) an-nahu amara bi-l-talaḥḥī wa-nahā 'ani l-iqtī'āṭ*).⁴⁵ A very early statement transmitted by 'Abd al-Razzāq on the authority of Ma'mar-Layth-Ṭawūs says that a believer who does not fasten the turban under his chin wears it in a satanic fashion (*hādhihi 'immatu l-shayṭān*).⁴⁶ There is indeed a description of Satan fitting the description given in the utterance of Ṭawūs: when Iblīs was sent down from Heaven, he wore a turban not fastened under his chin, he was one eyed (*a'war*), and wore a sandal (*na'l*) on one of his legs.⁴⁷

A turban worn by a believer who did not fasten it under his chin is called *al-'imāma al-muqā'ata* (or *muqta'ita*). This manner of wearing the turban is said to have been common among the people of Lūṭ and

⁴¹ See on him: Al-Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallah b. al-Muṣ'ab, al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, E. Levi Provençal, ed. (Cairo, 1953), p. 243, l. 12; and see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 5, p. 74, no. 117.

⁴² Al-'Aynī, *Umdat al-qārī*, vol. 21, p. 307; and see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī*, *sharḥ ṣaḥīḥi l-Bukhārī*, vol. 10, p. 232, l. 10.

⁴³ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, *al-Nihāya fī mujarradi l-fiḥi wa-l-fatāwā*, Beirut, p. 98: *wa-yukrahu li-l-insāni an yuṣalliya fī 'imāmatin lā ḥunuka lahā*.

⁴⁴ Al-Majlisī, *Biḥāru l-anwār*, vol. 83, p. 194: *...wa-qāla l-nabiyyu ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam: al-farqu bayna l-muslimīna wa-l-mushrikīna al-talaḥḥī bi-l-'amā'imi*.

⁴⁵ Al-Majlisī, *Biḥāru l-anwār*, vol. 83, p. 194; al-Jauharī identifies the verbal noun *al-talaḥḥī* with *al-taḥannuk*.

⁴⁶ 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan'ānī, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, Ḥabību l-Raḥmān al-A'zamī, ed. (Beirut, 1392/1972), vol. 11, p. 80, no. 19978; and see Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl mukhtalif l-ḥadīthi*, p. 422.

⁴⁷ Al-Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-majālis*, (*Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*), n.p., n.d., p. 50 ult.

was forbidden by the Prophet.⁴⁸ A Shī'ī statement, recorded on the authority of the *imām* al-Ṣādiq says: "He who wore the '*imāma* and did not fasten it under his chin, let him not blame anyone except himself if he is inflicted with a pain for which there is no remedy."⁴⁹

The opinions of the scholars who urged the fastening of the '*imāma* under the chin are contradicted by Shāfi'ī scholars who did not consider the fastening of the '*imāma* under the chin as *sunna*.⁵⁰ Some reservations concerning the fastening of the '*imāma*'s fringe under the chin can be discerned in the formulation of the *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet, which states that the fastening of the fringe of the '*imāma* under the chin marks the difference between the believers and the unbelievers.⁵¹ The peculiar additional phrase in this *ḥadīth* indicates the possibility of change in the future: "This *ḥadīth* was uttered at the beginning of Islam and in its first period."⁵² It is this phrase which becomes problematic for the scholars of *ḥadīth*, since they are confronted by traditions urging believers to wear the '*imāma* with the ends hanging loose on their backs or on their chests.⁵³ The *taḥannuk* is "nowadays" practiced only by the descendants of al-Ḥusayn in Baḥrayn; it is a practice inherited from their ancestors.⁵⁴

The superiority of Islam over other religious communities, and the injunctions which claim that the Muslims differ in their lifestyle from others, was the main reason for the restrictions imposed on the *ahl al-dhimma* in their dress, including the wearing of the '*imāma*. The utterance according to which "contempt and humiliation became the lot of those who disobey my order" is said to refer to *ahl al-dhimma*; they surpass other people in their disobedience of God's orders and in their insubordination. Therefore they ought to be singled out by a humiliating sign in their dress (*al-ghiyār*). On the other hand, God singled out the believers by dress which emphasizes their obedience to God and to His messenger. In accordance with the statement of the Prophet: "He who

⁴⁸ Al-Ṭurtūshī, *Kitāb al-ḥawādith wa-l-bida'*, Muḥammad al-Ṭālibī, ed., Tunis, 1959, pp. 65-66.

⁴⁹ Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī, *al-Ḥadā'iq al-nādira*, Muḥammad Taqī al-Ayrawānī, ed. (Najaf, 1379), vol. 7, p. 126; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 83, p. 194.

⁵⁰ Al-Sayyid al-Bakrī, *I'ānat al-ṭālibīn 'alā ḥallī alfāz fatḥi l-mu'in*, n.d., vol. 2, p. 82 inf: ... *wa-lā yusannu taḥniku l-'imāmati 'inda l-shāfi'iyati*

⁵¹ See above, note 47.

⁵² Al-Baḥrānī, *al-Ḥadā'iq al-nādira*, vol. 7, p. 126, l. 15: ... *wa-dhālika fī awwali l-islāmi wa-btidā'ihī*.

⁵³ See e.g., al-Baḥrānī, *al-Ḥadā'iq al-nādira*, vol. 7, p. 127: ... *aḡulu: wa-'indī fī mā dhakarūhu hunā min istiḥbābi l-taḥannuk dā'imān ishkalun li-anna dhālika wa-in kāna huwa zāhiru l-akhbāri l-mutaqaddimati illā anna hunā jumlatan mina l-akhbāri zāhirati l-munāfāti li-dhālika, ḥaythu anna zāhirahā anna l-mustaḥabb li-l-mu'tammi dā'imān innamā huwa l-isdālu dūna l-taḥannuki*. And see the discussion on this topic in al-Sayyid al-Bakrī's *I'ānat al-ṭālibīn*, vol. 2, p. 83 seq.

⁵⁴ Al-Baḥrānī, *al-Ḥadā'iq al-nādira*, vol. 7, p. 129, ll. 6-7.

assimilates himself to a people becomes one of them" (*man tashabbaha bi-gaumin fa-huwa minhum*),⁵⁵ believers ought to dress like believers, and the disobedient *ahl al-dhimma* must also dress in a distinctive fashion.⁵⁶ According to some traditions, the Prophet stated: "Disagree with the Jews and do not wear turbans that are not fastened under the chin, or with their fringes not let down (on their backs -k), as this fashion of wearing the turban (*tašmīm*) is the fashion of the Jews."⁵⁷

Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya forbade the *ahl al-dhimma* to wear the turbans in the fashion of the Prophet and the Companions. His prohibition is based on historical facts: the turbans were the crowns of the Arabs and their glory (*'izzuhā*). By wearing them they surpassed other peoples. The Prophet and the Companions wore this headdress; the turbans were thus the dress of the Arabs in the "old time" (*qadīman*) and became the headdress of the Muslims. Turbans were not worn by Banū Isrā'īl, they were the headdress of the Arabs. Ibn Qayyim quotes the opinion of Abū l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī, who stated that a *dhimmi* is not allowed to wear the turban because he has no honour (*lā 'izza lahu*) in the abode of Islam, and this headdress is not (a part -k) of his dress.⁵⁸ Ibn Qayyim further traces the opinions of later scholars who were prepared to allow the *ahl al-dhimma* to wear turbans on the condition that they be marked by special pieces of cloth, clearly indicating that they are not Muslims.⁵⁹ If *ahl al-dhimma* are allowed to wear the turban, they are forbidden to fasten it under their chin (*al-talahhī*), or to let its fringes hang loosely behind their backs (*lā yursilūna aṭrāfa l-'imāmati khalfa zuhūrihim*).⁶⁰

A particular version of fashion restrictions imposed on *ahl al-dhimma*

⁵⁵ See e.g., al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, vol. 6, p. 104, no. 8593 and the thorough explanation of the statement by Munāwī; Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Aḥkām ahli l-dhimma* vol. 2, p. 736; M. J. Kister, "Do Not Assimilate Yourselves ..." *JSAI* 12 (1989): 321-353.

⁵⁶ See e.g., Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Aḥkām ahli l-dhimma*, Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, ed. (Damascus, 1381/1961), vol. 2, pp. 737-739.

⁵⁷ Al-Safarīnī, *Ghidhā'u l-albāb li-sharḥi manzūmati l-ādāb* (Cairo, 1325), vol. 2, p. 207, penult.: *khalīfū l-yahūd wa-lā tušammimū fa-inna tašmīma l-'amā'imī min ziyyi ahli l-kitāb*; and another tradition: *a'ūdhu bi-llāhi min 'imāmatin ṣammā'*; 'Alī al-Qārī, *al-Asrār al-marfū'a fi l-akhbāri l-mauḍū'a*, Muḥammad al-Ṣabbāgh, ed. (Beirut, 1391/1971), p. 190, no. 184: *a'ūdhu bi-llāhi min 'imāmatin ṣammā'*, *ibid.* p. 100, no. 47 (and see the explanation of the word *ṣammā'*, glossed on page 190, note 4: *al-'imāma al-ṣammā' hiya al-'imāma llati lā 'adhabata lahā*).

⁵⁸ Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Aḥkām ahli l-dhimma*, 739-40.

⁵⁹ Ibn Qayyim, *Aḥkām ahli l-dhimma*, 740-45.

⁶⁰ Ibn Qayyim, *Aḥkām ahli l-dhimma*, 745-46. And see the thorough discussion on the subject of fastening the fringes of the *'imāma* under the chin, or letting them down on the believer's back. It is noteworthy that there is another way of combining the fastening of the fringes of the *'imāma* under the chin, while letting the other end hang down on the back, which was a perfectly acceptable way of wearing the *'imāma*. However, this manner of wearing the *'imāma* became obsolete and is disapproved of by the religious scholars. Ibn al-Ḥājī, *al-Madkhal* (Beirut, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 134-37.

is concerned with the cap (*al-qalansuwa*). They took upon themselves to refrain from wearing caps similar to those worn by the Prophet and his Companions. In later times the cap was worn by distinguished scholars, judges, lawyers (*fukahā'*), nobles (*al-ashraf*) and preachers. This fashion of wearing the cap was continued until the end of Salāh al-Dīn's dynasty.⁶¹ The difference between the appearance of the believers and the unbelievers is the shape of the turbans worn over their caps.⁶² It was thus essential to order the *ahl al-dhimma* to change the fashion or the colour of their caps.⁶³

The first person who wore the turban was Ādam after he was expelled from Paradise and descended to dwell on Earth. Jibrīl descended from Heaven and dressed him in an *'imāma*.⁶⁴ Likewise Dhū l-Qarnayn wore an *'imāma*; he was compelled to wear it in an attempt to conceal the horns on his head.⁶⁵ According to a tradition of the Prophet, transmitted by 'Ā'isha, the majority of the angels whom the Prophet saw in Paradise also wore turbans.⁶⁶

The traditions concerning the colour of the turbans worn by the angels sent by God to support the Muslim forces on the day of Badr are not unanimous. Some of the early scholars reported that the angels wore white turbans; the fringe of their turbans hung down on their backs (*qad arsalūhā fī zuhūrihim*); others reported that on the day of Ḥunayn the angels wore red turbans.⁶⁷ The tradition of the white turbans conforms to the widely circulated statement of the Prophet, in which he recommended the living wear white clothes and to bury the dead in white.⁶⁸ A peculiar tradition says that Jibrīl descended on the day of Badr wearing a yellow turban; this headdress was in the style of

⁶¹ Ibn Qayyim, *Aḥkām ahl l-dhimma*, pp. 737-8.

⁶² See al-Shaukānī, *al-Fawā'idu l-majmū'a fī l-aḥādīthi l-mawḍū'a*, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yaḥyā l-Mu'allimī l-Yamānī, ed. (Judda, 1380), p. 188, no. 540; and see the references of the editor. Cf. Ibn Qayyim, *Aḥkām*, pp. 738-39.

⁶³ See e.g., Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Fayrūzābādī al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Muḥadhdhab fī fiḥi l-Imāmi l-Shāfi'ī*, Beirut, 1379/1959 (repr.) vol. 2, p. 355 sup., where some special features of dress which should be imposed on *ahl al-dhimma* are suggested.

⁶⁴ Al-Kinānī, *al-Di'āma fī aḥkāmī sunnati l-'imāma*, 5 sup.; in Paradise Ādam wore a crown on his head.

⁶⁵ Al-Kinānī, op. cit., p. 5.

⁶⁶ Al-Suyūfī, *Jam'u l-jawāmi'* (Cairo, 1978), vol. 1, p. 531.

⁶⁷ Al-Suyūfī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīri bi-l-ma'thūr*, Cairo, 1314, (repr. Tehran), vol. 2, p. 70 sup.: *wa-akhraja ibn Ishāq wa-l-Ṭabarānī 'ani bni 'Abbāsīn qāla: kānat sīmā l-malā'ikati yauma badrin 'amā'ima biḍan, qad arsalūhā fī zuhūrihim, wa-yauma ḥunaynin 'amā'ima ḥumran ...*; and see the early *Tafsīr* of Muqātil b. Sulaymān, 'Abdallah Maḥmūd Shahātah, ed. (Cairo, 1979), I, 299: *... musawwimūna: ya'nī mu'allamūna bi-l-ṣūfi l-abyādi fī nawāṣi l-khayli wa-adhnābihā, 'alayhā l-bayādu, mu'tammūna bi-l-bayādi wa-qad arkhau aṭrāfa l-'amā'imi bayna aktāfihim ...*; and see Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīru l-qur'āni l-'azīm* (Beirut, 1385/1966), vol. 2, p. 108.

⁶⁸ Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-shāmiyyīn*, Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Silafī, ed. (Beirut, 1409/1989), vol. 2, p. 332, no. 1439: *... li-yalbasi l-bayāda aḥyā'ukum wa-yukaffinū*

al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, who wore a yellow turban on this day.⁶⁹ According to another tradition, all the angels who were ordered to attend the battle of Badr wore yellow turbans following the fashion of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. It is not surprising that the tradition was transmitted by ʿAbdallah b. al-Zubayr.⁷⁰ A harmonizing tradition, traced back to ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdallah b. al-Zubayr, claims that the angels attending the battle of Badr descended as white birds, wearing yellow turbans, like that of Abū ʿAbdallah. The Prophet affirmed the tradition. On the day of Badr he himself wore a yellow turban.⁷¹ Yellow seems to have implied beauty and emphasized the high position of the person who wore it.⁷² In some cases it symbolized the believer's hope that his prayers would be fulfilled. This notion is implied in the tradition attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās: "He who wears a yellow sandal (*naʿl*), his prayer will be granted and his needs will be fulfilled." The author of the *tafsīr* hesitates as to the valid-

fihā mautāhum; Muḥammad Nāsir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Mukhtaṣar al-shamāʾil al-muḥammadiyya li-l-imām abī ʿisā muḥammadi bni saurata l-tirmidhī* (ʿAmmān-al-Riyāḍ, 1406), p. 50, nos. 54, 55: ... *alaykum bi-l-bayāḍi mina l-thiyābi, li-yalbas-hā aḥyāʾukum wa-kaffinū fihā mautākum, fa-innahā min khayri thiyābikum* and: *ibasū l-bayāḍa, fa-innahā aḥaru wa-aṭyabu wa-kaffinū fihā mautākum*; cf., Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm* (Beirut, 1385/1966), vol. 3, p. 161 sup.; al-Dimyāṭī, *Kitāb mukhtaṣar fī sirāti l-nabiyyi ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam*, MS. Chester Beatty no. 3332, fol. 55a, inf. 556; Bibī bint ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Harawiyya al-Harthamiyya, *Juzʾ*, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Farīwāʾī, ed. (Kuwayt, 1406/1986), p. 51, no. 47; ʿAlī b. Balabān al-Fārisī, *al-Iḥsān bi-tartībī ṣaḥīḥi bni ḥibbān*, Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt, ed. (Beirut, 1407/1987), vol. 7, p. 393, no. 5399; al-Mundhirī, *al-Tarḡīb wa-l-tarḥīb mina l-ḥadīthi l-sharīf*, Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, ed. (Cairo, 1380/1961), vol. 4, p. 157, nos. 2947-8; Ibn al-Jauzī, *Kitāb al-ḥadāʾiq fī ʿilmī l-ḥadīthi wa-l-zuhdiyyāt*, Muṣṭafā l-Sabkī, ed. (Beirut, 1408/1988), vol. 3, p. 24; al-Shaukānī, *Naylu l-auḡār bi sharḥi muntaqā l-akḥbār min aḥādīthi l-akḥyār* (Cairo, 1372/1953), vol. 2, pp. 110-111; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut, 1380/1960), vol. 1, pp. 449-50; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-ʿtidāl*, vol. 4, p. 346, no. 9400; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Mawārid al-ẓamʾān ilā zawāʾidi bni ḥibbān*, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ḥamza, ed. (Cairo, n.d.), p. 348, no. 1339; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *al-Fatāwa al-ḥadīthiyya* (Cairo, 1390/1970), p. 172; al-Katakānī, *al-Burḥān fī tafsīri l-qurʾān*, Maḥmūd b. Jaʿfar al-Mūsawī al-Zarandī, ed. (Tehran, 1375), vol. 1, p. 312. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallah b. Ibrāhīm al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-fawāʾid, al-shahīr bi-l-ghilāniyyāt*, Ḥilmī Kāmil Asʿad ʿAbd al-Hādī, ed. (al-Riyāḍ, 1417/1997), vol. 1, p. 133, no. 89: ... *Muḥammad b. Hilāl: raʾaytu ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (r) yaʿtammu bi-ʾimāma bayḍāʾa yurkḥī ʾimāmatahu min warāʾi zahrīhi*; and see on white dress and white turbans: al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, vol. 7, nos. 6759-62 and nos. 6975-77; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, vol. 2, pp. 155-56, no. 1583, vol. 4, p. 337, no. 5517; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥāwī*, vol. 2, p. 116 imp., 117 sup.

⁶⁹ Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, vol. 1, p. 120, no. 230.

⁷⁰ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 70; cf. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qummī al-Naysābūrī, *Gharāʾibu l-qurʾān wa-ragḥāʾibu l-furqān*, Ibrāhīm ʿAṭwa ʿAwaḍ, ed. (Cairo, 1381/1962), vol. 4, p. 60; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr (Jāmiʿ) al-bayān ʿan taʾwīli āyi l-qurʾān*, Maḥmūd and Aḥmad Shākīr, ed. (Cairo, Dār al-Maʿārif, n.d.) vol. 2, pp. 188-9, nos. 7786-90.

⁷¹ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 70; al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿu l-abrār*, Salīm al-Nuʿaymī, ed. (Baghdad, 1982), vol. 4, p. 38.

⁷² See e.g., the article "zbrq" in *L.A.*

ity of this statement, but mentions the opinion of some commentators, who claim that God satisfied the needs of the Banū Isrā'īl because of the commandment of the yellow cow ('*alā baqaratin šafrā*'). The angels clad in yellow turbans let their fringes hang down between their shoulders.⁷³

Wāqidi records an anonymous tradition claiming that on the day of Badr, the fighters' turbans were green, yellow (*šufr*) and red.⁷⁴ A single tradition, transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, says that on the day of Uḥud the angels wore red turbans; on the day of Badr they wore black turbans.⁷⁵

Wearing black garments carried pejorative connotations. Al-Safārīnī records the opinion of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who states that black was the colour of the people of the *sultān* and of the wrong-doers (*zalama*). Some scholars were of the opinion that the black clothes of the deceased had to be burnt after the burial. Black clothes were worn for the first time in the period of the Abbasids; the first person who wore them was 'Abdallah b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallah b. 'Abbās. Black was worn as a sign of mourning, as a symbol of grief and disaster. The Abbasids began to wear black after the murder of the Abbasid *imām* Ibrāhīm.⁷⁶ It may be mentioned that on the day of 'Uthmān's murder the Companions delivered their eulogies wearing black turbans.⁷⁷ Although 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib wore black on that day, he generally advised to refrain from wearing black clothes, because they are the dress of Fir'aun.⁷⁸ But Jibrīl, who participated in the drowning of Fir'aun, was also clad in a black '*imāma* on that day.⁷⁹

A rare tradition concerning the fate of the Abbasid dynasty was transmitted by a rather unreliable *muḥaddith*, Shāh b. Shīr Māmiyān.⁸⁰ Jibrīl came to the Prophet clad in a black gown with full sleeves (*al-qabā*'), and informed him about the descendants of 'Abbās: they will be leaders of the people and will be followed by the people of Khurāsān. They will rule the world (*yamlīku wuldu l-'abbāsi al-wabar wa-l-madar*

⁷³ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah, known as Ibn al-'Arabī *Aḥkāmu l-qur'ān*, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, ed. (Cairo, 1387/1967), vol. 1, p. 297.

⁷⁴ Al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, Marsden Johns, ed. (Oxford, 1966), vol. 1, p. 75.

⁷⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 7, p. 70, l. 1; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 108.

⁷⁶ Al-Safārīnī, *Ghidhā'u l-albāb*, vol. 2, pp. 146-7.

⁷⁷ Al-Munāwī, *Sharḥ 'alā jam'i l-wasā'il fī sharḥi l-shamā'il* (Cairo, 1318), vol. 1, p. 165; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥawī li-l-fatāwī*, Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, ed. (Cairo, 1378/1959), vol. 1, p. 119: on the day of 'Uthmān's murder 'Alī wore a black '*imāma*.

⁷⁸ Al-Bahrānī, *al-Ḥādā'iq u l-nāḍira*, vol. 7, p. 116: *lā talbasū l-sawāda fa-innahu libāsu fir'auna*.

⁷⁹ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥawī*, vol. 1, p. 121; Roberto Tottoli, "Il Faraone nella tradizione Islamiche: Alcune note in margine alla questione della sua conversione," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 14 (1996): p. 21; Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fī sirāti l-amāni l-ma'mūn (al-Sira al-ḥalabiyya)* (Cairo, 1391/1971), vol. 3, p. 379.

⁸⁰ See on him al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl fī naqdi l-rijāl*, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, ed. (Cairo, 1382/1963), vol. 2, p. 260, no. 3650 (Shāh b. Shīr Māmiyān).

wa-l-sarīr wa-l-minbar) until the day of resurrection.⁸¹ A version of this tradition recorded by 'Alī al-Qārī contains a passage which emphasizes its pro-Abbasid tendency. When the Prophet asked Jibrīl about his unusual dress, Jibrīl answered that it is the dress of the descendants of 'Abbās, the kings.⁸² The Prophet inquired whether they would be righteous and Jibrīl affirmed that they would. The Prophet then asked to forgive them their sins.⁸³ According to reports of some Abbasid caliphs (the sons of al-Mu'taṣim) the Prophet granted al-'Abbās an 'imāma and this is indeed the 'imāma with which the chosen caliphs were crowned. This 'imāma is currently in possession of the caliphs' descendants in Egypt.⁸⁴ The tradition of the black 'imāma, which the Prophet put on the head of 'Alī when he sent him with the mission of conquering Khaybar,⁸⁵ and other reports on the black 'imāma of 'Alī, caused a new series of stories concerning Shī'īs wearing black turbans. Shī'ī scholars also permitted praying in black turbans and in black boots.⁸⁶

A noteworthy tradition concerning the details of the turban is recorded on the authority of the Companion of the Prophet, Abū Umāma: The Prophet did not appoint a governor (*kāna lā yuwallī wāliyan*) without dressing him in an 'imāma, letting down its fringes, the 'adhaba, on the back of the appointed governor on his right side in the direction of his (right) ear (*wa-yurkhī lahā 'adhabatan min al-jānibi l-ayman naḥwa l-udhun*).⁸⁷ The tradition implies that the Prophet invested the appointed governor (or the military leader) with authority by dressing him in the turban, letting down its fringe (or fringes), the 'adhaba. The custom of dressing an appointed governor in a turban, practiced by the Prophet, is in fact a continuation of the customs of the Persian rulers, who invested their provincial governors with authority in this way in the Arab peninsula. The 'imāma was a headdress of the aristocratic leaders

⁸¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, Hyderābād, 1330, (second edition Beirut, 1390/1971), vol. 3, p. 136, no. 472.

⁸² See this prediction in Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* (Beirut, 1387/1967), vol. 1, p. 316 sup.

⁸³ 'Alī al-Qārī, *Jam'ū l-wasā'il fī sharḥi l-shamā'il*, Cairo, 1318, (repr. Beirut) vol. 1, p. 167.

⁸⁴ 'Alī al-Qārī, *Jam'ū l-wasā'il*, vol. 1, p. 166.

⁸⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥawī*, vol. 1, p. 118 inf.; al-Shaukānī, *Naylu l-auṭār bi-sharḥi muntaqā l-akḥbār min aḥādīthi sayyidi l-akhyār* (Cairo, 1372/1953), vol. 2, p. 121 (the end of the 'imāma hung down behind his back, or on his left shoulder); and see *ibid.*: a *maula* of 'Alī reporting that he saw 'Alī wearing a black 'imāma, and he let the ends hang down in front of him (i.e., on his chest -k) and on his back.

⁸⁶ Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *al-Nihāya fī mujarradi l-fiqhi wa-l-fatāwā*, Aghā Buzurg al-Tahrānī, ed. (Beirut, 1390/1970), 97; Ibn Babūyah al-Qummī, *Kitābu l-khiṣāl*, 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, ed. (Tehran, 1389), 148, no. 179; al-Bahrānī, *al-Ḥadā'iq u l-nāḍira*, vol. 7, p. 116; al-Safārīnī, *Ghidhā'u l-albāb*, vol. 2, p. 146; al-Majlisī, *Biḥāru l-anwār*, vol. 83, p. 249.

⁸⁷ Al-Safārīnī, *Ghidhā'u l-albāb*, vol. 2, p. 205; al-'Aynī, *'Umdat al-qārī*, vol. 21, pp. 307-8; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vol. 5, p. 120, penult.

of the Meccan community, and later of the commanders of the troops sent by the Prophet to raid the forces of the rebellious tribes and to conquer enemy territory.

During the following generations, the 'imāma became the dress of the pious successors (*tābi'ūn*), the distinguished scholars of the Muslim community, the judges, scribes and clerks in the offices of the rulers and governors. The scholars and judges wore fringes of the 'imāma let down between the shoulders on their backs, or on their chests (*bayna yadayhi wa-min khalfihi*).⁸⁸ The letting down of the 'adhaba was included in the injunction of the Prophet concerning the wearing of the 'imāma: "You shall wear the turbans, as they are the characteristic features (*sīmā*) of the angels, and let down their ends on your backs."⁸⁹ The Prophet is said to have referred to the graces granted to him by Allāh, and mentioned among them the 'adhaba of the 'imāma.⁹⁰ The letting down of the 'adhaba became a part of the prophetic *sunna*.⁹¹

Al-Suyūṭī marks the 'adhaba as one of the exclusive features (*khaṣā'is*) granted the Prophet (and his community -k); this is in fact one of the features (of the dress -k) of the angels.⁹² According to a tradition recorded by Ibn Taymiyya, the Prophet saw God in his dream. God asked him: "O Muḥammad, what is the subject debated by the angels in Heaven?" (*fī mā yakhtaṣimu l-mala'u l-a'lā'*). When the Prophet responded that he does not know the answer, Allāh put His hand between the shoulders of the Prophet and apprised him of everything between heaven and earth. On that day the Prophet adopted the dress of the 'adhaba (in the text: the *shu'āba* -k) hanging down between his

⁸⁸ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥāwī*, vol. 1, pp. 117-19; al-Safārīnī, *Ghidhā'u l-albāb*, vol. 2, pp. 204-5.

⁸⁹ Al-Safārīnī, *Ghidhā'u l-albāb*, vol. 2, pp. 204-5 sup.: "*alaykun bi-l-'amā'imi, fa-innahā sīmā'u l-malā'ikati, fa-arkhūhā khalfa zuhūrikum*"; Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥaythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id* (Beirut, 1967), vol. 5, p. 120; and see the story of al-Ḥajjāj who wore the 'imāma letting down the 'adhaba behind his back, and entered the mosque in this fashion: al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, Akram Diyā' al-'Umarī, ed. (Baghdād, 1401/1981), vol. 2, p. 481 sup.: Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 4, p. 55; al-Shiblī, *Mahāsīn al-wasā'il*, p. 203; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 6, pp. 282-83: *ra'aytu ibrahīma (al-Nakha'i -k) ya'tammū wa yurkhi dhanabahā* (perhaps: *dhu'ābatāhā? -k) khalfahu*.

⁹⁰ 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insānu l-'uyūn fī sirati l-amīn al-ma'mūn (al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya)*, (Cairo, 1382/1962), vol. 3, p. 343: *...wa-u'ṭītu l-'adhabatā fī l-'imāma ...*

⁹¹ See the description in 'Alī al-Qārī *Jam'u l-wasā'il fī sharḥi l-shamā'il*, Cairo, 1318, (repr. Beirut, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 167, on margin (the notes of al-Munāwī): *... wa-kāna bnu 'Umara yaf'alu dhālika, ya'nī annahu sunnatun mu'akkadatun maḥfūzatun lam yarda l-ṣulahā'u tarkahā ...*

⁹² Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣā'isu l-kubrā = Kifāyatu l-ṭālibi l-labīb fī khaṣā'isi l-ḥabīb*, Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, ed., (Cairo, 1386/1967), vol. 3, p. 199, l. 1: *...bābu ikhtisāsihi ḡal'am bi-l-'adhabatī fī l-'imāma*; and see *ibid.*: *'alaykum bi-l-'amā'imi wa-arkhūhā khalfa zuhūrikum, fa-innahā sīmā'u l-malā'ikati*.

shoulders.⁹³ The prophetic injunction on letting down the fringes of the *'imāma* seems to have been considered by some scholars only as a recommendation: it was up to the believer to observe this practice or to refrain from it. Neither was considered a *bid'a*. (*wa-laysa tarku l-'adhabati bid'atan, bal lahu fi'luhu wa-tarkuhu*).⁹⁴

A case of investing a military leader with authority by granting him a turban can be seen in the story of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf. He was a faithful Companion and was ordered to march against Dūmat al-Jandal. According to the plan of the raid, 'Abd al-Rahmān was instructed to leave Medina at night with a force of some 700 warriors. He put a black *'imāma* made of cotton on his head (*wa-qad i'tamma bi-'imāmatin min karābīs*) and intended to set out in the direction of Dūmat al-Jandal. When he came to see the Prophet the next morning, he explained that he had ordered his force to set out and wait for him in al-Juruf.⁹⁵ He came to say farewell to the Prophet dressed in military attire. The Prophet removed the turban from his head and dressed him in a black (or, according to another version, in a white -k) turban, the fringes of which he let hang down between his shoulders. "That is the way to wear the *'imāma*," remarked the Prophet.⁹⁶ The investiture of 'Abd al-

⁹³ Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Zād al-ma'ād fi hadyi khayri l-'ibād* (Beirut, repr., n.d.), vol. 1, pp. 34-35; this dream was transmitted by al-Tirmidhī; see also the story in 'Alī al-Qārī, *Jam'u l-wasā'il fi sharhi l-shamā'il*, vol. 1, pp. 167-68 (and see al-Munāwī's notes on the story on the margin. Some scholars denounced the story as forged because of its anthropomorphic implications); see also the same story in al-Zurqānī's *Sharḥu l-mawāhibi l-laduniyya li-l-Qasallānī* (Cairo, 1326), vol. 5, p. 11 inf.-12.

⁹⁴ Al-Nawawī, *al-Manthūrāt*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā, ed., p. 44, no. 70.

⁹⁵ See on Juruf: al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'ista'jama min asmā'i l-bilādi wa-l-mawā'id*, Muṣṭafā l-Saqqā, ed. (Cairo, 1364/1945), vol. 2, p. 377; and see the important note: *wa-hunāka kāna l-muslimūna yu'askirūna idhā arādū l-ghazwa*.

⁹⁶ Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, Marsden Johns, ed. (Oxford, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 560-62; cf. al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'u l-abrār*, vol. 4, p. 39; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya li-bni Hishām, sharḥuhā*, Suhayl Zakkār, ed. (Beirut, 1412/1992), vol. 2, pp. 1047-48; and see al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-shāmiyyīn*, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Majīd al-Silafi, ed. (Beirut, 1409/1989), vol. 2, p. 391, no. 1558; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥāwī li-l-fatāwī*, vol. 1, p. 469-70; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Bayān wa-l-ta'rīf fi asbābi wurūdi l-ḥadīthi l-sharīf* (Beirut, 1400/1980), vol. 2, p. 304-6, no. 982; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*, vol. 1, p. 487, no. 1458; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vol. 5, p. 120; 'Alī al-Qārī, *Risāla ḥāwiya li-masā'il mujtami'a 'alā l-'imāma wa-l-'adhaba*, MS. Yahuda Ar. 990, fol. 23a inf.-23b sup. (quotes the tradition from al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Auṣaf* and comments on the expression: *fa-innahu a'rab wa-aḥsan: wa-fīhi ish'ārūn bi-anna l-'imāmata ma'a l-'adhabati aḥsanu, fa-yadullu 'alā ḥusni l-'imāmati bi-dūni l-'adhabati; fa-yakūnu fīhi raddun 'alā man qāla bi-l-karāhati ...*); Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah al-Shiblī, *Maḥāsīn al-wasā'il fi-ma'rīfati l-awā'il*, Muḥammad al-Tūnjī, ed. (Beirut, 1412/1992), 189-91 sup.; Ibn al-Dayba', *Taysīru l-wuṣūl ilā jāmi'i l-uṣūl min ḥadīthi l-rasūl* (ṣ), vol. 4, p. 186: ... 'Abdu l-Rahmān b. 'Auf: 'ammamanī rasūlu llah bi-'imāmatin fa-sadalaha bayna yadayya wa-min khalfi aṣābi'a ...; Amru bnu Ḥuraythīn: ra'aytu rasūla llāhi (ṣ) wa-'alayhi 'imāmatun sauda'u qad arkhā ṭarafayhā bayna mankiabayhi. See on 'Amr b. Ḥurayth: Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-*

Rahmān b. 'Auf was an impressive ceremony: the Prophet performed the prayer standing *behind* 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf and solemnly said: "A Prophet never died without praying behind a righteous believer."⁹⁷ This statement clearly indicates the high position granted to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf by the Prophet.

'Abd al-Rahmān was urged by the Prophet to fight the unbelievers for the cause of Islam, while observing the rules enunciated by Islam. The Prophet also told him to marry the daughter of the ruler of Dūmat al-Jandal; the Prophet meant al-Aṣḡagh b. 'Amr al-Kalbī. 'Abd al-Rahmān indeed succeeded to convince the Christian chief of Dūmat al-Jandal, al-Aṣḡagh b. 'Amr al-Kalbī, to embrace Islam; and al-Aṣḡagh consented to give him his daughter, Tumāḡdir bint al-Aṣḡagh in marriage.⁹⁸ She bore 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf several of his children.⁹⁹ It was Tumāḡdir who advised 'Uthmān to marry one of her relatives, Nā'ila bint al-Furāfiṣa. It was a happy marriage. Nā'ila remained faithful to the memory of 'Uthmān; following his death, she refused to marry Mu'āwiya.¹⁰⁰

The black turban became a popular headdress as early as the first Islamic century. The *ḡadīth* describes some Companions of the Prophet as wearing black turbans.¹⁰¹ The Prophet himself is said to stand on the

Iṣāba fī tamyīzi l-ṣaḡāba, vol. 4, p. 619, no. 5812; al-Baḡhawī, *al-Anwār fī shamā'ili l-nabiyyi l-mukhtār*, Ibrāhīm al-Ya'qūbī, ed. (Beirut, 1409/1989), vol. 2, p. 534, no. 730; and see the references of the editor. 'Abdallāh b. Muḡammad al-Iṣfahānī, known as Abū l-Shaykh, *Akhlaḡu l-nabiyyi wa-ādābuhu*, Iṣāmu l-Dīn Sayyid al-Sabābī, ed. (Cairo, 1411/1991), 122, no. 303.

⁹⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḡāt*, vol. 3, p. 129: ... mā qubīḡa nabīyyun ḡattā yuṣallīya khalfā raḡulin ṣāliḡin min ummatihī.

⁹⁸ Al-Wāḡidī, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 511-12; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣḡ al-ḡhāba fī ma'rifati l-ṣaḡāba*, al-Maḡba'a al-waḡbiyya, 1286, (repr. Tehran), vol. 3, pp. 313-14; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifati l-aṣḡāb*, 'Alī Muḡammad al-Bijāwī, ed. (Cairo), vol. 2, p. 844, no. 1447; al-Balāḡhurī, *Ansāb al-aṣḡrāf*, Muḡammad ḡamīdullāh, ed. (Cairo, 1959), vol. 1, p. 378; al-Tibṙīzī, *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḡ*, p. 374, penult.; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vol. 5, p. 120.

⁹⁹ See e.g., Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-ṭabaḡāt*, Akram Diyā' al-'Umarī, ed. (Baḡhdad, 1387/1967), 242; and cf. M.J. Kister, "The Wife of the Goldsmith from Fadak and her Progeny," *Le Muséon* 92 (1979): 321-30 (repr. Variorum Series, *Society and Religion from Jāhiliyya to Islam*, no. V); and see Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-nasab*, Mariām Muḡammad Khayru l-Dīn', ed. (Beirut, 1411/1989), p. 363; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaḡāt al-kubrā*, vol. 3, pp. 127-38, vol. 8, pp. 298-300; Muḡammad b. 'Alī b. Aḡmad b. ḡadīda al-Anṣārī, *al-Miṣbāḡ al-muḡīr' fī kuttāb al-nabiyyi wa-rusulihī ilā mulūki l-ardī min 'arabiyyin wa-'ajamiyyin*, Muḡammad 'Aḡīmu l-Dīn, ed. (Beirut, 1405/1985), vol. 2, pp. 224-5: ... wa-hiya ukhtu l-Nu'māni bni l-Mundhiri li-ummihī.

¹⁰⁰ Aḡmad b. Muḡammad b. 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḡḡ al-farīd*, Aḡmad Amīn, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī 'Abd al-Salām Harūn, ed. (Cairo, 1368/1949), vol. 6, p. 91.

¹⁰¹ See al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr* vol. 1, p. 240 no. 665 (*ra'aytu Anasa bna Mālik ... wa-'imāmatuhu saudā'u lahā dhu'ābatun min khalfihī ...*); Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaḡāt al-kubrā*, vol. 7, p. 208 Abū Naḡra wore a black 'imāma; vol. 6, p. 210 (worn by Abū 'Ubayda b. 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd), vol. 7, p. 179 (worn by al-ḡasan b. Abī l-ḡasan); vol. 7, p. 23; Anas b. Mālik wore an 'imāma of silk; it was a black

minbar clad in a black 'imāma, with its two fringes hanging down between his shoulders.¹⁰² Jibrīl descended to the Prophet wearing a black 'imāma.¹⁰³ The most instructive report concerning the black 'imāma is recorded in Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-āthār*: it is transmitted by Abū Ḥanīfa on the authority of one of his Companions and states that Jibrīl, dressed in a black 'imāma, came to the Prophet. He dressed the Prophet in a black 'imāma and let its fringes hang down behind his back.¹⁰⁴ The date of Abū Yūsuf's death (182 A. H.), indicates that the *ḥadīth* is a very early one. It also implies that Jibrīl accomplished his mission to dress the Prophet in a black 'imāma. The black 'imāma was thus a symbol of prophetic authority granted to Muḥammad by God. The Caliphs followed the path of the Prophet and used to dress their governors and officials in black turbans.

Some pious believers seem to have been used to wearing black turbans. The black 'imāma indicated piety and sincerity of belief. This can be deduced from the harsh words with which 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz rebuked 'Adī b. Arṭāt: "...you deceived me by your black 'imāma, your keeping company with the *qurrā'*, your letting down the fringe of the 'imāma on your back"¹⁰⁵ Some Šūfī believers disliked wearing black turbans.¹⁰⁶ In some Shī'ī leading circles black clothing was considered the dress of the Shī'a's enemies.¹⁰⁷ As the black turbans be-

'imāma; p. 24: he let down the end of the 'imāma on his back (... *arkhāhā min khalfihi*); Abū Nu'aym al-Isfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'*, vol. 9, p. 134: (Mu'āwīya on his death bed, clad in a black 'imāma); al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīkh*, vol. 2, p. 110 and p. 226 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī wore a black 'imāma); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth* (Cairo, 1343), vol. 1, p. 482, no. 1444: Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab wore a black 'imāma, letting the end hang on his back.

¹⁰² See e.g., al-Suyūfī, *al-Ḥawī*, vol. 1, p. 118: ... 'an Jābir qāla: kāna li-l-nabiyyi (ṣ) 'imāmatun saudā'u yalbasuhā fī l-'idayin wa-yurkkihā khalfahu: Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Zādu l-ma'ād fī ḥadyi khayri l-'ibād* (Beirut, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 34 inf.: ... 'Amr b. Ḥurayth qāla: ra'aytu rasūla llahi (ṣ) 'alā l-minbar wa-'alayhi 'imāmatun saudā'u qad arkhā ṭarafayhā bayna katifayhi; al-Shaukānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, vol. 2, p. 120: ... wa-'alayhi 'imāmatun saudā'u qad arkhā ṭarafahā bayna katifayhi, the verb *sadala* is glossed by *arkhā* in some of the quoted *ḥadīths*.

¹⁰³ Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vol. 5, p. 120; al-Shaukānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, vol. 2, p. 121; al-Suyūfī, *al-Ḥawī*, vol. 1, p. 118.

¹⁰⁴ Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī, *Kitāb al-āthār*, Abū l-Wafā, ed. (Cairo, 1355), p. 128, no. 588.

¹⁰⁵ 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, Ḥabībū l-Raḥmān al-A'zamī, ed. (Johannesburg, 1390/1970.)

¹⁰⁶ See, 'Alā'u l-Dīn 'Alī b. Balabān, *al-Iḥsān bi-tartībī ṣaḥīḥi 'bni Ḥibbān*, Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt, ed. (Beirut, 1407/1986), vol. 7, p. 393: ... *dhikru ibāḥati lubsi l-mar'i l-'amā'ima l-sūda ḍiddu qawli man karihahu min al-mutaṣawwifati*

¹⁰⁷ Al-Bahrānī, *al-Ḥadā'iq u l-nādira*, vol. 7, p. 117 sup.: 'ani l-ṣādiqi 'alayhi l-salāmu: aḥḥā llāhu ilā nabiyyin min anbiyā'ihī: qul li-l-mu'minīna lā yalbasū malābisa a'dā'i wa-lā yaḥ'amū maṣā'ima a'dā'i wa-lā yaslukū masālika a'dā'i fa-yakūnū a'dā'i kamā hum a'dā'i ...; and see p. 117: ... qāla l-Ṣadūq fī kitāb 'uyūnī l-akhbār ba'da naqli ḥādihā l-khabar bi-sanadin ākhara 'an 'Aliyyi bni Abī Ṭālibin 'an rasūli llāhi (ṣal'am): qāla l-muṣannif (r) libāsu a'dā'i huwa l-sawādu ...; and see

came popular in the Muslim community, a statement widely circulated and attributed to the Prophet (or to a Shi'ī *imām* -k) established three exceptions where wearing black was permitted for the believers: black boots, black turbans and black woolen garments (*kisā*).¹⁰⁸

A peculiar *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet concerning the colour black recommends that elderly men dye their beards black: it is preferable at times of war because it frightens the enemy, and it is preferable in times of peace, since young women find it more attractive.¹⁰⁹

III

According to some widely circulated *ḥadīths*, the Prophet entered Mecca on the day of the conquest wearing a black '*imāma*'.¹¹⁰ A contradictory *ḥadīth* says that he entered Mecca on the day of its conquest wearing a helmet (*mighfar*).¹¹¹ In several traditions the report about the helmet on the Prophet's head is coupled with the report of his wearing a turban. Al-Munāwī records a version in which the black turban, *al-^cimāma* al-

ibid., p. 116 inf.: ... 'an amīri l-mu' minīna 'alayhi l-salām annahu qāla fīmā 'allama aṣḥābahu: lā talbasū l-sawāda fa-innahu libāsu fir'auna

¹⁰⁸ Al-Bahrānī, *al-Ḥadā'iq*, vol. 7, p. 116: ... yukrahu l-sawādu illā fī thalāthatin: al-khuff wa-l-'imāma wa-l-kisā'u.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, vol. 2, p. 289.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, vol. 14, p. 493, no. 18764 (cf. ibid., no. 18765: ... wa-huwa mu'tajirun bi-shuqqati burdīn aswad ...); Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah al-Isfahānī (Abū l-Shaykh), *Akhlaqu l-nabiyyi (ṣ) wa-ādābuhu*, 'Iṣām al-Dīn Sayyid al-Ṣabābī, ed. (Cairo-Beirut, 1411/1991), 122, nos. 304, 305, and see ibid., no. 306; 'Alī b. Balabān, *al-Iḥsān bi-tartīb ṣaḥīḥi bni Ḥibbān*, vol. 7, p. 393, no. 5401; al-Munāwī, *Sharḥ 'alā jam'ī l-waṣā'il fī sharḥi l-shamā'il*, vol. 1, p. 163 (and see ibid. the list of the Companions who delivered their speeches wearing black turbans); Ibn al-Jauzī, *al-Wafā bi-aḥwālī l-muṣṭafā*, Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, ed. (Cairo, 1386/1966), 567; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, ed. (Cairo, 1385/1965), vol. 3, p. 555 sup.

¹¹¹ Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Zād al-ma'ād*, vol. 1, p. 34: *wa-qad yuqālu an-nahu dakhala makkata wa-'alayhi uḥbatu l-qitāli wa-l-mighfar 'alā ra'sihi ...*; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, vol. 3, p. 554: ... 'an Anasīn anna rasūla llāhi (ṣ) dakhala makkata wa-'alā ra'sihi l-mighfar; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, vol. 14, p. 492, no. 18760; Abū Ḥatīm Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī al-Bustī, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya wa-akhbāru l-khulafā'*, al-Sayyid 'Azīz Bek and a group of scholars, eds. (Beirut, 1407/1987), 333: ... wa-dakhala rasūla llāhi min adhākhiriḥā makkata 'alā ra'sihi mighfar min ḥadīd 'alayhi 'imāmatun saudā'u ...; and see al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jam*, Muṣṭafā l-Saqqā, ed. (Cairo, 1364/1945), vol. 1, pp. 128-9, s.v. *adhākhir*. And see the two contradictory opinions regarding the Prophet's actions on the day of the conquest of Mecca: Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra*, vol. 3, p. 577 inf.: the majority of the scholars were of the opinion that Mecca was conquered by force; al-Shāfi'ī, however, believed that Mecca was conquered by a peaceful agreement. For more on the discussion whether Mecca was conquered by force or by a peaceful agreement, see Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Zād al-ma'ād*, vol. 2, p. 172.

*saudā*², is glossed by *al-ḥarqāniyya*, a tint of colour as if burnt by fire.¹¹² In some traditions the fact that the Prophet entered Mecca without a ritual consecration as a pilgrim (*iḥrām*) is particularly noted.¹¹³ The entrance of the Prophet without *iḥrām* indicates that he was not enjoined to perform the obligatory duties of the *ḥajj* on that occasion.

Another report says that the Prophet entered Mecca on that day wearing a piece of a red striped garment on his head.¹¹⁴ Al-Fāsī also records other details about the entrance of the Prophet into Mecca: he entered it wearing a black turban. Al-Fāsī tries to reconcile between the two reports: the Prophet put the helmet on his head, and might have placed the black turban or the piece of red cloth upon the helmet.¹¹⁵

The tradition concerning the helmet worn by the Prophet on the day of the conquest of Mecca (*fath*) was usually confronted with the tradition that he wore a black or blackish turban. Al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321 H) tackles the complicated problem in which capacity the Prophet entered Mecca on the day of the conquest: did he enter the *ḥaram* as a combatant (*muḥārib*) or as one whose safety is guaranteed (*āmin*) visiting the sanctuary. Al-Ṭaḥāwī assumes that the Prophet entered the *ḥaram* as a combatant, not as a protected pilgrim; this is indicated by his wearing a helmet.¹¹⁶ Both versions, that of the helmet and the turban, are recorded

¹¹² Al-Munāwī, *Sharḥ 'alā jam'ī l-wasā'il fī sharḥi l-shamā'il*, vol. 1, p. 166 sup.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, vol. 3, p. 554 ult.; Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-masā'il wa-l-ajwiba fī l-ḥadīthi wa-l-tafsīr*, Marwān al-'Aṭiyya wa-Muḥsin Kharaba, ed. (Damasq, 1410/1990), p. 84; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fī sirati l-amin al-ma'mūn (al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya)*, vol. 3, p. 98.

¹¹³ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, vol. 3, p. 554; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. 3, p. 98: ... *wa-qāla dakhala ṣallā llahu 'alayhi wa-sallam wa-'alā ra'sihi l-mighfaru wa-'alayhi 'imāmatun saudā'u ḥarqāniyyatun qad arkhā ṭarafayhā bayna katifayhi, bi-ghayri iḥrāmin.*

¹¹⁴ 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, vol. 3, p. 98: ... *wa-dakhala ṣallā llahu 'alayhi makkata wa huwa rākibun 'alā nāqatīhi l-qaṣwā', ay murdīfan usāmata bna zaydīn bukrata yaumi l-jumu'a mu'tajiran bi-shiqqati burdīn ḥibaratin ḥamrā'a; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, Shifā'u l-gharām bi-akḥbārī l-baladī l-ḥarām* (Beirut, n.d.), Dār al-kutubī l-'ilmiyya, vol. 2, p. 138, 116 penult.

¹¹⁵ Al-Fāsī, *Shifā'u l-gharām*, vol. 2, p. 138: ... *wa-lā yu'arīḍu dhālika ḥadīthu Anas (r) anna l-nabiyya dakhala makkata 'āma l-fathi wa-'alā ra'sihi l-mighfaru li-inkāni an takūna l-'imāmatu l-saudā'u au al-shiqqatu l-ḥamrā'u l-mushāru ilayhā hunā min fauḡi l-mighfari, wa-llāhu a'lam.*

¹¹⁶ Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Azdi al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ ma'āni l-āthār*, Muḥammad Zuhri l-Najjār, ed. (Cairo, 1388/1968), vol. 3, p. 329: ... *thumma qad kāna dukhūluhu iyyāhā (ṣal'am) dukhūla muḥāribīn, lā dukhūla āminīn, li-annalu dakhala wa-'alā ra'sihi l-mighfar ...; and see al-Zurqānī, Sharḥu l-mawāhibi l-laduniyya*, vol. 2, p. 323: it was an exceptional case that the Prophet entered Mecca without performing the *iḥrām*. Al-Zurqānī records the opinion of Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd, assuming that the Prophet might have performed the *iḥrām*. According to Shāfi'ī the *iḥrām* is obligatory. Entering without performing the *iḥrām* should therefore be considered as a special concession granted to the Prophet; *ibid.*, penult. *wa-dukhūluhu bilā iḥrāmin min kḥaṣā'isihī.* And see al-Fākihi, *Akhbāru makkata fī qadīmi l-dahri wa-ḥadīthihī*, 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abdallah b. Duḥaysh, ed. (Makka al-mukarrama,

in Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*.¹¹⁷ In one of his reports in which some clashes between the forces of the Prophet and groups of his enemies are described, the conclusion is quite explicit: Mecca was conquered by force.¹¹⁸ The story of the conquest of Mecca by force is indeed supplemented by an appropriate saying of the Prophet in his speech after the conquest of the city. He named the Meccans *al-tulaqā'*, "the freed" (an expression referring to captured people magnanimously released by the conquerors -k).¹¹⁹ 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb carefully observed the stipulations concerning the *tulaqā'*: he did not pay the people of Mecca the *'aṭā'*, he did not dispatch them to fight the enemy in the military expeditions on the grounds that they were *ṭulaqā'*.¹²⁰ Some scholars of Islamic law (*al-fuqahā'*) were, however, of the opinion that Mecca embraced Islam by a peaceful agreement and received the document of safety and security (*amān*); this *amān* was considered by these law scholars as a pact, or agreement (*al-amān ka-l-sulh*). Since Mecca and its people were given the agreement of security and safety and embraced Islam peacefully, they were given the full right to their possessions and their property, and were granted the right to let their houses or to sell them. But the majority of the *fuqahā'* were of the opinion that Mecca was conquered by force (*'anwatan*).¹²¹

1407/1987), vol. 3, p. 75, no. 1826: ... 'an Ibnī Ṭawūs 'an abīhi qāla: lā yaḥillu li-[aḥādīn] min khalqī llāhi ta'ālā an yadkhula makkata li-ḥājatin wa-lā li ḡhayrihā illā ḥarāman, li-anna l-nabiyya ḡal'am lam yadkhuḥā qaṭṭu illā ḥarāman, illā 'āma l-faṭḥi, min aḡli l-qitāli.

¹¹⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut, 1376/1957), vol. 2, p. 139-40: ... dakhala rasūlu llāhi ḡallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam makkata 'āma l-faṭḥi wa-'alā ra'sihi l-mighfar ..., and p. 140: ... dakhala yauma l-faṭḥi makkata wa-'alayhi 'imāmatun saudā'

¹¹⁸ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 136: ... wa-dakhala l-nabiyyu (s) makkata 'anwatan fa aslama l-nāsu ṭā'i'ina wa-kāriḥīna. Cf. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, Muṣṭafā' Abd al-Wāḥid, ed. (Cairo, 1385/1965), vol. 3, p. 577.

¹¹⁹ See e.g., al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subulu l-hudā (al-Sīra al-Shāmiyya)* vol. 5, p. 364: ... idhhabū fa-antum al-ṭulaqā', fa-kharajū ka-annamā nushirū mina l-qubūri fa-dakhalū fī l-islāmi ..., and see al-Fāsi, *Tuḡfatu l-kirām fī akhbāri l-baladi l-ḥarām*, MS. Leiden no. 2654, fol. 151b, l. 4: ... idhhabū fa-antum l-ṭulaqā'; al-Sinjārī, *Manā'iḡu l-karam bi-akhbāri makkata wa-l-ḥaram*, MS. Leiden Or. 7018, fol. 73a: ... yā ma'shara quraysh, mā tarauna anni fā'ilun fikum? qālu: khayran, akhun karīm wa-bnu akhin karīm, qāla: idhhabū fa-antum muṭlaqa (correct reading: *al-tulaqā'* -k); and see the explanation of *al-ṭulaqā'* in al-Zurqānī's *Sharḡu l-mawāḥibi l-laduniyya* vol. 2, p. 318 inf.

¹²⁰ Al-Fākiḥī, *Akhbāru makkata*, vol. 3, 74, no. 1823: ... 'ani bni 'Umara (r) qāla: inna 'Umara bna l-Khaṭṭābi (r) lam yakun yu'ṭī aḡla makkata 'aṭā'an wa-lam yakun yaḡribu 'alayhim ba'than, wa-yaqūlu: hum ṭulaqā'.

¹²¹ See the lengthy discussion on whether Mecca was conquered by force (*'anwatan*) or by an assurance of safety (*amān*); and see the explanation: *wa-l-amān ka-l-sulh*) in Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūnu l-athari fī funūni l-maghāzi wa-l-shamā'ili wa-l-siyar* (Cairo, 1356), vol. 2, pp. 170-1; see e.g., p. 171 sup.: ... wa-li-hādḡa qāla jamā'atun min aḡli l-'ilmi, minhun al-imāmu l-Shāfi'i (raḡimahu llāhu) inna makkata mu'ammana wa-laysat 'anwatan, wa-l-amān ka-l-sulḡi; wa-ra'ā anna

In connection to the different reports concerning the 'imāma of the Prophet, it may be useful to enumerate the various versions concerning his headdress. Some reports say that he wore a black turban when he entered Mecca on the day of the conquest; another version states that he wore a helmet (*mighfar*); a third version says that he wore a piece of a red striped garment on his head.¹²² According to a report transmitted by al-Wāqidī, the Prophet was asked by his staunch enemy, Ṣafwān b. Umayya, who fled Mecca after its conquest by the Muslim forces, to give his messenger, 'Umayr b. Wahb, the turban of the Prophet as a token of immunity from punishment and as a sign of *amān*. The Prophet agreed and gave 'Umayr b. Wahb a piece of the red striped garment, which served as his turban. Ṣafwān was convinced of the sincerity of the Prophet's promise to pardon him and he returned to Mecca.¹²³

The black colour of the turban may be explained as follows: there is an interpretation of the expression *al-'imāma al-saudā'* which suggests that the "blackish colour" of the 'imāma is caused by dirt and stains (*wa-kānat muttasikhatan mutalawwithatan*); this 'imāma was described as *al-dasmā'*, "an oily turban;" it was put *under* the helmet in order to protect the head from the rust which formed on the iron helmet.¹²⁴ Some other reasons for the blackish colour of the 'imāma worn by the Prophet on the day of the conquest of Mecca are adduced by 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī. There is a possibility that the 'imāma got its blackish colour from the helmet, because it was put upon the helmet; it is possible, however, that the 'imāma was put under the helmet and became stained from the oiliness (*dusūma*) of the hair.¹²⁵ Some scholars drew the conclusion from this story that wearing a black 'imāma was a *sunnā*; others maintained that wearing black clothes was permissible, but white clothing was preferable.¹²⁶

ahlhā kānū mālikūna (!) ribā'ahum, fa-li-dhālika kāna yujīzu kirā'ahā li-arbābihā wa bay'ahā wa-shirā'ahā ... wa-aktharu ahli l-'ilmi yarauna anna fathā makkata 'anwatan

¹²² 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fī sirati l-amīni wa-l-ma'mūn*, (*al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*), (Cairo, 1382/1962), vol. 3, p. 96.

¹²³ Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, vol. 2, pp. 853-4; and see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. 3, pp. 432-434, no. 4077.

¹²⁴ Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥu l-mawāhibi lladuniyya*, vol. 5, p. 10.

¹²⁵ 'Alī al-Qārī, *Risāla ḥāwiya li-masā'ila mushtamīlatin 'alā l-'imāma wa-l-'adhba*, MS. Yah. Ar. 990, no. 4, fol. 20b, inf.

¹²⁶ 'Alī al-Qārī, *Risāla ḥāwiya*, fol. 20b, ult.- 21a sup. And see there the rare report that the Prophet wore the black 'imāma only once in his life: on the day of the conquest of Mecca.

IV

The 'imāma became a widely worn headdress in the Muslim community. It was a well known feature of the Prophet's dress; as mentioned above, the Prophet urged the believers to wear the 'imāma, he dressed the governors in turbans and let their fringes hang loosely on their backs. Some of the Companions received their turbans from the Prophet as gifts. 'Abdallah b. Khāzim al-Sulamī was granted a black 'imāma made from silk (*khazz*) by the Prophet; he used to wear this turban during the Friday prayers, on the two feasts *al-īdayn* and on military expeditions. In cases of victory he would also wear this 'imāma.¹²⁷

Wearing the 'imāma was a *sunna* of the Prophet. It was a style of headdress which differentiated the Muslim's dress from the dress of the former peoples. The statement of the Prophet was explicit: "*i'tammū khālīfū l-umama qablakum*;" "wear the turban, as this dress contrasts (the dress -k) of the former peoples."¹²⁸ This tradition is similar to the tradition reported by Rukāna:¹²⁹ "The difference between us and the unbelievers are the turbans on the caps (scil. on the heads -k)" (*farqu mā baynanā wa-bayna l-mushrikīn l-'amā'im 'alā qalānis*).¹³⁰

As the 'imāma became compatible with the *sunna* of the Prophet and came to be considered a privilege granted exclusively to the Muslim community, numerous favourable traditions concerning the qualities of the 'imāma were created. Wearing an 'imāma during religious observance was perceived as extremely valuable. One tradition maintains that bowing down twice (*rak'a*) wearing an 'imāma is better than performing seventy bows without an 'imāma" (*rak'atāni bi-'imāmatin khayrun min sab'īna rak'atan bi-lā 'imāmatin*).¹³¹ God and the angels pray for

¹²⁷ Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīzi l-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 4, p. 70; Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī, *Kitābu l-thiqāt* (Hyderabad, 1398/1978), vol. 4, p. 300 (s.v. Sa'd al-Rāzī)

¹²⁸ See al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, vol. 1, p. 556, no. 1144 (there is however a quite different interpretation of this statement, which reads the verb: *a'timū* instead of *i'tammū*; according to the reading *a'timū* the statement has to be translated: "delay the evening prayer until darkness as this contrasts the ways of the preceding peoples." And see, 'Alī al-Qārī, *Risāla ḥāwiya*, fol. 20a.

¹²⁹ See on him Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. 2, p. 497, no. 2691.

¹³⁰ 'Alī al-Qārī, *Risāla ḥāwiya*, fol. 20a; al-Shaukānī, *Naylu l-auṭār, sharḥ muntaqā l-akhbār min aḥādīthi sayyidi l-akhyār* (Cairo, 1380/1961), vol. 2, p. 121sup.; al-'Ajlūnī al-Jarrāhī, *Kashf al-khafā*, vol. 2, p. 73, no. 1783; cf. al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, vol. 4, p. 392, no. 5725: ... *al-'imāma 'alā l-qalansuwa faṣlu mā baynanā wa-bayna l-mushrikīna* (with an additional phrase: *yu'ṭa yauma l-qiyāma bi-kullī kauratin yudawwiruhā 'alā ra'sīhi nūran*).

¹³¹ 'Alī al-Qārī, *Risāla ḥāwiya*, fol. 20a; al-'Ajlūnī al-Jarrāhī, *Kashf al-khafā*, vol. 2, p. 73, l.2; Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīthi l-ḍa'īfa wa-l-mawḍū'a* (Beirut, 1405/1985), vol. 1, p. 160, no. 128 (and see the comments and the references of al-Albānī); al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, vol. 4, p. 37, no. 4468; al-Daylamī, *Musnad al-firdaus*, MS. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 84b; al-Suyūfī, *Jam'u l-jawāmi'* (Cairo, 1978), vol. 1, p. 536.

turban wearers during Friday (prayers -k) (*inna llāha wa-malā'ikatahu yuṣallūna 'alā aṣḥābi l-'amā'imī yauma l-jumu'a*).¹³² Praying once with an 'imāma has the value of twenty-five prayers without it. Reciting the Friday prayers wearing the 'imāma has the value of seventy prayers on Friday (without the 'imāma).¹³³ A believer wearing a wound turban (literally: *ṣalātun 'alā kauri l-'imāma -k*) has the status of one who goes out in the morning to fight for the cause of God.¹³⁴ The angels ask God on Friday to forgive the sins of the believers who wear white 'amā'im.¹³⁵ Similar versions are recorded in the compendia of the *faḍā'il*.¹³⁶

As mentioned above, the Prophet is said to have urged the believers to wear turbans ('amā'im) since turbans are the characteristic marks (*sīmā*) of the angels.¹³⁷ This statement is affirmed by a tradition which claims that when the Prophet ascended to Heaven he saw the majority of the angels wearing turbans.¹³⁸

¹³² Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūtu l-qulūb* (Cairo, 1351/1932), vol. 1, p. 98; Ibn 'Adī al-Jurjānī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā'i l-rijāl* (Beirut, 1405/1985), vol. 1, p. 340 inf.; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, vol. 5, p. 190 sup.; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, vol. 2, p. 270, no. 1817; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Maqāṣidu l-ḥasana*, p. 291; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-mauḍū'āt*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, ed. (al-Madīna al-munawwara, 1386/1966), vol. 2, p. 105 inf.

¹³³ Al-Shaukānī, *al-Fawā'id al-majmū'a*, p. 187, no. 537; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Maqāṣidu l-ḥasana*, p. 291; cf. al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ḍa'ifa*, vol. 1, p. 158, no. 127, and see the references and the comments of al-Albānī; al-Daylamī, *Firdaus al-akḥbār*, MS. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 70a inf: *jum'atun bi-'imāmatin afdal min sab'ina bi-dūni 'imāmatin*; Ibn 'Arāq, *Tanzīhu l-sharī'a*, vol. 2, p. 124, no. 139. 'Alī al-Qārī, *al-Maṣnū' fī ma'rīfati l-ḥadīthi l-mauḍū'*, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda (Ḥalab, 1389/1969), p. 87, no. 177 with an additional phrase: *wa-l-ṣalātu bi-l-'imāmati bi-'asharati ālāfi ḥasanatim*.

¹³⁴ 'Abdallah b. 'Adī al-Jurjānī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā'i l-rijāl* (Beirut, 1405/1985), vol. 1, p. 272 sup.; al-Shaukānī, *al-Fawā'id al-majmū'a*, p. 188, no. 542; Ibn 'Arāq, *Tanzīhu l-sharī'a al-marfū'a*, p. 124, no. 140.

¹³⁵ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisānu l-mizān*, Hyderabad, 1331, vol. 6, p. 262 (repr. Beirut); al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-'itidāl fī naqdi l-rijāl*, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, ed. (Cairo, 1382/1963), vol. 4, p. 385 inf., no. 9543; Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilatu l-aḥādīthi l-ḍa'ifati wa-l-mauḍū'a wa-atharuhā l-sayyi' fī l-umma* (Beirut, 1405/1985), vol. 1, p. 338 no. 395; Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Qushayrī, *Ta'rikh al-Raqa*, Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ, ed. (Damascus, 1419/1998), 154, no. 59: ... *ay bunayya, i'tamma fa-inna l-malā'ikata yashhadūna l-jum'ata mu'tammīn wa-yuṣallūna 'alā ahli l-'amā'imī ḥattā taghība l-shamsu*; Ibn 'Arāq, *Tanzīhu l-sharī'a al-marfū'a*, vol. 2, p. 104, no. 81; 'Abdallah b. 'Adī al-Jurjānī, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 340 inf, recording the version: *inna llāha wa-malā'ikatahu yuṣallūna 'alā aṣḥābi l-'amā'imī yauma l-jumu'a*.

¹³⁶ Al-'Ajlūnī l-Jarrāḥī, *Kashf al-khafā'*, vol. 2, p. 72 ult., no. 1783; Ibn 'Adiyy, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 340 inf.

¹³⁷ Ibn 'Adiyy, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 406.

¹³⁸ Al-Kamāl Muḥammad b. Abī Sharīf, *Ṣaubu l-ghamāma fī irsāli ṭarafī l-'imāma*, MS. *Markaz al-abḥāth al-islāmīyya*, Jerusalem (Jāmi'at al-quḍs, no. 48) fol. 40b: *lammā ṣa'idtu ilā l-samā'i ra'aytu akthara l-malā'ikati mu'tammīna*; the source of the statement is mentioned: the *Ausaṭ* of al-Ṭabarānī. An edition of the *risāla* of al-Kamāl Muḥammad b. Abī Sharīf, *Ṣaubu l-ghamāma*, with abundant references and

Scholars are not unanimous regarding the different ways of wearing the *‘imāma* and its various uses. The practice of wiping one’s hands on the *‘imāma* (*mash‘alā l-‘imāma*) was discussed in many compendia of *ḥadīth*.¹³⁹ Serious differences arose between the scholars concerning fastening the fringes of the *‘imāma* under the chin; the Shāfi‘is denied the validity of the obligatory character of this practice.¹⁴⁰ It was a courageous statement of some scholars who denied the obligatory character of letting down of the *‘adhaba* on the back of the believer,¹⁴¹ the new fashion of wearing the *‘imāma* which had already gained the approval of the scholars and complied with some miraculous stories in the realm of *ḥadīth*.

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At the beginning of this paper we started to read the tradition recorded in the papyrus of Qūṭayba b. Sa‘īd al-Balkhī and assumed that the correct reading of the first phrase of this tradition is *tījānu hādhihi l-ummāti l-‘amā’imu*. Then followed a lacuna and a phrase read by the late Professor Abbot: *yaqūluhā fī ‘idayni wa-yauma l-jum‘ati*. The lacuna should evidently be filled by a sentence: [*wa-kāna li-rasūli llāhi ‘imāmatun saudā’u*] *yalbasuhā fī l-‘idayni wa-yauma l-jum‘ati*.¹⁴²

notes is said to have been prepared by Yūsuf Abū Sunayna; two folios of the MS. of the *Ṣaub* appear in Yūsuf Abū Sunayna’s *Shaykh mashāyikhi l-islāmi, malīku l-‘ulamā’i al-Kamāl Muḥammad b. Abī Sharīf* (Jerusalem, 1410/1990), pp. 140-1. And see this statement in Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī’s *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, vol. 5, p. 120 sup.

¹³⁹ See e.g., Abū l-Faḍl Ṣāliḥ, *Masā’ilu l-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, Faḍlu l-Raḥman Dīn Muḥammad, ed. (Delhi, 1408/1988), vol. 1, p. 195, no. 115, vol. 2, p. 154, no. 724 (and see the important notes and references of the editor), vol. 3, p. 207, no. 1662; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr, ed. (Cairo, 1185), vol. 2, pp. 58-66, 87, 99-101; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, vol. 1, p. 359, no. 1099; ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, vol. 1, pp. 187-90, nos. 732-44; al-Ru‘yānī, *Musnad*, Ayman ‘Alī Abū Yamānī, ed. (Cairo, 1416/1995), vol. 1, p. 376, no. 574.

¹⁴⁰ Al-Sayyid al-Bakrī, *I‘ānatu l-ṭālibīn ‘alā ḥallī alfāḥ fathī l-mu‘īn* (repr. Beirut, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 82, line 7 from the bottom.

¹⁴¹ Al-Sayyid al-Bakrī, *I‘ānatu l-ṭālibīn*, vol. 2, p. 82, inf. l. 9 from the bottom: *qāla l-shaykhānī: man ta‘ammama fa-lahu fī‘lu l-‘adhabatī wa-tarkuhā, wa-lā karāhata fī wāḥidīn minhumā; zāda l-nawawī: li-annahu lam yaṣīḥḥa fī l-nahyi ‘au tarki l-‘adhabatī shay‘un; intahā*. The text of *Fathu l-mu‘īn* quoted above continues, however, stating that there are some fairly trustworthy *ḥadīths* (*qad warada fī l-‘adhaba aḥādīthu saḥīḥatun wa-ḥasanatun, wa-qad ṣarraḥū bi-anna aṣlahā sunnatun*), claiming that these *ḥadīths* are sound and are originally a *sunna*.

¹⁴² Cf. al-Shaukānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, vol. 2, pp. 121, l. 1: *kāna li-l-nabiyyi ḡalla llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam ‘imāmatun saudā’u yalbasuhā fī l-‘idayni wa yurkḥihā khalfahu*; and see al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-‘uyūn (al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya)*, vol. 3, p. 379, l. 10 from bottom; al-Ṣuyūṭī, *Al-Ḥawī li-l-fatāwī*, vol. 1, p. 118, ll. 8-10. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. 4, pp. 69-70, no. 4644, p. 70 supra: *wa kāna li-‘Abdi llāhi bni Khāzim ‘imāmatun saudā’u yalbasuhā fī l-jum‘a’i wa-l-a’yādi wa-l-ḥarbi fa idhā futiḥa ‘alayhi ta‘ammama bihā tabarrukan bihā, wa yaqūlu: kasānīhā rasūlu llāhi*

Finally we may be allowed to state that every ideological conflict — between Muslims and infidels, Sunna and Shī'a, Umayyads and Abbasids, Muslims and the *ahl al-dhimma* — all these are reflected in the contradictory traditions about the turbans.