

obliged to undergo penance and purification, and he spurned peace offers from the Dutch, demanding their prior conversion to Islam. Tiro popularised an exhortation to martyrdom in Acehnese verse, the *Hikayat perang sabil* (“verse epic of the holy war”), which continued long afterward to inspire Acehnese resistance to outside authority. After Teungku di Tiro’s death, all of his sons died fighting the Dutch, and the killing of the last of his fighting descendants in 1910–3 marked the effective end of the war. Subsequent resistance to Dutch and, later, Indonesian rule sought to emulate his success in the use of religious motivation in the struggle. The leader of the Aceh independence movement of 1976–2006, Hasan Muhammad Tiro (d. 2010), was a great-grandson through a female line.

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Circumambulation

Circumambulation (Ar. *ṭawāf*, verbal noun of *ṭāfa*, walk, run, circumambulate) is the ritual act of walking or running around a sacred object, such as a stone or altar. The rite is known in many pre-Islamic cultures, Judaism, and Christianity and among Persians, Indians, Buddhists, Romans, and others. In Islam the circumambulation is performed around the Ka’ba, seven times in succession, the first three at a fast pace, beginning and ending at the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*). The

Ka’ba must be kept to one’s left, so that one moves counterclockwise, contrary to the reported pre-Islamic *ṭawāf*. During the *ṭawāf* one should make a special effort to kiss the Black Stone or at least touch it (*taqbil, istilām*). The *ṭawāf* encompasses also the semicircular zone known as al-Ḥaṭīm or al-Ḥijr (adjacent to the northwestern wall of the Ka’ba), which is believed to have been an integral part of the shrine since the days of Abraham. Special prayers must be uttered during each stage of the *ṭawāf*, and, when it is concluded, two *rak’as* are prayed at the Maqām Ibrāhīm (station of Abraham; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, 261–358; Ibn Bābūya, 2:330–3; von Grunebaum, 29–31).

The *ṭawāf* is considered one of the *arkān* (pillars) of pilgrimage, duties that must be performed for the pilgrimage to be valid. Other *arkān* include the state of *ihrām* and, especially, the *wuqūf* (standing [before God]) at Mount ‘Arafāt.

The jurists speak of three sets of *ṭawāf* around the Ka’ba. The first is that of the arrival (*al-quḍūm*), which some hold is incumbent only on non-Meccan pilgrims arriving at the city. The second is that of the “overflowing” (*ifāda*) or “visit” (*ziyāra*), which is obligatory to all pilgrims after “overflowing” from ‘Arafāt and Minā on 10 Dhū l-Ḥijja (see Q 22:29); it marks the termination of the restrictions imposed by the *ihrām*. The third *ṭawāf* is that of the departure (*wadā’*), which is optional (Ibn al-Jawzī, 280; al-Qurṭubī, 12:51, on Q 22:29; Ibn Manzūr, s.v. *f-y-d*).

The sevenfold procession between the sacred sites of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, near the Ka’ba, is also described as *ṭawāf* (Q 2:158), although it is more often referred to as *sa’y* (running). It symbolises the running of Hagar in search of water

for Ishmael (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muthūr al-gharām*, 316–7; Rubin, *The Ka'ba*, 124–7).

Because circumambulation is a token of adoration, angels are described in the Qur'ān as encircling God's throne (Q 39:75; 40:7), as well as the heavenly Ka'ba, *al-bayt al-ma'mūr* (the much-frequented house; see the commentaries on Q 52:4). In Islamic tradition angels are believed to take part also in the *ṭawāf* around the Ka'ba on earth. Amongst human beings, Abraham in particular is associated with the *ṭawāf*. According to Q 2:125, God instructed him and Ishmael to “purify my house for those who circumambulate [it]” (Q 22:26). In Muslim tradition, Adam is said to have encircled the Ka'ba that was sent down to him from heaven or that he himself built. Noah's Ark is said to have circled the Ka'ba before coming to rest on the mount of al-Jūdī. Noah himself and all the other prophets made the pilgrimage to Mecca and performed the *ṭawāf* (Ibn al-Jawzī, 279, 309, 371–6).

In Islamic texts describing pre-Islamic idolatry, the ritual of circumambulation is referred to occasionally as *dawār* (verbal noun of *dāra*, move in a circle). Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819) reports that the pre-Islamic Arabs performed the *dawār* around any sacred site, be it a *bayt* (house), a *ṣanam* (idol), or a stone that was worshipped as an idol (*nuṣub*, pl. *anṣāb*; Ibn al-Kalbī, 33, 42). He also reports that the sons of Seth were accustomed to perform *dawār* around the corpse of Adam, which was kept in a cave (Ibn al-Kalbī, 51).

The form *Duwār* (also *Duwwār*, *Dawwār*, *Dawār*) occurs as the name of an idol that the pre-Islamic Arabs reportedly used to circumambulate (al-Bakrī, *Muṣjam*, 1:559–60, s.v. *Dawār*); it is mentioned on line 63 of the *mu'allāqa* of Imru'

al-Qays (d. c.550 C.E.), who compares the wild cows to “the young virgins (*adhārā*) of *Duwār/Dawār*, moving in long trailing robes” (Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. *d-w-r*). The practice of watching women performing circumambulation survived in Islamic Mecca, where—much to the dismay of pious Muslims—girls and slave-girls were led in *ṭawāf* around the Ka'ba to attract potential suitors and buyers (Kister, *Concessions*, 25–6).

In pre-Islamic times pilgrims performed the circumambulation around the Ka'ba barefoot, shoes in hand. According to some reports the rite was performed in the nude, allegedly because pilgrims coming to Mecca had to rent clothes from the *Ḥums* (people observing rigorous religious taboos), and if they could not afford the rental they performed the *ṭawāf* naked. They could not in any case perform the rites in their regular clothes, which were considered impure. Q 7:31 has been interpreted as warning Muslims against circumambulation in the nude (Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin 1961³), 109–10; Peters, *The Ḥajj*, 37–8; al-Azraqī, 124–5). The prophet Muḥammad himself is said to have included in the proclamation of the *barā'a* (repudiation; cf. Q 9:1) in the year 9/629 a paragraph saying that “no one shall circle the house naked” (Ibn Hishām, 4:190).

Muslim scholars treat the *ṭawāf* as a most important expression of piety, equal to prayer (von Grunebaum, 46; Ibn al-Jawzī, 287), and have recommended various ways for men and women to perform it with the proper solemnity and dignity (Kister, *Concessions*, 18–24, 28). The scholars pointed out objectionable customs, for example, raising the hands during the *ṭawāf*, which was condemned because it resembled a Jewish custom

(Kister, Do not assimilate yourselves, 332).

The Ka'ba is the only Islamic shrine where circumambulation is lawful, yet the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (r. 65–86/685–705) reportedly proclaimed that a *tawāf* around the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem would have the same value as that around the Ka'ba. This was part of his alleged plan to turn the Dome of the Rock into an alternative pilgrimage destination, because Mecca was dominated at the time by his adversary 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. The circumambulation of the Rock continued after 'Abd al-Malik, in spite of the efforts of religious scholars to suppress this innovation (*bid'a*) (Kister, You shall only, 193–4; Robinson, *passim*).

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Commander of the Faithful

“Commander of the Faithful”

(*amīr al-mu'minīn*) was the main title of the caliph in protocol and inscriptions. With the decline of caliphal power after the fourth/tenth century, rulers used it to express rival or independent authority, especially in western Islamic lands.

In Sunnī tradition the Prophet is said to have given the title “Commander of the Faithful” to some of his campaign commanders, and it retains that sense in a few accounts of commanders under the early caliphs. The second caliph, 'Umar I (r. 13–23/634–44), is said to have been the first to use it as a caliphal epithet, and it is usually in this more restricted sense that it occurs in the sources (Tyan, 198–9). Very occasionally it is found figuratively, of a scholar's prowess (e.g., al-Iḡfahānī, 7:144).

Because of its political connotations, “Commander of the Faithful” in Twelver Shī'ī thought is a title exclusive to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 41/661). Where Shī'ī *imāms* also held political power—as did second/eighth-century “proto-Shī'ī” leaders and, later, Zaydī and Ismā'īlī rulers—they did