

THE ISSUE OF CHANTING THE *ADHAN* IN LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ARABIC AND RELATED SOCIAL REACTIONS AGAINST IT IN TURKEY

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EZAN'IN FARKLI DİLLERDE OKUNMASI MESELESİ VE BUNA KARŞI TÜRKİYE'DE GÖSTERİLEN TOPLUMSAL REAKSİYONLAR

ÖZET

Ezan, İslam dininin en temel şiarlarından biridir. Her gün beş defa bütün İslam aleminde minarelerden okunmaktadır. Bununla, müslüman halka namaz ibadetinin vaktinin geldiği haber verilmektedir. Bu çalışmada, İslamda çok önemli bir yere sahip olan ezanın meşruiyeti ve Arapça lafızlarının dışındaki bir dille okunup okunamayacağı, mezhep alimlerinin görüşleri çerçevesinde işlenmektedir. Bu arada, bilhassa Türkiye'de ezanın Türkçe okunması yönünde meydana gelen gelişmeler ve toplumun, ezanın Türkçeleştirilmesi yönündeki gelişmeler karşısındaki tutumu ve gösterdiği tepkiler de ele alınmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Ezan, namaz, diğer dillerde ezan, mezheplerin görüşleri, Türkçe ezan, tepkiler.

ABSTRACT

The adhan is one of the distinguishing characters of Islam. It is chanted five times a day in Muslim countries out of minarets. The adhan is simply supposed to inform people that it is time for prayer. In this work, it is examined whether the adhan, which is of great importance in Islam, could be chanted in a language other than its Arabic utterances and the Islamic legitimacy of it in the light of Islamic scholars of different Islamic sects. Also, the article probes into the issue of the adhan being chanted in Turkish, and the reactions of the Turkish people to it.

Key Words : The adhan, the prayer, non-Arabic adhan, views of Islamic sects, Turkish adhan, the reactions.

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Introduction

People who live in Muslim countries hear a spiritual sound rising out of minarets five times a day. This sound, in Islamic literature, is called “*the adhan*” (*al-adhan*). It is to inform Muslims about the time of prayer. The linguistic root of the word “*adhan*” (a-dh-n) is used one hundred and two times in the Holy Quran with different versions and of different meanings.¹ It is mentioned as meaning ‘to announce, to inform’ in three Quranic verses.² The word ‘adhan’ mentioned in the Quran as meaning ‘to announce, to inform’ has later become the proper noun of the phenomenon of calling to prayer, while the word *muadhdhin* mentioned in the Quran as meaning *announcer, informer* (and caller, proclaimer) has become the proper noun of the person who calls or chants adhan. However, the Quran does not mention the word *adhan* as meaning to inform the time of prayer. Instead, it does mention the word *nida* as meaning to call to prayer: “When you called to prayer, they took it as amusement and play...”³ The commentators of the Quran tell us that the specific intention inherent in this calling is the adhan.⁴ In addition, al-Bukhari (d. 256/870), the great scholar of Islamic tradition put the two Quranic verses mentioned above at the beginning of Kitab al-adhan (The Book of al-adhan), one of the main sections of his great book called al-Sahih.⁵ What he had in mind was to give the reader the information that these above-mentioned verses were closely related to adhan and, the adhan as an Islamic institution, if we may say, began actually with the first one of them.⁶ The word adhan was used both with its specific meaning and its general ones in a number of Quranic verses.

¹ See: Muhammad Fuâd Abd al-Bâqî, *al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li Alfâz al-Qur'an al-Karîm*, al-Maktabah al-Islamiyyah; İstanbul 1982, pp. 25-26.

² Surah al-Tawbah, 9/3; Surah Yûsuf (Josef), 12/70; Surah al-A'râf, 7/44.

³ Surah al-Mâida, 5/58. See also surah al-Jum'a, 62/9.

⁴ See: Abûbekir Ahmad b. Ali al-Râzi al-Jassâs, *Ahkâm al-Qur'an*, Dâr al-Kitâb al-Arabî; Bairût, w.date, II/446; Abû al-Kâsım Jârullâh Mahmûd b. Omar al-Zamahsherî, *Tafsîr al-Kashshâf an Haqâiq Çavâmid al-Tanzîl wa Uyûn al-Aqâwîl fî wujûh al-Te'wîl*, Dâr al-Kutub al-İlmiyyah; Bairût 1415/1995, I/637; al-Fahr al-Râzî, *al-Tafsîr al-Kabîr (Mafâtih al-Çayb)*, Dâr İhyâ al-Turâth al-Arabî; Bairût, w.date, XII/33; Abû Abd Allâh Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Qurtubî, *al-Jâmi' li Ahkâm al-Qur'an*, Dâr İhyâ al-Turâth al-Arabî; Bairût 1405/1985, VI/224.

⁵ See: Abû Abd Allâh Muhammad b. Abî al-Hasan İsmail al-Bukhârî, *Sahîh al-Bukhârî*, Çağrı yay.; İstanbul 1401/1981, Kitâb al-Adhân, 1.

⁶ Badr al-Dîn Abû Muhammad Mahmud al-Aynî, *Umdeh al-Qârî Sharh al-Sahîh al-Bukhârî*, Dâr İhyâ al-Turâth al-Arabî, w.date, V/102.

I – The Adhan and its Legitimacy

1 – Its Literal Meaning

The Adhan as a general word mainly means to inform, to announce, to invite, and to pronounce.⁷ It is an infinitive, which was substituted for the word *î'dhân* which is in the grammatical pattern of *if'al*⁸

2 – The Adhan as a Religious Term

Regarding its specifically religious meaning the adhan is an invitation whose special utterances are determined by means of the basic Islamic texts.⁹ Announcing that the time has come for prayer as a binding Islamic duty¹⁰, the adhan, is simply an invitation to prayer.¹¹

3 – The Utterances of the Adhan and Their Importance

The adhan consists of these utterances confirmed and approved by the prophet Muhammad: "Allah akbar (four times); Ashadu an la ilaha illa Allah (twice); Ashadu anna Muhammad Rasul Allah (twice); Hayya ala al-salah (twice); Hayya ala al-falah (twice); la ilaha illa Allah (once)." There is an agreement among the Islamic scholars regarding these utterances.¹²

Along with the fact that the adhan is consisted of these utterances, it includes very important Islamic principles. Some Islamic scholars state that

⁷ See: al-Râgib al-Isfahânî, *al-Mufradât fî Garib al-Qurân*, Kahraman Yay., İstanbul 1986, 15; Ab al-Fadl Jamâl al-Dîn Muhammad Ibn Manzûr, *Lisân al-Arab*, Dâr Sâdir; Bairût 1414/1994, XIII/9, matter of (a-dh-n); Muhammad Abd al-Raûf al-Munâvî, *al-Taârîf*, (edit. by M.R.al-Dâya), Dâr al-Fîkr; Bairût 1410, 46; Ab al-Baqâ Ayyûb b. Mûsâ al-Husaynî, *al-Kulliyât Mu'jam fî al-Mustalahât wa al-Fuûk al-Luğawiyya*, (edit. A.Darwîsh-M.al-Misrî), Muesseseh al-Risâla; Bairût 1412/1992, 72; Ashraf Udra, *al-Adhân fî al-Islâm*, Trablus Lubnân 1414-1415/1994, 13-16.

⁸ Ibn Manzûr, XIII/9.

⁹ See: al-Munâvî, 46; Ab al-Baqâ, 72; Muhammad b. Ali b. Muhammad esh-Shawkâni, *Nayl al-Awtâr*, Dâr al-Jayl; Bairût 1973, II/9; Abdurrahman Çetin, "Ezan", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, İstanbul 1995, XII/36.

¹⁰ Udra, 16.

¹¹ See: Majd al-Dîn Muhammad b. Ya'qûb al-Fîrûzâbâdi, *al-Qâmûs al-Muhît*, (edit. M.A.al-Mar'ashlî), Dâr İhyâ al-Turath al-Arabî – Muesseseh al-Târih al-Arabî; Bairût 1417/1997, II/1545.

¹² For more information see Abû Bekir Muhammad b. Ahmed al-Sarakhsî, *Kitâb al-Mabsût*, Çağrı yay., İstanbul 1403/1982, I/128-129; Ab al-Walîd Muhammad Ibn Rushd, *Bidâyah al-Mujtahid wa Nihâyah al-Muqtasid*, Matbaah Ahmad Kâmil, Dâr al-Khilâfah al-Aliyya 1333, I/82-83.

although the adhan has a few utterances, it contains some of the precepts specifically related to Islamic belief system.¹³ As a matter of fact, the adhan begins by announcing that Allah is the greatest, which is in a sense to accept Allah's existence and to say that Allah has all the transcendent qualities. Afterwards, the basic principle of Islam and other celestial religions as well, that there is no god but Allah is pronounced. Then, that prophet Muhammad is the messenger of Allah is stated, which is the second basic principle of Islam. Having announced and declared these basic principles, there is the invitation to the prayer called in Islamic terminology *al-salah* as the first one of the basic prayers of Islam, and people are reminded of the fact that *al-salah*, is a means of salvation in the world and the afterlife as well. This invitation covers an emphasis both on the principle of worshipping Allah and the necessity of the belief in the afterlife. Finally, the adhan comes to an end by stating the greatness of Allah and that there is no god but Him. In this way, people who hear the adhan are reminded of the most basic principles of Islam five times a day.

4 – The Islamic Legitimacy of the Adhan

The adhan was declared by the prophet Muhammad as a religious duty in the first year of Hijra in Madina. The prophet Muhammad used to pray in Mekka without adhan (and qamah).¹⁴ To invite Muslims to prayer in Madina, the prophet Muhammad felt a need of a sign or symbol peculiar to them.¹⁵ For this reason, from time to time he used to gather his friends (*al-ashab*) and consult them about the case. Nevertheless, there did not appear any symbol for a long time.

After having been informed about a dream that Abd Allah b. Zayd had seen, the prophet Muhammad came to a decision regarding what to do to announce the time of prayer, which was to espouse the exact words of Abd Allah b. Zayd saw in his dream, one of the Prophet's friends who participated in the gatherings regarding what to do to inform people about the time of prayer and was also enthusiastic about the case.¹⁶ According to Islamic sources, Abd Allah said these words: "Around the time the prophet Muhammad with no

¹³ See: Ahmad b. Alî Ibn Hajar al-Asqalânî, *Fath al-Bârî bi Sharh Sahîh al-Bukhârî*, (edit. A.F.Abd al Bâqî-M.al-Hatîb), Dâr al-Rayyân, al-Qâhira 1407/1986, II/92; al-Aynî, V/102; al-Shawkânî, II/9.

¹⁴ See: Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Bârî*, II/93; Udra, 19.

¹⁵ Udra, 25-26.

¹⁶ al-Sarakhsî, I/127; Muhammad b. Abd Allâh Ibn Sayyid al-Nâs, *al-Sîrah al-Nabawiyyah al-Musammâ Uyûn al-Asar fî Funûn al-Magâzî wa al-Shamâil wa al-Siyar*, Maktabah al-Qudsî, al-Qâhira 1406/1986, II/269.

sympathy agreed to ring a bell (a gong) in order to invite people for Friday prayer, I saw a dream. In my dream, there was a man with a bell in his hand. I said to him: Would you sell that bell to me? He said: 'What are you going to do with it?' I said: We are going to use it to call people to prayer. He said: 'Would you want to know something better than this?' I said: Yes. Then he told me to say: Allah akbar, Allah akbar...and taught me the adhan we are familiar with now. When it was morning, I immediately came to the Prophet and told him about my dream. He said: 'It is no doubt a true dream. Go to Bilal and teach him what you know so that he chants the adhan accordingly. For his voice is stronger than yours.' So, I did teach Bilal what I learned in my dream and he chanted an adhan according to what I said. As soon as Omar heard of these words at home, he immediately came to the Prophet without ever tidying up his clothes and dragging them on the ground. After a while, Omar said to the Prophet: 'I swear to Allah who sent you as a true messenger I saw the same dream.' Then, the Prophet said: 'al-hamd li Allah (Praise or thanks be to Allah)!''¹⁷

The legitimacy of the adhan, as we have mentioned above, is primarily established by al-sunnah and, according to most of the Islamic scholars, it is based on the dream some of the ashab had seen. In addition, it is also stated that the legitimacy of the adhan is based on the Quranic verse meaning "When you called to prayer, they took it as amusement and play..."¹⁸ Indeed, the commentators of the Quran state that the adhan has not simply gained Islamic legitimacy by means of the dreams some of the ashab had seen, but by means of this above mentioned Quranic verse as well.¹⁹

¹⁷ Abû Muhammad Abd al-Malik Ibn Hişâm, *al-Sîrah al-Nabawiyah li Ibn Hishâm*, (Edit. M. al-Sîqâ-î.al-Abyârî-A.Shalabî), Dâr Ihyâ al-Turâs al-Arabî, Bairût 1985, II/508-509; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnedu Ahmad b. Hanbal*, Çağrı yay., İstanbul 1402/1982, IV/42-43; Abû Muhammad Abd Allah al-Dâramî, *Sunen al-Dâramî*, Çağrı yay., İstanbul 1401/1981, Kitâb al-Salâh, 3; Abû Isâ Muhammad al-Tirmidhî, *Sunen al-Tirmidhî*, Çağrı yay., İstanbul 1401/1981, Kitâb al-Salâh, 139; Abû Abd Allâh Muhammad b. Yezîd Ibn Mâja, *Sunenu Ibn Mâja*, Çağrı yay., İstanbul 1401/1981, Kitâb al-Adhan, 1; Ibn Seyyid al-Nâs, I/269-270; Udra, 26-27; Abû Khatim Usâma b. Abd Allâh al-Kûsî, *Kitâb al-Adhân*, Muesseseh Qurtubâ li al-Nashr wa al-Tawzîf, 1408/1987, 19. For the other relevant hadiths see: el-Kûsî, 12-36.

¹⁸ Surah al-Mâidah, 5/58.

¹⁹ See: al-Jassâs, II/446; Abû al-Baqâ, 72; al-Zamahsharî, I/637; al-Râzî, XII/33; Abû al-Barakât Abd Allah b. Ahmad al-Nasafî, *Tefsîr al-Nasafî*, Dâr al-Kitâb al-Arabî, Bairût 1402/1982, I/290; Ibn Hajar, *Fethu'l-Bârî*, II/93; al-Aynî, V/102.

II – Chanting the Adhan in Languages Other than Arabic

1 – The State of the Adhan Being Chanted in Languages Other than Arabic

As we have already stated, the adhan in Arabic was established and given legitimacy as an Islamic institution and, from the time of the prophet Muhammad, has been chanted likewise. Yet, Islamic scholars discussed whether it is religiously permitted (ajaza) to chant adhan in a non-Arabic language, for example, in Persian. What is essential in this case, according to some Hanafi scholars, is that one knows that what is chanted is the adhan.²⁰ Indeed, according to a narration from Abu Hanifa, he said these words: “If one chants the adhan and people know that it is the adhan, then, it is religiously permitted (yajuz); if they do not, then, it is not permitted. For the aim of the adhan is simply to inform the time of prayer; if people cannot decide whether it is the adhan or not, then, the aim would be absent; therefore, it would not be religiously permitted.”²¹ Al-Zaylai, one of the eminent Hanafi scholars, also focuses on the point of knowing whether it is the adhan.²² However, most of the Hanafi scholars espouse the idea that it is not religiously permitted to chant the adhan in Persian or in any language other than Arabic. According to them, even if people hearing the adhan know that it is the adhan, it would not be religiously proper to chant it in a non-Arabic language; which is the main approach of the Hanafi sect.²³

²⁰ See: al-Sarakhsî, I/37; Burhân al-Din Abû al-Hasan al-Margînânî, *al-Hidâyah Sharhu Bidâyah al-Mubtadi*, (maa al-Binâyah), (Edit: By A.S.Shabân), Dâr al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Bairût 1420/1999, II/180; Fahr al-Din Osmân b. Ali al-Zaylaî al-Hanafî, *Tabyîn al-Haqâiq Sharhu Kanz al-Daqâiq* (wa bi hâmihi Hashiya al-Shalabî), al-Maktabah al-Islâmiyyah, Diyarbakir, w. date, I/110; Zayn al-Dîn b. Ibrâhîm al-Ma'rûf bi Ibn Nujaym al-Misrî al-Hanafî, *al-Bahr al-Râiq Sharhu Kanz al-Daqâiq fî Furû al-Hanafîyyah*, (Edit. Zakariyyâ Umayrât), Dâr al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Bairût 1418/1997, I/535.

²¹ See: Akmal al-Din Muhammad b. Mahmûd al-Bâbardî, *Sharh al-Inâyah ala al-Hidâyah*, Dâru lhyâ al-Turâth al-Arabî, Bairût, w. date, I/249; Jalâl al-Dîn al-Khawârizmî al-Karlânî, *al-Kifâyah ala al-Hidâyah*, Dâru lhyâ al-Turâth al-Arabî, Bairût, w. date, I/249; Ibn Âbidîn, *Ibn Âbidîn Radd al-Mukhtâr ala al-Durr al-Mukhtâr Hâshiyah Ibn Âbidîn*, (Edit. A.T. Halabî), Dâr al-Ma'rifah, Bairût 1420/2000, II/226.

²² See: al-Zaylaî, I/110. Also see. Ibn Nujaym, I/535.

²³ See: Alâ al-Dîn al-Kâsânî, *Kitâb Badâ'i' al-Sanâ'i fî Tertîb al-Şarâ'i'*, Dâr al-Kitâb al-Arabî, Bairût 1402/1982, I/113; Alâ al-Dîn Muhammad b. Alî al-Haskafî, *Tanwîr al-Absâr li al-Shaykh Shams al-Dîn al-Timurtâshî wa Sharhuhu Alayhi*, (Edit. A.T. Halabî), Dâr al-Ma'rifah, Bairût 1420/2000, II/225; al-Shaykh Nizâm al-Dîn and a group of Indian scholars, *al-Fatâwâ al-Hindiyyah al-Ma'rûfah bi al-Fatâwâ al-Âlemgîriyyah fî Madhhab al-Imâm al-A'zam Abî Hanîfah en-Nu'mân*, (Edit. A.H.Abd al-Rahmân), Dâr al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Bairût

As to the approach of Shafii sect concerning the adhan being chanted in a non-Arabic language, al-Mâwardî says the following: If someone chants the adhan in Persian for the crowd gathered to pray, whether he is able to chant it in Arabic or not, it would not be religiously proper, because someone else might be entitled to chant it in Arabic. If he chants it only for himself, i.e., not for a crowd that gathered to pray, it would not be religiously proper provided that he is able to chant it in Arabic; otherwise, if he is not able to chant it in Arabic, chanting the adhan in Persian would be religiously permitted; but he ought to learn its Arabic original version as soon as possible.²⁴

According to Hanbalites, the adhan cannot be chanted in any language other than Arabic.²⁵

After having stated that Arabic language is an essential component of the adhan, al-Jaziri, who depicted sectarian approaches regarding the adhan, says the following: "If the muadhhdhin (the one who chants adhan) is not Arabic and if he chants the adhan for himself or for people not knowing Arabic, the term that the adhan must be in Arabic will become invalid. This is a case on which all the Sunni sects other than Hanbalites are agreed. As for Hanbalites, it would not be religiously proper to chant the adhan in a language other than Arabic."²⁶

According to ahl a-Bayt (the people of the Prophet's house), in order for the adhan to be religiously valid, it must be chanted in Arabic.²⁷

Chanting the adhan in a non-Arabic language is not religiously proper according to Ibadîyyah sect as well. According to this sect, chanting the adhan in Persian is innovation (al-bid'ah). If someone chants the adhan in Berber or in a language other than Arabic, he would be required to chant it again in Arabic.

1421/2000, I/62; Ibn Âbidîn al-Dimashqî al-Hanafî, *Minhah al-Hâliq ala al-Bahr al-Râiq*, (Edit. Dhakariyyâ Umayrât) Dâr al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Bairût 1418/1997, I/535.

²⁴ See: Abû al-Hasan Ali b. Muhammad al-Mâwardî, *al-Hâwî al-Kabîr fî Fiqhi Madhhab al-Imâm al-Shâfi'î (wa huwa Sharhu Muhtasar al-Muzenî)*, (Edit. Sh. A. M. Muawwid - Sh.A.A. Abd al-Javâd), Dâr al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Bairût 1414/1994, II/58. Also see. Abû Dhakariyyâ Muhyi al-Dîn al-Nawawî, *Kitâb al-Majmû' Sharh al-Muhadhdhab*, (Edit. M. N. al-Mutî'), Dâr Ihyâ al-Turâth al-Arabî, Bairût 1422/2001, III/96.

²⁵ See: Abû al-Najâ Musharraf al-Dîn Mûsâ al-Maqdisî al-Hijâvî, *al-Iqnâ' fî Fiqh al-Imâm Ahmed b. Hanbal*, (Ed. by. A.M.M. al-Sabkî), Dâr al-Ma'rifah Bairût, w.date, I/77; Abd al-Rahmân al-Jazîrî - Muhammad al-Garavî - Yâsir Mazîj, *Kitâb al-Fiqh alâ al-Mazâhib al-Arba'a wa Mazhab Ahl al-Bayt*, Manshûrât Dâr al-Sakalayn, Bairût 1419/1998, I/443.

²⁶ See: al-Jazîrî, I/443.

²⁷ See: al-Jazîrî - al-Garavî, I/442.

It is because the adhan in Arabic is the original and the exact version of it conveyed to us, Muslims.²⁸

So far, we have presented the approaches of different Islamic sects concerning the adhan being chanted in a non-Arabic language. To keep it short, it must be stated that, except for Abu Hanifa and some Hanafi scholars, all Islamic scholars do not see it religiously proper to chant the adhan in a non-Arabic language. Nevertheless, throughout the history of Islam there have been some attempts as to chant the adhan in non-Arabic languages, which we will be focusing on henceforward.

2 – Narratives About Adhan Being Chanted in non-Arabic Languages

a – Narrative Concerning Adhan Being Chanted in Persian Language

It is narrated that Qutayba b. Muslim (d. A.H 96/C.E 715), who conquered Bukhara and surrounding areas along with the ones close to the Chinese border, built a mosque in A.H. 94/C.E 712 for the people of Bukhara to pray. According to the historian al-Narshakhi, since the people of Bukhara did not know Arabic, they prayed in this mosque in Old Persian instead of Arabic.²⁹ According to a Turkish historian, Tahir Balcioglu, who cited al-Narshakhi on this case, the adhan was even chanted in Persian in Bukhara of that era.³⁰ However, since we did not come across such information in al-Narshakhi's book *Tarikhü Bukhara*, we only take it into account with a precautionary measure.

²⁸ See: Abd Allah b. Hamîd b. Salûm al-Sâlimî, *Maâriij al-Âmâl alâ Madâriij al-Kamâl bi Nazmi Mukhtasar al-Khisâl*, Saltanah Ummân Wizârah al-Turâth al-Kawmî al-Thaqâfi, 1404/1984, VII/191-192.

²⁹ See: Abû Bakr Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Narshakhi, *Târîkhu Bukhârâ*, (Translated into Arabic with supplements: Amin Abd al-Majid Badawî – Nasr Allah Mubeshshir al-Tirâz), Dâr al-Maârif (Egypt), w. date, 74. Also see Arminius Vambery, *Târîkhu Bukhârâ Mundhu Aqdam al-Usûr Hattâ al-Asr al-Hâdir*, (Trans by. Ahmad Muhammad al-Sârâfi, Introduced by: Yahyâ al-Hashâb), Jâmiyah al-Qâhirah, w.date, 67-68; K.V. Zettersteen – Ibrahim Kafasoglu, "Kuteybe", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1977, VI/1051-1053; Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad, *Bukhârâ fî Sadr al-İslâm*, al-Qâhirah, 1312/1992, 88-89, 97.

³⁰ See: Tahir Harimi Balcioglu, *Türk Tarihinde Mezhep Cereyanları*, Kanaat Kitabevi, İstanbul 1940, 118. Also see: Besim Atalay, *Türk Dili ile İbadet*, İstanbul, w. date, 84-85.

b – Narrative Concerning the Adhan Being Chanted in Berber Language

The well-known Muslim poet and thinker, Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1946), who also took into account the developments in Turkey concerning Islamic prayer performed in mother language in Turkey, talks about the same endeavor held in Andalusia. According to the account he gave, Muhammad b. Tumart of Berberi origin, who established the state of Muwahhidin in Andalusia, had the Holy Quran translated into Berber language and had the adhan chanted in Berber language on behalf of the illiterate Berberi people.³¹ However, Iqbal does not cite a source for this information. Moreover, it might be worth mentioning that, looking up into sources talking about the history of the state called al-Muwahhidin and the life of Ibn Tumart (d. 524/1129) who established that state, we did not come across any information that goes along with Iqbal's account.

c – Chanting Adhan in Turkish

As we did not find any information to strengthen the narratives concerning the adhan being chanted in Persian or Berber, we do not precisely know whether it was chanted in these languages. Yet we do have lots of information and documents concerning the adhan being chanted in Turkish; therefore, we can easily state that the adhan was chanted in Turkish for a considerable period of time (18 years).

Now we will investigate into the debates concerning the adhan being chanted in Turkish and, if we may say, a short history of it in Turkey. However, before we go on, Turkish people throughout ages, after having embraced Islam, paid delicate attention to the adhan, which is the most explicit sign of Islam, and its being chanted gracefully. To this purpose, they built big minarets, and assigned people with strong voices and profound knowledge in music as muadhhdhin. Moreover, they built private institutions for the education of prospective muadhhdhins and kept being really fussy about choosing them.³² Thanks to this endeavor, the adhan has been gracefully chanted in Turkish countries or the ones under Turkish authority for centuries. However, under the effect on nationalist movements beginning through the end of the nineteenth

³¹ Sir Mohammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Oxford University Press, London 1934, p. 153.

³² See: Sa'd Abd Almajid, "al-Adhân fî Turkiyâ.. Madâris wa Maqâmât", URL: <http://www.islamonline.net/Arabic/arts/2003/06/article04.shtml> (17/06/2003)

century the adhan was to go through a journey in Turkey, which probably never had to face in any other country.

Through the end of the Ottoman Empire, especially at the end of the nineteenth century, there were some ideas on the Ottoman intellectual grounds regarding prayers being performed in Turkish. This period of time is that in which the movements of Renaissance and Reformation in the West gained strength and completely settled down. In other words, the West went through radical changes on religion along with other subjects; moreover, the Bible was translated into European languages and, in some European countries, Christians who were not Catholics began to use their native languages instead of Latin when praying. Besides, nationalism arose in the Ottoman Empire just like it did in the whole European continent as opposed to the idea of religious unity that started to lose its ambiance and power. Around this time, some of the Turkish nationalist thinkers considered all these developments and gave life to the idea that Turkish people, just like Westerners, should perform their prayers in their mother tongue. This idea, however, did not receive public consent and thus was not put into performance mainly because the Ottoman Sultan of the time and the Sheikh al-Islam, the chief religious official in the Ottoman State, were not sympathetic to it. One might even contend that the Ottoman people of the time were not ready for such an idea as this at all.³³ Yet this silence did not last long. Shortly after this silence, the desire to perform prayers in Turkish, started to be expressed orally and gained enthusiastic support. Nevertheless, the idea was still mostly about the translation of the Quran into Turkish and performing the daily Islamic prayers in Turkish. The adhan was not of widespread mention quite yet. The first openly stated idea concerning adhan being chanted in Turkish was brought about by Ziya Gokalp (d. 1924),³⁴ one of the primary Turkish nationalists of the time who had a strong impact on the founder of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In one of his poems called “Vatan” (Motherland), Gokalp talked about a dream country, every realm of which the Turkish language is in use including adhan, and clearly stated that it is the country of Turks:

A country, in the mosque of which adhan is chanted in Turkish,
The peasant understands the meaning of begging in his prayer,

³³ See: Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, İstanbul 1977, VI/1923.

³⁴ See: Gotthard Jaeschke, *Yeni Türkiye’de İslamîlik*, (Trans. By.. H. Ors), Ankara 1972, 422-423; Lothrop Stoddard, *Hâdir al-Âlam al-İslâmî*, (Translated into Arabic by.: Haccâc Nuvayhid, supplements: el-Emîr Şekîb Arslân), Maktabah wa Matbaatu Isâ Albânî al-Halabî wa Shurakâhu, al-Qâhirah 1353, I/211.

A country in the school of which, Quran is read in Turkish,
 Everybody, young and elderly, gets to know the command of Allah,
 You, young Turkish boy, this is the place you call motherland.³⁵

Gokalp's desire and dream concerning prayers being performed in Turkish including adhan was very well understood by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as well as other prominent figures living in that era, yet was not instantly put into action since the proper conditions were not ripe enough to allow such an action as the one related to adhan. In fact, the Ottoman State was still alive. What seems to be the case is that Mustafa Kemal must have kept that idea in mind to implement later. As a matter of fact, as we will take up henceforward, Ataturk would try to give life to Gokalp's idea when the proper conditions as having the administrative power were suitable.

As is known, Mustafa Kemal announced the Turkish Republic on October 29 in 1923. He speeded up the implementations of the revolutionary activities after the declaration of the new state, to which he gave a start even before the declaration. In an atmosphere like this, there were also some ideas concerning the full revival of the Turkish language, that is, cleaning off the so-called foreign elements that were the words of Arabic and Persian origin from the Turkish language. Taking courage from this atmosphere, some intellectuals brought about the relatively old subject as using Turkish language in prayers. Also, the fact that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk had given a discourse (*al-khutbah*) in a Friday prayer in the most historical mosque of Balikesir, an Anatolian city near Istanbul, and expressed thoughts on using Turkish in prayers, was of considerable importance to be mentioned. At those times, as a matter of fact, the Turkish Parliament itself made attempts to provide people with an all better basis in understanding the essential religious texts in Turkish. To this purpose, the Parliament came to a conclusion that Quran and *Sahih al-Bukhari*, the most basic texts of Sunni Islam, had to be translated into Turkish with commentary notes and explanations completely in Turkish by eminent Turkish scholars. The Parliament chose three figures; for the translation of the Quran, Mehmet Akif Ersoy (d. 1936), a renowned poet with a religiously educational background; for the commentary notes and explanations on the Quran (*al-tafsir*), Muhammed Hamdi Yazir (d. 1942), scholar of Islamic studies; and for the translation of *Sahih al-Bukhari* with commentary explanations, Ahmed Naim Efendi (d. 1934), also a scholar of Islamic studies. While these three important figures of

³⁵ Ziya Gökalp, *Yeni Hayat*, Istanbul 1976, 11.

the time were trying to do their jobs with great sincerity and good faith that they were assigned to, an incident that took place in one of Istanbul's mosques called Goztepe Mosque spurred great repercussions and made headlines. The imam of this mosque, who was also a scholar of Islamic studies,³⁶ Cemaletdin Efendi (d. 1964), on the first Friday of the Ramadan of the year 1926 (March 19), gave the Friday discourse (al-khutbah: sermon delivered at the noon prayer on Fridays) and performed the Friday prayer as an imam completely in Turkish including the salutation at the end. Thus, the prayer and Friday discourse were performed in Turkish for the first time.

The attempt –or if we may say, renovation– of Cemaletdin Efendi was confronted with reactions both from people who prayed behind him and people who later heard about the way he performed the prayer. Moreover, most of the people who prayed behind him left the mosque without completing the prayer. There were protestations and complaints against him. Cemaletdin Efendi was even threatened by some people because of his performance.³⁷ Upon these reactions, the Department of Religious Affairs put him out of office.³⁸ By the way, there was no such incident whatsoever as this one related to the adhan; however, the debates stemming from this incident led to more emphasis to be put on the phenomenon of performing prayers completely in Turkish including the adhan.

After the declaration of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk took up some reforms in harmony with the philosophy of the new state. The Caliphate (al-Khilafah) was abolished; the educational institutions that were separated as religious and secular ones up to that point were united; the Arabian letters that were traditionally used in written Turkish were revoked and the Latin ones were substituted for them; in addition, there were also so many essential changes in the realms of law, economics, ext. Probably as the last ring of this reformist chain, there arose an idea of reform in the realm of religion. To

³⁶ Süleyman Ateş, *Yeniden İslama I*, 285; Düccane Cündioğlu, *Türkçe Kur'an ve Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi*, Kitabevi, İstanbul 1998, 58, footnote I; also see Düccane Cündioğlu, *Bir Siyasi Proje Olarak Türkçe İbadet I*, Kitabevi, İstanbul 1999, 55. Cündioğlu gives the information that Cemalettin Efendi was enrolled to the Faculty of Theology at Dârülfünûn and as a graduate supervised various religious courses at Ayasophia Mosque.

³⁷ Cündioğlu, *Türkçe İbadet*, 64-65; Halil Altuntaş, *Kur'an'ın Tercümesi ve Tercüme ile Namaz Meselesi*, Ankara 1998, 107; Jaeschke, 44; Hasan Hüseyin Ceylan, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Din Devlet İlişkileri*, Ankara tarih yok, II/63-64. Abdullah Manaz, *Atatürk Reformları ve İslam*, İzmir 1995, 214; Hulki Cevizoğlu, *Türkçe İbadet*, Beyza yay., İstanbul 1998, 201-204.

³⁸ Cündioğlu, *Türkçe İbadet*, 64-65; Altuntaş, 106. (Altuntaş mentions the implementation number as 660/5).

this purpose, performing prayers in Turkish was put on the stage and almost made the number-one issue of the new state. Some intellectuals actually began to openly debate about the case.³⁹ It seems that even Mustafa Kemal got interested in the case.⁴⁰ The debate gradually became more intense. Right at that point, a report aiming at reform in religion, which was ostensibly attributed to the professors of the Faculty of Theology at Darulfunun (*House of Sciences*) made headlines of the newspapers. The report, which was actually made by one of the scholars of the Faculty of Theology stated that, in order for religion to meet the social needs just like the other social institutions, it had to be "restructured" on the scientific bases and facts. In addition, the report containing four such subtitles as "the form of prayer", "the language of prayer", "the quality of prayer", and "the component of contemplation in prayer" especially put emphasis on the idea that all prayers and khutbas and the adhan should be in the national language instead of Arabic.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the report did not draw vast attention except for the opinions that were stated under the subtitle "the language of prayer".⁴²

These kinds of endeavors, especially those held in 1931 and 1932, were for the most part under the supervision of Mustafa Kemal.⁴³ In fact, he was personally in favor of the idea of using mother tongue in prayers.⁴⁴ It is now well known that Mustafa Kemal, in his handwriting letters, complained about not performing prayers in mother tongue.⁴⁵ Moreover, around the beginning of the war of independence, the Minister of Education, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver came to him and said: "General! The members of the Parliament who came from a religiously-oriented educational background will be using mostly Arabic in their sermons and the people listening to them will understand

³⁹ See: Cündioğlu, *Türkçe Kur'an*, 43-49, 68-72.

⁴⁰ See: Cündioğlu, *Türkçe Kur'an*, 73-80.

⁴¹ Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiyenin Doğuşu*, Ankara 1993, 410; Jaeschke, 40-42; Sebilureşad, XI; sayı 267, sayfa 258-259; Seyyid Abdullatif, *Kur'an'ın Zihni İnşası*, (Cev. M. Kürşat Atalay), İstanbul 1995, 128 (This information was conveyed from the book titled *Modern Dünya'da İslam* and written by John Kingsley); Cündioğlu, *Türkçe Kur'an*, 60-61.

⁴² Lewis, 411; Cevizoğlu, 208 (Başak Ocak Geç, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Laikleşme Sürecinde Dinde Ulusal Dil Sorunu*, Dokuz Eylül Üniv. Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enst., Unpublished master's thesis, p. 1994).

⁴³ See: Cündioğlu, *Türkçe Kur'an*, 80-97.

⁴⁴ Cemal Şener, *Anadilde İbadet Türkçe İbadet*, Ant yay., İstanbul 1998, 81-87; Jaeschke, 48; Cündioğlu, *Türkçe İbadet*, 47-54.

⁴⁵ Afet İnan, *Medeni Bilgiler ve M.Kemal Atatürk'ün El Yazıları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 1982, 365; See also. Cündioğlu, *Türkçe Kur'an*, 188-191.

nothing. Would it not be more appropriate to give those sermons completely in Turkish?" Mustafa Kemal replied as in the following: "Do not get worried...Although they will be using Arabic, they will be thinking in Turkish... Just give it some time! The days are to come for us to settle the case thoroughly..."⁴⁶ In the Ramadan of 1932, those days just ceased to be impending and Mustafa Kemal gave a start to give life to implementing the idea of Turkish prayer. His main purpose was to make takbir (al-takbir), adhan (al-adhan), qamat (al-iqamah), sala (al-salah: an Islamic hymn recited on certain occasions especially when a Muslim dies), hutba (al-khutba) and prayer be chanted and performed in Turkish.⁴⁷ Along with this purpose, Atatürk summoned up some of the Islamic scholars that he called "intellectuals" to his palace of Dolmabahçe and wanted them to make the proper translations. Those Islamic scholars were Hafız Ali Rıza (Sağman), Hafız Sadettin (Kaynak), Hafız Burhan, Hafız Fahri, Hafız Nuri, Hafız Yaşar Okur, Hafız Zeki, Beiktaşlı Rıza and Hafız Kemal. Incidentally, there was disagreement about how to translate "Allah akbar" among the members of the commission consisting of these scholars. While Ali Rıza (Sağman) was enthusiastic about the proper translation to be "God is sublime" (Tanrı uludur) all the other members insisted on the translation "Allah is great!" (Allah büyüktür). When both translations were presented to Atatürk, he preferred the version of Ali Rıza as the most proper translation.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the expression of "Hayya ala al-falah" along with "Hayya ala al-salah" was translated as "come on to salvation" (haydi kurtuluşa) yet it was at once changed to "come on to recovery" (haydi felaha) since the name salvation was also the name of a district in Istanbul, and hence there was the possibility that the version "come on to salvation" could be subject to mockery as also meaning "go to that district of Istanbul" (haydi Kurtuluş'a).⁴⁹ So, the complete Turkish version of adhan was like this: "God is sublime (Tanrı uludur) (4 times); I surely know and declare that there is no one to be worshipped but God (Şüphesiz bilirim ve bildiririm Tanrıdan başka yoktur tapacak) (2 times); I surely know and declare that Muhammad is the messenger of God (Şüphesiz bilirim ve bildiririm Tanrının elçisidir Muhammed) (2 times); Come on to prayer (Haydi namaza) (2 times); Come on to recovery (Haydi felaha) (2 times); Prayer is better than sleep (Namaz uykudan hayırlıdır) (2

⁴⁶ Cemal Kutay, *Anadilde İbadet*, İstanbul 1998, 1/255; Yaşar Nuri Öztürk, *Anadilde İbadet Meselesi*, Yeni Boyut, İstanbul 2002, 74.

⁴⁷ Ergin, V/1939.

⁴⁸ Ergin, V/1940-1942.

⁴⁹ Halis Ayhan – Mustafa Uzun, "Ezan, Ezanın Türkçeleştirilmesi", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1995, XII/39.

times, before the morning prayer); God is sublime (Tanrı uludur); (2 times); There is no one to be worshipped but God (Tanrıdan başka yoktur tapacak) (once).⁵⁰

For the musical composition of adhan to be rearranged, there was also a scholar chosen to be in charge. After the completion of this duty, Ataturk personally assigned these scholars to the biggest mosques of the nation. Thus, in the night of Qadr (laylah al-Qadr) (in this way), the first Turkish adhan was chanted on the first day of February in the year of 1932 out of the minarets of Ayasophia Mosque. In the meantime, some select imams read passages from the Quran in its Turkish version as if reading it in its Arabic original to people who gathered in mosques. These new performances were aired in radio as well. Henceforward, there was a new era in Turkey in which the Holy Quran was read and the adhan, along with prayers and other religious activities, was performed in Turkish with arrangements made and orders given by Ataturk himself.⁵¹ Immediately after this development, the Department of Religious Affairs, issuing orders in the same direction as the one desired and given by Ataturk, also prepared a Turkish version of salah on March 6 of the year 1933 and sent it to the officials in charge of religious duty nationwide, demanding it to be substituted for its original Arabic version.⁵²

In every mosque of Turkey in cities, small towns and villages, the adhan was then chanted in Turkish. The religious officials (imams and muadhdhins), who did not obey the orders given by the Department of Religious Affairs were harshly prosecuted. There were even some police soldiers directly in charge to supervise the implementation right in the doors of so many mosques in rural areas of Turkey.⁵³ Still, there were religious officials of no small quantity who were not simply submissive to this new implementation. In some mosques, religious officials with a keen sense of humor and probably with a fear of persecution as well, intentionally let civilians, children and even people who were known or called lunatics chant adhan.⁵⁴ The eminent Turkish poet, Ismet Ozel, in one of his long poems aimed at picturing the mental image of the time,

⁵⁰ Ayhan – Uzun, XII/39.

⁵¹ For more information see. Ergin, V/1924-1958; Ali Rıza Sağman, "Atatürkle Hatıralar", *Millet Mecmuası*, V, sayı 10, (Mart 1948), 3; Ceylan, II/361-369; Abdurrahman Dilipak, *Bir Başka Açıdan Kemalizm*, İstanbul 1988, 161-162, 206; Cündioğlu, *Türkçe Kur'an*, 88-89.

⁵² Ergin, V/1942-1943; Ayhan – Uzun, XII/39.

⁵³ Süleyman Ateş, "Sorular ve Cevaplar", *Kur'an Mesajı*, I, sayı 4 (Şubat 1998), 18.

⁵⁴ See: Ayhan – Uzun, XII/39-40.

says the following: “A noise that had been weird and strange for centuries; just touched the minarets of my land”.⁵⁵

Making the adhan be performed in Turkish was not an easy task at all. For one thing, Turkish people were strongly opposed to it even before it started. Along with the reactions we have mentioned above, occasionally, there were public gatherings in which big reactions were involved. These public reactions sometimes led to public risings, one of which took place in Bursa, a major city nearby Istanbul. On February the first of 1933, some people in Bursa raised opposition against the Turkish adhan and moved toward the governor’s office. The governor, upon this incident, asked for help from the commander of military division located in Bursa. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who was at the time in Izmir, another major city nearby Bursa, heard about the incident and immediately came to Bursa. In a short time, the rising was repressed and those who were held responsible were put in jail.⁵⁶ Some of the people who were involved in the public rising were sentenced to heavy imprisonment and deportation. Moreover, the highest religious official of the city (mufti), the attorney general and the judge of Bursa were put out of office.⁵⁷ From this point on, officials who were opposed to Turkish adhan were considered as been covered in the extension of the article numbered 526 of the Turkish Criminal Code until the year of 1941. Specifically, those people were considered as having committed the crime of “being opposed to the command of officials maintaining public order and safety” and were punished accordingly. In 1941, another paragraph was added to the above-mentioned article. This paragraph reads like this: “Those who chanted adhan and qamah in Arabic will be imprisoned up to three months and will be fined from 10 to 300 Turkish currency.”⁵⁸ In spite of these penalties, that those who chanted adhan in Arabic were beaten up and imprisoned in mental institutions for months was reported on the newspapers of the time.⁵⁹

Although there were laws issued concerning chanting adhan and performing prayers in Turkish, the new application was not so much of success.⁶⁰ Despite these restraints and penalties, original adhan had been

⁵⁵ See: Mustafa Uzun, "Ezan", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1995, XII/43.

⁵⁶ Mete Tuncay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması (1923-1931)*, Ankara, 1981, 229, footnote 37; Jaeschke, 45; Manaz, 210; Ceylan, II/415-420; Cündioğlu, *Türkçe Kur'an*, 103-107; Şener, 88-91.

⁵⁷ Ayhan – Uzun, XII/40.

⁵⁸ Sebülreşad, IV, sayı 82/100; Ayhan – Uzun, XII/40-41.

⁵⁹ See: Ayhan – Uzun, XII/41.

⁶⁰ Jaeschke, 46; Manaz, 211-212.

chanted in different areas of Turkey. Especially after 1941, people who were members of Ticani order and its sheikh, M. Kemal Pilavoglu, raised great opposition to Turkish adhan in an organized way. Moreover, beginning especially from 1946, they tried to chant Arabic adhan both inside and outside mosques. They were even called 'lunatics of adhan.' On February 4, 1949, one of these "lunatics" chanted adhan in Arabic inside the Turkish Parliament. Another one did the same during an international soccer game in a big stadium of Istanbul called Dolmabahce. Besides, there were various attempts of chanting adhan in Arabic in different public places one of which, surprisingly, was a movie theatre located in a district of Istanbul. Naturally, all these instances and others not mentioned here were subject to penalties and mandatory confinement into mental institutions.⁶¹

This era in which adhan and prayer in Turkish was the center of a rather meaningless dispute came to an end only when Democrat Party won the elections in 1950, in which the first 'free' and democratic elections were held in the Republic of Turkey. Democrat Party, which was led by Adnan Menderes (d. 1960), made the promise of turning the adhan into its original version in its election campaign. After the elections, the Democrat Party, especially by means of its promise to turn the adhan into its original version, came to power with an enormous majority of votes.⁶² The Democrat Party, at first, dealt with the adhan as promised. The representative of Tokat, Ahmet Gurkan, and representative of Kayseri, İsmail Berkok, immediately submitted a resolution regarding the case to the Parliament and upon the acceptance of this resolution, adhan was changed into its Arabic original the first month the Democrat Party took power. To be specific, people started to chant adhan, which was turned into Turkish on January 30, 1932, in its original utterances on June 17, 1950, after eighteen years of interruption. The President of the Department of Religious Affairs, Ahmet Hamdi Akseki, personally sent an order to religious officials throughout the country regarding adhan being chanted in its original version.⁶³ The day adhan was changed into its original version was like a day of festival. A reporter talks about the collective emotion of the day and says the following: "The collective enthusiasm of the day was perhaps like that of the day the Prophet Muhammad conquered Mecca and cleaned the Kaba from the idols."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Ayhan - Uzun, XII/41.

⁶² See: Abdurrahman Dilipak, *Menderes Dönemi*, İstanbul 1990, 156.

⁶³ Ayhan - Uzun, XII/41-42.

⁶⁴ Eşref Edip, "Yere Serilen Kara ve Kızıl Taassub", *Sebilürreşad*, IV, sayı 82/105.

Yet some people were not very happy about the change and some columnists constantly brought up the case,⁶⁵ most of who were driven by some political incentives.

In a convention of Turkish language held in 1960, a time period in which Turkish democracy was interrupted by a military overthrow since it came into being, adhan was on the agenda again. The congress suggested that adhan be chanted and the daily Islamic prayers be performed in Turkish.⁶⁶ However, the committee of National Unity, the one that overthrown the Democrat Party and put it out of office, stated that it did not have anything whatsoever to do with the suggestion and it was against the idea.⁶⁷

Thanks to this statement, an end was put to the debates regarding the case and they were never brought up for a long period of time, until the year of 1982. After the 1982 military takeover, there were some undersized attempts to change the adhan into its Turkish version but fortunately never attracted collective attention.⁶⁸

Turkish adhan has also been subject to some movies. The movie called “Cizme” (Boot) which came out in 1991 is one of them.⁶⁹ The story of the movie focuses on the struggle raged by the people living in a small town of Turkey’s northern region against the ban of Arabic adhan.

Finally, in a congress held by the Department of Religious Affairs in 2002 at Istanbul, with a participation of a great number of theologians, the idea and practice of Turkish adhan was reevaluated and left out as follows: “The adhan is an unchangeable symbol of Islam. It is the sign of a Muslim existence and identity wherever in the world. There has been a tradition and an agreement concerning its being chanted in its original language, i.e., Arabic. Since the main purpose of the adhan is to inform the time of prayer and call to prayer, communicating this invitation to all Muslims speaking different languages is only possible and plausible through communicating to their collective conscious, which is to chant adhan in its original version.”⁷⁰

⁶⁵ See: Cündioğlu, *Türkçe Kur'an*, 113-121.

⁶⁶ Jaeschke, 133.

⁶⁷ Ulus Gazetesi, 27-28 Temmuz 1960; Jaeschke, 133.

⁶⁸ See: Ayhan – Uzun, XII/42.

⁶⁹ See: Ayhan – Uzun, XII/42.

⁷⁰ *Güncel Dini Meseleler İstişare Toplantısı*, URL: <http://www.diyaset.gov.tr/turkish/karar.asp?id=66&sorgu=3> (15.01.2004).

Conclusion

In conclusion, Turkish adhan and Turkish prayer have been one of the main subjects of Turkey's religiously-oriented agenda and caught considerable attention since the 1870's. There have been debates about the case for almost 150 years. It is interesting to find out that this case is still on the agenda in the twenty first century. We do anticipate that it is not going to fade out and there is still going to be debates about it. Unfortunately, all these discussions and debates provided Turkish Muslims only with unsuccessful ends if nothing less. In other words, as we have pointed out above, the consensus that came out as the result of the congress held by the Turkish Department of Religious Affairs can be considered as an endeavor to put an end to these discussions; moreover, it can be a wise close-up as well.