Summoning the believers as the Christians did? Religious differentiation in Muslim sources until the third/ninth century.

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Abstract

The Muslim tradition tells us that when Muslims migrated to Medina and their number increased, they felt the need for an efficient means to convoke the community for the daily prayers. Jews and Christians both had well-established summoning rituals involving different instruments, that Muslims considered adopting. They eventually developed a distinct, simple ritual consisting of a small set of chanted formulæ, which became known as the *adhān*, the Islamic call to prayer. This is the narrative thread that we find in all major Sunnī collections of *aḥādīth* – reported sayings of Muḥammad and his companions – which recount the introduction of the *adhān*. The present work postulates that this thread or 'proto-narrative' was used by several narrators, transmitters, and collectors until the third/ninth century who modified it and added new elements in order to settle political and religious controversies of their times. This proto-narrative is outlined in the main chapter (chap. 3), which highlights how it was modified and why, using close textual analysis of both Sunnī and Shīʿī texts with data-dense graphs of relations, locations, and times produced via network visualisation tools. Five major Sunnī legal treaties from the second/eighth century onwards were also scrutinised (chap. 4) to better understand the general context in which the *aḥādīth* about the introduction of the *adhān* were being circulated and confirm the results obtained through the textual analysis. The conclusions reveal specific mechanisms used in the formation and transmission of *aḥādīth*. In the case of the *adhān*, *aḥādīth* represent half of a 'conversation' between people, students, or rulers on one side, asking questions about the origins and the right form of the call to prayer, and on the other side, scholars or jurists who answer with adapted narratives. Only the latter was preserved, yet the present thesis shows that it is often possible to reconstruct, to a certain extent, the former part of this 'conversation'.

To Ingrid and Marek

Rien ne se perd, rien ne se crée, tout se transforme.
Lavoisier

Acknowledgments

One of my favourite quotes from the Qurʾān is *inna maʿ al-ʿusr yusran* (with hardship is ease). Contrary to the expression to which I am used in French, 'après la pluie vient le beau temps', the preposition *maʿ* (with) in this verse indicates that ease is never absent from hardship. This is how I would describe the three years I have spent as a doctoral student. Hardship was there, at every corner, until the end. And yet, ease was brought to me by many friendly hands who filled these years with such a sheer amount of good memories that I even feel some nostalgia when writing these final words. Acknowledgements ought to be short even though I feel they deserve more pages than the present work, and those who will not be mentioned here can always come to me and claim their due in person, I will be delighted to oblige.

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فَإِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا

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Transliteration

Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
ا	a/i	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	ʿ
ث	th	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	dh	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	ه	h
س	s	ء	ʾ/a
ش	sh	ي	y
ص	ṣ	ة	h/t [in gen. construction]
ض	ḍ	ال	al

Vowels and Diphthongs					
◌َ	a	آ	ā	◌ً	an
◌ِ	i	◌ّو	ūw	◌ٍ	in
◌ُ	u	◌ّ◌َ	aww	◌ٌ	un
◌َا	ā	◌ّ◌ِ	īy	◌َو	aw
◌ِي	ī	◌ّ◌	doubling the letter	◌َي	ay
◌ُو	ū	◌َى(alif maqṣūrah)	á		

Abbreviations

For the bibliographic references, see the Bibliography at the end of the thesis.

C1 – C3	*Categories 1 – 3*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie*
EI^2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second edition (online)*
EI^3	*Encyclopaedia of Islam, Third edition (online)*
GAS	*Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*

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1. Introduction

In his seminal work about traditions, the sociologist Edward Shils argues that "a tradition has to 'work' if it is to persist".[1] With these words, he exposes the main prerequisite for the persistence of traditions within constantly changing societies and despite the confrontations with "alien tradition[s]".[2] He observes that "to survive, [they] must be fitting to the circumstances in which they operate and to which they are directed".[3] The Islamic call to prayer, which announces the time of the prayer to the Muslim community, seems to offer a perfect example of such a successful, 'fitting' tradition since it has persisted until today almost unchanged. The present work will examine the early history of this successful ritual known as the *adhān* and its transformation from a simple call to one of the most characteristic and common rituals of the rich Islamic tradition.

When Muḥammad began preaching, Jews and Christians had already well-developed ritual methods of summoning their believers to special gatherings and services. Early on in Islamic history, Muslims introduced their own prayer. The prayer was normally common and, at the time to gather, people would simply call each other. Under the influence of the surrounding Jewish and Christian communities in Medina, they discussed about adopting a more elaborate call and transformed it into a ritual similar in its purpose to the Jewish and Christian ones, yet different in its kind and content. This is at least the story narrated by the Islamic sources, in which Muslims recalled the development of their own call to prayer having been inspired by Jewish and Christian rituals.

The *adhān* presents two main advantages as object of historical studies. Firstly, it is an early ritual dating back to Muḥammad's time and thus a potential source of information for this period, poorly covered by contemporaneous sources. Secondly, it quickly became a simple, codified and repetitive ritual. As such, it impregnated human memory over centuries and survived up to modern days. The *adhān* that we hear today is therefore very close to the one which was called fourteen centuries ago. Its actual formulæ, its different forms and its resilience confirm some of the findings that can be derived from the sources narrating its introduction about two centuries after its

[1] Edward SHILS, *Tradition*. London: Faber and Faber, 1981, 203.
[2] SHILS 1981, 98.
[3] SHILS 1981, 258.

introduction. As underlined by Gerald Hawting, many rituals evolved, to a certain extent, independently from "texts considered as revelations."[4] Hence, the different practices of the *adhān* and the history of its evolution reflect the general process of Islamic formation "that resulted from the development of practices by the emerging community as well as from the decision and decrees of leaders."[5] In the present work, I set out to extract historical information from textual sources narrating the introduction of the *adhān*, which are mainly accounts or narratives, that is *aḥādīth*. The close textual analysis of these narratives reveals how some interpretations of the history of the *adhān* were instrumentalised for religious and political purposes in the first decades after the ritual was established. To further support my hypothesis, I have also found non-*ḥadīth* literature, mainly legal treatises, that precludes a late dating of the *adhān* narratives.

In chapter 1, I set the general context in which the *adhān* was introduced. I first introduce the Jewish and Christian gathering rituals, mentioned in my primary sources, to give a clearer idea of the context in which the *adhān* was born. A short excursus about Medina or Yathrib will provide us with information about the spatial and social environments in the Late Antique context. Special focus will be laid on the elements which are most likely to have influenced the formation of the *adhān*.

The secondary sources pertaining to the *adhān* are introduced in chapter 2, along with the primary sources and the methodology adopted to analyse them. The presentation of the primary sources falls in two different sub-chapters: 2.1 is concerned with the *aḥādīth* narrating the introduction of the *adhān*, while 2.2 encompasses the legal treatises which allow to date approximately some elements of the *adhān* narratives. As for the analysis of these narratives, it is the object of chapter 3, which is dedicated to the history of the *adhān* and the numerous questions it raises: Why and how was the Islamic call to prayer introduced? Can we identify a development phase or was it always the same set of chanted formulæ? Who were the people interested in the history of its introduction and why did they narrate it? About forty *aḥādīth* are concerned with the so-called

[4] Gerald HAWTING (ed.), *The Development of Islamic Ritual. Introduction.* Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2006, xxix.
[5] HAWTING 2006, xxix.

beginning of the *adhān*, *badʾ al-adhān* or *badʾ al-nidāʾ*. Relying on some of the latest methodological progress and conclusions in *ḥadīth* studies, I have reconstructed the potential common structure which underlies all the texts or *mutūn*. This structure I have called the 'proto-narrative'. I show that the *aḥādīth* use this proto-narrative to construct different narratives, variously intertwining historical facts with oneiric traditions, disguised political statements or religious claims.

The accounts narrating the introduction of the *adhān* can be divided into three different categories in terms of content (*matn*) and chain of transmitters (*isnād*). The first category contains narratives attributed to Ibn ʿUmar and are present in almost all the main *ḥadīth* collections. Its particularity is the preponderant role it attributes to the companion of the Prophet and the second caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. The second category encompasses narratives allegedly narrated by Anas ibn Mālik. It is present in only three collections of *aḥādīth* and characteristically introduces the fire as a possible call to prayer. It also mentions the *iqāmah*, the second call to prayer, along with the *adhān*. The third category is more complex, its chains of transmission display many branches and the story narrated is more detailed, its distinctive feature being the description of a dream as divine inspiration for the establishment of the *adhān*. These categories will be called respectively category 1, 2 and 3, abbreviated C1, C2 and C3. Chapter 3 treats each category in this order and concludes with a synthesis of the results presented in the three sections. The order or categories' number does not reflect any chronology or hierarchy, it is solely an analytic tool which facilitates the treatment of the important number of narratives.

Systematic analysis of the primary sources was performed with the help of network visualisation tools to produce data-dense graphs of relations, locations and times. A close reading of the texts and the chains of transmission, *mutūn* and *asānīd*, reveals how dozens of transmitters and collectors used this proto-narrative to promote religious, political and potentially also personal agendas. These different goals were achieved through various modifications of and additions to the proto-narrative. Narrators and redactors adopted various mechanisms to give to their final story the shape they wanted while preserving parts of its original gist. My findings show some patterns which distinguish collectors from one another.

Because of these numerous transformations, the reconstruction of the proto-narrative remains hypothetical and the exact historical events appeared considerably distorted by the layers of oblivion and modifications. How could it be otherwise when the sources we analyse relate not the events but "memories of memories" of these events?[6] The way to bring some clarity in this complex situation consists in asking the right question. We cannot know *what* was modified, then we ought to ask *why* it was modified. Chapter 4 deals with this question.

In the case of the *adhān*, we are helped by an unexpected coincidence: A large majority of narratives systematically depicts the introduction of the Islamic call to prayer as a means to avoid the use of the Christian instrument that served the same purpose, the *semantron* or *nāqūs*. Coincidentally, this same instrument attracted the attention of Muslim jurists from the second/eighth century onwards. This allowed me to compare the treatment of the *nāqūs* in the *aḥādīth* and in legal treatises, to show how the changing opinions regarding the Christian instrument caused transmitters to modify the narratives they were retelling to adapt them to their context. The other elements of the proto-narrative, which will be analysed in chapter 3, did not benefit from the same attention and therefore it will require more studies and research to potentially understand how the views evolved regarding ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb for instance, or the Jewish horn. Chapter 4 will nonetheless show the importance of taking into consideration any available information about the context in which *aḥādīth* were circulated, for it opens the door to understand better some parts of the story, how they were modified and why. Chapter 4 focuses therefore on how Muslims perceived the *nāqūs* and on the evolution of these perceptions. It highlights the contrast between the narratives about the introduction of the *adhān* analysed in chapter 3 and the opinions of Muslim jurists from the second/eighth century onwards, which were purportedly based on the treaties concluded between the Muslim conquerors and the vanquished populations during the Arab Conquest. All of these texts are linked by their different concern with the *nāqūs*. Hence the jurists, who often claimed to base their legal ruling on Conquest treaties, stand in stark contrast to the religious more inclusive spirit

[6] Jan VANSINA, *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, 160. See the discussion on "memories of memories" in Gregor SCHOELER, *The Biography of Muhammed: Nature and Authenticity*. New York/London: Routledge, 2011, 36 and 113.

prevalent at the time of the Arab Conquest. I argue that this contrast reflects a social evolution from the time of the Prophet and the aftermath of his death, when Muslims did not have a clear judgement regarding the presence of Christians around them, and the time when Muslim jurists were trying to establish a strong legal system to give solid roots to the Muslim polity, sometimes at the cost of the initial Islamic flexibility. The comparison sheds light on the presence of intriguing elements in the *adhān* narratives, which appear to have been introduced by some transmitters or collectors to address their contemporaneous concern regarding the *nāqūs*. Since this concern also appears in legal treatises, we can identify the specific concern and highlight the changes that it triggered.

Arguably, chapter 4 could have followed the introduction about the acoustic sound and the Medinan context, because of its contextualising function. However, to shorten the introduction and follow the historical development of the narratives, the context in which the proto-narrative emerged will be introduced in chapter 1, while the context in which the *aḥādīth* were circulated will be explained in chapter 4.

Each section ends with a summary of the findings which highlights the main arguments, leaving aside the numerous details extracted from the micro-analysis of the texts. Chapter five synthesises the conlcusions of the contextual close textual analysis, which feature the principal milestones of the chronological evolution of the narratives, from the lost proto-narrative to the preserved *aḥādīth*, from an unregulated acoustic space to a negotiated and controlled Muslim environment. It concludes with two possible further developments of the results yielded by the present research.

1.1 The religious acoustic space

In the world of sounds, religions seem to have been among the most prolific creators of diversity. Usually meant to be distinctive and recognisable, religious sounds often follow peculiar patterns and they can be therefore studied on their own. In historical studies however, visual signs are easier to examine than sounds.[7] Consequently, the former often seems more significant. Purcell and Horden,

[7] See the discussion about visual and acoustic environment in Peregrine HORDEN & Nicholas PURCELL, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, 421.

for instance, have been working on visual and acoustic signs as bonds tying together the numerous Mediterranean "microregions" to create "complex connectivity".[8] An example of acoustic connection is given by the inhabitants of Ikaria, an island in the Aegean Sea. They would reportedly stand on top of a hill and call people from a neighbouring village in order to conclude some transactions with them, without using any instrument or going to the village itself.[9] With their voice, they founded commercial links between the villages.

Purcell and Horden notices however that in "the conceptualizing of locality and space, sight can play a still greater part than sound".[10] In fact, their examples of visual bonds are far more abundant than the acoustic single example. Temples, watch towers, mountain-ranges, islands and harbours all play a role in building visual bonds across the Mediterranean, connecting people despite geographical barriers or distances.[11] This focus on visual connectivity is still prominent nowadays, notably in Europe, when minarets – from which the *adhān* was never chanted –, and so-called ostentatious religious signs, mainly the Muslim headscarf, are banned from public space to protect laicity and the separation between the State and the Church. And yet, the religious acoustic space often plays a crucial role in bringing religious communities together and distinguishing them from one another. Although for many Europeans, the sound of bells indicates only the hours or quarters of an hour, it has in fact a deeper meaning for it intends to call for the services as much as to "announce the presence of a religious community".[12] Purcell and Horden notice that the "acoustic environment [...] is one that has been much exploited by religious practice", but because it has not been studied enough yet, its significance remains difficult to assess.[13] The purpose of the following sections is to explore some early acoustic rituals aimed at calling for religious assembly or prayers in order to give a better idea of the acoustic space in which the *adhān* was born.

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[8] HORDEN/PURCELL 2000, 124.
[9] See HORDEN/PURCELL 2000, 124.
[10] HORDEN/PURCELL 2000, 124.
[11] See HORDEN/PURCELL 2000, 125 ss.
[12] Olivia Remie CONSTABLE, "Regulating Religious Noise: The Council of Vienne, the Mosque Call and Muslim Pilgrimage in the Late Medieval Mediterranean World," *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010): 65.
[13] HORDEN/PURCELL 2000, 421.

1.2 Horns and trumpets

One of the first instruments found in a monotheistic religion to summon people is probably the Jewish horn, which belongs to an old Sumerian tradition predating the emergence of Israel. Horn-like instruments are already attested in the third millennium BCE, in writings and material culture, both as convoker in military or political gatherings and in temples, that is for religious rituals.[14] In Sumer, horns were sounded to announce events, be they good or bad.[15] Two trumpets in silver and copper were excavated from Tutankhamun's tomb (*c*. 1300 BCE) and others appear depicted in paintings of this period.[16] Egyptians seem to have been using this instrument to convoke people to military or political meetings and as part of religious rituals. There is no evidence of their using the trumpet to call people to gather for religious rituals, similar to the Christian and Islamic calls to service or prayer.[17]

In this rich environment, it is not surprising to find, in the Jewish traditions, four different words related to horn-like instruments among the many other instruments mentioned in the Bible.[18] Three of them describe a ram's or wild ovine horn. First, we find the famous *shofar* (שׁוֹפָר, Arb. *shabbūr* شبّور), which meant originally a wild goat or sheep (from its old Akkadian root)[19] and became the designating word for the specific Jewish instrument made of ram's horn. The *qeren* (קֶרֶן, Aram. *qəran* קרן *qarnā* קרנא, Arb. *qarn* قرن) is a 'horn' as well, and it must be a very ancient word since

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[14] See Wayne HOROWITZ, "The Shofar and The Ancient Near East," *Bible Lands E-Review* 2012/3. HOROWITZ seems here to disagree with WULSTAN, who places the first pictorial representation of a Jewish horn in the first century BCE, see David WULSTAN, "The Sounding of the Shofar," in: *The Galpin Society Journal* 26 (1973): 29–46. Yet it is not clear whether the objects described by HOROWITZ were Jewish or Sumerian/Hittite. Besides, while WULSTAN fails to mention the Sumerian influence on the Jewish instrument, HOROWITZ does not touch upon the Egyptians' possible impact on it, making the two articles rather complementary than contradictory.

[15] See Margit Linnéa SÜRING, "Horn-Motifs in the Hebrew Bible and Related Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Iconography." Doctoral thesis, Andrews University, 1980, 56 ss.

[16] See WULSTAN 1973, 30; Edward V. WILLIAMS, *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985, 3 ss.

[17] See WILLIAMS 1985, 3: WILLIAMS argues that, on the basis of a great number of pictorial representations, "there can be no doubt that [the straight Egyptian trumpet] was used for signalling during battle" (WILLIAMS 1985, 3). There is almost no evidence for the ritual function of the instrument, but WILLIAMS lists two of them, the second being in his views a strong "evidence for the trumpet's role in the cult of the dead during the Roman period in Egypt" (WILLIAMS 1985, 4).

[18] For a list of twenty of these instruments and their descriptions, see Bathja BAYER *et al*., "Music," in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. 2nd ed., Detroit: MacMillan Reference/Keter Publishing House, 2007, vol. 14, pp. 641-642.

[19] See WULSTAN 1973, 29-30; and "SHOFAR," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., 2007, 506.

its cognates can be found in "most, if not all, Indo-European (e.g. horn, *cornu*) and Semitic languages".[20] As for the *yovel* (יוֹבֵל), it applies to both the 'ram' and the 'ram's horn'. In the Biblical tradition, horns seem to be blown mainly to proclaim an event (see Lev. 25:9) or announce a battle (see Job 39:25). The *shofar* is also the instrument sounded on the third day of the Exodus (Exodus 19:16).

The fourth horn-like instrument mentioned in the Bible is actually not a horn but a trumpet, the *ḥaẓoẓerah* (חֲצוֹצְרָה), probably similar to the Egyptian one mentioned above.[21] What makes the *ḥaẓoẓerah* or silver trumpet so special is the fact that, in Numbers 10:1, it is God himself who orders Moses to make the *ḥaẓoẓerah*, raising it to the status of sacred instrument *par excellence*. Therefore, it was "used almost exclusively by the priests".[22] In the following verses (Numbers 10:2 ss.), the different possible functions of the *ḥaẓoẓerah* are explained, as a convoker, an announcer and a ritual instrument (in connection with sacrifices, Numbers 10:10).[23] This gives a particular divine status to the instrument and explains, in part, its symbolic and representative role in Judaism.

Although the words for trumpet and horn were sometimes employed indistinctly, Wulstan argues that they should still be distinguished.[24] He further explains that the trumpet was initially aimed at religious practices and peaceful gathering, while the horn was first a military instrument. Other scholars argue that *qeren* represents the generic category of horn-like instruments, to which *shofar* and *ḥaẓoẓerah* belong.[25] This confusion is to a certain extent reflected in our Arabic sources, which do not always know the appropriate term to describe the Jewish instrument they mean. Other

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[20] WULSTAN 1973, 29; see the small article on "KEREN," in Macy NULMAN, *Concise Encyclopedia of Jewish Music*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1975, 132. For the "comparative philology of the root QRN" see SÜRING 1980, 38. As regards the word's cognates in Hebrew, Aramaic, Ethiopian and Akkadian, see SÜRING 1980, 75.
[21] WILLIAMS 1985, 4 notices that although the length, form and manufacture of the instruments of both peoples were similar, it is not sure whether they came to the ancient Hebrews through the Egyptians or any other way. See also John A. SMITH, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. London, 2016, 36.
[22] James HASTINGS & Frederick Clifton GRANT & Harold Henry ROWLEY (eds), *Dictionary of the Bible*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963, 816.
[23] For other mentions of the *ḥaẓoẓerah* in the Bible, see Julius FÜRST & Samuel DAVIDSON (transl., eds), *A Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament: With an Introduction Giving a Short History of Hebrew Lexicography*. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1876, 479.
[24] See WULSTAN 1973, 31. The same affirmation, albeit without other justifications than references to the OT, is to be found in FÜRST 1876, 479.
[25] See NULMAN 1975, 132.

instruments, such as the lyre and the drums, were played in religious ceremonies, but the trumpet and the horn seem to have been the only religious or ritual convoker.

1.3 The *semantron*

The *semantron* (σήμαντρον), from the Greek *sema*, σῆμα, 'mark, sign', is a piece of wood, more rarely metal, which is struck with a hammer-like stick at different rhythms.[26] It has survived the introduction of bells in the East, despite its less powerful 'sound', and it is still struck nowadays in the Mont Athos in Greece and in monasteries in Jerusalem and Eastern Europe for instance. The Syriac word for the *semantron* is *nāqōshā* (ܢܩܘܫܐ, from the verb *nāqōsh*, 'to knock'), from which the Arabic *nāqūs* (ناقوس) was most likely derived.[27]

Some textual evidence suggests that Eastern Christians used trumpets as well: the fifth-century translation of the *Rules of Pachomius* by Saint Jerome contain two passages in which a trumpet (*tuba*, the Latin equivalent of the *ḥaẓoẓerah* probably) served as a convoker for assembly.[28] The absence of iconographic sources and the fact that Saint Jerome employed the word *tuba* only twice, mentioning otherwise *signum*, could lead one to think that Saint Jerome's *tuba* is a translation mistake, which cannot be taken as an evidence for the Christians' use of trumpets. Williams argues, against this hypothesis, that one should not exclude the presence of *tuba* in Christian traditions, because we have evidence for ancient Christian trumpets in later textual sources up to the ninth century.[29] It seems therefore reasonable to assume that Christians were actually blowing trumpets to

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[26] See images of the *semantron* in: WILLIAMS 1985, 12 ss.; and Western drawings of *semantron* in Fernand CABROL & Henri LECLERCQ, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie* [DACL]. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1924., III/2, 1971-1972. For later sources mentioning the *semantron*, see WILLIAMS 1985, pp. 11-13, and CABROL / LECLERCQ, *DACL*, III/2, 1970 ss. For a description of the different kinds of *semantra* see WILLIAMS 1985, pp. 13-14. YouTube also offers visual and acoustic representations of the instrument as played today in different monasteries of the world. The most common Latin name for the bell is interestingly enough *signum*, that is the equivalent of the Greek *sema*. This could reflect the fact that Eastern Christians considered the *semantron* to be the exact equivalent of the western Christian bell.

[27] See Salam RASSI, "Justifying Islam in the Islamic Middle Ages: The Apologetic Theology of Abdisho bar Brikha (d. 1318)." Doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, 213 and 215, where the author points out John of Ephesus' mention of this term in 560 CE in his *Lives of Eastern Saints,* leaving thus a first trace of its existence. In modern Arabic, *nāqūs* usually refers to a bell.

[28] See WILLIAMS 1985, 7-9; for iconographic sources for the Jewish and the Greek trumpets (*salpinx*), see pp. 8-9.

[29] See WILLIAMS 1985, 8-9. The same conclusion is reached in the article on 'Bells' in: SMITH, William & CHEETHAM, Samuel (eds), *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities: Comprising the History, Institutions, and Antiquities of the Christian Church, from the Time of the Apostles to the Age of Charlemagne*. London: J. Murray, 1875, 184.

convoke people. But, in contrast to the Jews, who *re*-used an old instrument to elaborate their own distinctive sound or melody, and contrary to the Western Christians, who adopted and adapted the old traditions of ringing bells as announcer, the Eastern Christians chose an original path and opted for another means which eventually distinguished them.[30]

From the fourth to the sixth centuries, a hammer's blow on doors (of monks' cells) or pieces of wood started appearing in written sources, indicating the emergence of a new ritual.[31] Williams suggests that a hammer might have been chosen first to strike a blow on the door of each monk's cell.[32] And then, the invention of the *semantron* facilitated the process by providing a general convocation, instead of the individual one. Whether this hypothesis can be confirmed one day is difficult to say, yet it speaks in favour of a slow development of the Eastern Christian call to prayer, which can serve as basis for a comparison with the appearance of the *adhān*.

The introduction of the *semantron* makes clear that there was a need among Christians to distinguish themselves from the Jews in their use of the acoustic space.[33] Islam arose in this wealth of religious sounds and, through adaptations and transformation, it enriched it, in similar ways as the Jews and the Christians did centuries earlier.

Excursus: Medina at the time of Muḥammad

The centuries preceding the rise of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula saw a drastic decline of polytheism.[34] The monotheistic takeover by Jews and Christians and the following conversions from

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[30] As for the Christian bells, see the article on 'cloche, clochette' in: *DACL*, III/2 1954-1977.
[31] See WILLIAMS 1985, 10-11.
[32] See WILLIAMS 1985, 11.
[33] In Matthew 6:2, we find the following advice in relation with the Jewish trumpets: "[...] when you give to the needy, do not announce it with trumpets (σαλπίσῃς), as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and on the streets, to be honoured by others [...]". This implies that Christians could blow trumpets but not like the Jews, whose example they must not have followed. Yet, one should not exclude the idea as well that the sound of the trumpet might not have been the most pleasant to hear, as suggested by WILLIAMS 1985, 7. See also WULSTAN 1973, 30, who quotes Plutarch, when he "describes Egyptians trumpets as sounding like the bray of an ass". Eric WERNER in his article on "Musical instruments," in: BUTTRICK, George A. & CRIM, Keith R. (eds), *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976, 473, argues that it "is hardly possible to consider the *shôphār* a musical instrument" and concludes that "the function of the *shôphār* was to make noise [...] but not to make music".
[34] See Norbert NEBES, "The Martyrs of Najrān and the end of the Ḥimyar: On the political history of South Arabia in the Early Sixth Century," in: NEUWIRTH, Angelika & SINAI, Nicolai & MARX, Micheal, *The Qurʾān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qurʾānic Milieu*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010, pp. 27-59, in particular pp. 35 ss. In the same volume, see as well Barbara FINSTER, "Arabia in Late Antiquity: An outline of the Cultural Situation in the Peninsula at the time of Muhammad," in: NEUWIRTH, Angelika & SINAI,

one religion to the other increased the division of a population already split into relatively small tribes.[35] Although both the Byzantine and the Sassanid Empires exercised a certain power over Arabia, the kingdom of Ḥimyar, in the south of the peninsula, was probably the main influence on Medina and Mecca, which might even have been annexed by the Ḥimyarites before the decline of the latter in the sixth century.[36] The other influence came from Ethiopia, known as the kingdom of Aksūm, which had gone through a total conversion to Christianity in the first half of the fourth century, before 340.[37] Soon afterwards, polytheism seems to have disappeared from Ḥimyar and a visible, albeit unofficial, inclination towards Judaism can be observed in inscriptions.[38] Jewish communities probably flourished until the fifth century, when Ḥimyar was annexed by Aksūm and a Christian king was placed at its head.[39] In reaction to this Ethiopian invasion, some tribes rebelled and in 522 a Jewish king lead the rebellion and conquered the kingdom.[40] On this occasion, part of the Christian communities and several churches in the south of the peninsula, notably in Najrān, were reportedly destroyed.[41] However the coup was short-lived, and the Jewish king was overthrown by Aksūm in 525. This highlights the tribal and political diversity of the region as well as the great influence of Jewish and Christian communities in and around Medina. They had all benefitted from

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Nicolai & MARX, Micheal, *The Qurʾān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qurʾānic Milieu*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010, pp. 61-114.

[35] See Christian ROBIN, "Arabia and Ethiopia," in: JOHNSON, Scott F. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 302; ROBIN shows how polytheists' vocabulary had been increasingly replaced by "Jewish and Christian Aramaic" and their temples were scarce at the time of Muḥammad, confirming thus "that Arabian paganism was marginalised", 302. In ROBIN, "Ḥimyar et Israël," in: *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 148, no. 2, 2004, 831–908, he describes the "bouillonnement idéologique et religieux" characterising Late Antique Arabia, p. 862, and the role played by the kingdom of Ḥimyar in the tentative unification of great parts of the Arabian Peninsula. See also Robert HOYLAND, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam*. London/New York: Routledge, 2001, 146 ss.

[36] See ROBIN 2004, 879.

[37] See ROBIN 2012, 273.

[38] See ROBIN 2012, 265: "From 380-400 onward until 525-530, the only religion attested in the inscription of Ḥimyar was Judaism". See also ROBIN 2004, 879. HOYLAND 2001, cites a Byzantine account narrating the conversion of Ḥimyar to Christianity. Although the authenticity of the narrative is problematic, it surely indicates, according to HOYLAND, the growing importance of Christianity in the Arabian Peninsula. This religious presence was however more prominent in the north (p. 146). See as well NEBES 2010, pp. 37-9.

[39] See ROBIN 2012, 281.

[40] See NEBES 2010, pp. 42-3.

[41] "Najrān [is] the name of a group of oases in the north-west of the ancient South Arabian domains, [...] first mentioned in Old Sabaic inscriptions from the 7th century BC." (Alessandro BAUSI, "The Massacre of Najrān: The Ethiopic Sources," in: BEAUCAMP, Joëlle & BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, François & ROBIN, Christian, *Juifs et Chrétiens En Arabie Aux Ve et VIe Siècles: Regards Croisés Sur Les Sources*. Paris, 2010, 242). See also ROBIN 2004, 833 and ROBIN 2012, 281-282. See as well NEBES 2010, pp. 46 ss.

some imperial or royal support until the general decline of the surrounding kingdoms and empires. When Muḥammad settled there, they were obviously experiencing a period of disarray and disorder.

At his arrival in Medina, Muḥammad found Jewish and pagan communities dispersed in small settlements across the valley, separated from each other by cultivated lands.[42] It seems that Jews were powerful in that area.[43] In the so-called 'Constitution of Medina' – which is in fact more an 'agreement' than a constitution – one can learn about some of Medina's Jewish and pagan tribes along with their customs. Muḥammad negotiates therein the conditions under which his followers and some other tribes should live together in Medina.[44] Two leitmotivs in particular deserve attention to understand the context in which the *adhān* was introduced. First, the rhetoric of unity, in particular among the believers or *muʾminūn*, appears repetitively.[45] At that time, in Arabia and more specifically Medina, people were suffering from the divisions between different tribes and kingdoms. Anyone able to create unity between at least some of these very diverse factions would hold a strong position of power. Thus, one can easily understand why the agreement is trying to strengthen the bonds newly created by Islam in order to consolidate the nascent sense of unity. In the second and the seventeenth paragraphs, the *muʾminūn* are considered to the exclusion of the people, *dūn al-nās*. This underlines the need to distinguish the communities and the tribes, and single out the *muʾminūn*. There seems to be a similar trigger for the creation of the *adhān*, and the 'exclusive clause' of the Medinan agreement could mirror the double function of the *adhān*: to distinguish those who answer to the call from those who do not and to create a sense of unity between the former.

It is also important to notice that the rising presence of monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity, in the Arabian Peninsula reflects a general aspiration towards religious and spiritual changes.[46] This aspiration was coupled with the will to unify the Arabian populations, a task best

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[42] See Harry MUNT, *The Holy City of Medina: Sacred Space in Early Islamic Arabia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 49. Also HOYLAND 2001, 170.
[43] See the work of Michael LECKER in particular LECKER, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina*. Leiden: Brill, 1995; and LECKER, *The "constitution of Medina": Muḥammad's First Legal Document*. Princeton: Darwin Press, 2004.
[44] See LECKER 2004. Regarding the English translation of the document's title, see in particular the introduction p. 1.
[45] See LECKER 2004, chapter 1, Text and Translations, 5 ss. In the text, § 2 is probably the most striking '*they form one people [ummah] to the exclusion of others'* (إنهم أمة واحدة من دون الناس), followed by § 14 and § 17.
[46] See ROBIN, "Nagrān vers l'époque du massacre," in: BEAUCAMP/BRIQUEL-CHATONNET/ROBIN 2010, 64-65; see as well NEBES 2010 and FINSTER 2010.

achieved through a monotheistic religion with one single God and one living Prophet, than with a wide range of deities which are likely to create rather more divisions and conflicts.[47] The birth of Islam benefitted from this general religious and spiritual aspiration and the inclination to create a unified polity. Muḥammad, and in particular his successors, seemed to have valued the creation or the preservation of unity. The *adhān*, as we shall see, is one example of their attempts to protect this unity and prevent disarray.

The second leitmotiv in the agreement between Muḥammad and Medina's Jewish tribes concerns the preservation of customs and traditions. The numerous repetitions of *ʿalá ribʿatihim* [Ibn Isḥāq]/*ribāʿtihim* [Abū ʿUbayd] (in their former/original state or condition) and *bi-l-maʿrūf* (according to the custom) clearly highlight a will to create a sense of continuity after the great disorder of the fifth and sixth centuries. The introduction of the *adhān* can be interpreted in this light: it was inspired from pre-existing practices and developed into a unique ritual characteristic of the Muslim community.

The constitution or agreement of Medina does not mention the Christians. It would be wrong to assume however that there were no Christians in Medina. Since Christian communities had settled almost everywhere in the Peninsula, one cannot exclude that they were present in Medina. We simply lack the sources attesting their presence, apart from the numerous mentions and specifically Christian themes covered in the Qurʾān. Furthermore, similar agreements could have been signed with Christian tribes and were lost to us. The title 'Constitution' is therefore misleading, for it gives the impression that it was a major and possibly unique document, while it was more likely one of many. The lack of evidence of the Christian presence cannot be taken as a proof. In the case of the *adhān*, the mention of the *nāqūs* in the narratives relating the introduction of the Islamic call to prayer can additionally be interpreted as a sign of a Christian population and its interaction with the Muslims of Medina.

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[47] See ROBIN 2010, and Iwona GAJDA, "Quel Monothéisme en Arabie du Sud Ancienne?," in: BEAUCAMP/BRIQUEL-CHATONNET/ROBIN 2010. GAJDA concludes that the conversation to Judaism of Ḥimyar was politically motivated and must be seen as a means to reinforce state unity and social cohesion, GAJDA 2010, 117.

1.4 The Islamic call to prayer

In the previous sections, we saw the rich acoustic space and the cultural, social and political context in which the *adhān* was born. A century earlier, the Arabian Peninsula had experienced a chaotic period and the population was seeking unity and stability, the latter being often sought in the preservation of past customs. This depiction allows us to root the interpretation of the narratives about the introduction of the *adhān* in its context in order to clear as much as possible the biases due to the faulty transmissions, the later additions and the back-projections.

Eventually, Muslims elaborated their own call to prayer. They could have, like the Jews or the Western Christians, adopted means already available to them, that is a horn or a *nāqūs*. However, this would have made it difficult for the believers to distinguish the Islamic call to prayer from the calls of the other religions. They could have invented different tunes with the existing instruments. But the latter were already exploited in many different ways: as we have seen, the Jews were blowing both horns and trumpets in various contexts or occasions, while the Christians were using different kinds of *semantra* in the East and bells in the West. "Because [Islamic] ritual practices had affinities to virtually every other contemporary religious tradition, it became supremely important to perform them in ways which were distinctively Islamic."[48] Muslims were in a way encouraged, by the diverse acoustic rituals around them, to be inventive, and to create a *distinctively* new way to call the believers to prayer. They succeeded in their task, for the chanted formulæ of the *adhān* belong since long to the main characteristic of Islam.

The *adhān* was not the first Islamic ritual and it is very much linked to the prayer, which it announces. The idea that the prayer is an early Islamic institution has not been challenged, mainly because of its frequent and detailed mentions in the Qurʾān, which remains one of the earliest sources we have for the beginning of Islam.[49] The Islamic prayer is also to be considered within the religious context of the rise of Islam. Monotheistic religions had already developed, at that time, specific spaces dedicated to the "service of God", mainly synagogues and churches, which took over the

[48] Micheal G. MORONY, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, 445.
[49] See Guy MONNOT, "Ṣalāt," in: *EI*^{2}; Shelomo D. GOITEIN, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010, 73 ss. Conversely, the number of prayers and their form in the early years of Islamic history are objects of debates.

function of the temples in polytheistic religions.[50] In these places, people would gather to accomplish their religious duty towards God. Similarly, Islam institutionalised the prayer (*al-ṣalāh*), which counts among the pillars of the religion (*aḥkam al-islām*), a duty of the believers to God.[51] And the *masjid* became the space dedicated to the prayer and its prostrations (*sajadah* from which *masjid* is derived) as a sign of submission to God. The Muslims had therefore ritual prayers and space to practice them, exactly like the Jews and the Christians; to be fully efficient, they only lacked a convoker. In a small community, it was easy for people to gather at the same time and call those who were missing. But when the number of believers increased, and without individual means to determine precisely the time of the day, it must have become difficult to convoke everyone.

In addition, we have seen the need for unity among Medina's population at the beginning of the seventh century. The common prayer was directly creating a strong sense of community by bringing all Muslims together. The ritual gestures themselves performed in synchronisation transformed the crowd into a single body bowing, kneeling and standing in a perfect union. Missing this significant moment was to be avoided absolutely. Under this light, the call to prayer is much more than a simple convoker: it becomes a full ritual that "also partakes of the character of an act of worship (*ʿibādah*)."[52] This is why it is performed even when a Muslim prays alone and there is no one else to call. Legal manuals and *ḥadīth* collections often mention the *adhān* in their section about the prayer, *kitāb al-ṣalāh*. Thus, two German scholars of the early twentieth century, Carl Heinrich Becker and Eugen Mittwoch went as far as to merge it with the prayer and considered it as an intrinsic part of the *ṣalāh*. The next section presents the analyses of these scholars and other Western views on the *adhān*, its introduction and its significance.

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[50] GOITEIN 2010, 74-75.

[51] GOITEIN 2010, 75 underlines the fact that the prayer was "not [a] spontaneous devotion, but [the] fulfilment of a duty"; the 'spontaneous devotion' being the *duʾa*.

[52] Marion H. KATZ, "Call to prayer," in: *EI*[3]. And "thus, the Mālikīs and the Ḥanbalīs hold that valid performance of the call to prayer requires appropriate intent (*nīya*)."

1.5 Secondary literature on the *adhān*

Many authors, coming from different branches in Islamic studies, have approached the *adhān*, adopting each a different perspective on its introduction. Yet, they all agree that the *adhān* was introduced at the time of the Prophet. Becker affirmed, early in the 20th century, that the *adhān* went back to the Prophet's time.[53] According to Gautier H. A. Juynboll, "the introduction of the *adhān* [...] surely occurred in early days".[54] The need for such a call, and hence its establishment, could not be reasonably dated after the death of the Prophet, especially since the wording of the *adhān* is very similar for Sunnī and Shīʿī alike, as well as Khārijī, a fact that supports convincingly, as Ian K. A. Howard suggests, "the early date of the *adhān*'s establishment".[55] The narratives which relate this historical event have been considerably embellished, so that it is difficult to reconstruct what truly happened. But, as Najam Iftikhar Haider notices, accounts of ritual law "appear less prone to forgery and falsification" than other reports.[56] And Behnam Sadeghi further affirms that under "the Umayyads, empire-wide caliphal intervention in religious life was both rare and, when it took place, less than a complete success".[57] More studies would be necessary to substantiate further these two claims, especially since Islamic rituals have not been thoroughly investigated so far. The present research goes in this direction by providing new elements regarding the history of the *adhān*. As will become clear in the third chapter, the *adhān*-narratives make it possible to construe, to a certain extent, the reason for the additions, modifications and other interventions, which gave to the story the shape we observe today.

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[53] According to Carl H. BECKER "[d]er Ruf zum Gebet geht auf den Propheten zurück", Carl H. BECKER, "Zur Geschichte des Islamischen Kultus," in: *Der Islam* 3, no. 1 (1912): 389.
[54] Gautier H. A. JUYNBOLL, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007, 422.
[55] Ian K. A. HOWARD, "The Development of the *Adhān* and *Iqāma* of the *Ṣalāt* in Early Islam," in: *Journal of Semitic Studies* 26, no. 2, September 1981, 220.
[56] Najam I. HAIDER, "The Geography of the *Isnād*: Possibilities for the Reconstruction of Local Ritual Practice in the 2nd/8th Century," in: *Der Islam* 90, no. 2 (2013): 315.
[57] Behnam SADEGHI [1], "The Travelling Tradition Test: A Method for Dating Traditions," in: *Der Islam* 85, no. 1 (2010): 206.

1.5.1 Becker and Mittwoch

Five authors have analysed, to different extent, these accounts of the introduction of the *adhān*. In 1912, Becker published an article dealing with the history of the Islamic prayer.[58] According to him, there were three main influences on Islam: the Jewish one at the time of the Prophet, the Christian under the Umayyads and the Sassanid with the Abbasids.[59] Since the Islamic cult of the Friday prayer is not 'primitive', it must have been introduced *after* the death of the Prophet, and it must have been influenced, mainly, by the Christian tradition, Becker argues.[60] He establishes thus a comparison between the Christian liturgy in the Oriental Mass and the Islamic Friday prayer, which was, according to him, modelled on the former.[61] The *adhān,* in his scheme, corresponds to the part that precedes the reading of the Scriptures ("Vormesse"), during which the priest pronounces out loud formulæ and the crowd answers with specific *responsa* ("Responsionsritus").[62] Becker claims that his comparison is so radically opposed to the general understanding of the *adhān* that it requires a strong argumentation.[63] However, his division of the mass and the Friday prayer is arbitrary, both could be divided differently, and nothing suggests that one division is better than the other. Besides, the similarities between some formulæ in the Christian and Islamic rituals simply highlight the Christian impregnated milieu in which Islam arose, but to establish that the Friday prayer is actually an islamicised Christian practice, one needs more evidence than a couple of common phrases. Furthermore, the *khuṭbah* can be compared with the preaching, but less convincingly with the reading of the scriptures, as Becker proposes. The Islamic *ṣalāh* counts also many physical movements (bowing, kneeling, standing) as well as the repetition of '*Allāh akbar*' which make the comparison with the Christian ritual look strained.

Becker's interpretation of the *adhān* development and his analogy with the Christian 'Responsionsritus' is equally problematic. The repetitions of the *adhān* formulæ by the Muslims are

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[58] BECKER 1912, 374-399.
[59] See BECKER 1912, 398.
[60] See BECKER, 1912, 375.
[61] In Becker's views the reading of the Scriptures is the equivalent of the first *khuṭbah*, the preaching is the second *khuṭbah* and the general church prayer is the *du'ā'*. Finally, the *ṣalāh* corresponds to the mass. See BECKER 1912, 385.
[62] See BECKER 1912, 386.
[63] BECKER 1912, 387 explains that his "Behauptung widerspricht so völlig der herrschenden Auffassung vom *Adhān*, daß sie ausführlich begründet werden muss".

not necessarily *responsa*. They seem to belong to a culture that emphasises repetitive rituals and resemble in this case more an individual pious practice, like the rosary prayers in Christianity, for instance. Had they been proper *responsa*, they would have contained different formulæ rather than bare repetitions. One does not need to look very far to find many Islamic rituals in which repetitions are central: from the daily prayers to the pilgrimage's *ṭawāf* or circumambulations, from the *wuḍūʾ* or ablutions to the *shahādah*, or Islamic profession of faith. Furthermore, the *adhān* is a rather simple ritual and it would have required more complexity to equal the 'Responsionsritus' to which Becker is referring. The *adhān* is also part of the liturgy, he argues, in direct contradiction with the Islamic narratives.[64] Yet, the evidence that he claims to find in al-Bukhārī and other collectors is neither clear nor highlighted in his quotes.[65]

The other argument advanced by Becker is based on the vocabulary of the Qurʾān. Becker notices that, in the Qurʾān, the word *adhān* never designates the 'call to prayer'. Instead, the verb *nadā* (or *nādá* form III) and the verbal noun *nidāʾ* occur.[66] Becker concludes from this observation that the *adhān* appeared later, after the end of the Qurʾān revelation ("in nachqorānischer Zeit"), and stands in direct contradiction to the Qurʾān and its terminology ("im Gegensatz zum qorānischen Sprachgebrauch").[67] However, Becker's linguistic analysis does not take into consideration, for instance, the use of *nidāʾ* and *adhān* interchangeably by many authors long after the timeframe he sets. The fact that the word '*adhān*' does not describe the call to prayer in the Qurʾān is not necessarily to be interpreted as contradicting the Qurʾān. Rather, it can be seen as a simple evolution of the ritual, as depicted in the Islamic sources. Consequently, the difficulty that Becker encounters in interpreting the early evolution of the *adhān* and challenging the Islamic narrative might be rooted as much in the complexity of the early Islamic sources as in his attempt to base the historical creation of the *adhān* almost exclusively on analogies with Christian rituals.

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[64] BECKER 1912, 389 argues that we have "im *Adhān* ein Stück Liturgie und nicht einen Ersatz für Schlagholz oder Trompete".
[65] See BECKER 1912, 387.
[66] See Q. 5:58 and 62:9.
[67] BECKER 1912, 387.

In response to Becker's conclusions, Mittwoch published an essay, one year later, to stress the overall similarity between the Jewish and the Islamic legal system.[68] He supports Becker's views, but only as far as, according to him, the Christian service itself was shaped following the Jewish model ("Musterbeispiel").[69] Besides, all the points on which the Christian model does not apply to the Islamic ritual, Mittwoch affirms, can be successfully compared with the Jewish model, which he considers therefore as the original source for all the prayer rituals, Christian and Islamic alike.[70] Such claim requires an assessment from the perspective of Christian as well as Islamic studies. Yet, though the Jewish influences are undeniable, Mittwoch's theory of an exclusively Jewish pattern lies on weak grounds and poor evidence.

Mittwoch presents the same problematic approach as Becker: lack of analysis of primary materials, absence of chronological assessment of the sources, generalising conclusions drawn from parallels based in turn on strained comparisons, and omission of any interpretation of the dissimilarities.[71] Mittwoch admits that limitations exist and more information could be brought to light through the study of Jewish small tribes of the time of the Prophet or in comparing the Jewish and Islamic legal systems.[72] Nevertheless, this does not lead him to reach more balanced and cautious conclusions. He does not take into consideration that Jews pray five times a day only on the occasion of feast days. These supplementary prayers mark a particular event and do not belong to the daily ritual. Conversely, during their two main festivals, Muslims *replace* the usual prayer by a particular one, while the five Sunnī prayers belong to the daily rituals. And if Jews had occasionally five prayers, why would Muslims have started with fewer prayers while they took the prayers from the Jews, according to Mittwoch? He further argues, for instance, that the similarities between the "Tᵉphillā" and the five Sunnī prayers are such that their dissimilarities do not even deserve to be

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[68] Eugen MITTWOCH, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*. Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Commission bei Georg Reimer, 1913.
[69] See MITTWOCH 1913, 4.
[70] See MITTWOCH 1913, 30.
[71] See the criticism raised by FRIEDLANDER in his review of the text: Israel FRIEDLANDER, "Mittwoch's Islamic Liturgy and Cult," in: *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 4, no. 4 (1914): 641–49, in particular 643 ss.
[72] See MITTWOCH 1913, 4: "Manche Islamische Entlehnung würde noch deutlicher zutage treten, wenn wir über den religiösen Brauch verschiedener jüdischer Sekten jener Zeit besser unterrichtet wären". The more recent work carried out in this field, especially by LECKER as will be shown in the coming section on Medina, has not brought to light any clear justifications for MITTWOCH's hypothesis.

considered.[73] The fact that Islam counted originally two and then three prayers which became in turn, for Sunnī Muslims only, five mandatory prayers is not necessarily to be modelled on a Jewish influence. Other influences and interpretations are possible and not inevitably exclusive.[74] Islam might have had, at its beginning, a Jewish form of praying, one prayer in the morning, one in the evening and one in the middle of the day, and yet, it was decided to distinguish the new-born religion from its Jewish parent, and so the last two prayers were doubled: two day-prayers, and two night-prayers. The development could have therefore happened not *following* the Jewish prayer but rather *in opposition* to it, to distinguish Muslim from Jewish rituals and communities.

As for the *adhān*, Mittwoch argues that the Islamic call to prayer was originally very simple ("das Gebet, das Gebet!"); it remains a 'call to prayer' ("Gebetsruf") and did not become a part of the liturgy.[75] As such, the *adhān* can be compared with the Jewish trumpet ("Posaunenstöße"), as suggested in the Islamic tradition, although the *aḥādīth* emphasise more the influence of the Christian instrument, a focus that can be explained by the fact that the Jewish trumpet is not primarily meant to call people to prayer contrary to the Christian instrument, the *nāqūs*.[76] Another possible explanation is the fact that Muslims were blowing trumpets in warfare, and could have been reluctant to hear the same sound calling them to battles and to prayers. But Mittwoch does not take into account the focus in Islamic sources on the Christian ritual, a detail which directly contradicts his conclusions. Mittwoch also ignores the important changes which occurred in the Jewish service from the sixth century onwards, notably the common prayer.[77] How did these changes spread and to which extent did they affect Jews in the Arabian Peninsula? When were the Jewish practices introduced to which Mittwoch refers? We might need to consider the evolution of the Jewish rituals and religious practices around the prayer to compare it usefully with the Islamic ones.

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[73] See MITTWOCH's description of the Tᵉphillā in MITTWOCH 1913, 7 and his comparison 13 ss.
[74] See the summary discussion in Haggai MAZUZ, *The Religious and Spiritual Life of the Jews of Medina*. Leiden: Brill, 2014, 34 ss.
[75] MITTWOCH 1913, 25.
[76] MITTWOCH 1913, 26.
[77] Leo LANDMANN, "The Office of the Medieval 'Hazzan,'" in: *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 62, no. 3 (1972): 158 ss.

That many Islamic rituals are rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition is not questioned, it is even stated by the Islamic narrative itself when it comes to the *adhān* for instance. In this sense, both Becker and Mittwoch bring forth insightful analyses. Yet, their attempts to find a single – and exclusive – origin of some Islamic rituals in Christianity or Judaism respectively lack strong evidence. In their defence, their interpretation suffers from the scarcity of sources available at their time. Nevertheless, such exclusive interpretations are rarely sufficient to convey all the details of and reasons for the birth of a ritual. Furthermore, a method which consists in elaborating a theory and seeking in the sources its confirmations should be applied with great caution, for it can lead to obliterate the sources' genuine information or intrinsic meaning in order to interpret them in the sense of the theory (confirmation bias). The shortcomings of Becker's and Mittwoch's narrow interpretations accentuate the necessity to engage in exhaustive and holistic analysis of the primary sources, close reading and contextualisation. These are the only remedies for such biases, which erroneously seem right when taken out of context or applied on a small set of data. The *adhān*, as much as the *ṣalāh* probably, have more eclectic roots than Becker and Mittwoch argued.

1.5.2 Juynboll, Katz and Howard

More recently, Juynboll wrote an article on the *adhān* in *EI*^{2}.[78] He provides a succinct summary of the main characteristics of the ritual, its history, the divergences of the different Islamic legal schools regarding its wordings and its various melody. His presentation of the origins of the *adhān* is slightly misleading, since it mixes different narratives, as if there were only one ("According to Muslim tradition…"). In *EI*^{3}, we find a different perspective given by Marion Holmes Katz, who describes the position of the *adhān* in the Islamic creed and its historical evolution as well as the political reasons for its modification.[79] When it comes to the myth of origins, Katz distinguishes between a short narrative and a longer version, which broadly correspond with my first and third categories, although she seems to take into consideration only two narratives. Her main secondary source is Howard's article on "The Development of the *adhān* and the *iqāma* of the *ṣalāt* in early Islam"

[78] JUYNBOLL "Adhān," in: *EI*^{2}.
[79] KATZ "Call to prayer," in: *EI*^{3}.

published in 1981.[80] Howard's text is an extract of his doctoral thesis on Imāmī-Shīʿī rituals. It is thus not concerned with the *adhān* as such – which is for him more a side topic –, but rather with the differences between Shīʿī and Sunnī *adhān* and *iqāmah*. Therefore, it remains slightly peripheral on a number of issues, like the origin of the *adhān*, which could benefit from more in-depth attention.

Howard favours an early dating of the *adhān*, as mentioned above.[81] He also maintains that only one sentence constituted the original *adhān*, like Mittwoch, but he suggests that the original call to prayer was *ḥayya ʿalá al-ṣalāh*, potentially with *ḥayya ʿalá al-falāḥ*, while the "additional *takbīr*s, *shahādatayn* and *tahlīl* seem to belong to the early period of expansion".[82] Howard further argues that these additions could have been "adopted by the Muslims as a public declaration of the faithful in the midst of hostile unbelievers".[83] It is not clear whether this means that the *adhān* was invented before, directly after or long after the Prophet's death. The latter would imply that despite the Shīʿī-Sunnī disagreements, both factions managed to agree on the basic formulæ of the *adhān*. And one could legitimately ask: was this possible? Also, how does this fit with Howard's supposition that there "may have been two *adhān*s fairly early in Islam, one general for the community to gather for the *salāt* and one particular for the Prophet or later caliph to come and lead the *salāt*"?[84] If the *adhān* was only composed of these one or two sentences, then what was the second *adhān*? Was *qad qāmat al-ṣalāh* part of the original *adhān* (or forms of *adhān*)? If not, when was it added?

Howard does not answer these questions and his conclusion deals with another issue, mainly "the influence of Jewish or Christian liturgy" on the *adhān*.[85] Without having addressed this influence in any length in his article, he opposes Becker's and Mittwoch's conclusions, although he recognises that Jewish and Christian influences on the Islamic ritual remain beyond doubt. The lack of clarity in the presentation of the conclusion highlights in a way the confusion created by the contradictory sources we have about the *adhān* and the history of its introduction. It makes it however

[80] HOWARD 1981, 219–28.
[81] See HOWARD 1981, 220.
[82] HOWARD 1981, 225.
[83] HOWARD 1981, 225.
[84] HOWARD 1981, 225.
[85] HOWARD 1981, 228.

difficult to determine which was the initial *adhān*, which formulæ were added and when did the additions occur in Howard's view.

Slightly more problematic is probably Howard's trust in the historicity of the *aḥādīth* he quotes as primary sources. His argument that al-Shaybānī's tradition is "genuine" because it is supported by the "standard Madinan *isnād*" Mālik – Nāfiʿ – IbnʿUmar is not sufficient, since Juynboll raised important doubts about this specific *isnād* in an article dedicated to Nāfiʿ.[86] Even though Juynboll's conclusions have been seriously challenged, they cannot be overlooked by trusting this *isnād* without further study, and should encourage to adopt a critical approach along with an analysis of the content.[87] Howard also affirms that "the earliest reports" of the introduction of the *adhān* "come from Ibn Isḥāq [...] and Mālik".[88] Assessing the historicity of Ibn Isḥāq's report is not a small task. It is true that Gregor Schoeler concludes his studies of two sets of reports from the *Sīrah* with a positive note: "Authentic and inauthentic traditions [...] can very often be distinguished through comparison on the basis of a complete corpus."[89] Yet he shows very well the importance of working on a 'complete' corpus, which is not what we can see in Howard's work, since he confuses the different narratives and their transmitters, without noticing that there are significant variations between them.[90] In fact, one potentially early report was transmitted by Anas ibn Mālik < Abū Qilābah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd al-Jarmī < Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā ibn Mihrān: neither Ibn Isḥāq nor Mālik are involved in its transmission. Furthermore, Howard evokes the Magian influence as if it were overall attested, while it is rarely appearing in the sources and seems to have been a later and potentially controversial addition.[91] He rightly points out that al-Bukhārī's version does not include

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[86] HOWARD 1981, 220; JUYNBOLL, "Nāfiʿ, the Mawlā of Ibn 'Umar, and His Position in Muslim Ḥadīth Literature," in: *Der Islam* 70, no. 2 (1996): 207–244; among his conclusions, if we exclude the problematic common link argument, which is probably not as irrefutable as JUYNBOLL would like us to believe, there is the central role played by Mālik in the transmission of traditions with this *isnād*. This deserves surely more attention to assess the historicity of such traditions.

[87] The main critique against JUYNBOLL's article came from MOTZKI, in Harald MOTZKI & Nicolet BOEKHOFF-VAN DER VOORT & Sean W. ANTHONY, *Analysing Muslim Traditions: Studies in Legal, Exegetical and Maghāzī Ḥadīth*. Leiden: Brill, 2010, 75 ss.

[88] HOWARD 1981, 222.

[89] SCHOELER 2011, 112.

[90] See HOWARD 1981, 222.

[91] See HOWARD 1981, 222. HOWARD uses the 1858 German edition of Ibn Hishām's *Sīrah*, and the page he is giving as reference does not mention the fire; one finds there only the *nāqūs* and the *būq*. I shall develop this further in chapter 3 of the present work.

any "supernatural influence" on the establishment of the *adhān*, but he misses the fact that al-Bukhārī reported *two* different versions of the narrative.[92] These misunderstandings are mainly due to the fact that Howard did not adopt a holistic approach, which would have allowed him to observe the contradictions within the sources and avoid reliance on inconsistent elements.

In his *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*, Juynboll mentions several accounts related to the introduction of the *adhān*. Since his *Encyclopedia* is organised by transmitter, and not by theme, the narratives from the three categories, that I have established, appear in different places under ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, Abū Qilābah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd and Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq.[93] Juynboll usually relies exclusively on the *isnād* to date reports. He seems to have been slightly puzzled by the *adhān*-narratives and suggests exceptionally an earlier dating than the one he would have obtained from his analysis of the chain of transmitters.[94] In the third chapter of the present work, I show the reasons for the limitation of his *isnād*-analysis and use his conclusions as premises to distinguish as much as possible the early parts from the later additions. Before we immerse ourselves in the exploration of this material, I shall spend a few words in the following chapter to present the primary sources that I have used in the present work and the methods applied for their analysis. This is the object of chapter two. The first part introduces the methodology adopted to analyse the sources. It is followed by a section (2.1) about the primary sources containing the *aḥādīth* that relate the history of the *adhān*. The last part (2.2) presents the legal treatises that address the issue of the Christian call to prayer and reflect the specific context in which the *aḥādīth* about the *adhān* were circulated.

[92] HOWARD 1981, 222.
[93] See JUYNBOLL 2007, 10, 58-59, 421-422.
[94] His dating in the case of the *adhān* goes back *before* the common link: see JUYNBOLL 2007, 10, 58-59, 421-422; on the early date of the establishment of the *adhān*, see p. 422.

2 Method and primary sources

The present work builds on the most recent research practices in *ḥadīth* studies which consists in applying a close textual analysis on both the chains of transmission and the text within a possibly exhaustive corpus of narratives all pertaining to one topic. [95] It starts by following the method established by Harald Motzki called *isnād-cum-matn* analysis – without necessary adhering to Motzki's conclusions – and develops it further to understand the primary sources throughout their evolution and in the various contexts in which they were circulated.[96]

The most comprehensive example of the application of this method is probably Schoeler's monograph on *The Biography of Muḥammad*.[97] He analysed therein two sets of *aḥādīth* on specific topics (the *iqraʾ* narration and the *ḥadīth al-ifk*). He started by compiling "a full corpus of available material" on the given topics.[98] He then proceeded to a comparative *isnād-cum-matn* analysis, taking into consideration all the versions and recensions gathered in his corpus. By comparing the similarities and dissimilarities between the texts and their chains of transmission, he distinguished the reliable from the unreliable elements of the narratives. He found that some chains of transmission "turned out to be correct and traditions were transmitted over long periods of time without radically changing their meaning."[99] Conversely, he discovered corrupted materials, reminding us that "careful inspection" is always necessary.[100] Schoeler insists that there is nothing like an 'objective'

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[95] For a useful summary on the evolution of *ḥadīth* studies in Western scholarships see Herbert BERG, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam: The Authenticity of Muslim Literature from the Formative Period*. Richmond: Curzon, 2000, 6 ss. His second chapter traces with manifold details the evolution of *ḥadīth* criticism and the main positions in the field. Recent archaeological findings have also influenced considerably the field as shown by SCHOELER 2011, 14, who gives a selection of some early materials that confirmed the information held in later sources. He cites mainly the graffito of Qāʿ al-Muʿtadil, papyri from the middle of the seventh century, Arabic-Sasanian coins, Qurʾān inscriptions and Qurʾān manuscripts.

[96] Initiated by MOTZKI, "Quo vadis, Ḥadīṯ-Forschung? Eine kritische Untersuchung von G.H.A. Juynboll: „Nāfi' the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar, and his position in Muslim *Ḥadīṯ* Literature"," in: *Der Islam* 73, no. 1 (1996): 40-80 and 73, no. 2 (1996), 193-231, the *isnād-cum-matn* analysis was elaborated further by a number of scholars after him, notably SCHOELER, whose method I have followed in the present work, as explained in this chapter. See *inter alia* MOTZKI/BOEKHOFF-VAN DER VOORT/ANTHONY 2010; BOEKHOFF-VAN DER VOORT, "The *Kitāb al-maghāzī* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī: Searching for earlier source-material," in: BOEKHOFF-VAN DER VOORT, Nicolet & VERSTEEGH, C. H. M. & WAGEMAKERS, Joas (eds), *The Transmission and Dynamics of the Textual Sources of Islam: Essays in Honour of Harald Motzki*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011, 34 ss.

[97] SCHOELER 2011.

[98] SCHOELER 2011, 19; see chap. 2, p. 38 and 3, p. 80 for the analysis of the two different traditions.

[99] SCHOELER 2011, 91.

[100] SCHOELER 2011, 91 and ss.

report, for any eye-witness, narrator and transmitter will always tend to tell the story with a certain bias.[101] Nevertheless, comparisons of independently transmitted reports, especially those from the Medinan periods, allowed him to reconstruct part of the original, even if it is only the general outlines.[102] Finally, when *isnād* and *matn* correspond strongly with each other, the reliability of the report increases considerably.[103] In the case of the reports on the origin of the *adhān*, which concern the Medinan period, Schoeler's methodology appears highly relevant.

To complement Schoeler's approach, I have taken into consideration the 'geographical' analysis of the *asānīd* inspired by the works of Sadeghi and Haider on "regionalism" in chains of transmission.[104] Sadeghi developed a probabilistic technique, that he called the "Travelling Tradition Test".[105] It consists in an investigation of the *asānīd* of a corpus of *aḥādīth*, grouped according to their contents, like Schoeler does, and a special focus on the geographical origin of the transmitters. If the content of a given account contains so-called 'regionalisms' pertaining to a city in which some transmitters were based, then the account can be dated to the lifetime of these transmitters.[106] Sadeghi establishes approximately how the account 'travels' from its city of origin to the cities in which the other transmitters were based.

His method is founded on two assumptions. First, he argues that each "city has its own distinctive verbal, stylistic, and legal profiles", at least until the second/eighth century.[107] The Traveling Tradition Test is therefore tailored to be applied on early accounts potentially pertaining to the first hundred and fifty years of Islam. Although Sadeghi stresses the slow communication that kept cities apart in early Islam and strengthened regionalism, he admits that influences must have occurred between cities, in spite of the long distances between them and the elementary means of

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[101] See SCHOELER 2011, 113 and 114. Paul RICŒUR, *Histoire et Vérité*, Paris: Du Seuil, 1964, also develops the concept of objectivity, see pp. 23 ss. and in the discussion in the present work p. 31 below.
[102] See SCHOELER 2011, 114; he also affirms that to "doubt the historicity of the main outlines of events reported in such traditions would be excessively sceptical" (115).
[103] See SCHOELER 2011, 117 and in particular Andreas GÖRKE [2], "Eschatology, History, and the Common Link: A Study in Methodology," in: BERG, Herbert (ed.), *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003, 179-208.
[104] SADEGHI [1] 2010, 204; and HAIDER, 2013, 306-346.
[105] SADEGHI [1] 2010, 208.
[106] SADEGHI [1] 2010, 204 ss.
[107] SADEGHI [1] 2010, 204. "In the second century the picture changed as traditions travelled far more frequently", *ibid.* 207.

communication.[108] Sadeghi's first assumption, therefore, cannot be taken at face value, and must be checked carefully. The second assumption posits that "parts of *isnād*s often carry valid geographical information".[109] This assumption is more nuanced and therefore less problematic. Provided that a chain of transmission is genuine, one might as well believe in its ability to furnish *valid* geographical information. Because of the shortcomings of his assumptions, Sadeghi suggests using his test "along with other methods".[110]

Haider similarly focuses on the same period, with a special interest in 'ritual law', since he holds that accounts in this field "appear less prone to forgery or fabrication", a premise apparently shared by Sadeghi, judging by his choice of traditions.[111] Haider starts, like Schoeler and Sadeghi, with the compilation of a corpus of reports on a particular ritual. His first case study looks at the different stances adopted on the recitation of the *basmalah* in the daily prayer.[112] In the second case, Haider analyses the disagreement about the Prophet's prayer or curse on tribes or individuals, called the *qunūt*.[113] Within each given corpus, Haider follows Sadeghi in that he also concentrates first on the transmitters. He links each transmitter to the urban centre in which he was mostly active and then selects the scholars who lived between 100/718 and 150/767.[114] In his view, most reports can be reliably dated to this period at least and the disagreements or discussions about the rituals under scrutiny were most likely located in the city to which the transmitter of this period is affiliated.[115] Hence, "regional ritual practices" can be reconstructed if "a sufficient number of traditions linked to a given city advocate a particular practice".[116] The results thus obtained are corroborated if a school of law, or *madhhāb*, which advocates this particular practice of the ritual, is connected with the same

[108] See SADEGHI [1] 2010, 206.
[109] SADEGHI [1] 2010, 205.
[110] SADEGHI [1] 2010, 237.
[111] HAIDER 2013, 315. In Joseph SCHACHT, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, 237, Schacht affirms that "questions of ritual [are] all that we can expect of a specialist in religious law towards the end of the first century A.H."
[112] See HAIDER 2013, chap. 3, pp. 320 ss.
[113] See HAIDER 2013, chap. 4, pp. 329 ss.
[114] HAIDER 2013, 317.
[115] HAIDER 2013, 319.
[116] HAIDER 2013, 319.

city or region.[117] As we shall see, this method is applicable to the call to prayer, which presents similar characteristics to the rituals analysed by Haider.

All these fairly recent studies show that the amount of information that can be gathered from primary materials about early Islamic period is not as problematic as it used to be in the past, even though another important obstacle remains. In the search for middle grounds, scholars also seek objectivity since personal biases constitute one of the most significant impediments to objective scholarship. According to Paul Ricœur, anything that methodical thinking has constructed, ordered, understood, and can make others understand, is objective. [118] But there is always a subjective base to this methodical thinking, and if the source-critical analysis is overshadowed by a tendentious exegesis, the conclusions can be closer to a creative fiction than to historical reality.[119]

To keep subjective biases at bay, I have adopted a contextualised approach combined with close textual analysis which require a constant proximity with the texts under scrutiny and its context. Each text is meticulously examined and after each important section or group of sub-chapters, the summary of the findings gathers the results to highlight the main conclusions that serve as basis for the final conclusion.

To facilitate these micro-analyses, the scope of the present research has been limited to the origins of the Islamic call to prayer as depicted in sources dating back to the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries. Later sources have been taken into consideration and mentioned when relevant, yet they are not part of the main corpus.

The next part, that is chapter 4, deals with the opinions of five jurists regarding the extent to which Christians should be allowed to use the religious acoustic space under Islamic rules. Their works are presented in the final section of the present chapter. Muslims and Christians were both

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[117] See HAIDER 2013, 319 and his first chapter on the geographical associations of law schools, pp. 308 ss.
[118] See RICŒUR 1964, 23: "*est objectif ce que la pensée méthodique a élaboré, mis en ordre, compris et qu'elle peut ainsi faire comprendre*". Here is where, according to RICŒUR, the historian must show special abilities. Being objective is almost mechanical, while leading the readers from the present to the past, from the *self* to the *human* requires, as RICŒUR coins it, a 'rare gift' ("*un don rare*", p. 31), a subjectivity which goes beyond the self to reach the human being ("*une subjectivité non seulement de moi, mais de l'homme*", p. 24).
[119] Miklos MURANYI quotes the German scholar Erwin Gräf, who was highlighting this issue already in 1959: "es '*droht nunmehr die Gefahr…, daß die Quellenkritik sich zu einem irreführenden Skepsis gegenüber den Quellen und einem allzugroßen Vertrauen auf das eigene exegetische Urteil auswächst.*'" MURANYI, "Die frühe Rechtsliteratur zwischen Quellenanalyse und Fiktion," in: *Islamic Law and Society* 4, no. 2 (1997): 225.

using acoustic rituals to call people to religious practices. It seems that Christians continued using their instrument, the *nāqūs*, long after the Arab Conquest, though not without opposition from the Muslim local communities. The religious acoustic space became a field for the expression of religious superiority, and Muslim authors disagreed on the tolerance that should have been applied towards Christians. The main reason for their disagreement lies in their different understanding of religious diversity either as an enrichment or as a threat for the Muslim population. The primary sources discussed here will serve as a basis for a reflection on the differences between the narratives about the introduction of the *adhān* and the legal discussions of the Christian call to prayer. The opinions of these five jurists stand in contradiction with some parts of the *aḥādīth* about the introduction of the *adhān* and agree with others. The contrast between the two types of sources highlights the layers of redaction that produce the *aḥādīth* we have and help distinguish the earlier elements from the later additions.

2.1 The beginning of the *adhān* in the *ḥadīth* literature

The following table lists the main primary sources, analysed in the present work, and the additional later materials in chronological order, with the number of narratives they contain for each of the categories C1, C2, and C3:

Sources *3rd/9th c.*	**C1**	**C2**	**C3**
Mālik ibn Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*			1
al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*			1
ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*	1		2
Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah*			2
Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*			3
al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*	1	2	
Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*	1	2	
Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*			5
Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ*	1		1
Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*			2

Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*			3
Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*			1
Dārimī, *Sunan*			1
4th/10th c. [not included in the main corpus]			
Nasāʾī, *Sunan*	1		
Ibn Khuzaymah, *Ṣaḥīḥ*	1		
Ibn Ḥibban, *Ṣaḥīḥ*			1
al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*			1
Ibn Bābawayh, *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*			1
al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*	1	1	2

Table 1: Primary sources and the number of narratives they contain for each category.

Most of the collectors of the *aḥādīth* narrating the beginning of the *adhān* were active in the third/ninth century, and their collections sometimes date back not to the scholar to whom they are attributed, but to his students' generation or his students' students' generation. In the second/eighth century however, we find two authorities, both from Medina: Ibn Isḥāq (d. *c*. 150/767) and Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/795). Their approaches and aims are radically different, and there were conflicts reported between them. Although Ibn Isḥāq is more systematic than his contemporaries, he gives the impression of aiming at an exhaustive biography of Muḥammad, for the redaction of which he was accused of having gathered all the reports he could find, regardless of the reliability of their source.[120] A further complication with Ibn Isḥāq's material is the absence of written records, either from him or from his students. Writing notes and producing written materials stopped being an issue in the second/eighth century, but producing several copies of one book was still not a routine and/or materially or technologically possible, so that many works from this period are likely to have been lost.[121] Thus Schoeler argues that there was almost certainly a written *Kitāb al-maghāzī* by Ibn Isḥāq,

[120] See J. M. B. JONES, "Ibn Isḥāq," in: *EI²*; SCHOELER 2011, 26 explains that Ibn Isḥāq's "research among the 'people'" allowed him to extend "the corpus of material", but "the identity of those informants" remains a problem for current scholars; see also *ibid.* 27.

[121] See Jonathan BLOOM, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2001, in particular chapter 2, pp. 47 ss. On the question of oral and written sources in the first century of Islamic history see SCHOELER, *The Oral and the Written in Early Islam*. Edited by James E. MONTGOMERY and translated by Uwe VAGELPOHL, London: Routledge, 2006 and Michael COOK, "The Opponents of the Writing of Tradition in Early Islam," in: *Arabica* 44, no. 4 (1997): 437-530.

probably for courtly use, but it disappeared with the fall of the Umayyads.[122] This leaves us with scattered sources, notably the famous recension by ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn Hishām (d. *c.* 218/834), the student of Ibn Isḥāq's student, Ziyād al-Bakkāʾī (d. 183/799).

Ibn Hishām's recension was studied in a monograph, in the 19th century, by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld.[123] In his introduction to the second volume of the edition, Wüstenfeld offers a translation of the biographies of Ibn Hishām by Ibn Khallikān, al-Nawawī and al-Suyūtī.[124] He also discusses the criticism raised against Ibn Isḥāq and his authority as a reliable scholar, in particular when it comes to *aḥādīth,* and takes Ibn Isḥāq's side to defend Ibn Hishām's choice of source and reliability.[125] Although his study is broad, including an analysis of the manuscripts, the biographers, and the general context, his arguments seem to be based more on personal impressions than on historical evidence.

Schoeler adopts a middle position regarding Ibn Isḥāq's work, challenging both the traditions and the sceptics.[126] In his opinion, thorough scrutiny of the *Sīrah* can reveal historical information. He demonstrates how the aforementioned close textual analysis leads to reconstruct "with some certainty" the original accounts, in his case Ibn Isḥāq's work.[127] And the general outline of reports transmitted independently by several transmitters is often traceable up to the generation of ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubayr (d. *c*. 94/712-3).[128] Consequently, scholars start gaining access to parts of the first/seventh century, which had hitherto been described as absolutely inaccessible for historians. The present work on the *adhān* goes in this direction, supporting further Schoeler's conclusions.

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[122] See SCHOELER 2011, 30-32. See the list of Ibn Isḥāq's writings in Fuat SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* [GAS]. Leiden: Brill, 1967, I, 289.
[123] See ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammed's. Kitāb Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*. Göttingen, 1858, hereafter: Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*. See also Stephen J. SHOEMAKER, *The Death of a Prophet: The End of Muhammad's Life and the Beginnings of Islam*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012, in particular 75. Montgomery WATT, "Ibn Hiṣhām," in: *EI*[2]. JONES, "Ibn Isḥāḳ," in: *EI*[2].
[124] Hereafter: Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, v. 2, XXXIV-XXXV.
[125] Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, XX ss. He insists nevertheless on trusting Ibn Isḥāq as a reliable historical source (see in particular XXVII ss.). In this sense, he seems to agree with Ibn Ḥanbal who criticises Ibn Isḥāq as a *ḥadīth* scholar but tends to trust his words when it comes to *maghāzī* (XXII).
[126] See SCHOELER 2011, 38 and 80. For a summary of the positions of the traditionnists and the sceptics see BERG 2000, 6 ss.
[127] SCHOELER 2011, 114.
[128] SCHOELER 2011, 114.

In contrast to Ibn Isḥāq, Mālik is interested in history or biography only as basis for legal reflection. This difference is visible in the reports transmitted by Ibn Isḥāq and Mālik. The *Sīrah*'s narratives are long, descriptive and considerably detailed. Conversely, the reports in Mālik's work, the *Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, are brief in comparison and they mostly avoid elements that do not contribute to the establishment of certain rulings. The manuscript of Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* did not survive, but it was preserved in many more recensions than Ibn Isḥāq's work, due to Mālik's large number of students.[129] Additionally, it had a particular significance in the history of Islamic legal literature, as argued by El Shamsy, since it counts among the first systematically structured legal treatises that we have.[130] Comparing the accounts from the *Muwaṭṭāʾ* and the *Sīrah* is particularly advantageous: the two works reflect opinions held by different scholars during a similar period. Their contrasting approaches and conclusions regarding the Islamic call to prayer give an idea of the diversity of religious rultes in the second/eighth century. In his doctoral thesis, Mehmetcan Akpinar suggests that Ibn Isḥāq's move to Iraq changed his vision of the past.[131] This could be part of the explanation for Ibn Isḥāq's version of the story which considerably differs from Mālik's version.

Medina benefitted from a special status as *madīnat al-nabī*, the city of the Prophet.[132] It hosted the earliest Muslim scholars, who were born there or came there attracted by famous masters and the aura of the place. From the Arab Conquest onwards, however, other centres of knowledge developed, allowing scholarship to diversify and evolve in various directions. Scholars increasingly travelled in the search for knowledge, and local scholars often found themselves confronted with different opinions held by visiting scholars. This gave birth to a rich literature of questions and answers, on the one hand, and commentaries on original works, or commentaries of commentaries along with refutations, on the other.

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[129] Fifteen in total, see Joseph SCHACHT "Mālik b. Anas," in: *EI*^{2}; Nicole COTTART "Mālikiyya," in: *EI*^{2}; a more complete study of the recensions can be found in Miklos MURANYI, *Materialien Zur Mālikitischen Rechtsliteratur*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.
[130] See Ahmed EL SHAMSY, *The Canonization of Islamic Law: A Social and Intellectual History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 34 ss.
[131] See Mehmetcan AKPINAR, *Narrative Representation of Abū Bakr (d. 13/634) in the second/eighth century*. Doctoral thesis, University of Chicago [available online], 2016, 249.
[132] See EL SHAMSY 2013, 20 ss.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827) belongs to these scholars, who gathered their knowledge from both other scholars' travels and their own journeys. In his hometown, Sana'a, he studied under visiting scholars such as Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767) and Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah (d. 198/813-4) from Mecca, or Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) from Kufa. His master, Maʿmar ibn Rāshid (d. 153/770), had settled in Sana'a but he was from Basra. And ʿAbd al-Razzāq himself travelled to study under other famous scholars of his time, such as the Syrian jurist and theologian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774).[133] Some of his collections of reports were preserved and count among the earliest sources available for the study of early *ḥadīth* literature.[134] ʿAbd al-Razzāq also studied with Mālik ibn Anas and his main collection of *aḥādīth*, usually called the *Muṣannaf*, contains a chapter, the *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, with similar contents to Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah* – though without chronological order.[135] ʿAbd al-Razzāq's work relies however on different informants and follows a different structure from his predecessors', as shown by Nicolet Boekhoff-van der Voort in her article on the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq.[136] The *Muṣannaf* contains a chapter on the *adhān* with three narratives relating its introduction and it is a rich source of comparison for the present study, thanks to its idiosyncrasies.

From the middle of the second/eighth century onwards, that is after the Abbasid revolution, the political power moved northwards towards modern Iraq and the centres of knowledge followed. More scholars started emerging from the new 'intellectual' poles. Muḥammad ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) and Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah (d. 235/849) reflect this change and both were interested to a different extent in the beginning of the *adhān*. Ibn Saʿd left Basra to settle in Baghdad. In his *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, which opens with the life of the Prophet, we find a recension of the *adhān*-story with

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[133] See MOTZKI, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī," in: *EI*[2] and *EI*[3].
[134] For a list of his writings, see GAS I, 99.
[135] *Muṣannaf*, passive participle of the verb *ṣannaf* (to sort, classify, compile) is a technical term in *ḥadīth* studies used to describe a compilation of *aḥādīth* arranged by chapters (usually called *kitāb*) and subchapters (called *bāb*). Most famous *aḥādīth* collections are *muṣannaf*, although they often bear other names, like *ṣaḥīḥ* or *sunan*. The other major compilation technique consists in sorting the *aḥādīth* according to their transmitters and is called a *musnad*, passive participle from the verb *sanad*, from which the word *isnād* is derived. The most famous of this sort is the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, which is presented below. See as well JUYNBOLL's article "Muṣannaf," in: *EI*[2].
[136] As for the chronology within the *Muṣannaf* see BOEKHOFF-VAN DER VOORT 2011, 28-29. See the list of *riwāyāt* of the *Muṣannaf* in MOTZKI, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence Meccan Fiqh Before the Classical Schools*. 2002, 55 ss. And more specifically on ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, BOEKHOFF-VAN DER VOORT 2011, 27-47.

multiple chains of transmission.[137] I have used the latest Cairo edition of the *Ṭabaqāt*, which is based on five manuscripts (contrary to the two manuscripts used for the Leiden edition) and constitutes a complete critical edition of Ibn Saʿd's work.[138] Ibn Saʿd does not belong to the sources of the canonical collections of *aḥādīth*, the so-called Six Books, and is therefore a good point of comparison with them.[139] His narratives and their chains of transmission differ from other recensions, presenting thus other points of view about the history of the *adhān*.

Contrary to Ibn Saʿd, his contemporary Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah is quoted in most of the Six Books.[140] Yet, his account differs radically from the ones in the canonical collections, which makes it particularly interesting as a potential source of original pieces of information. Although he was considered as a reliable source by prominent *ḥadīth* collectors, the latter decided not to quote him when it comes to the *adhān*. He therefore brings a new perspective on the introduction of the Islamic call to prayer. Furthermore, Ibn Abī Shaybah came from Kufa and his main source is a Kufan scholar, Wakīʿ ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812), and so he adds a specific "Kufan perspective" in my corpus.[141] His collection, a *Muṣannaf*, can be dated to the first half of the fourth/tenth century, a dating which does not exclude the possibility that some of its content originated in earlier periods, as we shall see with the *adhān*.[142] It strongly suggests that this collection would benefit from more scholarly attention to determine the different origins of its content.

As time passed, an increasing number of scholars came from regions further away from Mecca and Medina, and "it is little wonder that five of the six compilers of the canonical *ḥadīth*

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[137] See Johan W. FÜCK, "Ibn Saʿd," in: *EI*^{2}.

[138] See Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. Ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2001, vol. I, *Dhikr al-adhān*, pp. 212-213; and Scott C. LUCAS, *Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature, and the Articulation of Sunnī Islam: The Legacy of the Generation of Ibn Saʿd, Ibn Maʿīn, and Ibn Ḥanbal*. Leiden, 2004, 203 ss., and concerning the editions in particular pp. 205 ss. As regards the list of manuscripts see GAS I, 300-301.

[139] The Six Books, also called the Six canonical collections or books, usually encompass the collections of *aḥādīth* by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Mājah, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasāʾī and al-Tirmidhī. See LUCAS 2004, 183, and 183 N99.

[140] "with the exception of al-Tirmidhī's *Jāmiʿ*," LUCAS, "Where Are the Legal "Ḥadīth?" A Study of the "Muṣannaf" of Ibn Abī Shayba," in: *Islamic Law and Society* 15, no. 3 (2008): 288.

[141] LUCAS 2008, 287.

[142] I have used the latest Riyadh edition: Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Al-Muṣannaf*. Riyadh: Maktabat al-rushd nāshirūn, 2006. See LUCAS 2008; and regarding the compilation pp. 288-289 and GAS I, 108-109. This edition is available online on archive.org. As for Ibn Abī Shaybah, see Charles PELLAT, "Ibn Abī Shayba," in: *EI*^{2}; and LUCAS 2008, 285.

books hailed from cities east of Rayy."[143] The famous Six Books encompassing al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (d. 256/870), Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (d. 261/875), Ibn Mājah's *Sunan* (d. 273/887), Abū Dāwūd's *Sunan* (d. 275/889), al-Tirmidhī's *Jāmiʿ* (d. 279/892), and al-Nasāʾī's *Sunan* (d. 303/915) all contain one or often several versions of the *adhān*-story. These compilers belong to the generation in which scholars would travel extensively in the Islamic world, from their eastern provinces to the Arabian Peninsula and further.[144] Throughout their journeys, they collected *aḥādīth* in different places. Hence, including them in the present analysis offers a double advantage: it broadens our perspective not only on the history of the *adhān* but on different mechanisms of *ḥadīth* collection. They also display significant dissimilarities between each other and with the collections introduced above. Therefore, the comparison between all these sources is particularly useful to highlight common general outlines and later modifications. Furthermore, the Six Books represent that which became the 'canonical' or mainstream narratives, which reflect the preferences of some scholars for a particular version and to a certain extent their local and contemporaneous concerns. Al-Nasāʾī's *Sunan* falls out of the timeframe that I have delimited for this study. His version of the *adhān*-story is however identical to others, and it has duly been taken into consideration but not included in the present corpus of primary sources.

Another significant source of information which has been excluded of the main corpus because of its late dating is the commentary of al-Bukhārī's *Saḥīḥ* by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449). It contains nonetheless valuable interpretations regarding the origin of the *adhān* and it shall therefore be mentioned when relevant.[145] Parallels between a modern analysis and a ninth/fifteenth century interpretation of the same narratives show how different methods, beliefs and contexts do not prevent similar conclusions emerging.

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[143] LUCAS 2004, 189.

[144] As regards the importance of the eastern provinces of the Islamic realm when it comes to *ḥadīth* scholarship see Roy MOTTAHEDEH, "The Transmission of Learning: The Role of the Islamic North East," in: GRANDIN, Nicole & GABORIEAU, Marc (eds), *Madrasa: La Transmission du Savoir dans le Monde Musulman.* Paris, 1997, 63-72.

[145] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. Ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Beirut: Dār al-maʿrifah, 1959, vol. II, 10. *K. al-adhān*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, pp. 77 ss. I owe this reference to Ismail Lala, to whom I am extremely grateful for his helpful comments on my work. A newer and more readable edition from Riyadh, published in 2005, is available online on archive.org.

The emphasis laid on the Six Books has often eclipsed other scholars who did not succeed in entering the canon but represent now important alternative sources to the canonical collections. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869) belongs to this category of scholars. He travelled extensively from Samarkand, his city of origin, gathered *aḥādīth* in his *Sunan*, might have written a Qurʾān commentary as well, but did not become as prominent as the collectors of the canonical collections. Perhaps as a result, he attracted less attention in Western Islamic scholarship, though a comprehensive and holistic analysis of his work would greatly benefit the field as a representative of the alternative voices that were muted by the canonical collections.[146] Contrary to many collectors, he quotes one single version of the *adhān*-story and this different method of compilation would deserve further studies. As for his version of the introduction of the *adhān*, it encompasses an interesting mix of similar content and particularities, which allows us to draw insightful comparisons with the other texts.

The works of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. *c.* 187/803) and Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 203-204/819-820) will be mentioned when relevant but they have not been included as part of the main corpus of narratives analysed here. In his *Kitāb al-āthār*, al-Shaybānī dedicates a small chapter to the *adhān* (*Bāb al-adhān*).[147] The seven narratives included in this chapter are concerned with the practice of the *adhān* according to Abū Ḥanīfah; they reflect therefore the concern of al-Shaybānī's time and the debates around the *adhān* that were taking place in the second/eighth century.[148] In this sense, they give an idea of the general context in which the other narratives were transmitted and help explain the interests at stake during this period. However, they cannot be included in the main corpus of the present study, for they do not deal with the introduction of the *adhān*.

Al-Ṭayālisī's *Musnad* contains five reports from one of the narrators of the introduction of the *adhān*, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ʿĀṣim al-Anṣārī. One of these reports is a very short summary

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[146] See the short article by James ROBSON on "al-Dārimī," in: *EI*^{2} and GAS I, 114-115.
[147] Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-āthār*. Ed. Nūr al-Dīn Ṭālib, Damascus/Beirut: Dār al-nawādir, 2008.
[148] Regarding the dating of *K. al-āthār*, see SADEGHI [2], "The Authenticity of Two 2nd/8th Century Ḥanafī Legal Texts: The *Kitāb al-āthār* and *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī," in: *Islamic Law and Society* 17, no. 3–4 (2010): 291–319.

of the narratives selected for the present work, which does not bring any additional information to the comparative analyses of the other versions. Therefore, it is not part of the main corpus analysed here. However, one passage in this report is particularly relevant for my study and it will be taken into consideration to ensure a corpus as exhaustive as possible, following Schoeler's method. Furthermore, al-Ṭayālisī was an authority in Basra. His absence of interest in the introduction of the *adhān* might be taken as a mark of Basran regionalism, as Sadeghi and Haider would probably qualify it. As such, it brings a complementary point of comparison at several levels of the analyses of the main corpus. The examples of al-Ṭayālisī and al-Shaybānī stress the importance of considering the broader context and all the pieces of information, which can shed light on the other sources under scrutiny. Any pixels added to the whole picture will make it significantly more detailed and informative for attentive observers.

The *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) must be added to this list of sources. It contains two versions of the *adhān*-story and is available in the extremely useful fifty-volume edition with footnotes by Shuʿayb al-Arnaʿūṭ *et al*.[149] Having studied under ʿAbd al-Razzāq in Sana'a while living most of his life in Iraq as both a *ḥadīth* collector and a jurist, Ibn Ḥanbal is also a valuable point of comparison with the selection of authors introduced thus far.[150]

Finally, collectors of the fourth/tenth centuries, namely Ibn Khuzaymah (d. 311/923), Ibn Ḥibban (d. 353/956), or even the fifth/eleventh century such as al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066) report versions of the *adhān*-story.[151] I have taken these reports into consideration in my analysis, while excluding them from the main corpus because of their dating and to clarify the presentation of the large quantity of results. They mostly quote earlier sources, so the main interest in these texts lies in

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[149] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*. Ed. Shuʿayb Arnaʾūṭ, Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1993. See as well Christopher MELCHERT, "The Musnad of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal: How It Was Composed and What Distinguishes It from the Six Books," in: *Der Islam* 82, no. 1 (2005), 32–51, and LUCAS 2004, 214 ss.

[150] On the debate about Ibn Ḥanbal's jurist's activities, I have retained here the latest arguments of LUCAS in favour of Aḥmad's role as both a *ḥadīth* collector and a jurist, see the discussion in LUCAS 2004, 215-216.

[151] Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Khuzaymah, *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut: Al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1970, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Jummāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, 219; Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrá*. Ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd Al-Qādir, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1994, vol. I, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *dhikr jamāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, *bāb badʾ al-adhān*, no 1831-1837, pp. 573-6 ss; Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ed. Shuʿayb Arnaʾūṭ, Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1984, vol. IV, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Bāb al-adhān*, no 1673, 1674, 1679, pp. 563-573.

the reports they contain about the evolution of the Islamic call to prayer, which usually do not appear in earlier collections.

To balance this so-far exclusively Sunnī perspective, I have introduced two points of comparison with Shīʿī reports from al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Al-Īḍāḥ* and Ibn Bābawayh's *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*.[152] Al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974) provides us with an Ismāʿīlī perspective as Fatimid chief judge. Yet, he came probably from a Sunnī background and, interestingly, he reacts to the Sunnī narratives about the *adhān* by contradicting them directly.[153] As a second advantage, he represents the state of mind in what is now modern Egypt, which was not covered in my other sources. Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991-2), also known as al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, was based in Qum and died in Rayy.[154] He was a twelver Shīʿī and his narratives on the *adhān* differ from al-Nuʿmān's reports, highlighting their different religious belongings. Contrary to the Fatimid *qāḍī*, he does not take into account the Sunnī narrative at all, not even to expose its falsehood. Instead, he concentrates on involving ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in the story. He introduces thus a totally new figure in the story retold by all the other narrators.

This large variety of sources offer a rich depiction of the beginning of the *adhān* with many pieces of information regarding the historical event, the debates and controversies it had triggered initially and over time, and its use for different political agendas and religious rulings. These sources make it clear that the introduction of the *adhān* occupied jurists as much as historians, and the legal interest in this piece of early Islamic history reflects an ongoing challenge that the Muslim call to prayer was facing when its sounds were overpowered by the sound of the Christian *nāqūs*, which continued to be used long after the Conquest. This challenge is also expressed in the writings of some Muslim jurists, who hesitate to allow, restrain or forbid the Christian instrument and thus the important ritual linked to it. Their legal treatises offer us a direct impression of the context in which

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[152] Al-Qāḍī abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*. Ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim Raḥmatī, Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī, 2007; Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*. Ed. Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Kharasān, Beirut: Dār Ṣaʿb, 1981. I would like to thank here Kumail Rajani who suggested these to me.

[153] See Wilfred MADELUNG, "The Sources of Ismāʿīlī Law." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35, no. 1 (1976): 30.

[154] See Norman CALDER & Jawid MOJADDEDI & Andrew RIPPIN, *Classical Islam: A Sourcebook of Religious Literature*. London: Routledge, 2003, 50 ss.

the *adhān* narratives were evolving and the context to which *ḥadīth* narrators sometimes reacted by modifying the proto-narrative. The following section introduces these legal treatises, which are then analysed in chapter four.

2.2 Cultural negotiations of the acoustic space

Throughout the first/seventh century, those cities which had fallen into the hands of the Muslim army were compelled to negotiate peace treaties with their conquerors. On the negotiation table, life, family and properties were the obvious objects of discussion, but there was another clause which was often discussed: the legislation of religious rituals. Sometimes, procession of crosses and banners or the *nāqūs* were granted protection (*amān*) in exactly the same way as human life was. Some populations would cherish a particular tradition to such an extent that, when offered the choice between the protection of their life and the practice of their tradition, they would choose the latter.[155] And cultural negotiations did not stop at treaties: they happened in daily life, every time groups or individuals of different traditions, religions or origins had to share spaces.

As noticed by Milka Levy-Rubin, there is no uniformity in the accounts of the early Conquest treaties, and the concessions sometimes even contradict each other.[156] The lack of consistency between sources of different time periods also shows that cultural negotiations were far from being uniformly settled. This disparity was partially caused by the various reactions of the *dhimmī* population, or parties to a treaty with the Muslim conquerors.[157] Those who did not respect the conditions of the treaties forced the Muslims to adapt their attitudes and policies due to the failure of the negotiation and change that which had been initially granted. Another reason lies in the various

[155] The Banū Taghlib, a Christian tribe of Mesopotamia, was granted peace under the condition that its people would stop baptising their children. The peace-treaty was said to have been withdrawn because they kept baptising their children, regardless of the consequences that such a disobedience meant for a small tribe surrounded by the successful Muslim army. See *inter alia* Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá al-Balādhurī, *Fuṭuḥ al-Buldān*. Ed. ʿAbdallāh & ʿUmar Anīs al-Ṭabbāʿ, Beirut: Muʾassasah al-maʿārif, 1987, *Amr naṣārá banī taghlib banī wāʾil*, 249 ss.

[156] See Milka LEVY-RUBIN, *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire: From Surrender to Coexistence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 58 ss., 103 ss., 164 ss.

[157] The term *dhimmī* designates the non-Muslims belonging to a revealed religion, usually called 'people of the book' or *ahl al-kitāb*, who concluded a peace agreement with the Muslim army at the time of the Conquest. The agreement, also known as *dhimmah* protected the party under specific and variable conditions. See Claude CAHEN, "Dhimma," in: *EI*^{2}.

regional and social contexts, to which scholars were reacting differently. Jurists' writings from the second/eighth century onwards often referred to the Conquest treaties as the basis for their legal discussion, sometimes letting the past decisions influence their rulings, and sometimes reinterpreting the outdated clauses to fit the perceived need of their society.

2.2.1 Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-kharāj*

Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-kharāj*, the book of the land-tax, is thought to have been requested by the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170-93/786-809) probably at the time when Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) held the position of chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) in Baghdad.[158] It covers a wide range of topics which lead one of its translators, Aharon Ben Shemesh, to remove whole chapters from his translation because they did "not belong to a work on taxation."[159] An attentive reader will however notice that these seemingly unrelated topics mostly fit the purpose of the book. In fact, the establishment of an Islamic taxation system and its justification rely on more than a reflection strictly limited to taxes. How could someone understand the taxes imposed on Christians for instance without previous historical knowledge of the Conquest treaties? Similarly, criminals can be expropriated, therefore their goods fall in the hands of the Muslims and become taxable. Principles of criminal law thus belong to a work on taxation as much as the historical treaties, as well as many other seemingly unrelated topics. Hence the translation into English by Ben Shemesh is to be taken with caution. Not only do the omitted passages deprive the reader of significant reflections, but the author's free translation is a source of confusion and does not seem to be appropriated to a technical treatise of this complexity.[160] The translation into French by Edmond Fagnan is therefore more

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[158] See Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier (Kitâb el-kharâdj)*. Translation, notes and index by Edmond FAGNAN. Paris, 1921, v. 1, XI and XIII. See also the short articles by SCHACHT and Brannon M. WHEELER in: *EI*^{2} and *EI*^{3} respectively.

[159] Aharon BEN SHEMESH, *Taxation in Islam. Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb Al-Kharāj*. Translated and provided with notes by A. BEN SHEMESH. Leiden/London, 1969, viii. The *'kharāj'* is the tax imposed on lands conquered over non-Muslim populations. See as well FAGNAN's complaint about the misleading nature of the book's title, FAGNAN 1921, v. 1, XI and XIII. For more on the topic of taxation see Michele CAMPOPIANO, "Land Tax *ʿalā l-Misāḥa* and *Muqāsama*: Legal Theory and the Balance of Social Forces in Early Medieval Iraq (6th-8th Centuries C.E.)," in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 54, no. 2, 2011, 239–69, in particular 240 ss.

[160] See the rather unfavourable reviews by CAHEN, "Review of *Taxation in Islam III, Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-Kharāj*, by A. Ben Shemesh," in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 16, no. 1 (1973): 112, and Gerald R. HAWTING, "Review of *Taxation in Islam. Vol. III: Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-Kharāj*, by A. Ben Shemesh," in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 2 (1971): 190.

recommended, although it is older, for it is complete and possesses a useful index along with rich translator's notes. Finally, Norman Calder dedicates a chapter to the *Kitāb al-kharāj* in his *Studies of Early Muslim Jurisprudence*.[161] Unfortunately he analysed only parts of the text and drew his conclusion from extrapolations.[162] One can only hope that the *Kitāb al-kharāj* will soon benefit from a complete edition and a proper translation, for the book could be of interest for scholars outside Islamic studies.

Particularly interesting in the study of the tension between *adhān* and *nāqūs*, is the literary form of the *Kitāb*, consisting in questions and answers. The questions reveal the concern of the caliph and potentially the population who might have raised complaints regarding the Christians and their rituals. As for the answers, they rely on past traditions and examples, but they also involve reasoning (*raʾy*) to justify further the positions adopted.[163] Thus, they reflect the historical context to which Abū Yūsuf and his students had to adapt their answers when the Qurʾān and the Prophetic tradition were insufficient.

The chapter of the *Kitāb al-kharāj* that is relevant for the present work was omitted by Ben Shemesh and was not addressed by Calder. It contains some arguments which could, *a priori*, be considered as relatively early reflections on the degree of tolerance to be adopted towards Christians. This would confirm Calder's conclusions that parts of the *Kitāb al-kharāj* could potentially be dated to the end of the second/eighth century. The precise dating of the text is however secondary to the analysis conducted here. Whether the *Kitāb al-kharāj* represents opinions from the second/eighth or third/ninth centuries is less important than the fact that its position offers a vivid contrast with the approaches of the other scholars analysed here. It is its content more than authorship which matters first and foremost in the present study.

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[161] See CALDER, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*. Oxford, 1993, ch. 6, pp. 105 ss.

[162] MURANYI, who tends to adopt a different approach, criticises CALDER's methodology, for it avoids proper source-criticism including manuscripts ("die Quellenlage wird anhand der im Druck zugänglichen Materialien eingegrenzt. Man benutzt das gedruckt." MURANYI 1997, 225). For a list of the manuscripts see *GAS* I, 420. GÖRKE gives a very good summary of the question in GÖRKE [1], *Das Kitāb al-amwāl des Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām: Entstehung und Überlieferung eines frühislamischen Rechtswerkes*. Princeton: Darwin Press, 2003, 1-23, in particular 12-13. See also WHEELER, "Abū Yūsuf," in: *EI*^{3}.

[163] Though considered as a *ḥadīth* scholar – SCHACHT stressed his reliance on traditions (SCHACHT 1979, 301 ss.), Abū Yūsuf was also known for his "interpretative skills which distinguished him from the *ahl al-ḥadīth*" according to CALDER 1993, 105.

2.2.2 Al-Shāfiʿī's *Kitāb al-umm* and al-Muzānī's *Mukhtaṣar*

In contrast to the *Kitāb al-kharāj*, the *Kitāb al-umm* by al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) has been the object of extensive – and ongoing – studies by Ahmed El Shamsy.[164] The latter demonstrates *inter alia* that "Calder's textual arguments rest on untenable assumptions and on a misunderstanding of the text."[165] Three main points are developed in El Shamsy's argumentation against Calder in order to prove the reliability of the text we have today: (1) the scholars' meticulous care for an extremely accurate transmission, (2) the numerous quotations of the text by other scholars and (3) the structure of the work, which has generally been preserved in each recension.[166] El Shamsy concludes "that the text of today's *Umm* is substantially unchanged from the form in which al-Shāfiʿī originally composed it."[167] As noticed by El Shamsy himself, a work like the *Kitāb al-umm* would require more studies to reveal all its strengths and weaknesses and allow scholars to trust its authorship.[168] Like al-Nuʿmān, al-Shāfiʿī was active in modern-day Egypt, where he settled after having left Medina. He thus provides us with a perspective from a different region, west from Medina, in contrast to most other sources.

The *K. al-umm* was furthermore commented or abridged by the Egyptian scholar Ismāʿīl ibn Yaḥyá al-Muzanī (d. 264/877).[169] Al-Muzanī, though a student of al-Shāfiʿī, often contradicts his master's opinions, an opposition which is particularly visible when al-Muzanī's *Mukhtaṣar* is compared with other recensions, such as the work of al-Rabiʿ ibn Sulaymān al-Muradī (d.

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[164] EL SHAMSY, Ahmed, "Al-Shāfiʿī's Written Corpus: A Source-Critical Study," in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 132, no. 2 (2012): 199–220. Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, *Al-Umm*. Ed. Rifʿat Fawzī ʿAbd al-Muṭalib, al-Manṣūrah: Dār al-Wafāʾ, 2001. Regarding al-Shāfiʿī, his life and a cursory analysis of his works, see CHAUMONT, "al-Shāfiʿī." In: *EI2*.

[165] EL SHAMSY 2012, 200. See pp. 201-202 for a concrete example of CALDER's misreading. CALDER's analysis of the *Kitāb al-umm* is to be found in CALDER 1993, 66-85.

[166] See EL SHAMSY 2012, respectively the "standards of authenticity", pp. 202 ss; pp. 206 ss. and EL SHAMSY's analysis of the quotations by thirteen scholars pp. 207-209; and p. 212. GÖRKE invokes the same argument in his analysis of the authenticity of the *Kitāb al-amwāl*, GÖRKE [1] 2003, in particular pp. 169-173.

[167] EL SHAMSY 2012, 200. EL SHAMSY acknowledges the inaccuracies that occurred in the transmission of the text, but for him, the text "has been transmitted with a high degree of accuracy" (p. 212), that is with mistakes that do not prevent us from accessing the original material.

[168] EL SHAMSY's work on al-Shāfiʿī's doctrines in EL SHAMSY 2013, also provides important insights to understand better al-Shāfiʿī's theories.

[169] Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl ibn Yaḥyā Al-Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Muzanī fī furūʿ al-Shāfiʿīa*. Ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Shāhīn, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1998. A '*mukhtaṣar*' (past participle of *ikhtaṣara*, to condense, shorten, abridge) usually designates a condensed version of a scholar's work by his student.

270/883).[170] Hence al-Muzanī is described by William Heffening as an "independent thinker".[171] In interpreting his master's work, he adds nuances, reformulations, personal views, and contradictory statements.[172] Indirectly, he gives us a testimony of the evolution of his society over a generation, and offers a different perspective on the issue under scrutiny.

2.2.3 Ibn Ḥanbal and Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh: The *Masāʾil*

The *Masāʾil* of Ibn Ḥanbal and Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh (d. 238/853) add the last pigments to this colourful picture.[173] As questions and answers, the *Masāʾil* give us a glimpse of the concerns of the people asking the question, and the scholars replying or commenting the other's reply. They offer a different perspective from Abū Yūsuf's *K. al-kharāj*, which was purportedly answering to the ruler's questions, while the *Masāʾil* address the concerns of normal people, probably mostly students of Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Rāhwayh. In fact, these *Masāʾil* were gathered by a student of the two scholars, Isḥāq ibn Manṣūr al-Kawsaj al-Marwazī (d. 251/865), and assembled them in a single recension.[174] Ibn Ḥanbal settled in Baghdad after having travelled to seek knowledge as far as Sana'a, where he studied with ʿAbd al-Razzāq.[175] Ibn Rāhwayh also travelled extensively like many contemporaneous scholars, and he settled in Nishabur.[176] We can thus observe the variety of views present in Baghdad, from Abū Yūsuf's *K. al-kharāj* to Ibn Ḥanbal's *Masāʾil*, and the different regional opinions of the two Ḥanbalī scholars. The *Masāʾil* of Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Rāhwayh constitute therefore a rich point of comparison, complementing the previous sources with regional and temporal diversity.

The fourth chapter of the present work draws on these sources to analyse the challenges that the use of the *nāqūs* represented for Muslims. It highlights the different perspectives on the instrument and its symbolic sound, characteristic of the Christian presence. In this diversity of

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[170] CALDER 1993, 88 ss.
[171] William HEFFENING, "al-Muzanī," in: *EI*^{2}.
[172] See the comparison of the two works by CALDER 1993, 86 ss.
[173] *Masāʾil*, also called 'responsa', belong to a genre in Arabic literature, in which questions, usually asked by a student, are answered by a master or a scholar. See Hans DAIBER, "Masāʾil wa-Adjwiba," in: *EI*^{2}.
[174] Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal & Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Rāhwayh, *Kitāb al-Masāʾil ʿan Imāmay Ahl al-ḥadīth Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal wa-Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh*. Ed. Ṭalʿat ibn Fuʾād Ḥulwānī, Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadītha, 2005. See on this specific recension of the *Masāʾil*: Susan Ann SPECTORSKY, "*Sunnah* in the responses of Isḥāq b. Rāhwayh," in: WEISS, Bernard G. (ed.), *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*. Leiden, 2002, 51-74.
[175] See Livnat HOLTZMAN, "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal," in: *EI*^{3}.
[176] See SPECTORSKY 2002, 51.

opinions, a general consensus seems to prevail between the five scholars: they all agree about the necessity to control the Christian ritual practice. After the Conquest, Muslims had to develop a legal apparatus to regulate the life of Christians on Muslim territories. By doing so, they created a situation that might not have existed at the time of the Prophet and could indirectly or directly contradict the Prophet's actions. At the same time, the Prophet was becoming the main authority beside the Qurʾān and he should not be contradicted. Chapter four depicts this context and its contradictions with the reminiscences of the pre-Conquest period preserved in part in the *aḥādīth* narrating the introduction of the *adhān*.

3 The introduction of the *adhān*

In chapter 2, I have discussed in detail the sources narrating the introduction of the *adhān*. Chapter 3 delves into the texts and their chains of transmission, shedding light on evidence about the early decades of Islamic history through the lens of the development of the *adhān*.

I have sketched in the first chapter the three categories in which I have divided the *adhān*-narratives according to content and chains of transmission. Let me recall here their main features: The first category (C1) gives to the companion ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644) a primary role in the creation of the *adhān*. Its first narrator is ʿUmar's son, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar (d. 73/693). The second category (C2) displays the shortest narratives. Its principal characteristic, apart from its length, is its reference to the fire as a possible call to prayer and it is attributed to Anas ibn Mālik (d. *c.* 91-93/709-711). The last category of narratives introduces a "supernatural" element, a dream or divine inspiration as the source for the introduction of the *adhān*.[177] Its chains of transmission are more complex than in the previous categories and they reflect a broader spread of the narratives.

The main hypothesis of this chapter stipulates a proto-narrative or "common ancestor" to the different versions encompassed in the three categories.[178] This proto-narrative would have started circulating as a simple story narrating the beginning of the *adhān*. Because it was popular, or it could serve well certain purposes, narrators used this proto-narrative, modified it or narrated it in particular ways to fit their religious or political goals. The general outline of the proto-narrative goes as follows: The Muslims felt at some point the need for a means to call people to gather for the prayer. Debates occurred about the means that should be used. Ultimately, it was decided that Bilāl would simply use his voice to call people for the prayer. The outline is found in all the narratives within the three categories regardless of their disparities. This unique common feature between otherwise divergent or even contradictory narratives form that which I call the proto-narrative: it might be the result of resilient popular memories that could not be deleted and were therefore modified or adapted to fit various positions.

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[177] HOWARD 1981, 222.
[178] SADEGHI [1] 2010, 205. Similarly, SCHOELER talks about reconstructing the "gist" of the report or the "main outlines" of the event, SCHOELER 2011, 114.

3.1 Category 1

The first category encompasses six reports gathered in the collections of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah and Ibn Ḥanbal.[179] The reports are almost identical, with only some slight lexical differences. The text below highlights these differences in bold, separated by backslashes:[180]

> كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ حِينَ قَدِمُوا الْمَدِينَةَ يَجْتَمِعُونَ فَيَتَحَيَّنُونَ الصَّلاَةَ، لَيْسَ يُنَادَى لَهَا/بها، فَتَكَلَّمُوا يَوْمًا فِي ذَلِكَ، فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ اتَّخِذُوا نَاقُوسًا مِثْلَ نَاقُوسِ النَّصَارَى. وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ [اتَّخِذُوا/بَلْ] بُوقًا/قرنا مِثْلَ بُوقِ/قرن الْيَهُودِ. فَقَالَ عُمَرُ أَوَلاَ تَبْعَثُونَ رَجُلاً يُنَادِي بِالصَّلاَةِ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَا بِلاَلُ قُمْ فَنَادِ/فأَذِّن بِالصَّلاَةِ.[181]
>
> When the Muslims arrived at Medina, they used to assemble for the prayer, without there being any call **to/for** it [the prayer]. Once they discussed this. Some people suggested the use of a *nāqūs* like the *nāqūs* of the Christians, others proposed a ***būq/qarn*** like the ***būq/qarn*** [horn] used by the Jews, but ʿUmar said: "Would you not send a man to call out [to gather people] for the prayer?" Then the Messenger of God [...] said: "Bilāl, stand up and **call to the prayer/chant the *adhān***".

3.1.1 Chains of transmission

I have displayed the transmission chains of these narratives in a special diagram which takes into consideration time and space beside the transmission paths (Fig. 1).[182] Each horizontal stripe represents a lapse of 25 years, and the transmitters are arranged according to the reported date of their death; transmitters who can be associated to a specific city are circled with different colours

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[179] Three later collections also contain a version of these narratives: Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasā'ī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrá*. Ed. ʿAbd al-Ghaffar Sulaymān al-Bindārī *et al*., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1991, *K. al-adhān* 16, *Bad al-nidāʾ bi-ṣalāh* 1, no 1590 and 1591; Ibn Khuzaymah, *Ṣaḥīḥ*. *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Jummāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, 219; al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrá*. *K. al-ṣalāh*, *dhikr jamāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, *bāb badʾ al-adhān*, 573 ss. They do not display any particular feature which could distinguish them from the ones in the earlier collections analysed in this chapter.

[180] The six Arabic texts of C1 are given in full in Appendix 1.2.

[181] ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabībburraḥmān Aʿẓamī, Beirut: Al-Majlis al-ʿilmī, 1970, vol. I, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, no 1776, pp. 356-7; Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Al- Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb *et al.*, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Salafīya, 1979, vol. II, *K. al-adhān*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhan wa-l-iqāmah*, no. 604, p. 77; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd Al-Bāqī. Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabīya, 1955, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, no. 1 (377), p. 285; Abū ʿIsá Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī, *Al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*. Ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf. Beirut: Dār Al-Gharb Al-Islāmī, 1996, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Bāb mā jāʾ fī badʾ al-adhān*, no. 190, p. 233; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. X, *ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar*, no. 6357, p. 425. The English translation is mine.

[182] Details about the transmitters of C1's narratives are given in appendix 1.1.

representing their respective city. Figure 1 shows that the story gained in popularity from the first half of the third/ninth century onwards. This means that the main foci of the narratives are likely to reflect the concerns of the generations of these times. Black speech bubbles have been added to indicate the lexical modifications introduced by ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

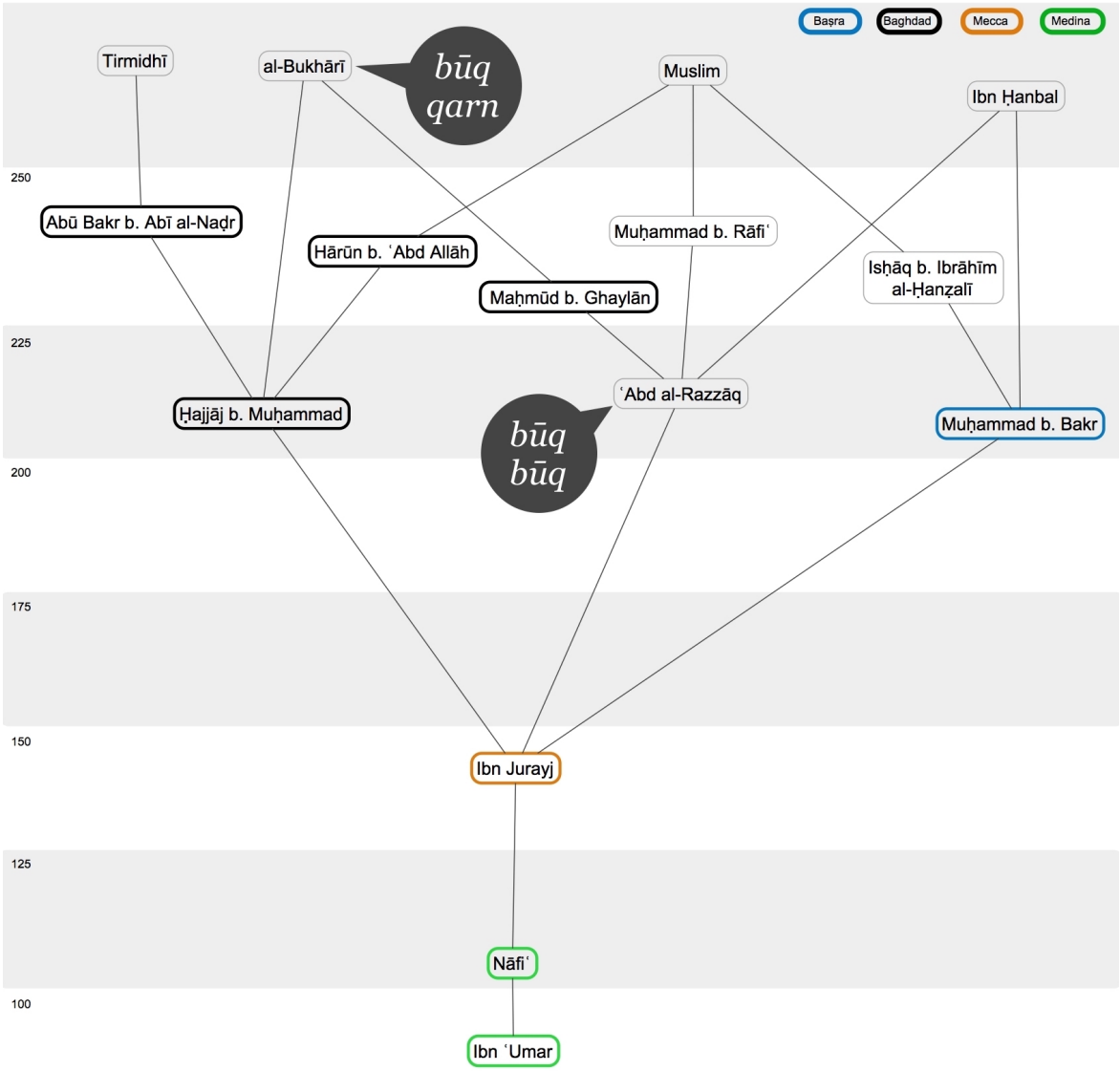

Figure 1: C1 – Chains of transmission.

According to Juynboll, Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767) is the *seeming common link* (SCL) in this tradition.[183] A *seeming common link*, contrary to a *(seeming) common link*, with parenthesis, is a

[183] JUYNBOLL 2007, 222.

transmitter with "*only one PCL*."[184] By 'seeming', Juynboll indicates strong doubt or uncertainty regarding the attribution of the text of these accounts to Ibn Jurayj, mainly because the 'CL/PCL ratio' is too low.[185] However, as it is often the case, "one dare not end an investigation of some early legal controversy at Juynboll's verdict".[186] In fact, Juynboll himself refers us here, for more traditions on the topic, to Ibn Isḥāq's reports, which belong to the third category. Juynboll attributes to Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767) – an 'inverted common link' – the wording of the reports. And yet, he acknowledges the possibility of an earlier account ('*khabar*'), even *before* al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741-2).[187] It is therefore difficult to determine to whom the gist of the narratives should be attributed, and the picture becomes more complex when we add that Ibn Jurayj purportedly transmitted two versions of the narratives, one in C1 and the other in C3. The problem faced by Juynboll here is the following: he recognises the early introduction of the *adhān*, but still holds to his 'common link' theory in attributing the wordings to Ibn Jurayj, with uncertainty, and Ibn Isḥāq with more assurance. Nevertheless, if the *adhān* was indeed introduced very early, the narratives telling the story of its introduction must have started circulating before Ibn Jurayj and Ibn Isḥāq, and one cannot possibly exclude that *akhbār* and maybe *aḥādīth* were narrated on this topic *before* the two common links mentioned by Juynboll. A possible solution to this complex issue is the proto-narrative postulated in the present work as we shall see throughout this chapter.

Starting in Medina with Ibn ʿUmar (d. *c*. 73/692) and Nāfiʿ (d. *c*. 117/735), the first category of narratives moved initially southwards towards Mecca (Ibn Jurayj) and then northwards to Baghdad mainly, where many of its transmitters were active: Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad (d. 206/821), Abū Bakr ibn Abī al-Naḍr (d. 245/859), Hārūn ibn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 243/858), and Maḥmūd ibn Ghaylān (d. 249/863). We have here one of these complex cases that can fall into Haider's and Sadeghi's category of accounts with multiple locations attached to them and no traces of clear

[184] JUYNBOLL 2007, xxii.
[185] See JUYNBOLL's explanation of his terminology in the introduction to the *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*, JUYNBOLL 2007, xxi-xxii.
[186] MELCHERT, "Review of *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*, by G. H. A. Juynboll," in: *Islamic Law and Society* 15, no. 3, (2008): 410-411.
[187] See JUYNBOLL 2007, 222 and 421 ss.

regionalism.[188] Indeed, the characteristic elements of C1 do not strike one as particularly regional. Following Haider and Sadeghi, one would nevertheless consider the single strand here from Ibn ʿUmar to Ibn Jurayj, who dies in 150/767. This would reduce the potential birthplaces of the narrative to two cities, Medina and Mecca. But it would be difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain in which city the narratives started. One would have at least to gather a comprehensive corpus of Medinan, Meccan and Baghdadian reports to extract specific vocabulary, phraseology and topoï, and then compare them with the present narratives.

We also know close to nothing about the role of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in *ḥadīth* literature. A holistic study in that direction could help distinguish the historical figure form the mythical one. As we will see later in this chapter, his intervention in the introduction of the *adhān* has not reached any consensus and could only be better understood if we could compare his implications in other circumstances. Such study would allow us to determine whether he was more present in the narratives coming from certain cities, like Baghdad in C1's narratives. While we can only hope for such research to be launched, there is a large range of information that can be extracted nonetheless from the present narratives, starting with the lexical differences between the narratives.

3.1.2 Lexical differences

There are three kinds of lexical discrepancies in the narratives of C1:

1) Insignificant differences without impact on the meaning;
2) *Qarn* and *būq*;
3) *Adhān* and *nidā'*.

The first lexical difference between the prepositions "*li*" and "*bi*", highlighted in bold in the Arabic text and its translation in the introduction to the present section, can be explained easily, either as a copyist's mistake or simply the narrator's or the compiler's choice, since the two prepositions in this sentence have the same meaning. The preposition *li* appears only in Muslim's recension, but it is impossible to determine whether Muḥammad ibn Bakr should be held responsible for this small change, for it could as well be attributed to Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī or Muslim himself.

[188] See HAIDER 2013, 318.

The same can be said about the repetition of *ittakhidhū* in Tirmidhī's recension or the particle "*bal*" which disappears in Muslim's version. The repetition seems to be a rhythmic addition. As for the particle, it adds a slight nuance, which could be translated by 'rather', or it can be considered as an empty word, and in any case, it can be ignored without any change in the general meaning of the sentence. Muslim is again the one narrating a different version without *bal*. It seems that one transmitter in Muslim's chains is less concerned with *verbatim* transmission than others, yet it would require more research about each of these transmitters to establish the responsibility for the changes. Such lexical discrepancies suggest the fact that perfect *verbatim* transmission did not exist and might not have been a priority or major concern.

Būq vs qarn

The mixing of *būq* and *qarn* is more problematic. As highlighted in Fig. 1, the word *būq* appears in the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq: "others proposed a ***būq***, like the ***būq*** [used] by the Jews", while al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* replaced the second *būq* by *qarn*: "others proposed a ***būq*** like the ***qarn*** [used] by the Jews". In Arabic, *būq* means primarily a trumpet. It has cognate words in Greek and Latin (*βωχάνη* or *buccina* respectively), so that it could have been "introduced to the Mediterranean Arabs by their western neighbours".[189] Yet, the exact etymology of *būq* is unknown: since the name is to be found in Persia and as far as Georgia, it might as well have mixed Semitic and non-Semitic origins.[190]

Qarn is likely to be of Semitic origin as indicated by its cognates in all Semitic languages, and its meaning as a horn might have come to Arabic from the Hebrew language, in which it is used for an animal's horn (generally a ram) and by extension for an instrument or a cultic object.[191] *Qarn* is polysemic both in Arabic and in Hebrew, but differently, and it appears in the Bible with various

[189] Avinoam SHALEM, *The Oliphant: Islamic Objects in Historical Context*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004, 54; see also Henry George FARMER, "Būḳ," in: *EI*^{2}.
[190] In his doctoral thesis, DELSHAD dedicated a short chapter on the Georgian 'buḳ-i', Farshid DELSHAD, "Georgica et Irano-Semitica. Studien zu den iranischen und semitischen Lehnwörtern im georgischen Nationalepos „Der Recke im Pantherfell"." Doctoral thesis, Baden-Baden 2009, 97. Since a comprehensive history of the trumpet and the horn is yet to be written, his conclusions remain largely hypothetical.
[191] See SHALEM 2004, 54; SMITH 2016, 112, 158 and 158 N47; and more specifically the study of the root 'QRN' by SÜRING 1980, 38 ss.

meanings.[192] I have highlighted in the introduction to the present work that Jews have many different words to describe their horn- or trumpet-like instruments. This makes it difficult for non-Jews to distinguish the instruments and their names. In Medina, the Jewish population very likely had horns, an important instrument in the Jewish culture. The first narrative tells us that several transmitters were familiar enough with the word *qeren/qarn* to use it alone without explanation. The question is therefore: where and why does *būq* appear in the recensions of ʿAbd al-Razzāq and al-Bukhārī? I see here three possible answers to these questions.

(1) Perhaps a transmission mistake occurred. The difference between *qarn* and *būq* in their pronunciation is significant enough to make it rather difficult to confuse them in an oral transmission. Yet, in writing, if the handwriting is particularly unclear, as it can happen with notes, *qarn* and *būq* are more prone to confusion, especially the two final letters: *rāʾ/wāw* and *nūn/qāf*. Consequently, this indicates that the story was corrupted in the course of written transmission. A possible scenario would see ʿAbd al-Razzāq interpreting *būq* instead of *qarn*. Then, Muslim and Ibn Ḥanbal, transmitting from ʿAbd al-Razzāq and others, chose the version with the repetition of *qarn*, while al-Bukhārī preferred to mix the version with *būq* and the ones with *qarn*. Such transmission mistakes are not rare, but to confirm this hypothesis, one would have to determine first whether *qarn* and *būq* were written at that time exactly as they are today.

(2) A second possibility would be to interpret the use of *būq* as a conscious choice, rather than a mistake. The *asānīd* of the two narratives mentioning *būq* indicate most likely that ʿAbd al-Razzāq introduced the word. Those who collected his reports, Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ziyād ibn Bishr al-Aʿrābī al-Baṣrī (d. 340/951–952) and Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbbād al-Dabarī (d. 285/898), could theoretically be responsible for the modification, yet such an interpretation would make it difficult to understand how the word appeared in al-Bukhārī's recension as well. Therefore, it seems more plausible in this case to trust the *asānīd* and attribute the origin of the change to ʿAbd al-Razzāq. Al-Bukhārī must have then heard two versions: one from Muḥammad

[192] See SÜRING 1980, 300.

ibn Ghaylān, who was quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, with *būq* only, and one from Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad with *qarn* only.

This gives us an insight into the process of *ḥadīth* mutation. Al-Bukhārī obviously trusted his transmitters, but instead of giving *verbatim* two versions of the same narrative to highlight this small and insignificant discrepancy, he chose to combine them into a hybrid version. He used the more general word – *būq* – first, and the specifically Hebrew word – *qarn* – second. The result is semantically identical, while addressing at the same time a broader audience, for anyone who would not understand the word *qarn* could still grasp the meaning of the first sentence or segment. And since al-Bukhārī had his collection of narratives written down, he was also saving the scribes from copying two almost similar versions. The initial parallel in the rhythm with the repetition of *nāqūs*, on the one hand, and *qarn/būq*, on the other, is lost, yet it was probably more significant when the narrative was transmitted orally. With written collections gaining in popularity, the oral mnemotechniques might have become less essential, while the transmission of meaning of the narratives constituted a central concern.

Al-Bukhārī's choice is more straightforward than ʿAbd al-Razzāq's. In fact, it seems difficult to understand why the latter removed the word *qarn* from his transmission. Being from Sana'a, he was most certainly familiar with Hebrew terminology and Jewish practices. Indeed, by using the word *būq*, he is translating a specific term into a more general word. Was he concerned about the fact that his audience might not understand the Hebrew term? Then, why did he repeat the word *būq* instead of adopting al-Bukhārī's approach, which is closer to the potentially original narrative? Did he think he could thus preserve the rhythmical parallel with the repetition of the Christian instrument? Or did he want to avoid using a Hebrew word, and therefore replaced it by a synonym that sounds more Arabic and less Hebrew to his ears? For it is true that *būq* is not used by the Jews.

(3) The last interpretation I would like to suggest consists in seeing here a spatial and/or temporal adaptation: the word *qarn* might have been more common in a city like Medina, with its large Jewish population, before the great development of the Arabic language triggered by the territorial, economic, political and intellectual expansion following the Conquest. Some transmitters, like Ibn Ḥanbal and Muslim, stuck to the old term, despite its desuetude, while ʿAbd al-Razzāq

preserved the meaning, but updated the content. The *būq* in the Islamic realm spread from the fourth/tenth century onwards, so that it might have started being used earlier. ʿAbd al-Razzāq lived too early to have known this rise, but he could have been part of the generation that initiated the change.[193]

While a more accurate answer to these questions remains impossible without much broader research, this particular type of lexical discrepancies in a small set of *aḥādīth* shows the precedence given to meaning over literality. By extrapolation, one can compare the changes that occurred over about half a century of transmission with the changes that must have occurred within the three first generations of transmitters. This helps reconstruct the proto-narrative, keeping the most resilient element and leaving aside the most unstable ones.

Adhān vs nidāʾ

All the narratives but one contain the sentence *yunādī bi-l-ṣalāh*, he called to the prayer. As mentioned by Becker, the *adhān* does not occur in the Qurʾān in the sense of a call to prayer.[194] The word we find in Q. 5:58 and 62:9 is not the term *adhān* specific to the prayer but the general verb 'to call' (*nādá*, form III of the root *n-d-y*). It shows that the Muslims called to prayer without having an official ritual for it. That the term embedding the 'call to prayer' became *adhān* and not *nidāʾ* does not necessarily disagree with the Qurʾān's wording. It looks more like a move from common noun (*nidāʾ*) to technical term (*al-adhān*). In fact, the word '*adhān*' appears in the Qurʾān (see Q. 9:3) to designate an announcement from God usually through the Prophet or God's announcer (see Q. 7:44). It also features in the context of the *ḥajj* – the great pilgrimage – in an invitation to announce the pilgrimage (Q. 22:27).[195] This might be the first or original association of the *adhān* with an Islamic

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[193] See FARMER, "Būḳ," in: *EI*^{2}.
[194] See BECKER 1912, 387 ss.
[195] I found this association between the *adhān* as call to prayer and the *adhān* in relation to the *ḥajj* in Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Amīr ʿAlī Muhannā, Beirut: Dār al-fikr al-lubnānī, 1990, *fī taʾwīl ruʾyā al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, p. 54. LAMOREAUX affirms that, after consultation of all the published books attributed to Ibn Sīrīn, he is certain that all of them are later backprojection, with possibly only sections that can be attributed to Ibn Sīrīn, John C. LAMOREAUX, *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation*. Albany: University of New York Press, 2002, 19. See as well LAMOREUX, "Some Notes on the Dream Manual of al-Dārī," in: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 70 (1996): 48-49; and Elizabeth SIRRIYEH, "Arab Stars, Assyrian Dogs and Greek 'Angels': How Islamic is Muslim Dream Interpretation?," in: *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 22/2 (2011): 220 and N20.

ritual. As for the prayer, one *calls* to it in the Qurʾān (*nādá li-l-ṣalāh* or *ilá al-ṣalāh*), while in later textual sources, the prayer is mostly announced, or the *announcement* of the prayer is made, like the pilgrimage in Q. 22: 27. The use of the word *adhān*, which is associated with an announcement by God in the Qurʾān, may indicate the time when Muslims started perceiving or interpreting their call as a divine announcement which had become a religious ritual. This might have happened under the influence of Jews and Christians, who possessed developed religious rituals and a concept of sacred sounds.[196] This Islamic institutionalisation of the *adhān* did not happen overnight. But it must have developed before significant divisions split the Muslim community, so that all Muslims could agree on its definition and adopted the word to describe their call to prayer. The *adhān* was surely not institutionalised in the Qurʾān, yet the word itself in the sense of a call to prayer could have started circulating even at the time of the Prophet, before being fully institutionalised. We simply do not have evidence to prove or disprove this hypothesis.

This is the interpretation favoured by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī in his commentary of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, in the chapter dedicated to the introduction of the *adhān*.[197] According to him, the accounts in C1 narrate the history of the *nidāʾ*, in other words, the ancestor of the *adhān*. And they are "incomplete" (*mursal*) because their chains of transmission do not start with the Prophet, which leads al-ʿAsqalānī to suggest that the other versions of the story – belonging to the second and third categories – are the continuation of these truncated narratives. Given that early Muslims' writings rarely display a chronologically linear sequence of events, the word choice can constitute a precious source of information.[198] It might reflect the evolution of the Islamic call to prayer, as suggested by al-ʿAsqalānī. Narratives concerned with the *nidāʾ* would be the earliest ones, followed by those about the *adhān*. Al-ʿAsqalānī argued for the existence of one narrative, telling the history of the *nidāʾ* and its evolution into the *adhān*. This single narrative proposed by al-ʿAsqalānī is to a certain extent similar to the proto-narrative, except that according to my hypothesis

[196] See the introduction to the present work and Lawrence A. HOFFMAN & Janet R. WALTON (eds), *Sacred Sound and Social Change: Liturgical Music in Jewish and Christian Experience*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994, Part 1.
[197] Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. II, 10. *K. al-adhān*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, pp. 77 ss.
[198] On the problem of chronology in early sources see SCHOELER 2011, 90 ss., 149 N47.

the proto-narrative was considerably modified for various purposes and only parts of it can be reconstructed. Therefore, C1 is not 'incomplete' but rather it is an adaptation of the original proto-narrative made to highlight and potentially enhance ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's role.

If we adopt al-ʿAsqalānī's interpretation, we still need to ask whether there were two proto-narratives, or one proto-narrative divided in two parts: the first narrates the story of the introduction of a call to prayer, allegedly by ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; the second explains how this call then developed into a more complex ritual with specific formulæ. To elucidate further this interpretation, we need to examine the narratives of the second and the third categories. In any case, *nidāʾ* and *adhān* were not necessarily two different rituals. *Nādá li-l-ṣalāh* can be seen as a synecdoche (*totum pro parte*) which continued to be used simultaneously with the term *adhān*. It is similar to the use of the word 'service' for the Christian 'mass'. In al-Shaybānī's *Kitāb al-ḥujjah ʿalá ahl al-Madīnah*, for instance, the chapter that is called in many *aḥādīth* collections '*badʾ al-adhān*' bears the title '*badʾ al-nidāʾ*'. In this chapter, the verbs '*adhdhana*' and '*nadā*' or '*nādá*' are used almost indistinctly.[199] The *adhān* appears therefore as a specialisation or ritualisation of a common act, a simple call, which had become an intrinsic part of the prayer as a religious ritual.

One could seek a possible source for the transformation from *nidāʾ* to *adhān* in the "Qurʾānicization" process described by Fred Donner in his article on the crystallisation of Islam under the Umayyads.[200] Donner postulates that at the beginning of the second/eighth century, the community of believers redefined itself to include in its ranks only Muslims and exclude Jews and Christians, who were initially part of it. They shifted their focus from God to Muḥammad and the Qurʾān, operating what Donner calls a "Qurʾānicization" of their society, its institution and its policy. To illustrate his theory, Donner shows that keywords which were not in the Qurʾān started being replaced by their Qurʾānic synonyms in the Umayyad sources we have. *Qāḍī*, *ḥijrah* or *jihād* are all examples of these Qurʾānic words which are not attested in early papyri. Conversely, both *adhān* and *nidāʾ* do appear in the Qurʾān. Yet, the adoption of the term '*adhān*' related to God's

[199] See Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-ḥujjah ʿalá ahl al-Madīnah*. Ed. Mahdī Ḥasan al-Kīlānī. Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1980, vol. I, *Badʾ al-nidāʾ*, pp. 71 ss.
[200] Fred McGraw Donner, "Qur'ânicization of Religio-Political Discourse in the Umayyad Period," in: *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 129 (2011): 79–92. Article available online (28.11.2016).

announcement can be interpreted, following Donner's approach, as a Qurʾānic or divine legitimation of the transition from call to prayer into a religious ritual. A parallel can be drawn here with the *futūḥ*, a term applied by later historians to depict the Conquest as God's favour following the Qurʾān's usage of the word (Q. 6:44).[201] Additionally, Donner argues that Muslims "deliberately" removed all traces of the initial "Believers' movement", which was at the time of Muḥammad open to non-Qurʾānic believers.[202] Do the *adhān* narratives contain reminiscences of this more inclusive period, in which Muslims could imagine using Jewish or Christian instruments? Could the proto-narratives have been re-written to hide that Muslims did use, for instance, a Christian *nāqūs*? These are questions which will be explored throughout the analysis of the following categories and tentatively answered in the conclusion of the present work.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq introduces another small terminological modification. He narrates that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: *a-wa lā tabʿathūna rajulan* ***yunādī*** *bi-l-ṣalāh* – "Would you not send a man to call out [to gather people] for the prayer?" To this Muḥammad is believed to have replied: *yā bilāl qum fa-ʾ****adhdhin*** *bi-l-ṣalāh* – "Bilāl, stand up and call to the prayer." All other versions have *fa-nād* in accordance with ***yunādī***, confirming al-ʿAsqalānī's theory. But ʿAbd al-Razzāq's version does not conform to this interpretation and introduced the verb *adhdhan*. At his time, the *adhān* was a long-established ritual, and it was probably more specific to use the relevant verb rather than the generic *nādá*. This further supports the hypothesis that meaning was more important than *verbatim* transmission over several decades as suggested in the section on the terminological difference between *būq* and *qarn*. Since ʿAbd al-Razzāq is systematically taking some liberty with terminological transmission, it would be interesting to study whether this is a recurrent trait of his collection by comparing similar *aḥādīth* narrated by him and other collectors. ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* would benefit from more specific and thorough investigations. At this point, it seems clear that an oral transmission is rather unlikely because of the similarities between all the versions. Therefore we are left with two possible conclusions: (1) either ʿAbd al-Razzāq received this narrative on badly written or abridged notes; or (2) he deliberately modified the text to address a specific

[201] See DONNER 2011, 87 ss.
[202] See DONNER 2011, 79.

audience and express his linguistic sensitivity. A combination of both hypotheses is of course possible.

The study of *ḥadīth* literature would definitely benefit from more research on ʿAbd al-Razzāq and his writings. It would also be enriched if we were to know more about the role played by ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in *aḥādīth* as historical or mythical figure. The following section starts such a reflection on the basis of his central function in the narratives of C1.

3.1.3 The Role of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb

The main character of C1 is without any doubt ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Muḥammad confirms the righteousness of his companion's opinion when he asked Bilāl to call to prayer exactly as ʿUmar said. It is thus ʿUmar who initiates a new Islamic ritual. Yet, the narratives of the other two categories do not attribute such a central role to ʿUmar. This disagreement suggests that ʿUmar's intervention could have been apocryphal. Many people could have had reasons to create a strong bond between ʿUmar and the *adhān*: during his caliphate (r. 13/634-23/644) to enhance his prestige as religious leader or later on, under the Umayyads, in order to justify his position as religious and political authority, or under the Abbasids in order to counter the anti-Umayyad propaganda of the new regime.[203] This story would have the "sound historical basis" that characterises reports on rituals' origins, or *awāʾil*, according to Juynboll, and a fictitious apologetic layer to give ʿUmar a preponderant function.[204]

The *isnād* does not provide much more help to find a way out of this speculative spiral. Both Nāfiʿ and Ibn ʿUmar could have had personal interest in embellishing ʿUmar's intervention. Yet, Juynboll argues that "the Nāfiʿ → Ibn ʿUmar → Prophet strand is a prime example of such late strands as were used by late collectors to "snow under" older Medinese as well as ʿIrāḳī bundles".[205] Would this mean that the addition of ʿUmar is to be attributed to Ibn Jurayj? Ibn Jurayj could have played

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[203] For the role of the Umayyads in promoting ʿUmar's *sunnah*, see Avraham HAKIM, "ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb: l'autorité religieuse et morale," in: *Arabica* 55, no. 1 (2008): 21 ss.
[204] JUYNBOLL, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance, and Authorship of Early ḥadīth*. Cambridge, 1983., 10. For other reports regarding the exalted position of ʿUmar, see HAKIM 2008, 17 ss. As a result of AKPINAR's recent doctoral thesis, we also know better how Abū Bakr's role was exalted: see AKPINAR 2016. A similar study remains to be conducted about ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.
[205] JUYNBOLL "Nāfiʿ," in: *EI*[2].

such a role. At his time, writing down *aḥādīth* was becoming more common and the present narratives were most likely transmitted in written form since they are almost identical. But would Ibn Jurayj invent this strand without adding the Prophet? It is impossible to answer this question without more specific studies on the transmitters in this chain. It is clear however that the narratives, as they are, were not introduced *after* Ibn Jurayj, because they could not have spread as they did to ʿAbd al-Razzāq, Muḥammad ibn Bakr and Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad and there were less incentives to enhance ʿUmar's position as time passed.

The mention of ʿUmar can also reflect confusion between who started the *adhān* and who fixed its official version. According to Howard, "'ʿUmar's position in the introduction of the *adhān* has been increased because he had been the authority for the form of the existing *adhān*."[206] And Howard adds that ʿUmar was "entitled" to modify, or fix, the *adhān*, because he was the one who invented it.[207] This seems to be the message that the narratives of C1 intend to convey. But why would ʿUmar need such a legitimisation? Probably because as a caliph he attempted to establish an official version of the *adhān*, but he faced oppositions, notably from the Shīʿī faction, who had adopted or were practising a longer version of the *adhān* which included the sentence *ḥayya ʿalá khayri al-ʿamal*.[208] Their slightly different *adhān* offers a key to interpret these narratives. It must have been a reaction to a practice that arose *after* the death of the Prophet, for there was no reason to oppose the Prophet himself and it probably took time before the *adhān* stopped varying and reached its fixed form, as it is known today. Since textual evidence suggests that the fixation of the *adhān* occurred after the Prophet's death, it might have been prompted by his successors, and if it was ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who attempted to establish an official version, it would explain how his name was associated with the history of the *adhān*. It is however impossible to ascertain whether ʿUmar was truly involved in the introduction of the *adhān*, yet there is no obvious reason to doubt that an important Companion like ʿUmar did not express an opinion regarding the new ritual if the ritual's shape was indeed discussed during his lifetime. The analysis of C2 and C3 will add more

[206] HOWARD 1981, 222.
[207] HOWARD 1981, 222.
[208] See HOWARD 1981.

arguments to support this hypothesis, but it is important first to understand the purpose of C1, the reason why it was narrated.

3.1.4 The purpose of the narrative

ʿUmar's central role is what distinguishes C1 from the two other categories. This suggests that the purpose of one or some of the narrators was to associate ʿUmar with the creation of an important ritual. This does not mean that the framework that they were using is not based on historical facts. On the contrary, many people must have witnessed the introduction of the *adhān* or the different steps which led to this introduction. They all remembered, albeit differently, the events and talked about them between themselves and to the following generation. It cannot be excluded that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb played a role in fixing an official version of the *adhān*, which his son tried to preserve in people's memory in order to prevent this honourable episode of his life to fall into oblivion. Ibn ʿUmar's motivation could have been personal, to honour his father and his descents. Or he could have been addressing criticism voiced against the caliph's imposing a certain form to the ritual. Since controversies and disagreements existed regarding the form of the *adhān*, it seems more likely that the messages carried by the narratives of C1 in support of ʿUmar were more politic than personal.

The interest that the history of the *adhān* and its origins inspired among scholars indicates that debates were taking place about both the *adhān* and the role of ʿUmar regarding its introduction or modification. The need for justifications of an established version of the *adhān* might have started with Ibn ʿUmar or Nāfiʿ, to whom the gist of C1 can be attributed. But the redaction of C1 occurred later, most likely at the time of Ibn Jurayj and from him onwards, the wording of the narratives did not change. It was transmitted with only slight variations as we saw in the section on lexical discrepancies. As time passed, the main concern regarding the *adhān* shifted to the number of its formulæ. This problematic is not addressed in C1, which indicates that the narratives preceded the debates about the formulæ, which are central in C2 and C3. C1 is also considerably less popular than C3, and the fact that it deals with an old controversy could explain that it did not attract as much interest among later generation of scholars. Consequently, the gist of the narratives must have started circulating with Ibn ʿUmar or Nāfiʿ to answer those who opposed ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's version of

the *adhān*. It was then put into writing a generation later and transmitted among a small circle of scholars interested in supporting ʿUmar. The reason for the presence of C1 in Baghdad in particular remains to be studied, and one could start with exploring the potential interest that Baghdadian scholars had in promoting the second caliph.

Summary of the findings

In this first section, we have established the Medinan origin of the narratives or its primitive outline, and the significant interest among transmitters from Baghdad in the developed form of the story. Some transmitters took liberty when it comes to the transmission, but all transmitters from Ibn Jurayj onwards had a written copy of the text that allowed them to reproduce the content almost *verbatim*. They were unanimously concerned with ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as the key-figure in the introduction of the *adhān* and there is no reason to doubt his involvement either initially or in a later phase. The purpose of the narrative seemed therefore to be linked to the promotion or the reminder of ʿUmar's role and this might indicate that the gist of the story originates during or soon after the reign of the second caliph. Its general outline, however, might come from the proto-narrative, made of memories and stories that had been circulating about the *adhān* since its introduction just after Muḥammad's arrival in Medina. At that time, the *nāqūs* seemed to have been a common instrument in Medina and/or its surrounding regions. It is treated as such by all the narrators of C1, who do not deem necessary to define it or explain its presence in their narratives. Many elements of this first category appear again in the following two categories and their interpretation is therefore elaborated further throughout the following sections.

3.2 Category 2

The narratives of the second category are all slightly different and, at the same time, they display a number of similarities, which link them together and justify, in my view, their association in a single category. Yet this categorisation is more than a convenient analytic tool. Indeed, it reflects the choice made by some transmitters and/or collectors to combine two different narratives, which were circulating separately as well. In C2, we observe a combination of the proto-narrative and another

narrative, concerned more specifically with the number of repetitions of the *adhān* formulæ. In this section, I suggest a possible interpretation for this combination based on the close textual analysis of the texts and the chains of transmission. The content ought to be presented first, before the chain of transmission in order to highlight its discrepancies, which can then be traced back to some transmitters in the *asānīd*. The narratives of the second category exemplify a complex mechanism in *ḥadīth* literature which consists in combining narratives to produce a hybrid version for various purposes. Something similar was observed in C1, when al-Bukhārī merged ʿAbd al-Razzāq's version, containing the word *būq*, with Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad's recension, that used the word *qarn*. In that case, the hybrid version was constituted to simplify an insignificant divergence in the vocabulary of the two original narratives. But in C2, the reason for the combination of two different narratives is not as straightforward.

3.2.1 The different *mutūn*

There are four narratives in this category that are found in the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Both collectors mention two recensions with the same single strand, which then spread out in different branches.[209] Al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan* also contains a version pertaining to this category though it is outside the timeframe that I have set for the present study.[210] Al-Bayhaqī explains that al-Bukhārī transmitted a similar *ḥadīth* from Muḥammad [ibn Salām] and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī (the second narrative in the texts presented below). But he chose Muslim's recension from Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī again. He does not justify his choice, although as we can see the narratives are quite different. The only difference between his recension and Muslim's, though they are coming from the same source, is the inversion of 'lighting a fire' (*yunawwirū nāran*) and 'striking a *nāqūs*' (*yaḍribū nāqūsan*), which comes first in al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan*. This shows that even in the third/ninth century, *verbatim* transmission was not always the norm. Ibn Khuzaymah also reports a narrative from this category which is identical to al-Bukhārī's second recension.[211]

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[209] The four Arabic texts of C2 are given in full in Appendix 2.2.

[210] Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrá*, vol. I, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Dhikr jamāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, *bāb badʾ al-adhān*, no. 1831, pp. 573-4.

[211] Ibn Khuzaymah, *Ṣaḥīḥ*. *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Jummāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, *Bāb dhikr al-dalīl ʿalá an al-amr bilālan an yashfaʿ al-adhān* [...], no. 368, p. 222.

Al-Bukhārī 10/1.1

قَالَ ذَكَرُوا النَّارَ وَالنَّاقُوسَ فَذَكَرُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَى فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَأَنْ يُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

Al-Bukhārī 10/2.2

قَالَ لَمَّا كَثُرَ النَّاسُ قَالَ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَعْلَمُوا وَقْتَ الصلوة بِشَىْءٍ يَعْرِفُونَهُ فَذَكَرُوا أَنْ يُورُوا نَارًا أَوْ يَضْرِبُوا نَاقُوسًا فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَأَنْ يُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

Muslim 4/2.3

قَالَ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَعْلَمُوا وَقْتَ الصَّلاَةِ بِشَىْءٍ يَعْرِفُونَهُ فَذَكَرُوا أَنْ يُنَوِّرُوا نَارًا أَوْ يَضْرِبُوا نَاقُوسًا فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَأَنْ يُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

Muslim 4/2.4

قَالَ لَمَّا كَثُرَ النَّاسُ قَالَ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَعْلَمُوا وَقْتَ الصلوة بِشَىْءٍ يَعْرِفُونَهُ فَذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَضْرِبُوا نَاقُوسًا فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَأَنْ يُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

Highlighted in bold are the common parts to all narratives, while the square brackets isolate semantic units:

[When the number of people increased] [they discussed the question as to how to know the time for the prayer by some familiar means]. [**They suggested** that a fire be lit or that a ***nāqūs*** be struck.] [They mentioned the Jews and the Christians]. [**Bilāl was ordered to pronounce the *adhān* twice and of the *iqāmah* once**.][212]

To facilitate the analysis of the texts, I have divided them into semantic segments. Altogether, there are seven different segments, and each version contains three segments or more. These segments are either omitted or reproduced *verbatim*, while the general structure remains exactly the same for all the four versions: an introductory part with one to three segments and a conclusive part with one segment, common to all versions. The introduction conveys most of the main elements of the proto-narrative, partially brought to light in C1: the social change that triggered the need for means to call to prayer, and the inspiration from the Christian *nāqūs*. In figure 2, I have aligned the common final sentence in turquoise. Each semantic segment is isolated within square brackets. The identical

[212] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. II, *K. al-adhān*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhan wa-l-iqāmah*, no. 603 and 606, pp. 77 and 82 respectively; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*. *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Bāb badʿ al-adhān*, no. 4 (378), p. 286. The English translation is mine.

segments have been highlighted with different colours and the omitted segments are represented with an ‘X’ between square brackets.

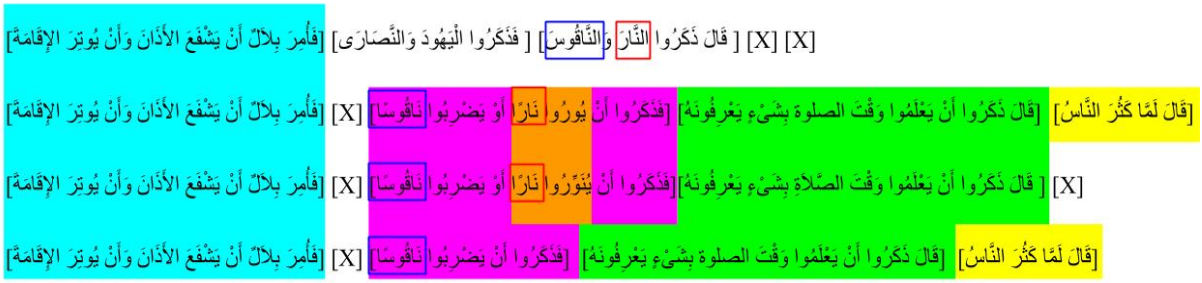

Figure 2: C2 –Texts comparison.

Figure 2 stresses the similarities between these four versions. Even the first narrative, which seems different at first glance, introduces the final sentence exactly like the other narratives, mentioning the fire (in red) and the *nāqūs* (in blue), though with a seemingly truncated sentence.

The first report, collected by al-Bukhārī, lacks the two introductory sentences, giving the impression of an incomplete version. Then, the parallel established between fire and Jews, on the one hand, and Christians and *nāqūs*, on the other, is also ambivalent. While the Christians were undoubtedly striking a *nāqūs* to call to their religious services and during the liturgy, the use of fire by Jews is not attested as a call to prayer.

Al-Bukhārī adds a more complete narrative, which displays the two segments (yellow and green) with the historical introduction, similar to what we have seen in C1: [when the number of people increased], [they talked about how to be informed of the time of the prayer by means of something known to them]. The next segment is even more explicit: [they thought they could light a fire or strike a *nāqūs*]. Then the curious sentence about the Jews and the Christians is removed, while the exact same conclusion about Bilāl being asked to perform the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* remains.

Muslim’s first version is exactly the same as al-Bukhārī’s second one, but for the first introductory segment, [when the number of people increased], which has been omitted. Yet Muslim adds that a similar version with a slightly different *isnād* starts with the introductory segment (yellow) – [when the number of people increased] – and continues like the previous report narrated by al-Thaqafī (*bi-mithli ḥadīthi al-Thaqafī*), apart from the suggestion of lighting a fire which is omitted (*ghayra annahu qāla an yūrū nāran*), that is the orange segment in Fig. 2.

All along, the conclusion (in turquoise) is the same in the four versions: Bilāl is asked to repeat the *adhān* twice and the *iqāmah* once. Another element is common to all versions: the *nāqūs*. Indeed, the Christian instrument is systematically associated with the introduction of the *adhān*. Its presence here underlines the recurrence of this association and reflects a will to anchor the theological point made in the conclusion in a well-known historical setting. The source of this combination of *aḥādīth* is to be sought in the chains of transmission, which reveals the late dating of the modifications.

3.2.2 Chains of transmission

The transmitters of this second category have been arranged following the same method used in C1, in a diagram including time, space and transmission path (Fig. 3).[213] The black speech bubbles contain this time the main differences between each version, mainly the first introductory sentences. They are linked to the transmission path in which they most likely occurred.

[213] Details about the transmitters of C2's narratives are given in appendix 2.1.

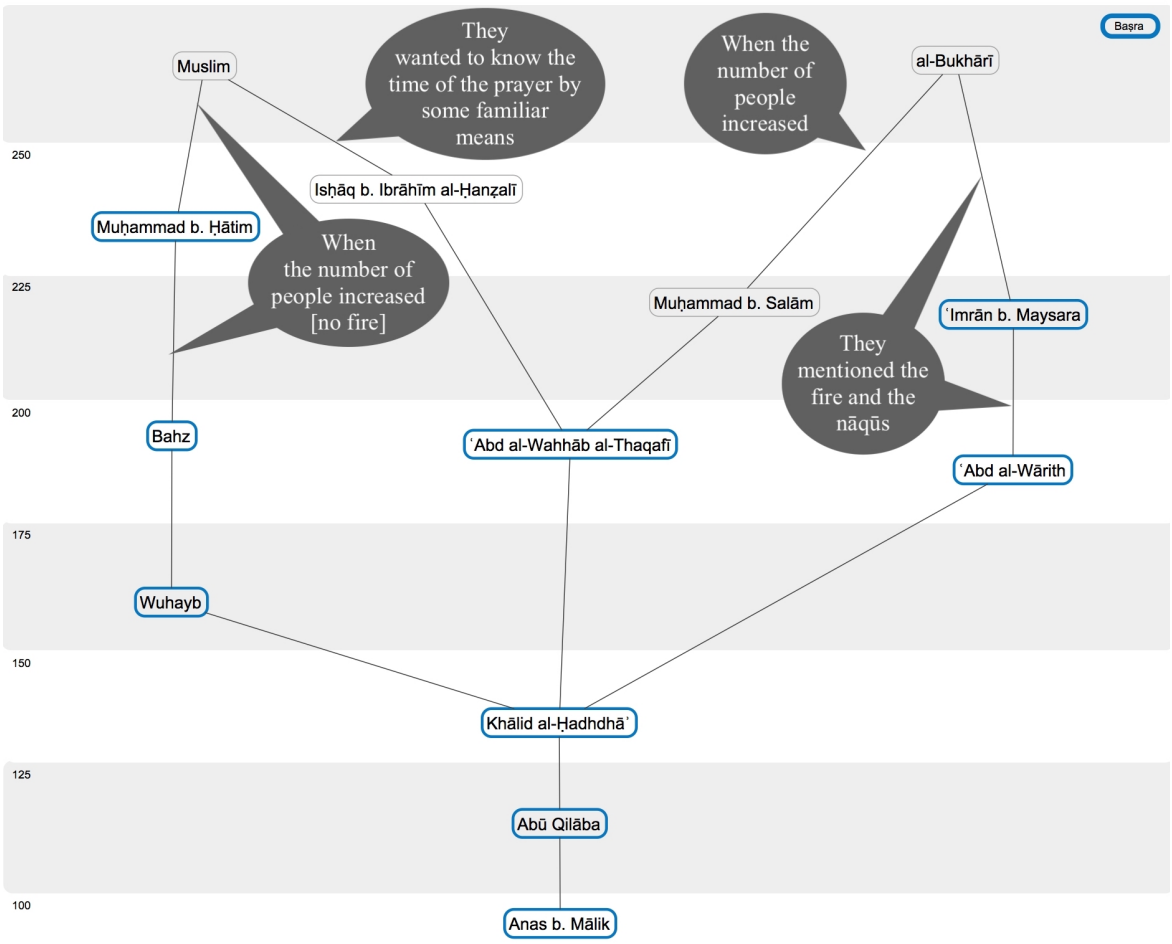

Figure 3: C2 –Chains of transmission.

The common single strand starts with Anas ibn Mālik (d. *c.* 93/717), followed by Abū Qilābah (d. 104-7/722-5) and his student, Khālid ibn Mihrān al-Ḥadhdhāʾ (d. *c.* 141/758).[214] There are two particularly interesting points in these chains of transmission: the Basran origin of most of the transmitters, circled in blue in Fig. 3, and the absence of the Prophet Muḥammad, both in the chain and in the text. Most of the narrators, notably, in the single strand, from Anas ibn Mālik to Khālid ibn Mihrān al-Ḥadhdhāʿ, were mainly active in Basra, apart from Muḥammad ibn Salām (d. 225/239) and Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī, also known as Ibn Rāhwayh (d. 238/853), who come from al-Khurāsān, Bukhārā and Nishabūr respectively. This could be interpreted as an indication of the possible lack of interaction between the narratives of the first and the second categories. In fact, C1

[214] JUYNBOLL 2007, 265; JUYNBOLL does not trust the master-student relationship between Abū Qilābah and Khālid, without expressing clearly any arguments to support his doubt and despite the fact that both were in Basra, with only a generation between them. See appendix 2.1 for the details about the transmitters.

might have started circulating around Mecca and Medina, and then spread mainly to Baghdad. In C2, the same source has been used, that is the proto-narrative, but the focus is different. It is thus likely that C1 and C2 did not evolve in the same place at their beginning, preventing mutual influences. This explains the difference in their contents.

It seems as well that C2 is a good candidate for the application of Sadeghi's and Haider's methods. The accounts can clearly be attributed to Basra so that the characteristics of this category which do not appear in the other might well be 'regionalism'. But this applies mainly to the ritual question, the repetition of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*. The introduction belongs to the proto-narrative and it cannot be attributed to Basra. It is possible that its chain of transmission has been omitted and only the historical content was retained to support the statement made about the rituals. Yet, the fire, which appears only in three of the narratives within C2, could be a potential Basran 'regionalism'. The ritual question and the fire shall be explored in the following sections.

As for the Prophet, it was apparently not necessary for the transmitters to quote him and use his authority in this specific narrative, exactly like in C1. One could argue that Anas ibn Mālik was sufficiently authoritative as a contemporary eyewitness of the events narrated here to render the reference to the Prophet unnecessary. Yet, Juynboll has cast some doubts on Anas' alleged year of birth.[215] Juynboll's strongest argument is that Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah* does not present Anas as Muḥammad's servant, contrary to the claim made in narratives going back to Anas himself. Although it is true that the *Sīrah* we have is incomplete and its lost parts could contain information that we currently lack, it is still striking to find such silence on the servant of the Prophet in the existing parts.

Additionally, disagreements in the Islamic sources on both the age at which Anas was given to Muḥammad as a servant and his year of death call for scepticism. Al-Mizzī, for instance, in the *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*, quotes confusing stories.[216] In the first one, narrated by Anas ibn Mālik to al-Zuhrī, Anas said he was ten years old when the Prophet arrived at Medina and twenty when he died. In the second narrative, Anas again told Ibn al-Musayyab who told ʿAlī ibn Zayd ibn

[215] See JUYNBOLL 2007, 131 ss. and his article on Anas in *EI*^{3}.
[216] See Yūsuf ibn al-Zakī ʿabd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*. Ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿruf, Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1980, vol. III, no. 528, pp. 363 ss.

Judʿān that he was eight at the time of the *ḥijrah*. In the third report, Anas simply states that he was a young boy, '*ghulām*', without giving precision about his age. When it comes to his death, everything becomes even more muddled. Almost a dozen dates of or ages at death are given, ranging from 90 to 119, and 78 years old to 107.

It is therefore impossible to know whether Anas could have witnessed the introduction of the *adhān* or not. The introductory part of the four narratives might have been narrated by others, who were simply not mentioned, or it was a story that circulated without chain of transmission, like a tale or a myth. Yet the last sentence is much more likely to have come from Anas ibn Mālik. If he indeed came from Medina to Basra, he must have become an authoritative figure as companion of the Prophet and his authority might have been sought for such ritual questions like the orthodox way to call to prayer. Besides, the style of the narratives, their simple, short, and at times truncated sentences, their lack of details, and their conciseness point towards an old narrative which was transmitted orally and might have lost parts of its content, so that only the essentials remained.

More importantly, the introductory part clearly belongs to the proto-narrative and follows thoroughly its structure. Yet, Anas ibn Mālik is never involved in the transmission of the other narratives derived from the proto-narrative, mainly the narratives in C1 and C3. Conversely, many collections, including those of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, contain a *ḥadīth* with exactly the same last sentence but without the introduction. All of them claim that Anas ibn Mālik narrated the story. Figure 4 shows the chain of transmission of C2, highlighted in bold, with all the other chains that narrated the first sentence only, within the six canonical collections.

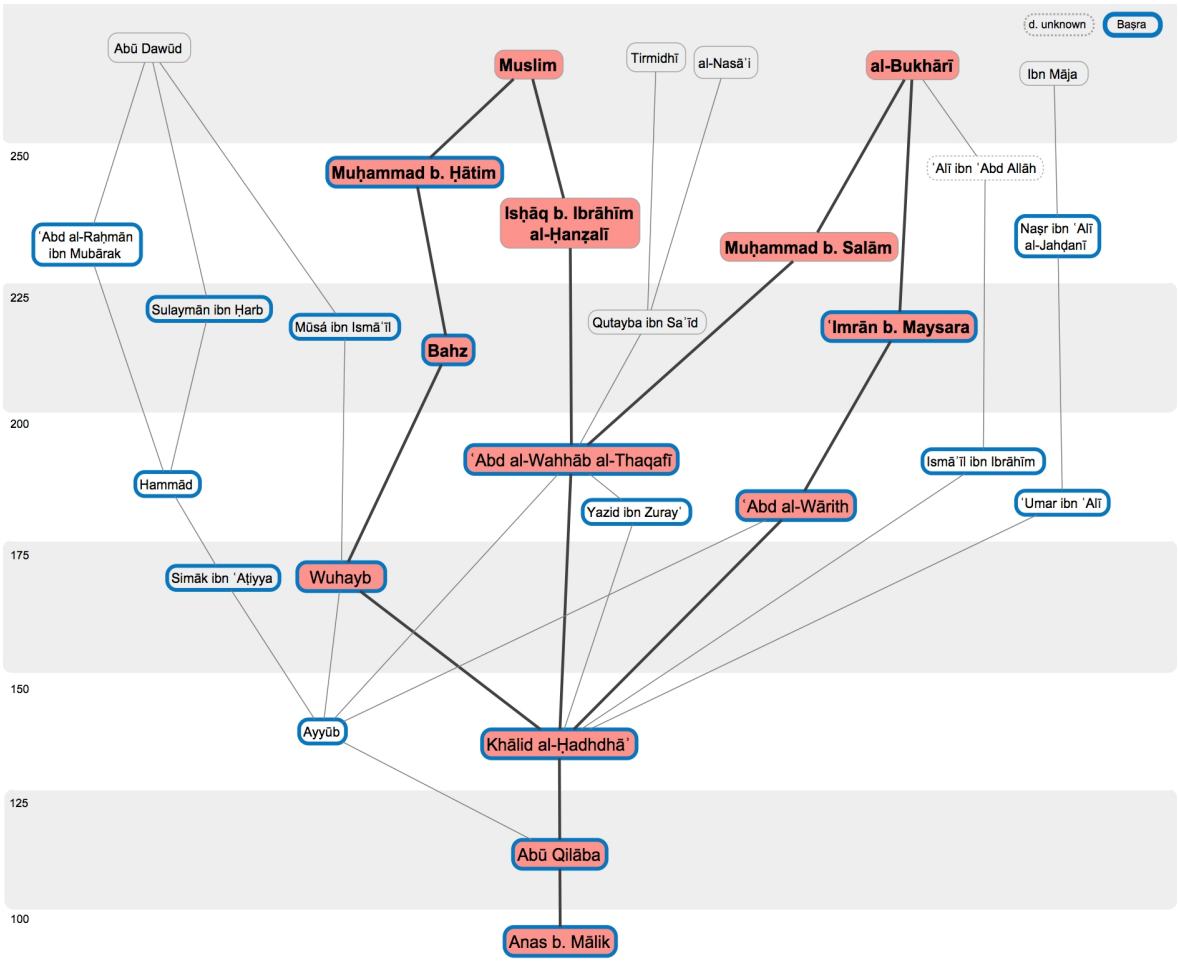

Figure 4: Chains of transmission for umira bilāl an yashfaʿ…

Figure 4 confirms the late compilation of the narratives in C2 and the involvement of Anas in the last part only. It indicates as well that the narratives circulated in Basra mainly. It becomes clear that only the transmitters/collectors from the third/ninth century onwards were involved in combining the two main parts of C2, the introduction and the conclusion. Until the generation of Wuhayb ibn Khālid (d. *c.* 165-9/782-6), ʿAbd al-Wārith ibn Saʿīd (d. 180/796) and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī (d. 194/810), the last sentence was attributed to Anas ibn Mālik. The introduction had not been added yet, though it was most likely in circulation in other forms.

Juynboll reached a similar conclusion, suggesting that the final sentence can be attributed to either Abū Qilābah or Anas ibn Mālik, the former being the most secure choice.[217] Since the two

[217] JUYNBOLL argued that, in the present set of narratives, the "deluge of PCLs in one bundle [...] points inevitably to a very old CL", JUYNBOLL 2007, 58.

men died only ten years apart from each other, this sentence was circulating in the first quarter of the second/eighth century, less than a hundred years after the introduction of the *adhān*. Yet, Juynboll argues that the introductory part was added later by a PCL.[218] If it was indeed the case, maybe even later than Juynboll thought, it was not *invented* in such a late period. On the contrary, the first part was probably present *before* the conclusion, but in the form of a proto-narrative relating the history of the introduction of the *adhān*. It was reused by the transmitters of C1, C2 and C3, but not invented by them. It is not clear to which period Juynboll would date this 'later addition', but it seems important to stress that it is not an *invention*.

The analysis of the chains of transmission shows that the narratives of this second category proceed from the combination of two different narratives: the proto-narratives relating the history of the introduction of the *adhān* and Anas' statement about the repetitions of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*. Anas ibn Mālik most probably did not mention the introduction, which was added to his saying at the turn of the third/ninth century. Let us now consider the content, starting with the strange mention of the fire, to further understand how and why this category came into circulation.

3.2.3 The fire

Fire as a 'signal' is commonly attested, but less so as a convoker.[219] From a practical point of view, lighting a fire to call people to prayer in a city like Medina, which is located on a rather flat terrain, would not really serve the purpose: it would not offer a significant advantage compared with the use of shadows to calculate the approximate hour in the day and determine the time of the prayer accordingly. More importantly, a visual call to prayer would require a constant attention from the believers, contrary to an acoustic ritual which can be heard while performing other activities. How can we then explain the mention of the fire?

I see three possible interpretations. Firstly, it could be the sign of a lexical misunderstanding of the word *būq*, or eventually *qarn*. A transmitter could have been unable to read the word *būq* and thought it was *nār*, or he misheard *nār* for *qarn*. The written proximity between *būq* and *nār*, and the

[218] See JUYNBOLL 2007, 58.
[219] Some examples of 'fire signals' can be seen in BLOOM, *The Minaret*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013, 24.

acoustic similarity between *qarn* and *nār* can explain the confusion, but they do not seem enough to build a strong case.

As second interpretation, I suggest establishing a link between the 'fire' and the Islamic 'call to prayer' through the minaret. In Arabic, *manār/manāra*, from which 'minaret' is derived, means literally the 'place of light', *mawḍiʿ al-nūr*, in the *Lisān al-ʿarab*. The tower, which was called *manār(a)* by Muslims, could have been used to light a fire, maybe to indicate the location of a mosque at night. Minarets are still used that way in many Muslim countries, which adorn their minarets with lights to make the mosque visible.[220] And Medina was known for its numerous tower-houses, *āṭām*, sg. *uṭum*, which were apparently pulled down by ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (r. 23-35/644-55) during his reign.[221] However, the actual association of these towers and the *adhān* is more problematic. The *adhān* was initially – and for a long time – called out on top of a building, on a roof, but *not* from towers, in Medina or elsewhere, as shown by both the Islamic traditions and the archaeological findings.[222] The word *manār* also has other meanings, notably, it designates, according to the *Lisān al-ʿarab*, a sign indicating the border or the edge between two things or lands, *al-ʿalamu wa mā yūḍaʿa bayna al-shayʾayni min al-ḥudūdi*.[223] It was used to describe *inter alia* the border of the *ḥaram*, the sacred space of Mecca. This meaning is not associated with light or fire. *Manār* could have been initially signs marking the edge of the mosque's inner sacred space, for instance, like the four towers at each corner of the Prophet's mosque in Medina that were restored under the Umayyads.[224] In this semantic context, *al-nār* could have been suggested as a sign.

If the part mentioning the fire in C2's narratives is early, it could mean that the fire had genuinely been discussed as a potential mean to call to prayer, as a visual 'call' rather than a vocal one. Since we ignore the exact origin of the *manār* towers, this hypothesis is plausible. It could

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[220] See BLOOM 2013, 46. BLOOM describes further the construction of lighthouse towers between Kufa and Mecca: "the early Abbasids also erected beacons and markers. As early as 752, the first Abbasid caliph Abu'l-ʿAbbas had erected beacon towers (*manār*) and milestones (*mīl*) along the pilgrimage route from Kufa to Mecca." BLOOM 2013, 56.
[221] See LECKER 1995, 12-13; HOYLAND 2001, 171; MUNT 2014, 46.
[222] See BLOOM's chapter on the *adhān* in BLOOM 2013, chap. 2, 23 ss.
[223] BLOOM 2013, 46 quotes the same definition from Lane's *Lexicon* p. 2866 '*nwr*' and "The Arabic philologist al-Asmaʿi (d. 828)".
[224] See BLOOM 2013, 49-50, and the whole discussion in the third chapter, p. 46 ss.

explain why one of Muslim's transmitters, Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim (d. *c*. 235/849) or Bahz ibn Asad (d. *c*. 200/817), removed the mention of the fire: he might have found it irrelevant or improbable. Indeed, the fire was never a convoker contrary to the trumpet and the *nāqūs*, and for someone who had not attended the debates before the introduction of the *adhān*, the fire might have sounded dubious. On the other hand, this transmitter might as well have heard versions including the Jewish trumpet. In this confusion, he decided to keep only the *nāqūs*, which he had heard mentioned everywhere. This would be the opposite method to the one used by al-Bukhārī in C1. Al-Bukhārī merged two different narratives, while here one version is deleted without any mention of it.

Finally, another interpretation is suggested by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī in his *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. Ibn Ḥajar argues that the puzzling mention of the fire in association with the Jews is to be explained with the help of a different recension by Rūḥ ibn ʿAṭāʾ < Khālid < his father. In this version, the *nāqūs* is first suggested, and the Prophet said that it belongs to the Christians; then comes the *būq*, but the Prophet said it belongs to the Jews; and finally, the *nār*, which the Prophet associates with Zoroastrians.

> فقالوا لو اتخذنا ناقوسًا فقال رسول الله [...] ذلك للنصارى فقالوا لو اتخذنا بوقًا فقال ذلك لليهود فقالوا لو رفعنا نارًا فقال ذلك للمجوس
>
> They said: and if we use the *nāqūs* (?), then the Prophet said: this [belongs] to the Christians; they said: and if we use the *būq*, then he [the Prophet] said: the *būq* [belongs] to the Jews, and they said: and if we set a fire. Then he said: this [belongs] to the Zoroastrians (*majūs*).[225]

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī describes the narratives of C2 as a summary of the complete story. The Basran transmitters could have transmitted this truncated version either because, contrary to the Prophet, they knew that the fire was not used by the Zoroastrians as a convoker and/or because they were unfamiliar with the Jewish convoker. This could potentially explain the disappearance of *būq* and *al-majūs* in al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's recensions.

One cannot exclude the possibility that *al-nār* had been mentioned in Medina when people were discussing the means to call to prayer. But if it was the case, the suggestion must have been

[225] Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. II, 10. *K. al-adhān*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, p. 80. The English translation is mine.

dismissed rapidly for it was rather meaningless: how could a fire wake people up for the morning prayer? As for its association with the Zoroastrians, it can indicate that the people in Medina were not familiar enough with the adherents of this religion and thus randomly associated the fire with a call to prayer, ignoring the fact that it was not at all a convoker similar to the *nāqūs* and the *būq*. The Qurʾān (Q. 22:17 mentions "*al-majūs*") tells us that indeed Zoroastrians were known at the time of the Prophet, but since they are mentioned only once, they might have remained poorly known until Muslims encountered more of them through the conquests of the Sassanid Empire.[226]

Nevertheless, al-ʿAsqalānī may be relating an intermediate or later version, which did not relate the words of the Prophet but those of a narrator willing to introduce the Zoroastrians along with the Christians and the Jews, as suggested by Bloom.[227] Be it for egalitarian purposes, or as an address to a bigger Zoroastrian population, this hypothesis is however less plausible. The additional reference to the Prophet further suggests that al-ʿAsqalānī's version was introduced when the authority of others than the Prophet had become less or non-acceptable.

Two points speak against al-ʿAsqalānī's interpretation. Firstly, there might be a plausible connection between fire and Jews. Jews marked the arrival of the new moon by blowing a *shofar* and lighting a fire in Jerusalem.[228] Although fire is used here as a signal and not as means to convoke people at a precise time, its association with the shofar indicates that the confusion between the horn or trumpet and the fire was possible.

Secondly, in Zoroastrianism, the fire constitutes more a "cult object":[229] During the prayers, offerings are made to the fire. However, the fire itself does not appear to be lit before the prayer to 'call' people to a ritual gathering.[230] It is not even a signal. It seems therefore that al-ʿAsqalānī's version is a late compilation, the intention of which remains partly obscure.

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[226] See the discussion about the potential influence of Zoroastrianism on the monotheistic religions in Marietta STEPANIANTS, "The Encounter of Zoroastrianism with Islam," in: *Philosophy East and West*, 52, no. 2 (2002): 159–162.

[227] BLOOM suggests for instance that the fire was added later by a 'Persian hand' to raise Zoroastrianism to the status of Judaism and Christianity, see BLOOM 2013, 24.

[228] See T. C. G. THORNTON, "Jewish New Moon Festivals, Galatians 4: 3-11 and Colossians 2:16," in: *The Journal of Theological Studies* 40, no. 1 (1989): 98. And BLOOM 2013, 24.

[229] Mary BOYCE, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices. London, 1979, 4.

[230] For more information concerning the role of fire in the Zoroastrian prayer see BOYCE 1979, 4 and for a description of the Zoroastrian prayer itself, see *ibid.* 33.

More information on *manār* and the use of fire by Jews and Muslims in the early first/seventh century would help here understand better the puzzling mention of *al-nār*. Whether the fire was mentioned in the debates about the introduction of an Islamic call to prayer or it was added by later transmitters as a lexical mistake or else, it still indicates that the *adhān* was remembered as the result of discussions and various propositions, which transmitters summarised in their narratives. Its presence reflects the will of the narrators to depict the debates that shaped the *adhān*. The mention of another means to call to prayer in a narrative of the third category will allow us to explore further this question and show that the proto-narrative was probably modified through both additions and removals.

Modifications mostly did not occur by chance and meticulous analyses help extract the necessary details to understand the purpose and the context of the narratives. By extrapolation, information regarding the object of the narratives, that is the introduction of the *adhān*, can appear 'between the lines', especially when a proto-narrative has visibly been used as a pattern for so many different narratives. The *nāqūs* is one of these elements pertaining to the proto-narrative which belongs to the primitive state of the narratives and comprise information about their genesis. It is a common thread between the three categories and its treatment is indicative of the purpose of its presence.

3.2.4 The *nāqūs*

The introductory parts of C1 and C2 are similar in meaning but varied in their contents, with the exception of the *nāqūs*. The recurrent presence of the Christian instrument suggests that it was indeed strongly associated with the origins of the *adhān*. The introduction in C2 has been added by transmitters of the third/ninth century; it provides the conclusion with a general context by recalling popular memories embedded in the proto-narrative and its derived forms. The fact that the *nāqūs* constitutes a constant element indicates the strength of its association with the introduction of the *adhān* in common knowledge and memories. The way the word is used, without definition or explanation, also bears witnesses to the familiarity with the instrument that existed when the proto-narrative started circulating. The word *nāqūs* is not Arabic, as we saw in chapter 1, and the instrument

does not seem to have been common among Muslims, contrary to the trumpet, for instance, which was used in battles. The *nāqūs* even faded away and the bells not only replaced it, they took its name, since '*nāqūs*' came to mean 'bell' in Arabic. As a result, most of the English translations of the *aḥādīth* narrating the introduction of the *adhān* ignore this change and mention anachronistically the bells instead of the *semantron*. The *nāqūs* seems therefore to be mentioned by the narrators to make their introduction authentic. They mostly summarise the whole story and do not waste words in superfluous information, but the *nāqūs* remains because it belongs to this original part of the story in which they try to anchor the religious question about the repetitions of the formulæ in the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*.

As for the suggestion to adopt a Christian instrument to call Muslims to prayer, it was most likely discussed at a time when Muslims did not perceive Christians as a potential threat for neither their identity, nor their religious and political stability. It is described with a neutral, descriptive tone, far from the prohibition advocated by jurists from the second/eighth century onwards as we will see in chapter 4. It denotes a pre-Conquest atmosphere in which Christians had an undetermined status and their influences were not condemned indiscriminately. It reflects this inclusive community of believers described by Donner.[231]

These short introductions are rich in information that helps us understand both the purpose of C2's narratives and part of the context in which the proto-narrative emerged. The contrast with C1 raises however an important question: why are the introductions in the two categories different?

3.2.5 The need for the *adhān*

In the first category, the need for a call to prayer is triggered by the arrival in Medina, while, in the second category, the increasing number of people force the Muslims to think of 'familiar means' to develop their own call to prayer. First of all, the arrival in Medina and the population's increase might be two different ways to describe the same phenomena. It was most likely when the Muslims emigrated to Medina that their number increased, and *vice versa*, the population increased because the community moved to a less hostile environment and was able to develop into a polity. The

[231] See DONNER 2011, in particular his conclusion 88-89.

differences in the description of this situation show one more time the focus on the transmission of a message more than the exact wordings. In comparison with the almost identical narratives of C1, the diverse and small content of C2's narratives suggest an oral transmission which prioritise the meaning over the form even more than written transmission. Despite these differences, both categories describe a social change, which brings forth new needs, notably the need for means to gather people for the prayer.

This need is less religious than it is practical, yet it led to the development of a religious ritual with codified practices. The reason for this particular development comes probably from the idea to use 'familiar means', which happened to be well-established monotheistic rituals. The simple call, *nidāʾ*, eventually became a ritual, an *adhān*. With few words, the first sentences of C2's narratives depict the vacuum that needed to be filled with something more than a simple call in order to equal the surrounding communities. They stress the significance of this ritual equal to its Christian and Jewish counterparts and its righteous form, following the example of the famous companion Bilāl. This is the message conveyed in the conclusion, with the mention of the first *muʾadhdhin* and the two calls to prayer.

3.2.6 The first *muʾadhdhin*

The last sentence in C2 establishes a certain practice of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*. By mentioning Bilāl, along with the popular history of the *adhān*, the narrators use all the common knowledge regarding the *adhān* to support the claim about the repetition of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*. The audience is thus supposed to infer that if the *adhān* was introduced as Bilāl called it, his example ought to be followed. The same method is applied in C1 with the same argument, but a slightly different conclusion: Bilāl is again quoted as seal of authenticity, the introduction sets the same context in the early days after the *ḥijrah*, and the audience is reminded that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was involved; in fact, he invented the *adhān*. In both cases, well-established knowledge, the beginning of the *adhān* and the role of Bilāl, are used to support more controversial ideas, notably the number of repetitions of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* in C2 and ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's involvement in the introduction of the *adhān* in C1, and potentially in the establishment of an official version of

the ritual.

I see here a particular mechanism of *ḥadīth* formation. Both C1 and C2 combine common knowledge with a controversial point, such as ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's role in the introduction of the *adhān* or the number of repetitions of the *adhān* formulæ. The purpose of this combination is rhetoric. To convince people of the righteousness of a certain position *vis-à-vis* these debatable questions, the controversial and the well-known elements are presented in the same narrative, at the same level. In this process, the controversial element seems to gain historicity. This mechanism allows the two categories to defend two unrelated positions by using the same narrative framework to which the controversial point is added. This explains the disappearance of ʿUmar in C2 and the addition of the *iqāmah*.

3.2.7 The *iqāmah*

The introduction of the *iqāmah* and the precision about the number of repetitions confirm the central message conveyed by C2 regarding the orthodox practice of the calls to prayer. Bilāl is asked to perform the *adhān* twice (*yashfaʿa al-adhān*) and the *iqāmah* once (*yūtira al-iqāmah*). This sentence addresses a specific question, which is not the history of the *adhān*. It deals with the rituals, which evolved from the original call to prayer and were obviously practised in different ways across the Islamic realm. In his articles on the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* in *EI*^{2}, Juynboll considers these differences as *madhāhīb* disagreement, disagreement between the different schools of law. In fact, followers of the Mālikī *madhhab* repeat the first formula, '*Allāhu akbar*', only twice, contrary to the four repetitions advocated by the other three Sunnī and the Shīʿī *madhāhib*. The narratives of C2 align then with Mālikī *fiqh*. Since the *isnād* is clearly Basran, this also corroborates Haider's findings of "internal alignments that cut across simple regional divides, particularly a link between Medina and Basra".[232]

The purpose of this second category could be therefore to fix the number of repetitions of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* according to the Medinan practice as advocated by Mālik ibn Anas. Using a sort of *awāʾil* report, a report on the origins of the ritual, serves the claim to authority: if the *adhān*

[232] HAIDER 2013, 338.

was first introduced at the time of the Prophet and the repetitions of the formulæ received his approval, then it is the right way to perform it.[233] The first sentences set therefore the context, so that the audience must understand that the ritual described in the conclusion is the only orthodox practice.

Can the concluding segment in C2 serve as indication for the dating of the texts? That the *iqāmah* appeared at the same time as the *adhān* can be explained by the need to announce the start of the prayer once people are gathered. The repetitions in the *adhān* could easily play the role of distinguishing between the first call to gather and the call indicating the start of the prayer. Additionally, Howard suggests that there "may have been two *adhān*s fairly early in Islam, one general for the community to gather for the *ṣalāt* and one particular for the Prophet or later caliph to come and lead the *ṣalāt.*"[234] This is attested by some narratives which distinguish two calls, the second being usually addressed to the Prophet. Muslim, for instance, reports the following narrative:

> وَحَدَّثَنِي سَلَمَةُ بْنُ شَبِيبٍ حَدَّثَنَا الْحَسَنُ بْنُ أَعْيَنَ، حَدَّثَنَا زُهَيْرٌ حَدَّثَنَا سِمَاكُ بْنُ حَرْبٍ عَنْ جَابِرِ بْنِ سَمُرَةَ قَالَ كَانَ بِلاَلٌ يُؤَذِّنُ إِذَا دَحَضَتْ فَلاَ يُقِيمُ حَتَّى يَخْرُجَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَإِذَا خَرَجَ أَقَامَ الصَّلاَةَ حِينَ يَرَاهُ.
>
> And Salamah ibn Shabīb narrated to me, that al-Ḥasan ibn Aʿyan narrated to us, that Zuhayr narrated to us, that Simāk ibn Ḥarb narrated to us, according to Jābir ibn Samurah, who said that Bilāl performed the *adhān* when [the sun] was setting, [but] he did not perform the *iqāmah* until the Prophet [...] came out, and when he had come out, he performed the *iqāmah* as he saw him.[235]

Over the ten years that the Prophet spent in Medina, the possible call to prayer that was being used at that time could easily have developed into a distinctive ritual. There is unfortunately very little information on the evolution from simple calls to more elaborate rituals, except in this report extracted from Ibn Khuzaymah's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan*:

> رَوْحُ بْنُ عَطَاءِ بْنِ أَبِي مَيْمُونَةَ ثنا خَالِدٌ الْحَذَّاءُ عَنْ أَبِي قِلَابَةَ عَنْ أَنَسٍ قَالَ كَانَتِ الصَّلَاةُ إِذَا حَضَرَتْ عَلَى عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ سَعَى رَجُلٌ فِي الطَّرِيقِ فَنَادَى الصَّلَاةَ الصَّلَاةَ فَاشْتَدَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَى النَّاسِ فَقَالُوا لَوِ اتَّخَذْنَا نَاقُوسًا يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ فَقَالَ ذَلِكَ لِلنَّصَارَى فَقَالُوا لَوِ اتَّخَذْنَا بُوقًا قَالَ ذَلِكَ لِلْيَهُودِ قَالَ

[233] On *awāʾil* see Franz ROSENTHAL, "Awāʾil," in: *EI*[2].
[234] HOWARD 1981, 225.
[235] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-masājid wa mawāḍiʿ al-ṣalāh* (5), *Bāb matá yaqūm al-nās li-l-ṣalāh* (29), 160 (606). The English translation is mine.

فَأُمِرَ بِلَالٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الْأَذَانَ وَيُوتِرَ الْإِقَامَةَ

> Rūḥ ibn ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Maymunah narrated to us that Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ said according to Abū Qilābah, according to Anas who said that during the time of the Messenger of God […], when the time of the prayer had come, a man would walk the streets calling (*fa-nādá*) "the prayer, the prayer" (*al-ṣalāh al-ṣalāh*). That became difficult for the people and some asked: "Would we use a *nāqūs*, o Messenger of God?" He said: "This belongs to the Christians." People then said: "Could we use a trumpet (*būq*)?" [The Prophet said:] "This belongs to the Jews." And he [the Prophet] ordered Bilāl to pronounce the *adhān* twice and the *iqāmah* once.[236]

The conclusion of C2 is here again augmented by a different introduction, in which we are told that the call to prayer was initially '*al-ṣalāh al-ṣalāh*'.[237] The verb *nādá* indicates, like in C1, the 'primitive' call, which preceded the *adhān* and the development of the Islamic call to prayer is exposed following a sensible chronology. The narrative was probably arranged by Rūḥ ibn ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Maymūnah, who took the liberty to assemble Anas ibn Mālik's famous statement about the repetitions of the calls to prayer with a particular introduction, different from C2's narratives. We know little about Rūḥ ibn ʿAṭāʾ.[238] He was the son of a scholar, ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Maymūnah, who died in 131/749 and was quoted in most of the Six Books. From the information we possess about his father, we can deduce that he lived in Basra in the second/eighth century. He was considered as an unreliable transmitter (weak, *ḍaʿīf* and suspect or unacceptable, *munkar al-ḥadīth*), which might explain why he was not remembered.[239] His mix of *aḥādīth* within a single narrative could justify the lack of trust that other scholars felt regarding his reliability as a *ḥadīth* transmitter. The chain of transmission from Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ refers most likely to the conclusion as in C2, but this does not mean that the introduction was *invented* by Rūḥ ibn ʿAṭāʾ. His description of the primitive call to prayer is convincing and I see no reason to dismiss it. One can easily imagine that scholars did not want to promote this part of the story since they were already having too many *adhān* variations,

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[236] Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrá*. *K. al-ṣalāh*, *dhikr jamāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, *bāb badʾ al-adhān*, 573; and Ibn Khuzaymah, *Ṣaḥīḥ*. *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Jummāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, (38) *Bāb dhikr al-dalīl ʿalá an al-amr bilālan an yashfaʿ al-adhān…*, no. 369, p. 222. The English translation is mine.
[237] This is probably the source of MITTWOCH's assumption about the initial call to prayer, see the introduction to the present work chapter 1.5.1 Becker and Mittwoch and MITTWOCH 1913, 25.
[238] See the short entry in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ed. Abū Ghuddah & ʿAbd Al-Fattāḥ, Beirut: Dār al-bashāʾir al-islāmīyah, 2002, vol. III, no. 3169, p. 483.
[239] Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. III, no. 3169, p. 483.

which they were trying to reduce with their narratives. They were entitled to think that highlighting an ancient call to prayer could have added more confusion in an already confused situation.

Another narrative from Ibn Saʿd's *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* depicts Bilāl using the formulæ of the *adhān* to call the Prophet with a slight modification:

> أخبرنا محّمد بن عمر قال حدّثني موسى بن محّمد بن إبراهيم بن الحارث التيميّ عن أبيه قال كان بلال إذا فرغ من الأذان فأراد أن يعْلَمَ النّبيّ [...] أنّه قد أذّن وقف على الباب وقال حَيَّ على الصلاة حَيّ على الفلاح الصلاة يا رسول الله
>
> Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar reported to us, he said: Mūsá ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥārith al-Taymī narrated to me according to his father who said that Bilāl was finished with the *adhān* and he wanted to let the Prophet know that he had performed the *adhān*, and, standing at the door, he said: 'come to the prayer, come to the salvation, the prayer O Messenger of God'.[240]

Thereafter, Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar adds that when Bilāl saw the Prophet, he started the *iqāmah*, like in Muslim's narrative. Although the narrative takes place at a time when *adhān* and *iqāmah* were already established, one can easily perceive how the call to prayer still retained the character of a simple call, that Bilāl is here using partially to call the Prophet and *not* to perform the ritual.

Outside Medina, the practice of the *adhān* might have been even more confused. In Egypt (Fusṭāṭ), for instance, al-Maqrīzī relates the following story which suggests that the *adhān* had not reached its official Sunnī format under ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (d. 42-43/662-664).

> قال أبو الخير: حدّثني أبو مسلم وكان مؤذنا لعمرو بن العاص أن الأذان كان أوّله لا إله إلا الله وآخره لا إله إلّا الله
>
> Abū al-Khayr said: Abū Muslim narrated to me as he was the *muʾadhdhin* of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, that the *adhān* started with *lā ilāh illā allāh* and it ended with *lā ilāh illā allāh*.[241]

Have we got here another embryonic stage of the *adhān*? This could be a version of the *adhān* before the addition of the *takbīr* and the *shahādah* formulæ, with potentially in the middle

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[240] Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. III, *Bilāl ibn Rabāh*, no. 76, p. 215. The English translation is mine.

[241] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār: al-maʿrūf bi-al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīzīyah*, ed. Khalīl Manṣūr, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1998, vol. IV, *Dhikr al-adhan bi-miṣr wa mā kān fīh min al-ikhtilāf*, p. 46. The English translation is mine.

ḥayya ʿalá al-ṣalāh. Or could it be a 'standard' version to which '*lā ilāha illā allāh*' would have been added at the beginning and at the end? In any case, the call to prayer described by al-Maqrīzī does not correspond the *adhān* as we know it and seems therefore to pertain to an intermediary stage of its development. This is particularly plausible knowing that the pre-Islamic administrative system of Egypt remained as it was after the Conquest over several generations and it is likely that Islamic institutions and culture, including religious rituals, took time to be implemented.[242]

Slowly, the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* or the two 'calls' evolved to reach the versions with the formulæ we know today, but the number of their repetitions remained an object of controversy. Consequently, the debate on the repetitions of the formulæ within the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* must have started soon after the death of the Prophet, when dissensions were crystallised around any potential source of disunion. At that time, the Muslim community probably started to disintegrate, and the bonds created by Muḥammad were loosening as well. The caliphs, worried about their shaky authority, tried to normalise some practices in order to gain legitimacy. In fact, as long as the Prophet was alive, any disparities coming from him were not problematic because he was recognised as the main authority. But as soon as he died, any two people, who were practicing a certain ritual differently before his death, could lead to the creation of opposite factions and this would become source of division and debates. Thus Basra might have performed the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* in a certain way, and when anyone from another city would arrive, this person would notice a difference in the performance and ask for justification. Basrans would then probably refer to Anas ibn Mālik as their authority, to justify their practice. To this some added a historical context to root the practice in the Prophetic tradition, while other referred to the Prophet himself, since he had become the sole authority to the exclusion of the companions.

As for ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, he was not mentioned here, because the people were concerned about the form of the ritual, not his origin. But ʿUmar appears again in C3 and we will see how people insisted on involving him in the introduction of this important ritual.

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[242] See the description of this period by Petra SIJPESTEIJN, *Shaping a Muslim State: The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, chap. 2.4 "Post-Conquest Muslim Rule and Government", 64 ss.

Summary of the findings

Two particular elements characterise the second category: the fire and the *iqāmah*. The mention of the fire is likely to stem from a confusion, but it speaks in favour of a rather localised development of the versions contained in C2. It indicates that C2 started circulating in places where the fire could be interpreted as a regular religious ritual and shows a good example of regionalism. The *iqāmah* and in fact the last segment as a whole constitute a theological justification of a certain practice of the calls to or announcements of the prayer. It is the central focus of the narrative. By contrast, the need for the *adhān* and the *nāqūs* belong to the recurrent themes borrowed from the proto-narrative to support the theological views. Similarly, Bilāl seems to be treated as a seal of authenticity, to add credibility to the practice of the ritual as described in these narratives. This combination of well-known facts or common knowledge with contentious issues is another mechanism used in *ḥadīth* literature to address a probably contemporaneous debate. The following excursus summarises and compares the findings obtained from the analyses of C1 and C2 in order to build a clear basis to start the analysis of the more complicated narratives of C3.

Excursus: Comparisons between C1 and C2

C1 and C2 can be compared from two different perspectives: structural and lexical. The first section is dedicated to the similar structure of the narratives, in which I see the outlines of the proto-narrative. Despite this common source, the two categories pursued different goals and followed distinct transmission paths, a contrast that appears clearly with the lexical comparison of the texts, highlighted in the second section.

Structural differences

The structure of both C1 and C2 is fairly similar: First, the circumstances which triggered the need for an Islamic call to prayer are described; then, people suggest ‘familiar means’ to call to prayer, deriving inspiration from other religious communities, mainly Jewish and Christian; finally, Bilāl is asked to perform the *adhān*. Both categories use this structure for different purposes, political or religious respectively. But there was no porosity between Medina and Basra, apart from the common knowledge and memories about the story narrating the introduction of the *adhān*. The issues

addressed by the categories also indicate different concerns in the two cities. The similar structure reflects the outline of the proto-narrative, while the divergences highlight how it was modified over time. The following table summarises similarities and differences between C1 and C2.

Similarities	**Differences C1 *vs* C2**
External factors push Muslims to create the *adhān*	When the Muslims arrived in Medina ***vs*** when the number of people increased
Suggestion to use non-Islamic means to call to prayer, including the *nāqūs*	The use of the *būq*/*qarn* ***vs*** the use of *nār*
Bilāl's primary role as *muʾadhdhin*	ʿUmar, the Prophet and Bilāl ***vs*** Bilāl as only actor
Mention of the *adhān*	Mention of the *adhān* ***vs*** mention of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*
General structure of the narrative	Semi-developed narrative ***vs*** summary-like or incomplete version

Table 2: Structural comparison between C1 and C2.

Lexical differences

While the content and the structure of C1 and C2 display as many similarities as dissimilarities, the linguistic comparison of the two categories reveals greater divergences. At the lexical level, it is apparent that the two sets of narratives evolved differently and with little interaction.

C1	**C2**	
كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ حِينَ قَدِمُوا الْمَدِينَةَ	قَالَ لَمَّا كَثُرَ النَّاسُ	
يَجْتَمِعُونَ فَيَتَحَيَّنُونَ الصَّلاَةَ، لَيْسَ يُنَادَى لَهَا/بها		
فَتَكَلَّمُوا يَوْمًا فِي ذَلِكَ	قَالَ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَعْلَمُوا وَقْتَ الصلوة بِشَيْءٍ يَعْرِفُونَهُ	فَذَكَرُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَى
	فَذَكَرُوا أَنْ يُورُوا نَارًا	
فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ اتَّخِذُوا نَاقُوسًا مِثْلَ نَاقُوسِ النَّصَارَى	أَوْ يَضْرِبُوا نَاقُوسًا	
وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ بَلْ بُوقًا/قرنا مِثْلَ قَرْنِ الْيَهُودِ		
فَقَالَ عُمَرُ أَوَلاَ تَبْعَثُونَ رَجُلاً يُنَادِي بِالصَّلاَةِ		
فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم		
يَا بِلاَلُ قُمْ فَنَادِ بِالصَّلاَةِ	أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَيُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ	

Table 3: Lexical comparison between C1 and C2.

The table presents the two texts in parallel to highlight these lexical differences between the two categories. The vocabulary varies considerably from one category to the other, only the '*nāqūs*' and '*Bilāl*' (highlighted in grey in the table) are common to both categories. In bold are the words or expression which convey a similar meaning but are expressed differently. For instance, the introductory sentences contain '*al-muslimūn*' with the verb '*qadimū*' in C1, and '*al-nās*' and '*kathura*' in C2. The verbs '*takallamū*' and '*ittakhidhū*' in C1 also contrast with the repetition of '*dhakarū*' in C2.

In addition, the length of the sentences, divided in the table according to the information they provide, reveals a wide gap between C1 and C2. When compared, the narratives of C1 and C2 appear as an early development of the proto-narrative, which was heavily modified over the years.

The *aḥādīth* of C1 and C2 show layers of debates about the *adhān* over several generations. The discussions about ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb were probably happening around the time of his caliphate or soon after, while the disagreements on the repetitions of the formulæ peaked in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, probably nourished and then crystallised by the growing divisions of opinions in the schools of law. As for the origins of the *adhān*, they must have raised interest among Muslims from the very introduction of the call to prayer. As part of the proto-narrative, they are therefore present across all categories.

3.3 Category 3

The third category contains twenty versions of the dream-story with more differences across their texts than in any of the previous two categories. This level of complexity is best illustrated by the chains of transmission, which I analyse first in this section to highlight the manifold paths taken by the narratives before reaching a collection. Their variety exemplifies well the shortcomings of an analysis based only on the *asānīd* and how a holistic *isnād-cum-matn* analysis becomes necessary in order to better understand the discrepancies between the versions. The presentation of the chains is followed by the depiction of a general outline of the dream story applicable to all the narratives. The outline can be divided in three parts:

- the introduction;

- the dream;
- the conclusion.

The main narrative elements in each of these parts are examined in a close textual analysis which follows the chronological thread of the story. In the introduction, we can distinguish three such elements: (1) the disagreement about the *nāqūs*; (2) the disapproval of the Prophet about the use of instruments; and finally, (3) the uneven mentions of the trumpet and a banner as Islamic call to prayer. Next comes the dream, which is the only common feature to all narratives and the most varying at the same time. Investigation starts here at the structural level and moves then to the content. It distinguishes elements present in all narratives from those shared by only a few. Contrasting both allows us to examine the purpose of the dream narratives before turning our attention to the main characters of the dream, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd and ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. This section on the third category ends with the diverse conclusions to the dream and the positions taken by some narrators to answer questions that might have been raised regarding the content of the dream narratives.

To facilitate the description of the twenty *aḥādīth* within this category, I have attributed to each of them an acronym combining the abbreviated name of the collector and a number. Each text with the abbreviation and its full bibliographic reference is given in the appendices.[243] The following table summarises the information.

[243] ʿAbd Al-Razzāq, *Al-Muṣannaf*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, no. 1774-5, p. 356; Al-Tirmidhī, *Al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Bāb mā jāʾ fī badʾ al-adhān*, no. 189, pp. 231-232; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd Al-Bāqī, Cairo: ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1952, vol. I, *K. al-adhān wa al-sunah fīhā*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, no. 706-7, pp. 232-233; Abū Dāwūd Sulayman ibn al-Ashʾath al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, ed. Shuʿayb Arnaʾūṭ *et al*., Beirut: Dar al-Risalah al-ʿAlamīyah, 2009, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, no. 498, 499, 506, 507, 512, pp. 369-385; Mālik ibn Anas, *Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Beirut, Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1985, *K. al-ṣalāh*, no. 1, p. 67; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. XXVI, *ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih*, no. 16477 and 16478, pp. 399-403; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol.I, *Dhikr al-adhān*, pp. 212-3; ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Shaybah, *Al-Muṣannaf*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad *et al.*, Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd Nāshirūn, 2006, vol. II, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Abwāb al-adhan wa-l-iqāmah, Mā jāʾ fī al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah kaif huw*, no. 2130, p. 5; ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1990, vol. II, *Khabar al-adhān*, pp. 149-151; ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Dārimī, *Sunan*. Ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad Darānī, Riyadh: Dār al-Mughnī, 2000, *Bāb fī badʾ al-adhān*, no. 1224, pp. 758-760. The Arabic texts of C3 are given in full in Appendix 3.2. A similar version of these narratives can be found in Ibn Ḥibbān's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, no. 1658, pp. 541-3; and al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan*, no. 1834-5, pp. 574-5.

Sources	Abbreviations
ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf* [1st, 2nd version]	AR1, AR2
Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan* [1st-5th versions]	D1-D5
Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ*	T1
Ibn Mājah, *Sunan* [1st, 2nd version]	Q1, Q2
Mālik ibn Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*	MM1 (MM)
Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* [1st, 2nd version]	IH1, IH2
Ibn Saʿd, *K. al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* [1st-3rd version]	IS1-IS3
Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*	IASh1
Ibn Hisham, *Sīrah* [1st, 2nd version]	Ih1, Ih2
Dārimī, *Sunan*	Dar1

Table 4: C3 – primary sources and their abbreviations.

3.3.1 Chains of transmission

The complex chains of transmission of the third category exemplify the need for a more elaborate diagram, like the ones I draw for C1 and C2. The conventional diagram or *isnād*-tree as represented in figure 5 is found wanting. The simplicity gained by employing a single type of link results in ambiguities: we do not know, for instance, whether ʿAbd al-Razzāq narrated Ibn ʿUmar's or ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd's versions. In fact, the common links with their multiple transmitters make it impossible to determine the beginning of an isolated strand without reference to the text. Furthermore, this type of diagram is often laid out in a chronologically inaccurate way, which hinders the identification of generational gaps, missing transmitters or anachronisms.

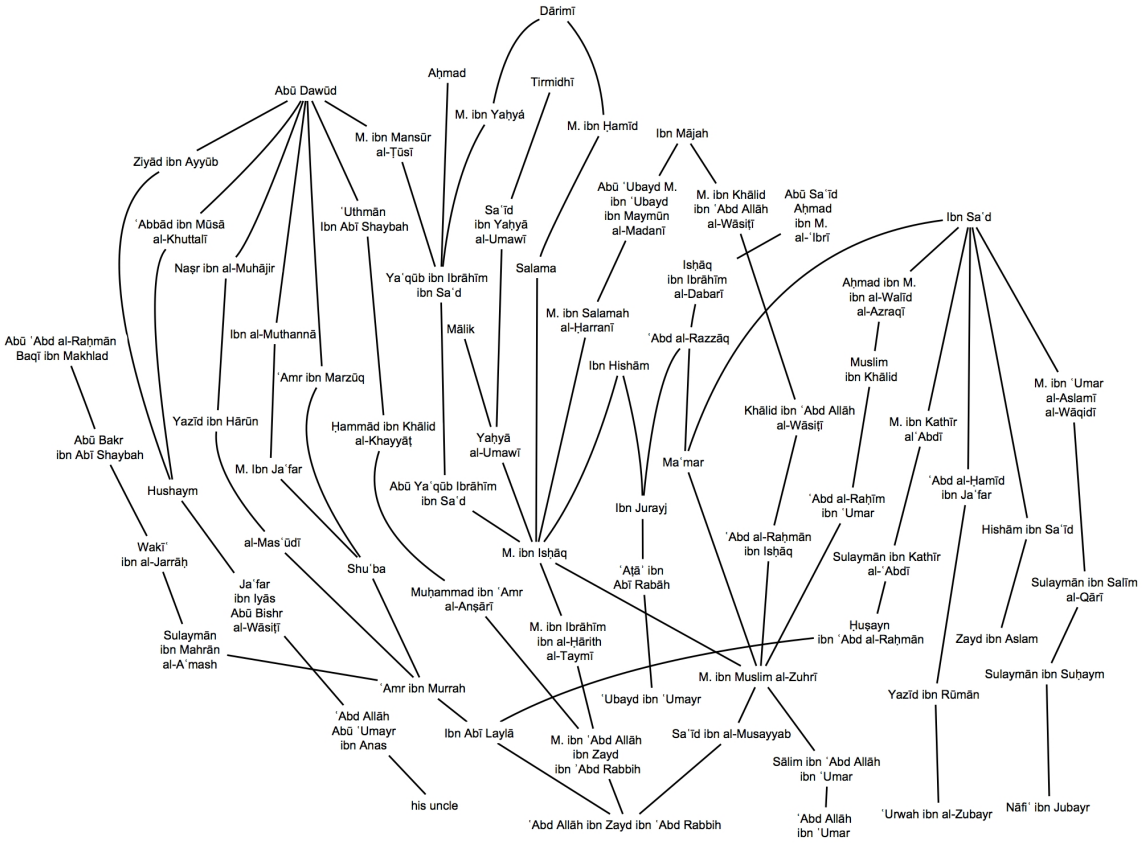

Figure 5: C3 – Chains of transmission, conventional diagram.

To remedy these problems, I employ here the same layout as for the previous two categories and add tagged links between transmitters to indicate which transmitter transmitted to which recipients, thus solving the ambiguity otherwise present at common links. A look at the graph allows us to establish for example that ʿAbd al-Razzāq did not report the version from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd or Ibn ʿUmar, but he transmits from Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab.

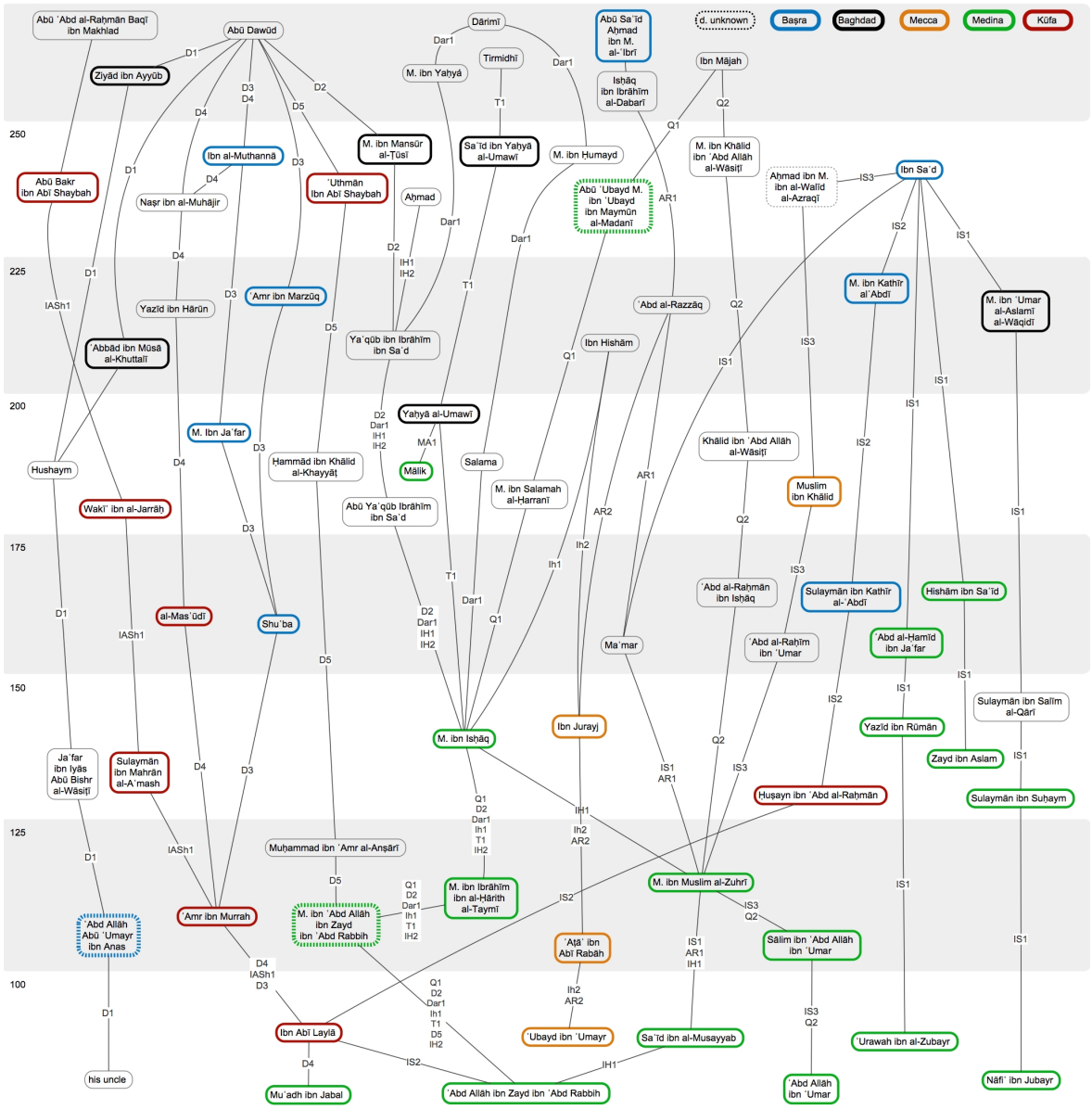

Figure 6: C3 – Chains of transmission, enhanced diagram.

Figure 6 shows the quite uneven repartition of transmitters in different cities and throughout each epoch of twenty-five years.[244] There is no majority of transmitters in one single city, like in C2, if we except Medina, which does contain a higher concentration of transmitters than the other cities during the first 150 years. If we apply here Sadeghi's Travelling Tradition Test, the dream constitutes a clear *topoï* cluster or unity of distinctive content. Sadeghi would argue that such cluster is likely to indicate "unity of birthplace".[245] In the present case, the principal 'candidate birthplace' for all the

[244] Details about the transmitters of C3's narratives are given in appendix 3.1.
[245] SADEGHI [1] 2010, 205.

accounts of C3 in the first 150 years is undoubtedly Medina. The 'Travelling Tradition Test' must be complemented here with the other clusters within the different reports, like the clear Kufan strand going up to Ibn Abī Shaybah's collection (with its transmitters circled in red). It is important to bear in mind this information when analysing the singularities of the text associated to this chain of transmission in order to highlight possible Kufan regionalisms.

Haider's approach would also concur in this case. Since the chains split *before* 150/767, Haider would consider each chain separately.[246] This means, for instance, that the chains with only Medinan transmitters are Medinan, like the accounts narrated by al-Zuhrī or Ibn Isḥāq. On the other hand, the account transmitted by Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah would be Kufan because Haider applies "a standard that weights the importance of transmitters from the early 2nd/8th century" and would emphasise, in such instance, "the overwhelming number of Kufan transmitters in the [...] chain of transmission" running up to Ibn Abī Shaybah.[247]

I have mentioned above that Juynboll analysed, albeit partially, the reports of this third category, attributing the wording to Ibn Isḥāq and the story itself to a transmitter anterior to al-Zuhrī.[248] To reach this conclusion, one must ignore all the recensions gathered by Ibn Saʿd which are not linked to Ibn Isḥāq, and three recensions by Abū Dāwūd as well as Ibn Abī Shaybah's report, or eventually, consider them as later back projections. One might ask too whether to include Ibn Abī Laylá as a common link or not. This exemplifies well the problems that arise when one does not take into consideration *all* the reports on a given topic and focus on the chains of transmission. The use of the common link or inverted common link to date reports is reaching here its accuracy limits. The diagram of C3 highlights clearly that considering only the reports linked to Ibn Isḥāq and/or al-Zuhrī does not allow, at least not alone, to reach a comprehensive conclusion.

All in all, the comparative analysis of both the chains of transmission and the texts leads to a more refined analysis. When the dating is impossible, it gives the opportunity to extract other kinds

[246] For an explanation about this methodological choice, see HAIDER 2013, 319.
[247] HAIDER 2013, 318.
[248] JUYNBOLL 2007, 421.

of information about the concern of some transmitters or a city's population, the theological controversies around the *adhān*, or the social, theological and political debates of the time.

3.3.2 General outline of the dream-story

The common general outline in C3 is similar to what has been observed for C1 and C2. An introduction gives first the context regarding the need for means to call people to prayer. Instruments, often the *nāqūs*, sometimes the *būq* as well, are suggested to address the issue. Contrary to C1 and C2, the Prophet expresses, in few instances, his reluctance in using an instrument (*kārih* or *karihahu*, and in one case, *lam yuʿjib*). Then comes the part featuring the dream, which constitutes C3's main distinctive feature. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. *c*. 63/682), a companion of the Prophet, dreams about a call to prayer.[249] Although all the accounts do not necessarily mention the same details of the dream, a few of them explain that a man, dressed in green garments and carrying a *nāqūs*, appears to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd, who asks him to sell his *nāqūs* so that he can call to prayer with it. The man answers that he has something better and he teaches him the *adhān* and, in some versions, the *iqāmah* as well. When the dream is narrated to the Prophet, he generally approves of it as a 'revelation' (*ruʾyā*). When ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb hears about ʿAbd Allāh's dream, he affirms he had the same dream, which further validates the 'revelation' status of the vision. Finally, it is again Bilāl who is asked to perform the *adhān*.

The table below summarises the presence ('x'), partial presence ('[x]') or absence (empty cell) of these narrative elements in all twenty recensions.

[249] More information about ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd is given below in the section on the dream.

	Ih1	Ih2	AR1	AR2	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	T	Q1	Q2	MM	IH1	IH2	IASh	IS1	IS2	IS3	Dar
introduction	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
būq	x		x		[x]						x	x					x		x	x
nāqūs	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	[x]	x	x		x	[x]	x	x
karihahu	x				x							x		x						x
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd	x		x		x	x	[x]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
the dream	x	[x]	x	[x]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
- a man	x		x		x	x	x				x			x	x	x	x	x		x
- green garments	x						x				x			x		x	x	x		x
- *nāqūs*	x	[x]	x	[x]		x					x		x	x	x		x			x
- can I buy?	x		x			x					x			x	x		x			x
- something better	x		x			x					x			x	x		x			x
- *adhān*	x		x			x		x			x			x	x	x	x	[x]		x
- *iqāmah*						x		x						x	x	x		[x]		x
Prophet's approval	x	x		x		x	x				x			x	x					x
ʿUmar's dream	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x
Bilāl	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ih=Ibn Hishām; AR=ʿAbd al-Razzāq; D=Abū Dāwūd; T=Tirmidhī; Q=Ibn Mājah; MM=Mālik; IH=Ibn Ḥanbal; IASh=Ibn Abī Shaybah; IS=Ibn Saʿd; Dar=Dārimī																				

Table 5: C3 – Main narrative elements.

Only the dream is common to all recensions. Yet, always the same structural thread is used across all categories: the need for an Islamic call to prayer is expressed, solutions are suggested, an Islamic call to prayer is adopted, and Bilāl calls to prayer. The outline of the proto-narrative unveiled with the analysis of the two previous categories surfaces in C3 as well. It obviously served as basis for all the different versions throughout each category. The great disparity between C3's versions gives the impression of a mix of oral and written transmissions, thus preventing a single version from arising, contrary to the almost identical reports contained, for instance, in C1. It also reflects presumably different political and religious interests, which gave particular orientation to the narratives.

3.3.3 Introduction to the dream

The first sentence of each report in C3, which has been displayed in the following table, shows the wide gaps existing between each version. The length, the vocabulary and the content diverge radically across texts.

Ih1	[...] وَقَدْ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حِينَ قَدِمَهَا إِنَّمَا يَجْتَمِعُ النَّاسُ إِلَيْهِ لِلصَّلَاةِ لِحِينِ مَوَاقِيتِهَا، بِغَيْرِ دَعْوَةٍ، فَهَمَّ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَيْنَ قَدِمَهَا أَنْ يَجْعَلَ بُوقًا كَبُوقِ يَهُودَ الَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ بِهِ لِصَلَاتِهِمْ، ثُمَّ كَرِهَهُ، ثُمَّ أَمَرَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ، فَنُحِتَ لِيُضْرَبَ بِهِ لِلْمُسْلِمَيْنِ لِلصَّلَاةِ.
Ih2	ائْتَمَرَ النَّبِيُّ صَلّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلّمَ وَأَصْحَابُهُ بِالنَّاقُوسِ لِلِاجْتِمَاعِ لِلصَّلَاةِ، فَبَيْنَمَا عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطّابِ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَشْتَرِيَ خَشَبَتَيْنِ لِلنَّاقُوسِ
AR1	قَالَ: كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ يَهُمُّهُمْ شَيْءٌ يَجْمَعُونَ بِهِ لِصَلَاتِهِمْ، فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ نَاقُوسٌ، وَقَالَ: بَعْضُهُمْ بُوقٌ
AR2	إِيتَمَرَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَصْحَابُهُ كَيْفَ يَجْعَلُونَ شَيْئًا إِذَا أَرَادُوا جَمْعَ الصَّلَاةِ اجْتَمَعُوا لَهَا فَائْتَمَرُوا بِالنَّاقُوسِ
D1	قَالَ اهْتَمَّ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم لِلصَّلاَةِ كَيْفَ يَجْمَعُ النَّاسَ لَهَا فَقِيلَ لَهُ انْصِبْ رَايَةً عِنْدَ حُضُورِ الصَّلاَةِ فَإِذَا رَأَوْهَا آذَنَ بَعْضُهُمْ بَعْضًا فَلَمْ يُعْجِبْهُ ذَلِكَ قَالَ فَذُكِرَ لَهُ الْقُنْعُ - يَعْنِي الشَّبُّورَ وَقَالَ زِيَادٌ شَبُّورَ الْيَهُودِ فَلَمْ يُعْجِبْهُ ذَلِكَ وَقَالَ هُوَ مِنْ أَمْرِ الْيَهُودِ قَالَ فَذُكِرَ لَهُ النَّاقُوسُ فَقَالَ " هُوَ مِنْ أَمْرِ النَّصَارَى
D2	قَالَ لَمَّا أَمَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بِالنَّاقُوسِ يُعْمَلُ لِيُضْرَبَ بِهِ لِلنَّاسِ لِجَمْعِ الصَّلاَةِ
D3	قَالَ أُحِيلَتِ الصَّلاَةُ ثَلاَثَةَ أَحْوَالٍ قَالَ وَحَدَّثَنَا أَصْحَابُنَا أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ لَقَدْ أَعْجَبَنِي أَنْ تَكُونَ صَلاَةُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ أَوْ قَالَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَاحِدَةً حَتَّى لَقَدْ هَمَمْتُ أَنْ أَبْثَّ رِجَالاً فِي الدُّورِ يُنَادُونَ النَّاسَ بِحِينِ الصَّلاَةِ وَحَتَّى هَمَمْتُ أَنْ آمُرَ رِجَالاً يَقُومُونَ عَلَى الآطَامِ يُنَادُونَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بِحِينِ الصَّلاَةِ حَتَّى نَقَسُوا أَوْ كَادُوا أَنْ يَنْقُسُوا
D4	قَالَ أُحِيلَتِ الصَّلاَةُ ثَلاَثَةَ أَحْوَالٍ وَأُحِيلَ الصِّيَامُ ثَلاَثَةَ أَحْوَالٍ وَسَاقَ نَصْرٌ الْحَدِيثَ بِطُولِهِ وَاقْتَصَّ ابْنُ الْمُثَنَّى مِنْهُ قِصَّةَ صَلاَتِهِمْ نَحْوَ بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ قَطُّ قَالَ الْحَالُ الثَّالِثُ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَدِمَ الْمَدِينَةَ فَصَلَّى - يَعْنِي نَحْوَ بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ - ثَلاَثَةَ عَشَرَ شَهْرًا فَأَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى هَذِهِ الآيَةَ { قَدْ نَرَى تَقَلُّبَ وَجْهِكَ فِي السَّمَاءِ فَلَنُوَلِّيَنَّكَ قِبْلَةً تَرْضَاهَا فَوَلِّ وَجْهَكَ شَطْرَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ وَحَيْثُ مَا كُنْتُمْ فَوَلُّوا وُجُوهَكُمْ شَطْرَهُ }* فَوَجَّهَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِلَى الْكَعْبَةِ . وَتَمَّ حَدِيثُهُ وَسَمَّى نَصْرٌ صَاحِبَ الرُّؤْيَا
D5	قَالَ أَرَادَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم فِي الأَذَانِ أَشْيَاءَ لَمْ يَصْنَعْ مِنْهَا شَيْئًا
T	قَالَ لَمَّا أَصْبَحْنَا أَتَيْنَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأَخْبَرْتُهُ بِالرُّؤْيَا
Q1	قَالَ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ـ صلى الله عليه وسلم ـ قَدْ هَمَّ بِالْبُوقِ وَأَمَرَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ فَنُحِتَ
Q2	أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ـ صلى الله عليه وسلم ـ اسْتَشَارَ النَّاسَ لِمَا يُهِمُّهُمْ إِلَى الصَّلاَةِ فَذَكَرُوا الْبُوقَ فَكَرِهَهُ مِنْ أَجْلِ الْيَهُودِ ثُمَّ ذَكَرُوا النَّاقُوسَ فَكَرِهَهُ مِنْ أَجْلِ النَّصَارَى
MM	قَالَ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَدْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَتَّخِذَ خَشَبَتَيْنِ يُضْرَبُ بِهِمَا لِيَجْتَمِعَ النَّاسُ لِلصَّلاَةِ
IH1	قَالَ: لَمَّا أَجْمَعَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلّمَ أَنْ يَضْرِبَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ يَجْمَعُ لِلصَّلَاةِ النَّاسَ، وَهُوَ لَهُ كَارِهٌ لِمُوَافَقَتِهِ النَّصَارَى
IH2	قَالَ: لَمَّا أَمَرَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلّمَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ لِيُضْرَبَ بِهِ لِلنَّاسِ فِي الْجَمْعِ لِلصَّلَاةِ
IASh	_
IS1	كان الناس في عهد النبي ص. قَبْلَ أَنْ يُؤْمَرَ بِالأَذَانِ يُنَادِي مُنَادِي النَّبِيِّ - صَلّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلّمَ - الصَّلاةُ جَامِعَةٌ. فَيَجْتَمِعُ النَّاسُ. فَلَمَّا صُرِفَتِ الْقِبْلَةُ إِلَى الْكَعْبَةِ أُمِرَ بِالأَذَانِ. وَكَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - قَدْ أَهَمَّهُ أَمْرُ الأَذَانِ وَأَنَّهُمْ ذَكَرُوا أَشْيَاءَ يَجْمَعُونَ بِهَا النَّاسَ لِلصَّلاةِ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمُ البوق وقال بَعْضُهُمُ النَّاقُوسُ
IS2	اسْتَشَارَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - النَّاسَ فِي الأَذَانِ فَقَالَ: لَقَدْ هَمَمْتُ أَنْ أَبْعَثَ رِجَالا فَيَقُومُونَ عَلَى آطَامِ الْمَدِينَةِ فَيُؤْذِنُونَ النَّاسَ بِالصَّلاةِ حَتَّى هَمُّوا أَنْ يَنْقُسُوا

IS3	أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - أَرَادَ أَنْ يَجْعَلَ شَيْئًا يَجْمَعُ بِهِ النَّاسَ لِلصَّلاةِ فَذُكِرَ عِنْدَهُ الْبُوقُ وَأَهْلُهُ فَكَرِهَهُ. وَذُكِرَ النَّاقُوسُ وَأَهْلُهُ فَكَرِهَهُ
Dar	قَالَ: وَقَدْ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حِينَ قَدِمَهَا قَالَ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ: يَعْنِي الْمَدِينَةَ - إِنَّمَا يُجْتَمَعُ إِلَيْهِ بِالصَّلَاةِ لِحِينِ مَوَاقِيتِهَا بِغَيْرِ دَعْوَةٍ. فَهَمَّ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنْ يَجْعَلَ بُوقًا كَبُوقِ الْيَهُودِ الَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ بِهِ لِصَلَاتِهِمْ، ثُمَّ كَرِهَهُ. ثُمَّ أَمَرَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ فَنُحِتَ لِيُضْرَبَ بِهِ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ

*Q.2:144

Table 6: C3 – Arabic texts of the introduction to the dream.

A tight majority of narratives (11/20) agrees on the need to gather (*jamaʿa*) people as the trigger for the invention of the *adhān*. Some (5/20) insist on the thinking process to fulfil this need with the verb *hamma*, like in the first report transmitted by ʿAbd al-Razzāq: *kāna al-muslimūn* ***yahummuhum*** *shayʾun yajmaʿūn bihi li-l-ṣalātihim*. This thinking process is also expressed, albeit more indirectly, by *arāda* (he wanted), which indicates an intention, and does not necessarily lead to any concrete actions. But there seems to be a disagreement whether Muslims only *thought* about using Jewish or Christian instruments or *used* one of them for a while. Not all the narratives mention these non-Islamic instruments. The *būq* appears only six times, if we included the first recension by Abū Dāwūd in which the word *qunʿ* (tube) is used in the sense of (*yaʿnī*) the Hebrew *shabbūr*. As for the *nāqūs* it features in thirteen reports, providing we include the instances in which the verb *naqasa* (to strike) occurs in lieu of the *nāqūs* and the one in which Mālik mentions two pieces of wood (*khashabatayn*) instead of the Syriac word. Although one might have expected more debates around the Jewish *būq* in a city like Medina with its significant Jewish population, the Christian *nāqūs* takes centre stage. For sure, the trumpet was more a military instrument, or at least it was used as such by the Muslims. As mentioned in the first section, it is likely that Muslims did not want to use the same instrument to call to battle and to prayer. But does this mean that the *nāqūs* was as much present in Medina as the *shabbūr* or *būq*/*qarn*? Or, on the contrary, it was *not* struck in the city of the Prophet and therefore could potentially be adopted by Muslims with less risk to be confused with the original Christian instrument? Although it is impossible to answer these questions with precision, the whole context becomes clearer when we take into consideration how transmitters of C3 depict the debates about the *nāqūs* within the Muslim community at the time of the Prophet. The discussions are of importance since the potential approval of Muḥammad himself regarding the use of a Christian instrument by the Muslims is at stake.

3.3.4 Disagreement on the *nāqūs*: from its mention to its fabrication

There are three verbs associated with the *nāqūs*: *dhakara*, *amara* and *ḍaraba*. *Dhakara* was the one used in C2: some **mentioned** the *nāqūs*, a phraseology similar to the one we find here in the first report by Abū Dāwūd, the second by Ibn Mājah and the third by Ibn Saʿd (3/20). It appears again in the first report by Ibn Saʿd, in association with 'things' (*ashyāʾ*), while the *nāqūs* is omitted. This goes in the direction of the 'thinking process' mentioned above: people make suggestions, and they are accepted or, in this case, rejected, yet there is no indication of these suggestions being adopted. To this should be added the first report by ʿAbd al-Razzāq, which uses simply the verb *qāla*, also implying a suggestion with no action following.

The verb *amara* is more ambiguous. It is always the Prophet who **ordered** or **requested** the *nāqūs*, ***amara bi-l-nāqūs***, in the first report by Ibn Mājah, the second by Ibn Ḥanbal and Dārimī's unique recension. While Ibn Ḥanbal and Dārimī simply explain that the *nāqūs* had been **ordered** to be struck, *li-yuḍraba*, Ibn Mājah reports that the Prophet ordered the *nāqūs*, which was then carved or chiselled, *fa-nuḥita*. This indicates a step further in comparison with the thinking process described in the other reports with the verb *hamma*. The *nāqūs* is here prepared to be used. In Ibn Mājah's and Dārimī's recensions, Muḥammad is said to have **considered** the *būq* and then **ordered** the *nāqūs*. Herewith a distinction is established, suggesting that, contrary to the *būq*, the *nāqūs* was manufactured, hence ready to be used, if not indeed used.

Against these confusing accounts, some transmitters tried to clarify the situation. A sentence which occurs in the first reports by Ibn Saʿd, Ibn Hishām and Dārimī provides us with a chronology and excludes any use of the *nāqūs*. Dārimī and Ibn Hishām give the following version:

ثُمَّ أَمَرَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ فَنُحِتَ لِيُضْرَبَ بِهِ لِلْمُسْلِمِينِ لِلصَّلَاةِ فَبَيْنَمَا هُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ، إِذْ رَأَى عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ [...]

> Then he ordered the *nāqūs*, and it was carved to be struck by the Muslims for the prayer, and **while they were [doing] that,** then ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd saw [...].

The chronology is indicated by *fa-baynamā* [...] *idh* [...]. First, the Prophet requested a *nāqūs*. Then, people found two pieces of wood (*khashabatayn*) as indicated by Mālik, as well as ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Hishām in their second reports. These two pieces of wood are then carved or

chiselled to be given the shape of a *nāqūs*. But, **while** – *fa-baynamā* – they were carving and preparing the *nāqūs*, **then** ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd had his revelatory dream, so that, the recipient of these narratives can assume, the *nāqūs* was never used.

The same idea, though with slightly different words, is expressed in Ibn Saʿd's first recension.

وقال بَعْضُهُمُ النَّاقُوسُ فَبَيْنَا هُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ إِذْ نَامَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ الْخَزْرَجِيُّ فَأُرِيَ فِي النَّوْمِ أَنَّ[...]

> Some of them said the *nāqūs*, and **while they were [doing] that,** then ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd slept and he was shown in his sleep/dream that [...].

This version is less straightforward, since it does not say what they were exactly doing when ʿAbd Allāh had his dream, as if the clause introducing the carving of the *nāqūs*, starting with *fa-nuḥit*, had been omitted or forgotten. The pronoun *dhālik* is not particularly precise by itself, so that if we remove the carving-clause, then it is much more equivocal and difficult to interpret. It could well be that some of them suggested the *nāqūs*, and while they were **using** it, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd had his dream. The only reason to exclude this interpretation is to believe that the 'original' meaning is conveyed by Ibn Hisham's and Dārimī's versions and that it has been altered by transmitters in Ibn Saʿd's chain. In terms of vocabulary, we find here *fa-baynā*, instead of *fa-baynamā*, which are synonyms, and, instead of *raʾá*, he saw [in his dream], a longer sentence: *nām [...] fa-ʾuriya fī al-nawm*, he slept and was shown in his dream. The presence of the exact same words, *hum ʿalá dhālik*, in the same context but with slight variations seems to indicate that Ibn Saʿd has a similar version to Ibn Hishām's and Dārimī's texts among the four he merges to produce his first recension. In this merging process, he keeps bits of this version and bits of the others, which then results in the hybrid version we have in IS1. Ibn Saʿd probably considers the versions similar enough to be merged.

In the same vein, the second report in the recensions of ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Hishām introduces the eighth form of the verb *amara* indicating that the Prophet and his companions were deliberating, *ītamara al-nabiyyu [...] wa aṣḥābuhu*. Then comes again the chronology with *fa-baynā* […] *idh* [...]. But in this case, it is **while** ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was about to purchase two pieces of

wood for the *nāqūs*, **that** he had a dream. In this narrative, the *nāqūs* is neither struck, nor carved or chiselled, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd disappears, and only ʿUmar becomes the inspiration for the *adhān*.

Both ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Hishām do not seem to consider this version as authoritative, since they mention it *after* the 'more common' dream story with ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd in the primary role. They could have given only the ʿUmar report, but since it is quoted with others, despite the contradiction, there must have been some doubts regarding the 'historical' version, and perhaps a political agenda behind. Also, Ibn Hishām clearly abbreviates the text. The chains of transmission by ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Hishām for this report are exactly the same, the introductory sentence is identical, but then, Ibn Hishām removes a segment: *kayf yajʿalūna shayʾan idhā arādū jamʿa al-ṣalāhi ijtamaʿū lahā*, ([they thought about] how they could make something that would enable them to gather [people] for prayer when they wanted to do so). The sentence supplies only a qualification and its omission does not change the general meaning. Yet, it indicates that Ibn Hishām has a main version, the 'usual' dream story that he reports first, and a secondary version, which he quotes as well, but abridged, because it is redundant and probably less important or accurate. As we have seen in C1, the presence of ʿUmar might be due to political reasons. It is a Meccan *isnād* and Ibn Jurayj is present in both C1 and these two truncated versions of C3. Ibn Jurayj might have been trying to provide support to ʿUmar by circulating a narrative which did not fully contradict the others, but that rather emphasised the role played by the second caliph. Since both ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Hishām mention the ʿUmar narrative *after* the common dream-narrative, it can also reflect an intervention of ʿUmar at a later stage in the *adhān* development. Further research is necessary in order to explore the potential link between Ibn Jurayj and *aḥādīth* promoting ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. In the *adhān* story, it is clear that Ibn Jurayj participates in enhancing ʿUmar's authoritative position with regard to the establishment of the *adhān*. Additionally, the two reports by ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Hishām take a stance against any use or fabrication of the *nāqūs*. In both cases, Ibn Jurayj seems responsible for this orientation, which is either absent in the other narratives or less emphasised.

The chronology of the events reflects how people remembered them and thought about them. It seems that some narrators or transmitters felt uneasy to let people understand that the *nāqūs* had

been actually struck by Muslims as a call to prayer. Indeed, there were reasons for some later transmitters to hide that the *nāqūs* could have been used by Muslims.

In Medina, Muslims, Christians and Jews were negotiating with each other the use of a relatively small territory. They were neighbours, who were interested in maintaining relatively good relationship despite their differences and occasional conflicts. With Muslims growing in power, tensions increased. And the Conquest accelerated the creation of hostile divisions between the communities. Christians often rallied the Byzantine empire, becoming thus Muslims' direct enemies. Even on conquered territories, many Christians retained their faith and as much customs and rituals as their peace treaties would allow them. By doing so, they were marking their attachment to their faith which could be interpreted as their opposition to the occupying forces. Hence, Muslim authorities adopted measures to limit Christian ability to openly confront them. Already in the peace treaties, banners, crosses and *nāqūs* were sometimes forbidden to decrease Christians' visibility and restrain their freedom. Christians were never allowed to build new churches as well.[250] This did not prevent them to live, work and even reach high hierarchical positions in the Muslim realm. But Muslims were visibly in need of exercising a tight control over their non-Muslim subjects.

At the same time, the Prophet was becoming slowly the sole authority for Muslims, and the main example in terms of righteous life. If the behaviour of the Prophet, as it was remembered or retold, did not correspond to the decisions of the caliph, the latter's authority could be undermined. Thus, the Prophet encouraging Muslims to carve and strike a *nāqūs* does not constitute the kind of example that either the *rāshidūn* or the Umayyads were likely to promote. After the Prophet's death and with the effects of the Conquest, there was indeed reason to hide such an inconvenient detail. Some even removed the *nāqūs* because they probably could not believe or wanted to hide that Muslims truly thought of striking it.

On the other hand, the *nāqūs* might not have been used by the Muslims. Then narrators and transmitters may simply have been clarifying a potential or real confusion, due to the unclear verbs

[250] Regarding the description of this evolution in Muslim and non-Muslim relationships, see in particular LEVY-RUBIN 2001 and for the treaties Donald Routledge HILL, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests, A.D. 634-656*. London: Luzac, 1971.

introduced in the *nāqūs* clause. Hence Ibn Saʿd's first and Abū Dāwūd's last narratives, for instance, remain neutral and highlight the confusion by choosing the word 'thing'.

In the blurred memories about the origins of the *adhān*, the *nāqūs* remains steadily attached to the Islamic call to prayer. Transmitters who did not like its presence or thought it could lead to confusion, did not remove it, probably because of its bond with the story in everyone's memory. Therefore, they chose stratagems to diminish its role or influence. One of these stratagems consists in stating the Prophet's disapproval.

3.3.5 *Karihahu*: The Prophet's disapproval

While most of the reports do not express any judgement when it comes to the *būq* or the *nāqūs*, five of them made it clear that Muḥammad disliked one or both of them. Again, none of these reports agrees with any other in their specific wording. The second report by Ibn Mājah clarifies that the Prophet disliked (*kariha*) the *būq* because of the Jews (*min ajli al-yahūdi*) and the *nāqūs* because of the Christians. Ibn Ḥanbal, in his first report, narrates that the Prophet disliked the *nāqūs* because of the Christians approving of it or because it was suitable for the Christians, *li-muwāfaqatihi al-naṣārá*. Ibn Saʿd simply indicates, in his last narrative, that some mentioned the *nāqūs* and his people, and the Prophet disliked *it*, that is the instrument itself or the general idea of using a Christian ritual. Justifications for this feeling are not provided. Finally, Dārimī and Ibn Hishām agree that the Prophet only expressed his dislike for the *būq*, while he did not say anything about the *nāqūs*, that he even *requested*.

The three first *karihahu* versions have al-Zuhrī as common link, whereas the two last ones are narrated by Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥārith through Ibn Isḥāq. Since Ibn Isḥāq narrates from al-Zuhrī according to Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Zuhrī could be the origin of this detail. In fact, both Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Mājah report from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥārith and al-Zuhrī and in both cases, it is the version passing through al-Zuhrī which features *karihahu*. Yet, if we conclude that al-Zuhrī is responsible for the *karihahu* version, then we need to explain why Dārimī and Ibn Hishām did not mention him. In the case of Ibn Hishām, it might be an omission since he quoted only Ibn Isḥāq and no further transmitters. But Dārimī gives two different *asānīd*, none of them mentioning al-Zuhrī.

Since he is the only one not reporting from al-Zuhrī, his chains of transmission might be spurious, or he could have merged several versions giving only two chains of transmission. It is also possible that the *karihahu* clause came later or from different sources and it was merged with versions of the dream story which had better *isnād* but did not have this clause. Some scholars obviously deemed it important to preserve the clause even if it was not coming from reliable sources. The presence of the *nāqūs* was apparently problematic for them and the Prophet's disapproval was the strongest message they could send to the Muslim community in order to incite them to avoid the Christian instrument.

Abū Dāwūd's fifth version solved the issue by replacing the *nāqūs* with *shay'* (a thing), but this confirms to us the contentious presence of the *nāqūs* and the potential confusion that some saw in its mention. In fact, without the *karihahu*-clause, one senses an open attitude from the companions of the Prophet and the Prophet himself towards non-Muslim instruments. They give the impression to be seriously considering using these instrument, as if they were tools made for this purpose. They might have manufactured them and even played them. But for many Muslims living in post-Conquest time, this way of thinking about Christians must have been difficult to understand and even more to apply. Then it was probably easier to adapt the narratives to the new social environment with the *karihahu* clause, than to imply that Muḥammad let Muslims use a Christian instrument without condemning it.

This addition does not mean that the transmitters were deliberately modifying the narrative. They might have thought that it needed to be clarified, notably that the instruments were not adopted, and moreover, it would have been wrong to do so. What appears now as an addition could have been perceived by some as a clarification, a paraphrase. In chapter 4, the writings of some Muslim jurists of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries will shed light on the Muslim animosity against Christians and their *nāqūs*, providing us with a vivid impression of the atmosphere in which C3's narratives were being circulated.

The trumpet and in one narrative the banner too are less problematic. Less words are spent on excluding or condemning them, as if only the *nāqūs* could be a serious threat for the righteous practice of the Islamic ritual and the memory of its origins, as well as the anti-Christian propaganda.

3.3.6 The trumpet and the banner

The Jewish trumpet does not feature in as many reports as the *nāqūs*. As we said, it is very unlikely that Muslims used a military instrument to call to prayer. The narratives might be accurate when they describe the people 'mentioning' or 'suggesting' the trumpet, but the Prophet never orders a trumpet to be made or blown. But if we postulate a later addition of the trumpet, we face the same problem as with the *nāqūs*: it could not have been added after the Conquest, for the tensions between Muslims and Christians apply to Jews as well. Already during the caliphate of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13/634-23/644), Jews and Christians seem to have been expelled from the Ḥijāz, and the presence of non-Muslims in the region was said to have been regulated.[251] Nevertheless, it seems that most of C3's narratives were based on late recension of the proto-narrative, since the word '*būq*' only is being used, not '*qarn*'.

At this point, it is interesting to look more closely at the chains of transmission. The mention of the *būq* in the third category can be traced back to al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) at least, if we follow the common link theory, and to Medina. Yet, a report in Abū Dāwūd's collection, D1, gives yet another *isnād*: Ziyād ibn Ayyūb (d. 256/866, Baghdad) and ʿAbbād ibn Mūsá al-Khuttalī (d. 203/818, Baghdad) < Hushaym (d. 183/799, Wasit) < Jaʿfar ibn Iyās Abū Bishr (d. *c.* 126/743, Wasit) < ʿAbd Allāh Abū ʿUmayr ibn Anas ([?], Basra) < his uncle. This chain is isolated from the others in the sense that it does not pass through any common link. It is also an Iraqi chain, Baghdad < Wasit < Basra, which indicates that the narrative travelled northwards already before or at the very beginning of the second/eighth century. In fact, the report differs from the others in several aspects. Its narration is more cohesive and does not contain the ellipses, characteristic of many reports in C3. Besides, interesting additions appear in the gaps. Firstly, it is suggested to the Prophet to raise a banner, *rāyah*, that would indicate the time of prayer. When people would see the banner raised, they would call one another and gather. But the idea did not meet with the Prophet's approval. There was apparently in Medina a mosque called the 'mosque of the banner', *masjid al-rāyah*.[252] Yet, we do not know

[251] See Giorgio Levi DELLA VIDA & Micheal BONNER, "ʿUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb," in: *EI*^{2}.
[252] See LECKER, "Muḥammad at Medina: A geographical approach," in: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 6 (1985), 30.

whether it was named because it had or used a banner or for any other reasons, since banners were exhibited during military campaign, there might be other interpretations. The banner, like the fire, was not a sensible suggestion, and if it was suggested, it must have been rejected at once.

After the banner, the trumpet appears in the discussion as a potential means to call to prayer. But the usual words, *būq* and *qarn*, do not appear here. We find a totally different word, *al-qunʿ*, which means a pipe or a trumpet. The meaning is the same as with *būq*/*qarn*, yet the different terminology indicates an altogether different version, which evolve independently from the other recensions, retaining thus its particularities. The word *shabbūr*, the Arabic equivalent for the Hebrew *shofar* (שׁוֹפָר), which appears only in this version, further supports this hypothesis. The word might not have been used in Medina, for it never occurs except in this *ḥadīth* and would have been added in the course of an oral transmission by someone who thought necessary to specify the meaning of *al-qunʿ* in the context of this narrative. In fact, the *qunʿ* could have been understood as the military instrument. The *shofar* was not initially the religious instrument *par excellence*. More research on this point could reveal when the word '*shofar*' started referring to a religious ritual in particular and thus convey more information regarding the dating of the wording of Abū Dāwūd's first narrative.

We are also told that a man called Ziyād says that the *shabbūr* belongs to the Jews. The exact identity of this Ziyād is not clear. The companion called Ziyād ibn Abīh was born at the time of the *hijrah* and could not have been the one talking here. Even if we ignore who Ziyād was, it remains an indicator of the singularity of this report, since it is the only one featuring this Ziyād.

The *shabbūr* is not approved and for the second time, the disapproval is conveyed by *lam yuʿjibh*, and not *kariha*, as we saw previously. This expression participates in singling out the narrative. The reason for it not to be accepted is its association with Jews' matters, *huwa min amri al-yahūdi*. The same sentence serves as justification for the implicit reject of the *nāqūs*, for which, however, no disapproval, neither *lam yuʿajibhu*, nor *karihahu*, is expressed. Additionally, there is no indication of any making of the *nāqūs*, through an order of the Prophet (*amara*) or the carving of the instrument (*nuhita*).

Here comes ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd, about whom nothing had been said so far. We are told that he leaves, anxious because the Prophet is worried. And that night, he had his vision. The dream

shall be covered in the next section, but this introduction illustrates further the additional justifications, characteristic of this report (D1). Because of all these supplementary narrative elements, the report looks like a cohesive ensemble, a full narrative, rather than sparse and almost unconnected syntagma, as it is the case in most of the other *aḥādīth*. The addition of elements like the flag and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd's feeling also provides more context. It gives a grasp of the animated discussions which took place around the creation of the *adhān*. These additions could be the product of someone's imagination. They would have been invented to give more sense to the otherwise meagre narrative. They cannot be found in any other reports because they evolved among transmitters, who might not have had contact with other versions of the narrative.

On the other hand, strong evidence is lacking to question the authenticity of the information added in this version. All the additions seem plausible. The proto-narrative could have included originally these elements, and maybe others as well. Over time, some of them were lost through inaccurate oral transmission, incomplete notes or summary-like versions. Yet, one cannot exclude the possibility that other transmitters than those quoted in this chain, heard this different version and did not trust it. The version would have remained unique not because of its isolation but because it was not deemed authentic.

The banner constitutes a characteristic of this narrative. Hence, it is tempting to see it as an addition, like the word *shabbūr*. Yet, this mere supposition does not lay on solid grounds. Banners were important in the early first/seventh century. In the Conquest treaties preserved by later Muslim historians, the banner of the Christians is often forbidden, along with the cross. Such restrictive clauses indicate that banners were used for religious ceremonies and processions. It shows as well that banners were identified as religious symbol, similar to the cross. Muslims, who were using banners themselves, could have felt the need to forbid Christians to use them, in order to avoid creating religious confusion or to establish a religious exclusivity. Furthermore, Muslim authorities were certainly concerned about the Christian visibility in the newly conquered landscapes, so that they tried to reduce the most visible of their religious symbols, like, in modern day, the French ban on the Islamic headscarf or the Swiss ban on the minarets. This tells us for sure that banners played a role as religious symbol for Christians and Muslims alike. It is therefore possible that someone

suggested using a banner to call the believers to the prayer. Therefore, we do not have enough information to determine whether the banner was added later or belonged to the proto-narrative and was removed by transmitters who found it irrelevant or improbable.

It is however clear that D1 was narrated orally first. It was embellished considerably before reaching its written form as a cohesive whole, more complex than the other narratives which share the same basis but did not reach this level of cohesiveness and details.

Abū Dāwūd's first report reminds us the difficulty that the reconstruction of the proto-narrative represents. It might have contained more elements than those in common between all recensions. Some details could be preserved in certain reports and be omitted in others. Despite the lack of certainty, it is important to pinpoint these elements and leave the doors open for a modification of the hypothetical proto-narrative if new evidence is being unearthed.

Summary of the findings

We found in the introduction to the dream-narratives the outline of the proto-narrative revealed in the analysis of C1 and C2. A concern is described regarding a way to gather people for the prayer and well-known means are suggested. Yet, C3 distinguishes itself from the two previous categories on several points, which stress its singular evolution. The *nāqūs* is not unchallenged contrary to what has been shown so far: some narratives do not mention it, while others have found a way to exclude it with the *karihahu* clause. This clause is specific to C3, it is not featured and not even implied in the other narratives of C1 and C2. It reflects an evolution in the Muslim society towards more distance from Christians and Jews, and thus later modifications of the proto-narrative. As for the *shabbūr* and the banner, they remind us that we do not have all the details of the proto-narrative, some might have been lost and others could be preserved only through a rare chain of transmitters, such as the one in D1. The lexical and thematic diversity within this introductory part strengthens the impression of a narrative transmitted orally for a time and written down *after* it was considerably modified. The next section on the dream introduces the main distinguishing element of the third category, which convey an even greater level of diversity although it is the only common elements to C3's narratives.

3.3.7 The Dream

The impression of disparity between the *aḥādīth* that comes out of the analysis of the introduction only becomes stronger with the investigation of the dream. The transmitters seem to always disagree and the divergences are greater, to the extent that few versions display enough similarities to be associated with each other. Additionally, research on dreams in Islam still requires some attention to unveil all the rich aspects of this wide field of studies. In particular, dreams in legal and historical *aḥādīth*, which would have been a very useful point of comparison in the present case, have not attracted scholars' interest so far and remain a bit of a mystery. Recent publications have nevertheless contributed with important conclusions regarding dreams and their use in Islamic literature, due in particular to the thorough studies of Leah Kinberg.

Kinberg has worked extensively on the purpose of dreams in Islamic writings. She focuses on "literal dreams", dreams which do not require interpretation, and among her main recurrent conclusions is the similarity between the use of dreams and *aḥādīth* for guidance and legitimising purposes.[253] As line of investigation, she cares "about the parties or currents in Islam that were interested in relating" those dreams.[254] Such a question helps unearth the needs that triggered the creation or the circulation of a dream narrative and thus understand the context in which they had emerged.[255]

In the introduction to her edition of the *Kitāb al-manām*, she highlights some of the main features of these 'literal dreams' of the "*manām*-type" as she calls them. They are usually introduced by few words which set a specific context and they all "share an edifying purpose".[256] Their message is often delivered in a discussion between the dreamer and a deceased person, and it might contain

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[253] Leah KINBERG, "Literal Dreams and Prophetic Hadith in Classical Islam – A Comparison of Two Ways of Legitimation," in: *Der Islam* 70, no. 2 (1993): 282; she treats the legitimisation function of dreams in an earlier article: KINBERG, "The Legitimization of the Madhāhib through Dreams," in: *Arabica* 32 (1985): 47–79, in which she shows "the similarity between the dream and the *ḥadīth* as literary means of expression. They both reflect ideas and tendencies prevalent in Islam, and both are used as means of legitimization", p. 78.

[254] KINBERG 1985, 78: since dreams were generally recognised as authoritative vehicles of the truth, they were used to promote that which some considered as the truth. As a result, they could be as much real as invented, and the question "whether such dreams existed is superfluous", as she argued in *EI*[3].

[255] See KINBERG, "Qurʾān and Ḥadīth: A Struggle for Supremacy as Reflected in Dream Narratives," in: MARLOW, Louise (ed.), *Dreaming Across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*. Boston: Ilex Foundation and Harvard University Press, 2008, 41.

[256] Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Morality in the Guise of Dreams*. Ed. and introduction by Leah KINBERG. Leiden: Brill, 1994, 25-26.

invocations, which the dreamer memorises.[257] The *adhān* dream is similar to the dreams that she describes. This could indicate that it follows a certain pattern of Islamic dream narratives and pertains to this *manām*-type. Hence her conclusion could apply on the present case as well. In fact, Kinberg states that dreams "of that kind mostly tell about people who memorize invocations that can help overcome crises".[258] Her methodology and her conclusions shall therefore accompany the following analysis of the dream from which the *adhān* is said to have originated in C3.

The two most recent publications on dreams in Islam, Lory's *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam* and Sirriyeh's *Dreams and Visions in the World of Islam*, introduced the topic in general terms, with less detailed analysis of the primary sources than in Kinberg's work.[259] Consequently, they offer a useful overview of the topic, while lacking the depth necessary for the present investigation. Likewise, Lamoreux focused on manuals of dream interpretation, which are irrelevant in our case.[260] As for Schimmel's *Die Träume des Kalifen*, it is a collection of dreams from personal, literary and others' experiences, which is mainly useful for anthropological studies or application of dreams interpretation theories, but less for textual analysis.[261]

The main point of comparison for this section on the *adhān* dream is therefore Kinberg's study, and parallel dream features found in later manuals of dreams interpretation. The *Muntakhab al-kalam fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*, purportedly attributed to Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/729), has been taken as an example, mainly to show the commonality of the green garment, a feature of the *adhān* dream.[262] Yet, since the *adhān* dream is clearly a literal "self-explanatory" dream, it is closer to those display in *K. al-manām*, than the ones in such manuals, for it does not contain any symbolic elements, except for this green garment.[263] As for the comparison of each version, I shall start at the structural level,

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[257] KINBERG 1993, 279; and Ibn Abī al-Dunyā/ KINBERG 1994, 25.
[258] Ibn Abī al-Dunyā/KINBERG 1994, 25.
[259] Pierre LORY, *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam*. Paris: Albin Michel, 2015; and Elizabeth SIRRIYEH, *Dreams & Visions in the World of Islam: A History of Muslim Dreaming and Foreknowing*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2015.
[260] See LAMOREAUX 2002.
[261] Annemarie SCHIMMEL, *Die Träume des Kalifen: Träume und ihre Deutung in der islamischen Kultur*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1998.
[262] See Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*, 1990, p. 54. See N195 of the present work regarding the authorship and dating of the *Muntakhab*. In the present case, I am interested in the content as examples of prominent themes in dream-narratives, the dating of the texts is therefore irrelevant.
[263] Ibn Abī al-Dunyā/KINBERG 1994, 45.

with four different groups. Here is again the table with the content of C3's narratives, in which the dream section has been highlighted.

	Ih1	Ih2	AR2	AR3	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	T	Q1	Q2	MM	IH2	IH3	IASh	IS1	IS2	IS3	Dar
introduction	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
būq	x		x		(x)						x	x					x		x	x
nāqūs	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x		x	[x]	x	x
karihahu	x				x							x		x						x
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd	x		x		x	x	(x)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
the dream	x	(x)	x	(x)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
- a man	x		x		x	x	x				x			x	x	x	x	x		x
- green garments	x						x				x			x		x	x	x		x
- *nāqūs*	x	(x)	x	(x)		x					x		x	x	x		x			x
- can I buy?	x		x			x					x			x	x		x			x
- sth. better	x		x			x					x			x	x		x			x
- *adhān*	x		x			x		x			x			x	x	x	x	(x)		x
- *iqāmah*						x		x						x	x	x		(x)		x
P.'s approval	x	x		x		x	x				x			x	x					x
ʿUmar's dream	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x
Bilāl	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Ih=Ibn Hishām; AR=ʿAbd al-Razzāq; D=Abū Dāwūd; T=Tirmidhī; Q=Ibn Mājah;
MM=Mālik; IH=Ibn Ḥanbal; IASh=Ibn Abī Shaybah; IS=Ibn Saʿd; Dar=Dārimī

Table 7: C3 – The dream and its main components.

In the first group that I have delineated, we find the two versions containing all the narrative elements, Ibn Ḥanbal's first report and Dārimī's unique recension (IH1 and Dar1). Then, three versions do not mention the *iqāmah*, but display all other components, the first narrative in Ibn Hishām's, Ibn Mājah's and Ibn Saʿd's recensions (Ih1, Q1, IS1). They belong to the second group. Abū Dāwūd's and Ibn Ḥanbal's second narratives are omitting the same details, so that they have been gathered in the third group (D2, IH2). And the remaining narratives, which are too eclectic to be categorised according to any common criteria, form the last group.

Structural comparisons – group 1: The 'complete' versions [IH1 and Dar1]

The two versions gathered here do not only contain all the components of the dream narrative, they also follow a very similar structure and use an almost identical vocabulary.

IH1	Dar1
طَافَ بِي مِنَ اللَّيْلِ طَائِفٌ وَأَنَا نَائِمٌ	إِنَّهُ طَافَ بِيَ اللَّيْلَةَ طَائِفٌ
رَجُلٌ عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ وَفِي يَدِهِ نَاقُوسٌ يَحْمِلُهُ	مَرَّ بِي رَجُلٌ عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا فِي يَدِهِ
فَقُلْتُ لَهُ يَا عَبْدَ اللهِ أَتَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ	فَقُلْتُ يَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ، أَتَبِيعُ هَذَا النَّاقُوسَ
قَالَ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ	فَقَالَ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ
قُلْتُ نَدْعُو بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ	قُلْتُ نَدْعُو بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ
قَالَ أَفَلَا أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ مِنْ ذَلِكَ	قَالَ أَفَلَا أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ مِنْ ذَلِكَ
فَقُلْتُ بَلَى	قُلْتُ وَمَا هُوَ
قَالَ: تَقُولُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ...	قَالَ تَقُولُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ، اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ...
قَالَ ثُمَّ اسْتَأْخَرَ غَيْرَ بَعِيدٍ قَالَ: ثُمَّ تَقُولُ إِذَا أَقَمْتَ الصَّلَاةَ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ...	ثُمَّ اسْتَأْخَرَ غَيْرَ كَثِيرٍ ثُمَّ قَالَ مِثْلَ مَا قَالَ وَجَعَلَهَا وِتْرًا إِلَّا أَنَّهُ قَالَ قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ...

Table 8: C3– Structural analysis of the dream-narratives IH1 and Dar1.

The dream happened at night. A wanderer (*ṭāʾif*) wanders towards ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd, wearing green garments and holding a *nāqūs* in his hand. Then comes the discussion between ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd and the stranger, who is directly identified as a 'servant of God' (*ʿabd allāh* to be taken not as a name but in its literal sense). The companion asks the stranger whether he would sell his *nāqūs*. When the latter enquired what he would do with it, ʿAbd Allāh answers they would call to prayer. He employs here the verb, *daʿā*, which is probably a hint to indicate that the *adhān* had not yet been introduced as a religious term in relation with the prayer. The expression *daʿā ilá al-ṣalāh* is not the one attested in the Qurʾān, which displays the verb *nādá* as we saw. This could be the sign of a regional usage different form the Medinan – or Qurʾān's – one and hence the remains of an oral transmission, in which the transmitter narrated the *ḥadīth* in his own words. It might also come from a scrupulous transmitter who heard or read *adhdhana* and modified it to make the story more idiomatic. In both cases, we see a controlled narration and a careful selection of exact vocabulary.

The end of the dream narrative is the same in both version, except from the description of all the formulæ of the *iqāmah* by Ibn Ḥanbal and a summary-like version by Dārimī. Only six among the twenty versions mention the *iqāmah*. The enumeration of the exact formulæ of the *adhān*, together with the *iqāmah* in these six narratives, signals clearly a dogmatic message, stronger than the one expressed in the second category. The narratives are promoting a clear and detailed practice

of the *adhān* and, for some, the *iqāmah* as well. Then again, most of the transmitters did not include the *iqāmah*, so that the discrepancy between these two, otherwise very similar, versions could indicate that the *iqāmah* was added later and only few transmitters decided to include it or heard about it. The disparities in the practice of the calls to prayer can still be observed today, and it is absolutely transparent in the narratives of the third category. Yet, the fewer mentions of the *iqāmah* can indicate that it was deemed less important, or it could not be associated with the history of the introduction of the *adhān*. It could have belonged to a version which was circulating on a smaller scale and was merged with the more popular recensions. All these interpretations are possible and different transmitters might have had different reasons not to include the *iqāmah*. Ibn Ḥanbal quotes both the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* in their entirety, leaving no space for confusion or misinterpretation. His intention seems clear: people need to know the unique orthodox way to call to prayer. Ibn Ḥanbal was obviously concerned by the lack of unicity in the practice of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*. Dārimī displays a summary-like version, yet he might share Ibn Ḥanbal's concern, since their versions are very close.

Finally, it does not come as a surprise to find common transmitters for such similar narratives. The chain Yaʿqūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd (d. 208/823) < Abū Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd (d. *c.* 185/801) < Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq (d. *c.* 159/767) appears in both cases. Although it is likely that Ibn Isḥāq, who was interested in Muḥammad's biography, narrated a version of this story, it is impossible to evaluate exactly which one it was or whether he told different versions at different times to different people. It is however certain that such a popular story could not possibly be transmitted by so many people without suffering numerous variations, due to spelling mistakes and inaccurate oral transmission or particular political and/or religious agendas, as well as personal preferences or concerns. Small vocabulary discrepancies, like *marra bi-* or *hādhā al-nāqūs* are likely to pertain to transmission inaccuracy, while more important additions and omissions, like the mention of the *iqāmah* in its entirety or in a shortened version, might be attributed to particular agendas, preferences or concerns. If we follow the chains of transmission, the *iqāmah* would have been added later than the generation of Ibn Isḥāq, since most of the narratives reported from him do

not include it. Little is known about Dārimī, but this comparison suggests that he did not mind summarising the narratives he collected, probably similar to what Ibn Hishām did.

Structural comparisons – group 2: Everything but the *iqāmah* [Ih1, Q1 and IS1]

The first narratives by Ibn Hishām, Ibn Mājah, and Ibn Saʿd contain exactly the same elements as the two previous examples, but they completely omit the *iqāmah*. Here again, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd dreams of a man, dressed in green, with a *nāqūs* in his hand. Instead of selling the instrument, the man taught ʿAbd Allāh the *adhān* only, without mentioning the *iqāmah*.

Ih1	Q1	IS1
إِنَّهُ طَافَ بِي هَذِهِ اللَّيْلَةَ طَائِفٌ		فَأُرِيَ فِي النَّوْمِ أَنَّ رَجُلا مَرَّ
مَرَّ بِي رَجُلٌ عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ	رَأَيْتُ رَجُلاًعَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ	وَعَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ
يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا فِي يَدِهِ	يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا	وَفِي يَدِهِ نَاقُوسٌ
فَقُلْتُ لَهُ يَا عَبْدَ اللهِ تَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ	فَقُلْتُ لَهُ يَا عَبْدَ اللهِ تَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ	فَقُلْتُ أَتَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ
قَالَ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ	قَالَ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ	فَقَالَ مَاذَا تُرِيدُ بِهِ
قُلْتُ نَدْعُو بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ	قُلْتُ أُنَادِي بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ	فَقُلْتُ أُرِيدُ أَنْ أَبْتَاعَهُ لِكَيْ أَضْرِبَ بِهِ لِلصَّلَاةِ لِجَمَاعَةِ النَّاسِ
قَالَ أَفَلَا أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ مِنْ ذَلِكَ	قَالَ أَفَلاَ أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ مِنْ ذَلِكَ	قَالَ فَأَنَا أُحَدِّثُكَ بِخَيْرٍ لَكُمْ مِنْ ذَلِكَ
قُلْتُ وَمَا هُوَ	قُلْتُ وَمَا هُوَ	
قَالَ تَقُولُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ...	قَالَ تَقُولُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ...	تَقُولُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لا إِلَهَ إِلا اللهُ...

Table 9: C3– Structural analysis of the dream-narratives Ih1, Q1 and IS1.

Ibn Isḥāq is again said to have been transmitting these *aḥādīth*, and the chain al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741-2) < Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab (d. *c.* 94-96/713-715) is quoted by Ibn Saʿd. This could suggest that Abū Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd or his son are to be held responsible for the addition of the *iqāmah* on a narrative, which was otherwise quite uniform. Yet, contrary to the first two narratives discussed above, these three dream narratives display greater dissimilarities, as revealed by the comparative table. Ibn Hishām's and Ibn Mājah's recensions are almost identical, apart from the differences in the introduction and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd's answer to the question *mā taṣnaʿ bih*, what [will] you do

with it. While the introduction can be omitted by a transmitter who deemed it redundant, the second difference, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd's answer, brings forth interesting considerations.

Ibn Hishām's version, which is mirroring the two previously analysed narratives by Ibn Ḥanbal and Dārimī, uses the expression *daʿwa ilá al-ṣalāh*: ʿAbd Allāh said he would like to buy the *nāqūs* so that ***nadʿū*** *bihi ilá al-ṣalāh*, we call with it to the prayer. Conversely, Ibn Mājah's version employs the expression found in the Qurʾān: ***unādī*** *ilá al-ṣalāh*, as the narratives of C1 do. The verbs *daʿā* and *nādá* are semantically almost identical and they both indicate that the *adhān* had not been introduced yet. There might be a regional difference between them, since the verb *nādá* could reflect a Medinan vocabulary as indicated by its use in the Qurʾān. But the chains of transmission in both versions are mainly Medinan which challenge a regional interpretation here. The verb *daʿā* is therefore either a synonym of *nādá* or a later formulation that aimed at indicating a pre-*adhān* time with a contemporaneous neutral verb, that is *daʿā*.

As for Ibn Saʿd's narrator, he chose to be more explicit and explains that ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd wants to strike (*ḍaraba*) the *nāqūs* to gather the people for the prayer, *li-kay* ***aḍriba*** *bihi li-l-ṣalāhi li-jamāʿati al-nāsi*. Ibn Saʿd's version is more detailed than the two others. This could be understood even in Ih1 and Q1. Such difference in the wording of segments otherwise identical in their meaning usually indicate an oral transmission. Some transmitters would have understood the meaning but forgot the exact words employed, so that they rendered the memorised narrative in their own words. It is also possible that Ibn Saʿd merged different versions that he gathered, and like al-Bukhārī in C1, he did not hesitate to favour one version over the other, without mentioning the one that got deleted. The multiple chains of transmission for this unique narrative seem to support this hypothesis. Likewise, the two other versions confirm the existence of different options, which Ibn Saʿd could have merged to create his own hybrid version.

All in all, these terminological discrepancies show the emphasis on the meaning, which is always the same, to the cost, sometimes, of the exact wording. In fact, none of the discrepancies between all the versions of this category affects really the core of the story. The conclusion which comes naturally to the audience of these narratives is that the *adhān* was performed in such a way at the time of the Prophet and, as a consequence this example ought to be followed.

Finally, it is important to notice, that the similarities between the contents increase with the similarities between the chains of transmission. The two first narratives had more transmitters in common, and they were almost identical; while these three narratives display more differences in their chains of transmission and thus in their contents. This can be observed with the two following narratives, the third narratives by Ibn Ḥanbal and the second by Abū Dāwūd.

Structural comparisons – group 3: Same chain, same content [IḤ2 and D2]

We have here *verbatim* two identical versions, with identical chains of transmission from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih to Yaʿqūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd. It is a perfect example of Görke's "*consistent* type" of narrative with its "true" path of transmission.[264]

IḤ 2	D 2
طَافَ بِي وَأَنَا نَائِمٌ رَجُلٌ يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا فِي يَدِهِ	طَافَ بِي وَأَنَا نَائِمٌ رَجُلٌ يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا فِي يَدِهِ
فَقُلْتُ لَهُ يَا عَبْدَ اللهِ أَتَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ	فَقُلْتُ يَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ أَتَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ
قَالَ مَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ	قَالَ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ
فَقُلْتُ نَدْعُو بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ	فَقُلْتُ نَدْعُو بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ
قَالَ أَفَلَا أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى مَا هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِنْ ذَلِكَ	قَالَ أَفَلاَ أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى مَا هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِنْ ذَلِكَ
فَقُلْتُ لَهُ بَلَى	فَقُلْتُ لَهُ بَلَى
قَالَ تَقُولُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ...	فَقَالَ تَقُولُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ...
ثُمَّ اسْتَأْخَرَ غَيْرَ بَعِيدٍ ثُمَّ قَالَ تَقُولُ إِذَا أُقِيمَتِ الصَّلَاةُ، اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ...	قَالَ ثُمَّ اسْتَأْخَرَ عَنِّي غَيْرَ بَعِيدٍ ثُمَّ قَالَ وَتَقُولُ إِذَا أَقَمْتَ الصَّلاَةَ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ...

Table 10: C3 – Structural analysis of the dream-narratives IḤ2 and D2.

As a common feature, they share the omission of the green garments that the man appearing in the dream is said to have been wearing in the five previous narratives. Outside this detail, the structure is similar to the one in the other narratives and the wording varies again, but without altering the main message. Both the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* are fully described, and the repetitions correspond with the most common Sunnī practice. The verb *daʿā* is used, which is apparently common to most dream narratives.

[264] GÖRKE [2] 2003, 207.

As for the remaining narratives, they comprise mostly fewer details and resemble therefore a summary-like version. The table also shows that they display different elements and cannot be usefully compared in terms of structure.

Summary of the findings

Despite their differences, all three groups display a fairly similar structure. By comparing and contrasting the narratives within each group, I have shown the correlation between the chains of transmission and the content. Different chains of transmission were linked to different contents in terms of vocabulary and syntax, as exemplified by the second group. Similar chains gave similar contents with only slight variations, like in the first group. And finally, the identical narratives of the third group had exactly the same chains of transmission. By contrast, the second group exemplified the stress laid upon the meaning to the detriment of the form and the wording, a technique that easily leads to variations in the content, even with similar chains of transmission. Finally, two methods of *ḥadīth* transmission appeared: the summarising method applied by Dārimī to concentrate the narrative on a central topic, even though this requires the removal of some elements; and the merging method, applied by Ibn Saʿd (IS1) to condensate probably similar narratives in one single text, even though this requires again the removal of some elements.

Mutūn comparisons: The green garment

In eight narratives, the stranger who visits the dreamer is said to have been dressed in green garments. A comparison of the *asānīd* shows no potential origin for the introduction of this element. Five chains start with ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, while the four other chains with him do not feature the green garments. Ibn Abī Laylá appears in three of them and Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab in two, both of them are also quoted in one narrative, that does not contain the green garment. Later, Ibn Isḥāq is a transmitter in four of the narratives with and three of them without the detail in question. In sum, none of the chains of transmission possesses a common transmitter which could, at first glance, be held responsible for the introduction of the green garment.

A look at the cities reveals that, until around 150, Medina was the main place where the green-garments narratives circulated, but this is the case for most narratives' elements. Conversely,

they were not present in Mecca, since the two Meccan chains along with another Meccan transmitter are not linked with the detail. At later dates, the narratives are found in many other cities. Then again, one is forced to admit the absence of any clear signs suggesting a potential fabrication of this detail.

At a semantic and metaphoric level, the green garment constitutes a sort of clarification. The Qurʾān already tells us that green is the colour of the silk garments that believers will wear in Heaven (Q. 76:21; 18:31) and the cushions on which they will rest (Q. 55:76). Green is also the colour of the earth when God sends rain to humankind (Q. 22:63). In the realm of the Qurʾān, green is therefore associated with Heaven, fertile grounds, and God's favour towards his creation. Such association does not come as a surprise among people living on lands dominated by deserts. Any trace of green vegetation for desert dwellers, even before the Qurʾān revelation, must have evoked utterly positive feelings and sensations. In this sense, the Qurʾān simply uses the most appropriate colour language to address its Arab audience, confirming an old perception rather than creating a new symbol.

The green colour appears often in the dreams mentioned in the *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*, either on garments like in the *adhān* story, or in fields and lands and it is systematically interpreted as a good sign. In particular in chapter 29 "*fī al-kasawāti wa-ikhtilāfi alwānihā wa ajnāsihā*", a simple search of the root *kh-ḍ-r* reveals 77 occurrences, many of which are dreams in which a man is dressed in green garments (*al-thiyāb al-khaḍir*) or sees a green land. By contrast, it is less frequent in the *Kitāb al-manām*, in which there are two occurrences, only one of which is a green garment.[265] The theme of the green garments might have therefore gained in popularity over the years, notably with the increasing references to the Qurʾān, or 'Qurʾānicisation' as Donner coined it. It does not constitute a key element, but rather a stress on the positive outcome brought forth by the person in green. In the *adhān* dream, people would therefore associate directly the wanderer with a good person who brings a trustworthy or divine message. Since the Prophet was alive and gave, implicitly or explicitly, his blessing to the dream, the green garments were not necessary, and it does not change much that some transmitters omitted, forgot or added it. The recipient of the narrative without the green garments still understands that the *adhān* as suggested by the stranger corresponds

[265] See Ibn Abī al-Dunyā/KINBERG 1994, no. 24 (pp. 16-17) and no. 53 (p. 36).

with the orthodox practice. If we consider that the green garments could have been mentioned by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd when he originally narrated his dream, we need to explain why later transmitters removed the detail. One could argue that they found it futile, doubted its authenticity or found it irrelevant for advocating the right practice of the *adhān*. However, the development of dream interpretation in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries suggests that the green garments might have gained in importance over the years rather than falling into desuetude. Hence it appears more as a later addition. And such addition might have been perceived by some transmitters as a symbolic emphasis: since the stranger is bringing a divine message, he must have been dressed in green regardless of what ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd really said.

These small discrepancies, like the use of *būq* instead of *qarn* in C1, highlight the focus on the meaning and the freedom adopted by some transmitters when they transmit a narrative: they seem often to take the liberty of interpreting the text, and deciding which details were necessary and which ones could be removed, modified or added. There is also a visible adaptation to contemporaneous audience, vocabulary and references.

Mutūn comparisons: appearances and disappearances of the *nāqūs*

Like the green garments, the *nāqūs* is not always mentioned in the dream narrative. In fact, only nine narratives out of the twenty in total add that the man appearing in the dream holds a *nāqūs* in his hand, while two of them mention briefly the *nāqūs* as appearing in the dream of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, which is analysed below. One of the *nāqūs* narratives is transmitted by Mālik, who seemed to be uncomfortable with the word *nāqūs* and used instead *khashabatayn* (two pieces of wood). Mālik must have known the instrument since he mentioned its components to describe it. Did he think therefore that his audience could ignore the meaning of this foreign word and would not understand if he were to employ such a specific term? Or did Mālik omit the word *nāqūs* deliberately because it is foreign, and he preferred to employ an Arabic word instead? Would he dislike the term because it is exclusively Christian and could lead people to think that early Muslims played Christian instruments? Perhaps this would explain why he did not mention the Jewish trumpet at all. Important for him is the dream which, in a way, saved the Muslims from having to call to prayer with an

instrument that belonged to other. Many details have been cut off his narrative, which resembles thus a short summary of the whole story. In addition, the chain of transmission is truncated, for it stops at Yaḥyá ibn Saʿīd al-Umawī (d. 194/810) and does not mention Ibn Isḥāq, Mālik's rival, who narrated the story to Yaḥyá according to Tirmidhī.[266] Mālik apparently used to narrate stories from Ibn Isḥāq that he would modify to adapt them to his liking and remove his rival's name from the chains of transmission.[267] Tirmidhī quotes the entire chain with Yaḥyá < Ibn Isḥāq < Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥārith al-Taymī < Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd < ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. Interestingly, his version is even more truncated than Mālik's, suggesting that Yaḥyá abridged it considerably, when transmitting it to Mālik and his son, Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyá al-Umawī (d. 249/863).

The comparison is important, for Tirmidhī does not mention either the *nāqūs* or the trumpet, so that the origin of this change could be traced back to Yaḥyá again, rather than Mālik. But, while Tirmidhī alludes to a dream without any more details, Mālik talks about striking two pieces of wood to gather people for the prayer. In Medina, the memory of a link between the *nāqūs* and the *adhān* might have been resilient enough to force Mālik to mention the two pieces of wood contrary to Tirmidhī.

Tirmidhī or Ibn Yaḥyá removed totally the *nāqūs*, either for the same reasons as Mālik used *khashabatayn* or to summarise the story and keep only the essential fragments. This summarising process of narratives has already been described by Juynboll, who noticed that it aims at "drawing attention to the legal and/or social implications of that fragment".[268] This is easily observable in both Mālik's and Tirmidhī's versions, among others. Tirmidhī, who is also involved in the transmission of C1, might as well have decided to remove details of his version of C3 in order to obtain two closer narratives. Yet, contrary to al-Bukhārī in his recension of C1, he did not merge the two versions and preserved separated texts, which could be linked to the two phases of the *adhān* development in al-

[266] On the conflict between Mālik and Ibn Isḥāq see *inter alia* JUYNBOLL, "Early Islamic Society as Reflected in Its Use of *Isnād*s," in: *Le Muséon* 107 (1994): 159-160.
[267] See JUYNBOLL 1994, 193.
[268] JUYNBOLL 1994, 181.

Tirmidhī's view: C1 being the introduction of the call to prayer (*nidāʾ*) and C3 describing its development (*nidāʾ* to *adhān*).

A similar omission can be observed in Ibn Abī Shaybah's version and the second and the third narratives by Ibn Saʿd and Abū Dāwūd respectively, which mention the dream, the man and his green garment, but then jump to the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*, omitting the part with the *nāqūs*. The five other narratives which do not mention the *nāqūs* resemble more summaries, for they refer to the dream briefly, without details. Arguably, these shorter texts can reflect the proto-narrative, because their length bears witness to an older, more furnished story, most parts of which got lost over the generations of transmitters. The *nāqūs* would have then been dropped at some point in the transmission, probably because of its direct reference to a living Christian practice, with which Muslims did not want to be too closely associated. The removal of the *nāqūs* could then correspond with the *karihahu* clause and aim at diminishing the Christian influence in this historical event. It confirms that the *nāqūs*, which appears in other, probably earlier narratives, like those of C2, belongs to the proto-narrative.

Both the green garments and the *nāqūs* illustrate well the changes that occurred in the transmission of a narrative at the level of detail. They do not modify the general meaning of the story, nor do they alter the main purpose of the narratives, but they highlight the liberty that was taken by some transmitters and their focus on the transmission of the sense rather than the wording with always in mind a certain goal, a message to transfer. In fact, the omission of the *nāqūs* stresses the political and religious agendas that some transmitters place above accurate transmission even if historical details are lost in the process. This conclusion can only be reached when the narratives are placed in the broader context of the developing tradition of dream interpretation and the growing animosity towards Christians.

Mutūn comparisons: *Adhān* and *Iqāmah*

At the end of the dream, the dreamer is generally taught how to replace the *nāqūs* by a call to prayer. We have seen that the transmitters do not agree on the introduction of the *iqāmah* along with the *adhān*. They also give different number of repetitions of the formulæ within both rituals. Most of the

narratives (13/20) do *not* mention the *iqāmah*. The concern is thus primarily on the *adhān*, but contrary to C1 and C2, the third category clearly intends to introduce the final *adhān*, not the primitive version of the ritual. An exception ought to be noticed here: Ibn Mājah's second version explicitly indicates that ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd saw in his dream the *nidāʾ*, not the *adhān*, like in all other versions. By *nidāʾ*, one might understand a synonym for the *adhān*, and thus consider this difference as the result of a word choice without consequences. Conversely, this can be the reflection of the chronological confusion with the introduction of the *nidāʾ*, and its progressive transformation into the *adhān* ritual with well-defined and arranged formulæ.

Another confusion existed between the formulæ. Although Sunnī and Shīʿī eventually reached an agreement regarding the main formulæ and their order, the number of repetitions seems to have remained the object of controversies.[269] The following table summarises the number of repetitions advocated by each version. The empty cells indicate either the absence of the *iqāmah* in the narrative or the silence on the formulæ of the calls to prayer. The numbers correspond with the number of repetitions of the formulæ, while the brackets stand for the formulæ which are not quoted in full but usually implied.

أذان	Ih1	Ih2	AR1	AR2	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	T	Q1	Q2	MM	IH1	IH2	IASh	IS1	IS2	IS3	Dar
ٱللهُ أَكْبَر	4		2			4		2			4			4	4	(2)	1			4
أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱللهُ	2		2			2		2			2			2	2	(2)	1			2
أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ ٱللهُ	2		2			2		2			2			2	2	(2)	1			2
حَيَّ عَلَى ٱلصَّلَاة	2		2			2		2			2			2	2	(2)	1			2
حَيَّ عَلَى ٱلْفَلَاح	2		2			2		2			2			2	2	(2)	1			2
ٱللهُ أَكْبَر	2		2			2		2			2			2	2	(2)	2			2
لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱللهُ	1		1			1		1			1			1	1	(2)	1			1

Table 11: C3 – The formulæ of the adhān *and the* iqāmah *and their repetitions.*

[269] See for instance the controversies about the different kinds of *adhān* performed in Egypt and the failed attempts to impose uniformity on them them: Iman FARAG, "Querelle de minarets en Égypte. Le débat public sur l'appel à la prière," in: *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, no. 125 (2009): 47–66.

إقامة	Ih1	Ih2	AR1	AR2	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	T	Q1	Q2	MM	IH1	IH2	IASh	IS1	IS2	IS3	Dar
ٱللهُ أَكْبَر						2		(2)						2	2	(2)				(1)
أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱلله						1		(2)						1	1	(2)				(1)
أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ ٱلله						1		(2)						1	1	(2)				(1)
حَيَّ عَلَى ٱلصَّلَاة						1		(2)						1	1	(2)				(1)
حَيَّ عَلَى ٱلْفَلَاح						1		(2)						1	1	(2)				(1)
قد قامت الصلاة						2	1	2						2	2	(2)				2
ٱللهُ أَكْبَر						2		(2)						2	2	(2)				2
لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱلله						1		(1)						1	1	(2)				1

Table 12: C3 – The formulæ of the adhān *and the* iqāmah *and their repetitions.*

Two collectors present a seemingly truncated version of the *adhān*: Ibn Abī Shaybah and Ibn Saʿd in his first recension. It is not clear what Ibn Abī Shaybah means by *fa-adhdhana mathná wa aqāma mathná wa qaʿada qaʿdahan*, then he called out the *adhān* twice, and he called out the *iqāmah* twice, and he sat. Does he imply that each formula is to be repeated twice as inscribed in the table? Or does he want to say that the two calls must be performed twice each? The first interpretation is closer to the common practice, yet it seems generally agreed that a distinction exists between the first, the last and the remaining formulæ when it comes to repetition. The precision about sitting occurs in two other narratives, the second narrative by Ibn Saʿd and the third by Abū Dāwūd, but *before* the *iqāmah*: *fa-adhdhana thumma qaʿada qaʿdahan thumma qāma*, and then comes the second call. Ibn Saʿd's and Abū Dāwūd's recensions were narrated by Ibn Abī Laylá and then spread in Basra. Ibn Abī Shaybah's version also starts with Ibn Abī Laylá but it stays in Kufa afterwards. Thus, the sitting-break could be a regional feature, which was slightly perverted somewhere along the chain quoted by Ibn Abī Shaybah or Ibn Saʿd and Abū Dāwūd. The unclear repetitions of the calls could have been caused by such perversion as well, and the original meaning is now impossible to reconstruct.

The other unusual presentation of the *adhān* in Ibn Saʿd's first version is even more curious, for the *adhān* is quoted in full, but the formulæ are only pronounced once, except for the second *takbīr* which is repeated once. Without this single repetition, one could have believed that the formulæ were simply listed, to contradict the Shīʿī version for instance. But since the final *takbīr* is specifically repeated, one wonders whether we have here again a truncated version, parts of which

were lost in the transmission. The original narrative might have specified that these formulæ were supposed to be repeated, and hence we obtain the usual *adhān*. This would not come as a surprise since the narrative contains a ramified chain of transmission with four different branches. It is unlikely that four exactly identical versions were transmitted by thirteen different narrators. We have here four versions which were deemed similar enough to be merged in one single narrative, and some details got lost, as we have already seen in the structural comparison of the second group of narratives by Ibn Hishām, Ibn Mājah and Ibn Saʿd (Ih, Q1 and IS1). We have already observed this phenomenon in C1 when al-Bukhārī merged two different recensions and rendered a hybrid version.

The single repetition of the *adhān* formulæ can reflect an earlier stage of the *adhān* development, for the repetitions might have been introduced at a later stage of this development; for instance, to distinguish the *adhān* from the *iqāmah*. In fact, the main differences between the various practices of the Islamic call to prayer consist in the number of repetitions, which indicates that it was not fixed early enough to prevent the emergence of discrepancies. And when the number of repetitions was tentatively fixed, it was too late to counter the various practices that had spread in the realm. The main difference appears between the repetition of the first *takbīr*. Two repetitions are promoted by the Mālikī school, all the other Sunnī *madhāhib* and the Shīʿī advocate four repetitions. Interestingly, all the narratives with four repetitions contain Ibn Isḥāq in their chains and at least four Medinan narrators. This suggests that there were different practices in Medina when it comes to the repetitions; except if the chains of transmission were later invented or the content of the narratives was modified to promote the four repetitions. Because of the variety of chains and narratives, it is likely that the various practices existed already in Medina probably as early as at the time of the Prophet. The *adhān* did not need to be exactly the same as long as the Prophet was there to sanction its wording. The *aḥādīth* are therefore reflecting the late stage of a debate which started soon after the death of the Prophet, parallel to the need to define the example of the Prophet in the least confusing way possible.

The *takbīr* and the *shahādah* might have been added later to the *adhān* ritual since their meanings differ from the middle formulæ. They do not serve the purpose of calling, rather they stress the Islamic identity of the reciter and those who answer the call. Conversely, the middle formulæ

ḥayya ʿalá al-ṣalāh, *ḥayya ʿalá al-falāḥ* and the shīʿī *ḥayya ʿalá khayri al-ʿamal* correspond to a simple and straightforward means to call. The agreement on the number of repetitions of these middle formulæ could be a confirmation of the hypothesis suggesting that the *adhān* originally started with them and was increasingly expanded with the *takbīr* and the *shahādah*. This does not contradict al-Bayhaqī's *ḥadīth* mentioned above about the initial call to prayer made of the repetition of *al-ṣalāh*. In fact, from *al-ṣalāh* the call could have evolved quickly to *ḥayya ʿalá al-ṣalāh*, before becoming the *adhān*.

The *adhān* then evolved from this primitive call into a highly symbolic ritual, the function of which is much greater than simply calling to prayer. As any other rituals, the *adhān* possesses metaphysical and symbolic functions. It strengthens the sense of belonging to a specific community characterised by its faith in Allāh and his Prophet. It creates a clear distinction from adherents of other religions, who pray as well, but do not belong to this community of Allāh and his Prophet. The repetitions of pious sentences also contribute to the spiritual experience, the conversation with God which continues in the prayer. This transformation from a call to a ritual did not happen in one day, as shown by the hints to its development in the *ḥadīth* literature and the discrepancies between its practices. Yet, it did happen over a short period of time, since it reflects the preoccupation of the early Islamic community, who needed to proclaim its faith and distinguish itself from the other communities. Though the *takbīr* is not attested in the Qurʾān *per se*, it seems to have been used by Muslims very early, and it expresses this need to declare one's faith that surfaces so often in very early Islamic epigraphy.[270] As for the *shahādah*, it answers the same need, and its two formulæ are moreover present in the Qurʾān, albeit separately, in Q.37:35 and 47:21 for the first, and Q. 48:29 for the second.

Since the differences appear almost always on certain formulæ, there must have been a general consensus on the other formulæ, their order and some of the repetitions. This further supports the hypothetical early institution of the *adhān*. The *iqāmah*, however, could have been implemented

[270] See HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*. Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997, 106 and 106 N18 and HOYLAND, "New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State," in: *BSOAS* 69, no. 3, 2006, 406.

later following the *adhān*, on which people had already agreed. Yet, as mentioned before, it makes sense to have a second call to prayer or a specific ritual to announce not the time to gather but the actual start of the prayer, which is precisely the purpose of the *iqāmah*. Hence it cannot be excluded that it could have been introduced almost as early as the *adhān* or even simultaneously. With the usual simplicity of Islamic rituals, it does not come as a surprise that instead of creating a whole new set of formulæ, the Muslims simply reused the formulæ of the *adhān* for the *iqāmah* without looking for more complexity, making the whole even shorter.

Furthermore the Qurʾān supports the hypothesis of an early introduction of the *iqāmah* since it already associates the verb *qāma* (*q-w-m*) with the start of the prayer. In Q. 5:6, those who believe and **stand for the prayer** – *idhā qumtum* – are asked to perform their ablutions. And in Q. 4:142, the hypocrites (*al-munāfiqūn*) are described as those who **stand for the prayer** – *qāmū* – sluggishly. Linguistically, *iqāmah* as the verbal noun (*maṣdar*) of *aqāma*, fourth form of the verb *qāma*, already implies the idea of rising to start something or simply starting something, including starting the prayer: *aqāma al-ṣalāh*. It does not reflect a terminological evolution towards a symbolic term, like the *adhān*. It is rather a down-to-earth description of the action that it initiates: standing up to start the prayer. This is directly expressed in the formula added in the *iqāmah*: *qad* ***qāmati*** *al-ṣalāh*, "the prayer has started/is about to start".

The existence of different practices attests to a rather slow development of the *adhān*, from which the *iqāmah* was derived. The practice was probably neither uniform in the early days of Islam, nor was it established as an official ritual. As soon as the Conquest started and the Muslims spread, it must have diversified even more. Especially at the level of the repetitions of the formulæ, which are generally confusing *per se*, and in particular when two rituals share the same formulæ. Finally, the religious rulings on rituals developed later with the legal schools, so that the practices had time to diversify and root themselves in the popular culture. Thus, the theory bears witness of the contemporaneous practice, and so do the narratives.

Summary of the findings

While the structural comparison stressed the similarities between all the narratives, the closer analysis of isolated elements has highlighted rather the disparities between the versions and their regional or personal particularities. We see here how the priority given to the meaning over the form and the wording generates differences, as exemplified by the variations on the green garment and the *nāqūs*. Although the proto-narrative is still visible behind all these modifications, it tends to slightly fade away, eclipsed by all the interests at stake in C3's narratives. Yet, this textual analysis coupled with the essential understanding of the general context refine the hypothesis of the proto-narrative by supporting the presence of the *nāqūs* in its primary development and the possible later addition of the green garment. All the variations emphasised in these three sections help shape the proto-narrative: the least variable elements are the best candidate for its content. One reason for the blurred contours of this proto-narrative is probably the progressive evolution of the *adhān* that appeared in the last section and the ongoing disagreement regarding the repetitions of the formulæ, which was never fully unified. Another factor of changes lies in the varying concerns of successive generations of Muslims.

3.3.8 The purpose of the dream

Ibn Hishām gives an interesting introduction to the dream with more context to the story, starting with the settlement in Medina. He points out, on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq, that the *muhājirūn* arrived in a place with its own customs and traditions. Islam was a newcomer which needed to be integrated in the foreign environment and then consolidated. Ibn Hishām explained how it happened: the Muslims discussed the affairs of the Medinan population, the so-called *anṣār* – *ijtamaʿa amru al-anṣāri* – and strengthened the order or affairs of Islam – *istaḥkama amru al-islāmi*. These laconic sentences seem to imply that discussions were occurring regarding the preservation or modification of the "affairs of the *anṣār*" and the introduction or development of Islamic orders, including probably the adoption of old customs and traditions belonging to the *anṣār* or the *muhājirūn*, the Meccan immigrants. Although this process is described in a couple of words only, the ongoing discussions might not have been always easy. Muslims had to decide what to keep and what to

change, and many cultural negotiations must have taken place to balance ancient customs and new religious practices, diversity preservation and aim at a unified community.

Ibn Hishām is relayed in his attempt to contextualise the dream story by Abū Dāwūd. In his third and fourth narratives, Abū Dāwūd introduces the topic by mentioning the evolution of the prayer and the fast through three stages: *uḥīlati al-ṣalāhu thalāthaha aḥwālin wa-uḥīla al-ṣiyāmu thalāthaha aḥwālin*. The fourth narrative (D4) also touches upon the change of the *qiblah* as an example of another ritual evolution. It was apparently when the *qiblah* was changed towards the *Kaʾbah* that the *adhān* was introduced according to Ibn Saʾd (IS1). And parallel to these comes the *adhān*, which, we understand, belong to these developing rituals. In the third narrative (D3), Muḥammad wants his community to pray together but he struggles to find the right means to gather people. And in the first narrative (D1), when the trumpet and the *nāqūs* are suggested, the Prophet retorted that these instruments belong to the affairs of the Jews and the Christians, *min amr al-yahūd* and *min amr al-naṣārá*. This echoes Ibn Hishām's discussions about the affairs of the *anṣār* and of Islam, which could have included the Jews' and the Christians' affairs. Since no solution was found, the debate broke, and people left. Then follows a socio-psychological explanation of the cause of the dream: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd returned home after the debate, but he remained anxious because of the distress he perceived from the Prophet: *wa-huwa muhtammun li-hammi rasūli allāhi*.[271] The remedy to ʿAbd Allāh's anxiety came to him that night in the form of a dream.

This almost Freudian explanation of the causes of the dream with the anxiety of the day coming back at night and triggering thoughts on the matter during the sleep, is difficult to date. On the one hand, Abū Dāwūd's first *isnād* is uncommon. It contains none of the narrators who feature in other chains of transmission and appears thus isolated through its chain and its content, as we have already seen in the section on the introduction with the mention of the *shabbūr* and the banner. This could mean that the narrative possesses genuine elements, like this unique sentence, dating back to the earliest stage of the narrative development. On the other hand, a rapprochement can be made between the Muslim anxiety and the Prophet's disapproval or *karihahu* clause. These elements could

[271] A distress is also expressed in Ibn Saʾd's first narrative (IS1): *wa kāna rasūlu allāhi […] qad ahammahu amru al-adhān*.

pertain to a period in which Muslims were preoccupied about building a strong identity and protecting it from the influence of non-Muslims. Such details, like the Prophet's anxiety and his dislike regarding the use of Jewish or Christian instruments, would be then part of a backprojection added to create a clear stance from the Prophet towards Jewish, Christian and more generally non-Islamic matters. This late dating of the narrative would be supported by Juynboll's general dismissal of *aḥādīth* with single strand *isnād*. In the absence of real evidence, we must however accept to remain on the side of the suppositions.

This leads us to explore the purpose of the dream story. Although it cannot be excluded that the dream has some historical foundations, it is difficult to believe that the whole of the *adhān* was implemented in one night out of a dream. Enough evidence, including the *aḥādīth* presented here, points to a development over a period of time, which could have been the life of the Prophet, but could as well have expanded on the following decade or so. It ought to be considered too that the *adhān* might have been practised in slightly different ways even under the Prophet's supervision, for its transition from a simple call to an official ritual must have spread over some time. The short-cut taken by the dream-narratives to condense the history of the *adhān* in a day and a night indicates a lack of concern for its historical development. Rather, the narrators addressed two issues: (1) they ascertain the divine origin of the *adhān*, potentially as it was practised then, and (2) when they quote the formulæ, they promote a unique practice of the *adhān* and indirectly condemn other variants. The popularity of the dream story indicates on the one hand that Muslims felt the need to stress the divine origin of the *adhān*, connecting thus a daily ritual with the fulfilment of their duty towards God or answer of God's call. The divine origin also enhances the significance of the *adhān* itself as a symbol.[272] On the other hand, the use of the dream to establish a unique practice of the *adhān*, which is apparent in the narratives displaying the complete formulæ, is triggered by some scholars' will to harmonise Islamic rituals and traditions.

[272] This explains why two versions of the *adhān* dream are mentioned in the *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*, see See Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Amīr ʿAlī Muhannā, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnānī, 1990, p. 54 and N195 of the present work. Because the author of this manual was not interested in the right number of formulæ, he omitted them and focused on the fact that the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* were purportedly revealed in the form of a dream.

The conclusions reached by Kinberg and highlighted in the introduction to this section about the dream are confirmed here and the guiding/legitimising function of dreams appears clearly. The *adhān*-dream also teaches the dreamer a certain type of invocation that helps solving a crisis, as it is usually the case in *manām*-type dreams, according to Kinberg's observations.[273] Whether there was a dream or not at the beginning is impossible to say, but, real or fake, this dream is presented following a common pattern in early Arabic literature.

The narrators of the dream-narratives attempted to address a contemporaneous issue regarding the right number of repetitions of the *adhān* formulæ with a historical event as recalled in popular memories and embedded in their literary and cultural codes. They were participating in debates and discussions about this topic, using *aḥādīth* to strengthen or root firmly their position, as well as famous companions like Bilāl, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd.

3.3.9 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih

The dream is first and foremost attached to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd (d. 32/652-3). And in fact, this companion of the Prophet was mainly known for his dream about the *adhān*, although he took part in most, if not all, the main battles with Muḥammad and was purportedly sent by him as a messenger to the Zurʿah Dhu Yazan, a Ḥimyarī king, according to al-Ṭabarī.[274] He belonged to the *anṣār*, and used to write before Islam, but he did not produce much and none of his writings were preserved.[275] We also know nothing about his conversion to Islam. Since ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd was remembered mainly through his connection with the *adhān*, either this connection is genuine, to a certain extent at least, or it was invented and attributed to him because he was unknown. If it is indeed a fake connection, then it must have been created at a time when people could not remember the event anymore, otherwise some people would have exposed the lie. This hypothesis seems to stand in direct contradiction with the variety of *asānīd* we have in C3. How could so many people narrate the same lie with so few variations? This would require a high level of organisation that is rather unlikely

[273] See Ibn Abī al-Dunyā/KINBERG 1994, 25.
[274] Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. XIV, no. 3282, p. 540; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. III, no. 239, p. 497; Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1960, vol. III, no. 1719, p. 121.
[275] See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. III, no. 239, p. 497.

on a large scale for such an insignificant objective. Besides, there is no obvious justification for this lie. More importantly, in a context in which the Prophet is becoming the sole authority in religious, political and social matters, it is difficult to understand why people would invent a story about the origins of the *adhān* with an unknown companion as key-figure in the centre instead of the Prophet himself or at least ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. This hypothesis would need strong arguments to become defensible.

The first hypothesis should therefore be favoured. It does not mean however that the dream happened exactly as it is depicted in most of the *aḥādīth* of C3 or that it happened at all. The dream might even have been exaggerated or tailored to match dream patterns as they developed in dream-literature. Yet, in all likelihood, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd was involved with the introduction of the *adhān*.

One could argue that a few narratives do not mention ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd and reflect therefore a disagreement on his involvement with the introduction of the *adhān*. Yet, all these narratives are concerned with specific issues, enhancing the role of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb or setting the number of repetitions for the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*. Consequently, they might have omitted ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd's dream because they were not interested in the history of the *adhān* but in promoting ʿUmar or a certain practice of the call to prayer. Therefore, their silence on ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd does not imply that they question his involvement.

Another argument in favour of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd's involvement comes indirectly from the Shīʿī narratives. In *Al-Īḍāḥ*, the Fāṭimid Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974) contests ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd's role and claims that the revelation concerning the *adhān* came to Muḥammad directly from an angel, sent by God to teach the *adhān* to the Prophet.[276] He quotes two reports, one mentioning the name ''ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd'', the second simply calling him ''a man from the *anṣār*'', a precision also given in some Sunnī narratives (D3, D4, IS3). Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān considers the *dream* story as invalid, *bāṭil*. In Baghdad, Ibn Bābawayh, often called al-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991-2), quotes two other reports in his *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, in a chapter on the *adhān* and the

[276] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ. Jamāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah, dhikr badʾ al-adhān*, pp. 59-60.

iqāmah which equally disagree with the Sunnī narratives.[277] An angel is again responsible for teaching the *adhān* to the Prophet. We are even told that it was Jibrāʾīl who was sent to Muḥammad, while the latter had his head on ʿAlī's lap, according to the second *ḥadīth*. This time, neither the dream nor ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd are mentioned, as if they simply did not exist.

In the Shīʿī tradition, it was obviously problematic that the *adhān* could have been revealed in a dream to a "man from the *anṣār*", as it appears clearly in al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's chapter on the *adhān*. Indirectly, this indicates that the C3-type of narratives was circulating in Egypt (Ifriqīya), where al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān was in post. But in Baghdad, it might have been less common. And indeed, we found in this city many more narratives from C1 than from C3. Ibn Bābawayh might have preferred to ignore totally any narrative with the name of the second caliph in connection with the *adhān*, to quote only the narratives introducing Jibrāʾīl and ʿAlī. Despite their different versions of the story, both scholars show the importance of the beginning of the *adhān*, until the fourth/tenth century. They clearly favour the divine intervention through an angel over the dream of an unknown companion. Under this light, C3 appears as more realistic, despite the narration of the dream which Howard attributed to a "supernatural influence".[278]

The Shīʿī narratives pursue three different goals. First, there is in both works an attempt to involve ʿAlī either in the chain of narrators or in the story itself. Then, al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān tried to rectify the false story that was circulating about the *adhān*. And finally, all the narratives enhance the divine intervention through the apparition of an angel to the Prophet and not to an ordinary companion. While in the Sunnī narratives, the agendas were sometimes hidden in developed storylines, these Shīʿī examples are more focused on their agendas and the story is almost non-existent. They seem to react to a situation, reflected in the Sunnī narratives, in which the *adhān* was remembered as being initially a practical call to prayer, which was developed through debates and reflection more than through divine intervention. The Shīʿī narratives intend to rectify this memory

[277] Ibn Bābawayh, *K. man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh. Bāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah wa-thawāb al-muʾadhdhīn*, no. 864-5, pp. 197-8.
[278] HOWARD 1981, 222.

of the event, in order to emphasise the divine intervention and probably to downplay the role of a random companion, who was not a clear supporter of ʿAlī.

Shīʿī sources confirm therefore that people remembered on a wide scale ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd's intervention in the introduction of the *adhān*. Consequently, the remaining question concerns the extent of this intervention, and we might never know for sure whether ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd had a dream or said he had a dream, which was later enriched and enhanced to fit a certain purpose. Or he could have simply intervened more vehemently than others to prevent Muslims from striking a Christian *nāqūs*, he was approved by the Prophet and some storytellers, like for instance ʿUbayd ibn ʿUmayr, justified his intervention by embellishing his story with a dream.

We see here the different levels of information that the *aḥādīth* provide. It is often possible to extract with a high degree of precision most of the political and religious interests at stake. As for the exact historical information, it keeps a hypothetical status, for the first purpose of the narratives is generally to address contemporaneous social and religious issues rather than write a historical review of the event. The case of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is particularly revealing in this regard and confirms the importance of political agendas in the narratives.

3.3.10 ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and his dream

A Meccan narrative reported by ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Hishām (AR2 and Ih2) attributes the dream exclusively to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. On the authority of ʿUbayd ibn ʿUmayr (d. *c.* 74/693) < ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/733) < Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767), this narrative echoes the texts of C1 by ignoring ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd and giving ʿUmar the whole stage. In these versions, the introduction to the dream follows the general pattern highlighted above, but then ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb appears and wants to buy two pieces of wood – the same *khashabatayn* found in Mālik's version – in order to make a *nāqūs*. He is about to do so, when he sees in his dream that he should not strike the *nāqūs* and should instead perform the *adhān*. Neither the formulæ nor the *iqāmah* are mentioned, like in C1. The focus is thus on ʿUmar only. The texts of ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Hishām are among the shortest narratives in this category. They are almost identical, yet again, the introductions display the same exact meaning with different wordings, showing one more time the liberty taken, in this case,

by the collectors to reformulate what they had heard. This does not apply to the short sections on ʿUmar's dream however, which do not differ as shown in the table below, except for Ibn Hishām's repetition of ʿUmar's name in the *idh* clause, and a couple of insignificant discrepancies.

AR2	فَبَيْنَا عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطّابِ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَشْتَرِيَ خَشَبَتَيْنِ لِلنَّاقُوسِ إِذْ رَأَى فِي الْمَنَامِ أَنْ لَا تَجْعَلُوا النَّاقُوسَ بَلْ أَذِّنُوا بِالصَّلَاةِ
Ih1	فَبَيْنَمَا عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطّابِ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَشْتَرِيَ خَشَبَتَيْنِ لِلنَّاقُوسِ إِذْ رَأَى عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطّابِ فِي الْمَنَامِ لَا تَجْعَلُوا النَّاقُوسَ بَلْ أَذِّنُوا لِلصَّلَاةِ

Table 12: ʿUmar's dream in the recensions of ʿAbd al-Razzāq (AR2) and Ibn Hishām (Ih1).

The repetition of ʿUmar's name can be interpreted as a way to insist on the identity of the dreamer to avoid any confusion with the version staging ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd, quoted by both Ibn Hishām and ʿAbd al-Razzāq. It further confirms the emphasis in these two recensions laid on the role of ʿUmar as the one to whom the introduction of the *adhān* ought to be attributed. All these ʿUmar narratives in C1 and C3 are narrated by Ibn Jurayj who seemed to have had a keen interest in the second caliph. But could he narrate two different stories both involving ʿUmar in the introduction of the *adhān*?

Ibn Jurayj was purportedly relating the narratives from two famous narrators. On the one hand, Ibn ʿUmar, as the son of the main protagonist, and his *mawlá*, Nāfiʿ, were precious sources of information concerning companions, in particular ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. On the other hand, ʿUbayd ibn ʿUmayr (d. 68/687-8), who was a renowned Medinan storytellers (*qaṣṣ*) precisely under the reign of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, could also have provided Ibn Jurayj with significant details of events which happened at his time.[279] As for the appearance of the dream in connection with ʿUmar, it might be tentatively explained by the presence of ʿUbayd. As a storyteller, he could have been tempted to embellish the story with an element as respected in Arab tradition as a dream. He could, as well, have heard of a story about a dream as the source for the *adhān*. So that he merged the dream-story with ʿUmar's narrative. Finally, he could have narrated the story with a dreamer, either anonymous or identified as ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd and the attribution of the dreamer-role to ʿUmar could have been operated by Ibn Jurayj. However, this raises the question about Ibn Jurayj's motifs to promote

[279] See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. VIII, no. 2357, p. 24; JUYNBOLL 1994, 162 and Lyall R. ARMSTRONG, *The Quṣṣāṣ of Early Islam*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016, 291.

ʿUmar. ʿUbayd ibn ʿUmayr, who was contemporaneous to ʿUmar, could have had a direct interest in circulating a story praising his ruler. What about Ibn Jurayj? More studies on this famous *ḥadīth* narrator could reveal whether he was particularly concerned with the second caliph. If this is true and the *adhān* narratives are not mere exceptions in Ibn Jurayj's transmission history, then more research would be necessary to establish the reason of this particular concern and whether it was specific to Ibn Jurayj, to his time or to his city. The narratives without ʿUmar could serve as indication in this regard as we will see below. Yet, it is important to take into consideration that the chronology of the introduction of the *adhān* is not necessarily respected by the narrators. It means that C1 could be concerned with the early introduction of a call to prayer, while C3 exposed the development of this call into a ritual. This possibility will be examined in the next sub-chapter which synthesises the various findings of this threefold analysis.

A small minority of narratives in the present category, five in total, does not mention ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. The short versions of Mālik and Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah have in common, apart from their length, that ʿUmar is not pictured at all. They are otherwise quite different. Mālik quotes a truncated Medinan *isnād*. He has replaced the *nāqūs* by two pieces of wood and does not describe the dream. Likewise, Ibn Abī Shaybah evokes the dream without describing it, but he skips the whole introduction with the *nāqūs*. He also adds the repetition of both the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*. Finally, he relies on an exclusively Kufan *isnād*, without generation gaps. The general outline of the story is respected, but ʿUmar is absent. One could argue that these narratives constitute shortened versions of the narratives of Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Abī Laylá. The same could be suggested for the fifth *ḥadīth* transmitted by Abū Dāwūd via ʿUthmān ibn Abī Shaybah, the brother of Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah. This text resembles again a summary, or a late recension that would have lost its details in the transmission process.

At this point, Ibn Ḥanbal's first and Abū Dāwūd's fourth narratives ought to be taken into consideration: They too ignore ʿUmar although their version is complete, with the introduction, the dream, the formulæ of both the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*. It becomes more puzzling when we consider that both collectors narrated more than one version including ʿUmar. The confusion and lack of clarity regarding ʿUmar's role in the history of the *adhān* indicate a potential controversy. Whether

he took part in the initial debates regarding the introduction of a call to prayer or decided later to use his caliphal authority to establish a certain unity in the practice of the ritual remain unclear. Nevertheless, we know that some transmitters emphasised his role and others withdrew it. It led to the circulation of various narratives, which reflect the diversity of opinions regarding the historicity of ʿUmar's role and the controversies that it triggered. ʿUmar cannot therefore be included in the proto-narrative and it seems more likely that he became a source of debates during or after his caliphate. Contrary to the *nāqūs*, which is generally recognised as part of the original story, ʿUmar's association with the introduction of the *adhān* lacks the general consensus that would make his role appear more like a historical element than a political addition. A definitive conclusion cannot be reached and doubts about the nature of ʿUmar's implication remain strong. As a result, some collectors included all versions as if they refused to take position in a speculative debate and were closer to the truth with more information.

Ḥadīth transmitters must have been sometimes confused by the circulation of various narratives slightly contradictory and potentially referring to different historical events, such as the introduction of a call to prayer, the *nidāʾ*, and the development of this call into a ritual, the *adhān*. And the reality might have been even more complex than it was remembered. The narratives give us only the useful scraps that serve their purpose, often mixing, summarising or merging the available pieces of memories. This is best illustrated by Ibn Khuzaymah who reports another narrative regarding ʿUmar, adding a different perspective to the complexity already depicted by C1, C2 and C3:

> حَدَّثَنَا بُنْدَارٌ نا أَبُو بَكْرٍ يَعْنِي الْحَنَفِيَّ نا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ نَافِعٍ عَنْ أَبِيهِ عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ أَنَّ بِلَالًا كَانَ يَقُولُ أَوَّلَ مَا أَذَّنَ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ فَقَالَ لَهُ عُمَرُ قُلْ فِي أَثَرِهَا أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قُلْ كَمَا أَمَرَكَ عُمَرُ
>
> Bundār narrated to us that Abū Bakr, i.e. al-Ḥanafī, narrated to us that ʿAbd Allāh ibn Nāfiʿ narrated to us according to his father, according to Ibn ʿUmar that Bilāl said he was first calling the *adhān* [with] *ashhadu an lā ilāha illā allāhi ḥayya ʿalá al-ṣalāh*, then ʿUmar told

> him: Say immediately after it [i.e. the *shahādah*] *ashhadu anna muḥammadan rasūlu allāhi*. The Messenger of God […] said: Say as ʿUmar commanded you.[280]

There are in this *ḥadīth* two important pieces of information. Firstly, it confirms how relevant it would be to explore further the role of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in *ḥadīth* literature. Such a study would be necessary to better understand and distinguish the fiction from the reality. Secondly, it confirms the greater complexity of the historical events than the image depicted by the narratives altogether. It is possible that ʿUmar was involved at different stages of the *adhān* formation. Memories and 'memories of memories' allowed only scraps to survive, which were assembled by various transmitters in the multitude of narratives that eventually reached *ḥadīth* collectors.[281] As a prominent companion and then a caliph, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb must have felt entitled to intervene in the development of the *adhān* on more than one occasion. We see that in the pool of narratives that recalled his interventions only the most useful of them were transmitted on a broad scale to address particular issues such as ʿUmar's entitlement to establish an official version of the *adhān* or the contentious number of repetitions of the *adhān* formulæ.

The discrepancies between and within the categories also indicate that the introduction of the *adhān* had not left such an indelible imprint on people's memories. It was a small event in the bustling life of the early Muslim community, for whom new rituals and religious practices were regularly added or modified in their daily routine. People seemed to remember the general outline of the story with only blurred details. And the number of repetitions of the *adhān* formulæ was probably less important in the first/seventh century than it became in the next two hundred years. Memories are always confined in the witness' perspective. If an event is not particularly striking, the memories have more chances to let it fall in oblivion, partially or totally. So that in the generation of Ibn ʿUmar and ʿUmayr, when questions arose about the introduction of the *adhān* and its correct practice, memories and 'memories of memories' about the introduction of the *adhān* were already diverse,

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[280] Ibn Khuzaymah, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Jummāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, no. 362, p. 220. The English translation is mine.
[281] See VANSINA 1985, 160 and SCHOELER 2011, 36 and 113.

scattered and vague.[282] The need of the community either to enhance ʿUmar's status or to clarify the *adhān* practice had certainly an impact on which parts of the collective memory or the collection of memories were narrated and thus preserved in narratives. In the process of the transformation of memories into narratives, filters and moulds are always applied.[283] In this case, they are even sharper since they were specific issues to address. These issues can be inferred from the focus of the narratives and the general context, and it can be concluded that ʿUmar's role was probably enhanced, but not necessarily invented.

Summary of the findings

The evidence gathered regarding the purpose of the dream confirms Kinberg's conclusion on the perception of dreams as a source of authority. Following her methodology, the question to ask in the end is the following: why was this story narrated? The answer lies in the concern about the *adhān* and its diverse practices in the first decades after Muḥammad's death. Two issues were at stake: the orthodox practice of the *adhān* and the role of the second caliph, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd's dream clearly addresses the first issue. As for ʿUmar's dream, it is ambiguous. Surely, a dream with a man in green garments, which then received the approval of the Prophet, did not need ʿUmar's support as well. Hence, ʿUmar's dream must have been added to strengthen ʿUmar's authority and confirm his involvement in the establishment of the *adhān*.

Regional and temporal interests also appear. In Mecca and, in the generation after Ibn Jurayj in Baghdad too, ʿUmar's role was the main concern. In most other cities, notably Basra, Wasit, and Kufa, the focus seems to be on the ritual's shape, a conclusion confirmed by the analyses of C1 and C2. Medina, which probably contained the sources of all these narratives, gathered the main harmonising narrators who tried to reconcile all the versions, namely al-Zuhrī and Ibn Isḥāq.

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[282] SCHOELER applies the results of studies about oral history and transmission on his findings regarding the life of Muḥammad. He shows convincingly that although memories are always biased, they suffer only modifications over the two first generations. See SCHOELER 2011, 113.

[283] In her book *The new Muslims of post-conquest Iran: tradition, memory and conversion*, BOWEN SAVANT describes such "narrative filters" (Sarah BOWEN SAVANT, *The New Muslims of Post-Conquest Iran: Tradition, Memory and Conversion*. Cambridge (NY): Cambridge University Press, 2013, 171), which are used in her case to canalise the understanding of the Persian past. (See also p. 172) BOWEN SAVANT lists four filters: labelling, creating homologies, fashioning icons and gendering.

3.3.11 The end of the narrative

The conclusion of the narratives is as diverse as the introduction and the dream. Some *aḥādīth* end abruptly, without a real conclusion. In these summary-like narratives, the narrators focus on the message and pay less attention to its form. This is the case for the first recension of Ibn Abī Shaybah and Mālik ibn Anas, along with the fifth *ḥadīth* by Abū Dāwūd. All of them are brief, they contain bare facts, without any narrative tissue. The fourth narrative reported by Abū Dāwūd follows this pattern, but it adds information regarding the evolution of the prayer and the fast.

Then come the narratives of Dārimī, Tirmidhī and the second *ḥadīth* in Ibn Ḥanbal's collection which conclude the story with the Prophet's interpretation of ʿUmar's dream as a confirmation of ʿAbd Allāh's dream: *fa-li-llāh al-ḥamd fa-dhālik athbat*. They all quote Ibn Isḥāq, but we do not find the second part of the sentence in Ibn Ḥanbal's recension, *fa-dhālik athbat*, although his *isnād* is similar to Dārimī's. There must have been an omission (on Ibn Ḥanbal's side) or an addition (by Dārimī or his transmitters), either because the message was deemed clear enough or, on the contrary, a narrator felt the need to specify that Muḥammad praised God because ʿUmar's vision confirmed ʿAbd Allāh's dream. As we saw, Dārimī's version tends to be shorter, while Ibn Ḥanbal does not mind clarifying with details such as, in his first narrative, the Prophet's dislike towards the *nāqūs*. Consequently, Ibn Ḥanbal might be the one who removed the second part of the sentence.

The attention laid on the Prophetic – and divine – approval of the dream peaks in Ibn Mājah's first narrative, when ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd praises God for the good vision he had. This need to emphasise the reliable nature of the dream could be an answer to those who refuse to follow the dream of a barely known companion. The Shīʿī narratives in particular were making clear that a dream from someone else than the Prophet was not acceptable. It seems that the story of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd's dream was not circulating unchallenged. The social function of *aḥādīth* is here brought to light and the worries or criticism of the narrator's audience are reflected in his narration.

The reaction of the audience appears indirectly as well in another set of narratives, in which two important questions are addressed: why was Bilāl the first *muʾadhdhin* and not the dreamer? And why did ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb report his dream only after having heard ʿAbd Allāh's story?

The controversy around Bilāl's role is best summarised by Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. *c.* 203/818). As mentioned in the second chapter of the present work, al-Ṭayālisī narrates a very short version of the dream narrative in which it is said that ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd saw the *adhān* in his dream, he told the Prophet about it and Bilāl called to prayer. Thereupon comes an interesting addition:

> وَجَاءَ عَمِّي إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ أَنَا أَرَى الرُّؤْيَا وَيُؤَذِّنُ بِلَالٌ قَالَ فَأَقِمْ أَنْتَ قَالَ فَأَقَامَ عَمِّي

> And my uncle [ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd] came to the Prophet [...] and he told him: O Messenger of God, I [was the one who] had the vision, and Bilāl [is the one who] calls out the *adhān*? He said: Then you [should] call out the *iqāmah*. And thus, my uncle called out the *iqāmah*.[284]

A new question is introduced here about the permission for someone to recite the *iqāmah* when someone else has performed the *adhān*. We shall not enter this debate which would carry us away from the present discussion, but simply explore the significance of this detail for the understanding of the introduction of the *adhān*. In al-Ṭayālisī's version, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd points out the injustice he perceived in the Prophet's choice of *muʾadhdhin*. The Prophet seems to approve of his claim by granting him the right to call out the second call to prayer, assuaging his disappointment and rewarding him for his vision. Other narratives in our corpus hint at a perceived injustice by justifying the Prophet's choice. There are three kinds of such justification:

- In ʿAbd al-Razzāq's and Ibn Hishām's second recension, Muḥammad justifies his choice of Bilāl as *muʾadhdhin* by explaining to ʿUmar, who is the dreamer in this version, that it was a revelation: *qad sabaqaka bi-dhalika* ***al-waḥyu***.
- In the first narratives of Ibn Hishām, Ibn Mājah and Dārimī, ʿAbd Allāh is asked to teach the *adhān* he has heard in his dream to Bilāl because the latter has a louder voice, *andá ṣawt*.
- In Abū Dāwūd's first narrative, we are told that ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd was sick (*marīḍ*) and could therefore not be appointed as *muʾadhdhin*. At least, this was the belief of the *anṣār*, according to Abū Dāwūd.

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[284] Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*. Ed. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, Hajar, 1999, vol. II, *ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ʿĀṣim al-Anṣārī*, p. 425.

The last two explanations are similar and stand in direct contradiction with al-Ṭayālisī's version: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd could not be sick or have a low voice and be appointed to recite the *iqāmah*. Such contradictions indicate that these justifications were added to address an issue, and different narrators found different solutions to solve the problem.

A key for the understanding of ʿAbd Allāh's problem might be found in Abū Dāwūd's last sentence. He specifies the identity of those who believed in ʿAbd Allāh's sickness. Hence he tells us that the *anṣār* might have asked why one of them – ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd was one of the *anṣār* – had such an important dream and was not appointed as *muʾadhdhin*, a position which was probably perceived as honorific. Especially since instead of ʿAbd Allāh, Bilāl, a *muhājir*, was chosen. The conflict between the *anṣār* and the *muhājirūn*, or Medinans *versus* Meccans, could be therefore reflected indirectly in the justifications given here to defend the Prophet's choice as a pragmatic decision and not as an act of favouritism towards the *muhājirūn*. Under ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's caliphate, the tensions between these two factions were rising, for the rapid territorial expansion triggered power struggles for the control of the conquered lands.[285] It might be suggested that this precision regarding the *anṣār* dates back to ʿUmar's caliphate or soon after, when this conflict was significant. The need for harmonisation was also a characteristic of ʿUmar's reign, which is reflected in the tentative unification of the practices of the *adhān*.

The second controversy concerns ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Some seem to have wondered why ʿUmar narrated his dream *after* ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd. In four narratives, ʿUmar justifies himself. In the second narrative by Ibn Mājah, ʿUmar said that he had the same dream as ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd but the latter preceded him, *wa-lakinnahu sabaqanī*. Therefore, he came to the Prophet only when he heard the exact same *adhān* that he had heard in his sleep. In D3, ʿUmar says that because ʿAbd Allāh preceded him, he felt ashamed, *lammā subiqtu istaḥyaytu*. Finally, a combination of the two appears in D1 and IS2: The Prophet asked ʿUmar what prevented him from reporting to him earlier, *mā manaʿaka an tukhbiranī*. And ʿUmar answered that ʿAbd Allāh came before and he felt ashamed.

[285] See DELLA VIDA & BONNER, "ʿUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb," in: *EI*[2].

It seems that the Prophet questioned the veracity of ʿUmar's dream and therefore forced ʿUmar to justify himself. This can be taken literally as the words of the Prophet. Or else, it can be a narrative element added to justify that ʿUmar came second after ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd who was a little-known companion. If ʿUmar was added to the story, his justification could be a narration technique used to preserve the coherence of the story despite the addition. More studies on ʿUmar and mechanisms of *ḥadīth* narration would help confirm or refute this hypothesis. But for now, since we know that ʿUmar's role in this story was controversial, the justification clause further supports the hypothesis that some narrators exaggerated or simply added ʿUmar's intervention.

These two examples show that *aḥādīth* were not static narratives. Rather, they evolved constantly, in response to criticism, questions, and new social, political or religious issues, usually with the addition or modification of small sentences or clauses. When stories were told about the *adhān*, people must have reacted, asked questions and challenged the storytellers on controversial points, like the choice of the *muʾadhdhin* or the role of ʿUmar. These ongoing debates between narrators and recipients appear in the complex details of stories like the *adhān* narratives when comparative textual analysis unearths the layers of narration until the proto-narrative. In this process, the context is crucial. And it is also thanks to our increasing contextual knowledge that we are able to see the evolution of the *adhān* in the narratives analysed here. This is exemplified by the disagreement on the repetition of the *adhān* formulæ, which started in the formative period of the *adhān* and can be observed in the actual practice of the call to prayer.

In his second narrative, Abū Dāwūd explains that his transmitters did not agree on the number of repetition of the initial *takbīr*, highlighting the different practices of the *adhān* and the *madhāhib* disagreement in this regard. To further confirm the unsettled nature of the initial call to prayer, we find in the conclusion of IH2, Q2 and IS3 a sentence that Bilāl decided to add in the morning call to prayer: *al-ṣalāh khayr min al-nawm*. This shows clearly that the *adhān*, at its start, was not considered as a sacred, untouchable ritual, so that Bilāl felt entitled to modulate it to some extent. It was probably not even a ritual. In his first narrative, Ibn Saʿd explains that the *adhān* was performed as ʿAbd Allāh and ʿUmar had heard in their dreams. But the call was not exclusive to the prayers:

وَأُذِّنَ بِالأَذَانِ وَبَقِيَ يُنَادَى فِي النَّاسِ الصَّلاةَ جَامِعَةً لِلأَمْرِ يَحْدُثُ فَيَحْضُرُونَ لَهُ يُخْبَرُونَ بِهِ مِثْلَ فَتْحٍ يقرأ أو أمر يؤمرون فَيُنَادَى الصَّلاةَ جَامِعَةً وَإِنْ كَانَ فِي غَيْرِ وقت صلاة

> …and they called out the *adhān*. There continued to be a call **(*yunādá*)** to the people for the prayer for the sake of gathering them on account of some matter that had arisen. They would come on that account to be informed of it; for example, a victory to be announced or an order to be given. The call to prayer was made for gathering **even outside prayer times**.

We notice first and foremost the use of the verb *nādá* to indicate a general call, applicable to the prayer and to other matters. We are told here that the 'call to prayer' was initially a general call to gather people for the prayer and all other important affairs that concerned the community. Although it is not stated, it is possible to imagine that the formulæ used for other matters than the prayers were slightly different, excluding *ḥayya ʿalá al-ṣalāh* for instance. We have seen how ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was said to have added the second part of the *shahādah* in Ibn Khuzaymah's *Saḥīḥ*. And later, the caliph ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān purportedly implemented a third call to prayer, *al-nidāʾ al-thalāth*, in al-Zaurāʾ before the Friday prayer, when the number of people increased, *kathura al-nās*.[286] This means that the *adhān* was established but that a caliph, ʿUthmān in this case, could feel free to modify the ritual to adapt to the need of the growing community. One cannot exclude that his predecessors, most likely ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, did the same by establishing a certain order in the formulæ and their repetitions.

The comparative textual analysis of C3's narratives highlights their specificities and their common elements, from which it is possible to deduce not only the outline of the proto-narrative, but some aspects of the development of the *adhān*, from a general call to a specific ritual and the evolution of the debates about its right practice. The social, political or religious issues that triggered some modifications become visible as well. In the conclusion of the narratives, we have seen the need to give to the *adhān* a Prophetic, or even divine, confirmation, the justifications for Bilāl's

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[286] ʿUmar Ibn Shabbah, *Kitāb Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah: Akhbār al-Madīnah al-Nabawīyah*. Ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Dandal *et al*., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1996, vol. III, *Mā sanna ʿUthmān raḍiya Allāh ʿanhu min al-adhān al-thānī yawm al-jumuʿa*, p. 958. The *ḥadīth* can also be found in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. II, *K. al-Jumuʿah*, *Bāb al-adhān yawm al-jumuʿah*, no. 912, p. 393.; Abū Dāwūd's *Sunān*, vol. III, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Bāb al-nidāʾ yawm al-jumuʿah*, no. 1087, pp. 312-3; Tirmidhī's *Jāmiʿ*, vol. I, *K. al-jumuʿah*, *Bāb mā jāʾ fī adhān al-jumuʿah*, no. 516, pp. 521-2; Ibn Mājah's *Sunān*, *K. iqāmat al-ṣalāh wa-l-sunnah fīhā*, no. 1135, p. 359.

appointment and ʿUmar's hiding his dream, and the validation of a certain practice of the *adhān*. With the help of the general context, such analysis yields increasingly clear evidence to distinguish between early elements and later modifications. Yet this last section on the third category shows that the number of narratives under scrutiny plays a significant role in both the quantity and the quality or precision of the results obtained.

3.4 Synthesis

To conclude the numerous analyses conducted on all the narratives across each category, it is important to examine the points that connect these stories, beside their narrating the introduction of the *adhān*. There are six topics that will be addressed here:

- ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb;
- Bilāl;
- the proto-narrative;
- the debates about the *adhān*;
- mechanisms of *ḥadīth* transmission and collection
- the *nāqūs*.

3.4.1 A final word on ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb

There are three levels at which ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb could have intervened in the *adhān* development: (1) as an initiator, either through a suggestion or with his dream; (2) as a modifier who suggested additional formulæ; and finally (3), as a ruler who officialised one version of the *adhān*. The two first roles are attested in the narratives that have been analysed in the present chapter. In C1, he suggested a vocal call to prayer which was adopted by the Prophet and performed by Bilāl. In C3, he had a dream which established the exact formulæ of the *adhān*. In Ibn Khuzaymah's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he suggests adding the second part of the *shahādah* and is again approved by the Prophet.

As for his implication during his caliphate, it is a mere supposition based on the need for unification that was particularly strong in the first decades after the Prophet's death. Yet, it is not attested in any narratives contrary to the addition of a third *adhān* by the caliph ʿUthmān for instance.

If the caliph ʿUmar had attempted to establish an official version of the *adhān*, this would have triggered reactions that would not have remained unnoticed. The only reason to suggest ʿUmar's involvement during his caliphate comes from the different Shīʿī *adhān*. One might wonder how the Shīʿī *adhān* became longer and what triggered such an evolution. Arguably, this could have been a way to mark the opposition to the Sunnī practice and in particular the first three caliphs contested by the Shīʿa. If one of these caliphs had promoted a version of the *adhān*, it is likely that the Shīʿa would not adopt it and would try to dissociate themselves from it, potentially by adding a sentence or adopting a parallel version, which could also have been practiced at the time of the Prophet. Yet, although it is a likely scenario, this hypothesis will remain a mere supposition until we find a confirmation for it in the sources.

Conversely, the two first roles are attested in the sources. They were probably modified and enhanced to fit the purpose of the narrative, but there were no obvious reasons to invent them. It seems that ʿUmar was more involved with the wordings than with the repetitions, and the dream attributed to him appears as a reaction to ʿAbd Allāh's dream. C3 constitutes a melting pot of various narratives abridged and summarised in a compromising version of the origins of the *adhān*, which combines ʿUmar's role, the divine inspiration, the introduction of the *nidāʾ*, its development into an *adhān*, the formulæ and their orthodox repetitions along with the Prophet's judgements. The chains of transmission often, but not always, reflect this combination process and the narratives of C1 and C2 give us more context to understand it.

Some memories of ʿUmar's alleged role were sufficiently resilient and useful to prevail in C1 and C3, while others, like the one preserved in Ibn Khuzaymah's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, suffered mistrust and were forgotten or actively rejected. We see this past reality through numerous lenses, but the distorted image still informs us about reactions to and evolution from the historical event. Each new study adds more pixels in the whole picture and our knowledge of this period is therefore constantly increasing. Furthermore, controversial figures like ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb are also balanced with unanimously recognised characters like Bilāl, who provides us with more direct information about the early Islamic period.

3.4.2 Bilāl

More discreet, and yet more recurrent, the role of Bilāl remains unchallenged throughout the narratives of each category. It is confirmed by biographers and historians: everywhere, Bilāl is remembered as the first *muʾadhdhin*.[287] There is no evidence to contradict these narratives and therefore no reason to doubt their reliability. This further suggests that the narratives contain certainly exaggerations or embellishments, but they are still based on historical events. I propose to consider the use of such historical elements as a narrative mechanism to provide a contentious topic with a strong and reliable basis. This mechanism is not limited to *ḥadīth* literature. The well-known fact is what linguists call a given or old information, which is opposed to new information. Depending on the effect that the speaker/writer wants to produce, the given piece of information can be placed at different level of the sentence. At the beginning of the sentence, it provides the reader with a known environment in which the new piece of information can be anchored. At the end of the sentence, it plays a rhetorical role by strengthening the new information within a known context. Both mechanisms are used in the *adhān* narratives. Contentious information, treated as new information, are not only preceded by but even wrapped in well-known facts, the so-called given information. The mechanisms ensure the transmission of a clear message in each narrative: ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's involvement in the introduction of the *adhān* and the orthodox way to perform the *adhān*.

In order to achieve this clarity in the expression of political and religious messages, narrators and transmitters gathered many reports and accounts that they merged together or summarised, as we saw in al-Bukhārī's recension of the ʿUmar-narrative in C1, or in Dārimī's dream-narrative. The discrepancies that arose from these two narration techniques highlight recurrent elements like Bilāl. In the middle of the changes, finding these constants help construe the memories and common knowledge of the generations of people to whom these narratives were narrated. It is in this given information, that reaches us through biased, blurred and highly subjective lenses, that history lies and can be reconstructed. Bilāl and his role as first *muʾadhdhin* belongs to this opaque history. And

[287] Bilāl is also remembered for refusing to keep performing the *adhān* after the death of the Prophet. This episode is analysed in AKPINAR 2016, 239.

so does the proto-narrative, which can be outlined thanks to the wealth of information preserved in *ḥadīth* literature.

3.4.3 The proto-narrative

The introduction of the two Islamic festivals, *ʿīd al-fiṭr* and *ʿīd al-aḍḥá*, was not particularly memorable. Nor did the people remember the introduction of the *zakāh* for instance. In contrast, the beginning of the *adhān* is narrated extensively by most *ḥadīth* collectors, who often dedicate a chapter to the topic. Somehow, the event – but not its details – has left an imprint in people's memory, different from many other rituals, and it was used by narrators and transmitters for different purposes, as shown in this chapter. The structure of the narratives that has reached us is always the same: the need is felt to develop a way to gather people for the prayer; discussions occur with different suggestions being made; finally, Bilāl is asked to call people out loud. It is difficult to determine whether it happened exactly as described above, yet it was for sure remembered as such. Even though memory tends to deliver bias, truncated and inaccurate images, it builds itself on reality. We all perceive reality differently, and therefore we can only describe or remember it in subjective terms, yet the general picture that one gets from assembling collective memories delineate more accurately the objective reality, which triggered those memories. Regarding the *adhān*, some people might have known ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd for example, and they remembered what concerned him primarily. Others might have been more interested in the debates around the introduction of instruments. Many different stories emerged from these collective memories, and yet they all followed the structure exposed above. This primitive structure belongs to the proto-narrative, on which all the narratives we have analysed are based without exception. Close reading and comparison of all the narratives allow us, in the present case, to reconstruct part of the collective memory, which lies at the basis of the story. The *adhān*, as an early institution, facilitates the recovering process, because it must have been introduced before important schisms split the Muslim community, that is probably before the death of the Prophet and its imprint on collective memory was strong enough to remain visible in the later constructions that used its fame to promote certain ideas.

More research should be dedicated to the study of the use of historical events in *ḥadīth* literature. Yet, the present corpus of narratives gives us already a good image of the debates that were taking place about the *adhān* from the first/seventh to the second/eighth centuries.

3.4.4 The debates about the *adhān*

Debates about the *adhān* revolved around the right practice of the ritual, the number of repetitions of the formulæ and the formulæ themselves, as well as the *muʾadhdhin*. They developed over time, from the double repetition advocated in C2, to the detailed description of each formulæ and the exact number of their repetitions in C3. These debates, which are mirrored in the *ḥadīth* literature, can be found in other legal texts. In al-Shaybānī's *Kitāb al-āthār*, for instance, in the short sub-chapter dedicated to the *adhān*, al-Shaybānī gives the opinions of his master, Abū Ḥanīfah, usually on the authority of Ḥammād (d. 120/737-8) and Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī (d. *c*. 96/714), regarding different aspects of the *adhān* practice.[288] He reports, *inter alia*, that the *muʾadhdhin* must have his ablutions to perform the *adhān* or that women are not allowed to call to prayer.

The only mention of the repetitions of the formulæ appeared in a very brief sentence: *al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah mathná mathná*, the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* in pairs in pairs or in pairs of two pairs.[289] The same repeated '*mathná*' is mentioned in Ibn Abī Shaybah's dream narrative suggesting that it might be a Kufan formula, although the latter's expression is slightly different and at the same time clearer: *fa-ʾadhdhana mathná wa-aqāma mathná*, then, he called the *adhān* in pairs and he called the *iqāmah* in pairs. In both cases, the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* are however identical, they are not distinguished by the number of repetition of their formulæ. This reflects an earlier stage of the debates and al-Shaybānī's report might therefore be authentic, that is a report from Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī.

A generation or two later, the debates had evolved considerably. In *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-maʿrifat aʿlām madhhab Mālik*, the following discussion is reported between Abū Yūsuf and Mālik ibn Anas:

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[288] Al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-āthār*. Ed. Nūr al-Dīn Ṭālib, Damascus/Beirut: Dār al-Nawādir, 2008, *Bāb al-adhān*.
[289] Al-Shaybānī, *K. al-āthār*. *Bāb al-adhān*, no. 62, p. 90.

قال أبو مصعب قال أبو يوسف لمالك تؤذنون بالترجيع وليس عندكم عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فيه حديث. فالتفت مالك إليه وقال يا سبحان الله ما رأيت أمراً أعجب من هذا ينادى على رؤوس الإشهاد في كل يوم خمس مرات يتوارثه الأبناء عن الآباء من لدن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى زماننا هذا أيحتاج فيه إلى فلان عن فلان هذا أصح عندنا من الحديث

Abū Muṣʿab said: Abū Yūsuf said to Mālik: "Do you perform the *adhān* with *tarjīʿ* [that is, repeating the *shahādah* in a loud voice after saying it in a low voice] when you do not have a *ḥadīth* [justifying this practice] from the Prophet […]?" Mālik turned towards him and said: Glory be to God! I have never seen anything more extraordinary than this! It is called out in front of witnesses five times every day. And the sons have inherited it from their fathers from the Messenger of God […] until this very day, and he needs [a report from] so-and-so from so-and-so about it. This is much more sound in our view than the *ḥadīth*.[290]

The use of a specific word (*tarjīʿ*) indicates that a terminology had developed by the time of Abū Yūsuf and Mālik ibn Anas, and disagreements had reached a new level of precision. Scholars were debating not only about the formulæ and their repetitions, but also about the right tone to pronounce these formulæ. And the different positions were defined following a precise terminology. More research in that direction would certainly lead to a new project about the different legal positions regarding the practice of the *adhān*. With the present research, it is however possible to suggest a first hypothesis. It seems that the debates started in the first/seventh century, as reflected in C2's narratives. A hundred years later, the diverse practices were firmly anchored in popular traditions and scholars were defending the local position on the topic with the narratives about the introduction of the *adhān* during lectures and debates. The practices had acquired specific names and the discussions had become increasingly specialised, which can be observed in most of the narratives of C3 and in the legal treaties presented above.

Concurrently, scholars seem to have refined *ḥadīth* transmission over time and some recurrent mechanisms could be observed in my corpus. They are likely to follow the tendency towards specialisation observable within Islamic legal writings of the second/eighth and particularly the third/ninth centuries.

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[290] ʿIyāḍ ibn Mūsá, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-maʿrifat aʿlām madhhab Mālik*. Ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Saḥrāwī, Rabat: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shuʾūn al-Islāmīya, 1981, *Bāb min akhbar Mālik raḥimah Allāh maʿ al-ʿulamāʾ wa-munāẓaratihi maʿhum*, p. 124.

3.4.5 Some transmission and collection mechanisms in *ḥadīth* literature

There are three levels of people involved in *ḥadīth* literature: the initial narrator, the transmitters, and the collectors. When it comes to the collection, there are three processes that can be observed in the *adhān* corpus. Some collectors gather more than one narrative regarding one topic, here the introduction of the *adhān*, like ʿAbd al-Razzāq or al-Bukhārī. Apparently, they are more concerned with accuracy than contradictions. It seems almost that gathering as many narratives as possible will get them closer to the historical event, like adding pixels on an image: the more there are, the less blurred is the image. This does not mean that they are not selective, as exemplified by al-Bukhārī who does not include the dream narratives in his collection. By contrast, Dārimī, Ibn Abī Shaybah and Mālik narrate only one narrative. In their collections, it would be interesting to see whether this is a constant or it is applied only to certain topics. Besides, collectors like Dārimī have attracted less attention and their collections need to be studied attentively in order to understand better how *ḥadīth* literature functions.

Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Saʿd exhibit many narratives all relating the dream-story differently, while al-Bukhārī seems to have merged several versions in his ʿUmar narrative. Yet, Ibn Saʿd merges several stories into one single recension, and at the same time, he gives many recensions of the same story. Dārimī gave only one recension, and yet it was probably a summary of one or more versions. Dārimī and Abū Dāwūd are obviously inclined to apply one mechanism of *ḥadīth* collection, while al-Bukhārī and Ibn Saʿd do not hesitate to merge some narratives and quote different versions as well, showing that mechanisms of *ḥadīth* collection are not necessarily exclusive.

Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Saʿd also appeared to be interested in the dream story exclusively. They establish an almost exhaustive collection, which follows again the pixel effect: more stories in the interest of sharper depiction. Likewise, ʿAbd al-Razzāq focuses on ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and narrated all the narratives concerned with him. Is this focus specific to the *adhān* stories or can it be traced back in other accounts narrated by ʿAbd al-Razzāq or his students? Does he have a particular interest in defending the second rightly guided caliph? Further studies on ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* might contribute to answering these questions. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gather several narratives too but coming from two different categories and without visible focus, except that they

both exclude the dream from their recensions. Since they dedicate a whole chapter to dreams in their collections, one might wonder why they exclude the dream narrative? Did they consider it as unreliable? It is impossible to answer these questions again, but further studies on these chapters on dream in *ḥadīth* literature might help us understand the stance on dreams among *ḥadīth* scholars.

At the level of the transmission, we have observed the priority given to the meaning over the literality. Some transmitters seem to have been little concerned about a *verbatim* transmission, as long as the general meaning was preserved. Thus, words like *būq* and *qarn* could be used interchangeably. Likewise, the green garment could have been added because it is only enhancing the meaning without modifying it. And for some transmitters, the *karihahu* clause is also clarifying the implicit dislike of the Prophet without adding any new information.

This prioritising is applied by transmitters who produce a summary-like version. Ibn Abī Shaybah and Mālik in particular display a unique recension of the dream story which resembles a summary compared with the others. In both cases, the summary effect can be the sign of an old recension, the details of which would have been lost over the numerous generations of transmitters. Or, it can be a real summary by one transmitter or collector who decided to give the general meaning without entering into the details of the story. This can be the strategy of a jurist, who wants to use the story as basis for a ruling, contrary to a story-teller who might be more interested in entertaining his audience than lecturing them on the legal implication of the narrative. Indeed, Mālik and Ibn Abī Shaybah are both jurist and they are concerned about law-making more than history.

At the other end of the spectrum, some narratives distinguish themselves by their high level of details, like the recensions of Ibn Hishām or Abū Dāwūd's very long versions, D1, D2 and D3. More could surely be extracted from comparative studies on specific topics across various collections. The variety of mechanisms presented here exhibit clearly the potential of such research. And their comparison could highlight particular interests. In fact, some tendencies can already be mentioned. The similarity between Al-Bukhārī and Muslim does not come as a surprise, but the proximity between Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Saʿd could probably be explored further. Similarly, Ibn Abī Shaybah's and Mālik's concise style and single narrative policy would need more case studies to be confirmed or disproved. The following table summarises these findings and pinpoints in particular

the divergence and convergence between some collections when it comes to the beginning of the *adhān*. The "x" marks the collections in which the mechanism can be found and had been highlighted in the analyses conducted in this third chapter and the empty cells indicate the absence of the mechanism in the corresponding collections.

	AR	B	D	Dar	IASh	IH	Ih	IS	MA	M	Q	T
COLLECTION												
>1 narratives per topic	x	x	x			x	x	x		x	x	x
1 narrative per topic				x	x				x			
merged narratives [1 topic, 1 narr.]		x					x	x		x		
many dif. narr. [1 topic, several narr.]			x					x				
Focus on a topic	x		x					x				
Multiple foci	x	x				x						
TRANSMISSION												
Priority to meaning over literality		x							x			
Detailed narrative			x	x			x	x				
Summary-like narr.		x	x		x				x	x		

AR=ʿAbd al-Razzāq; B=al-Bukhārī; D=Abū Dāwūd; Dar=Dārimī; IASh=Ibn Abī Shaybah; IH=Ibn Ḥanbal; Ih=Ibn Hishām; IS=Ibn Saʿd; MA=Mālik; M=Muslim; Q=Ibn Mājah; T=Tirmidhī

Table 13: Some mechanisms of ḥadīth *transmission found in the* adhān*-narratives.*

It seems to me important to study such mechanisms in order to improve our understanding of *ḥadīth* formation and transmission. Such understanding might even serve the whole debate on authenticity, which often leads to dead-end in *ḥadīth* studies, for exploring the style of collectors and transmitters could reveal their interests and idiosyncrasies. These might then serve to identify the origin of some *aḥādīth* and their modifications. All in all, this is the path that actual scholarship seems to be exploring in Islamic studies, with less all-encompassing studies like Calder's *Muslim Studies*, and more thorough studies of a specific scholar like El-Shamsy's work on al-Shāfiʿī or Görke's studies of Abu ʿUbayd's *K. al-Amwāl*. Building on the basis established by their predecessors, contemporaneous scholars open new doors and thus keep shedding light on the early Islamic history.

Yet some mystery might always remain, like the exact role of the *nāqūs* in the development of the Islamic call to prayer.

3.4.6 The *nāqūs* controversy

A look at the overall presence of the *nāqūs* across all categories and its intrinsic link with the history of the *adhān* shall close this chapter and introduces at the same time the investigation of the next chapter. In chapter four, a survey of some Muslim scholars' opinions on the use of the *nāqūs* by Christians highlights a certain evolution among Muslims from the emergence of the *adhān* proto-narrative in the first half of the first/seventh century to legal stances on this specific Christian practice from the second/eighth century onwards.

According to Sarah Bowen Savant, the past is *not* "infinitely flexible": it can only be rewritten to a certain extent.[291] The level of creativity which would have been necessary to rewrite entirely the history of the *adhān* and invent a totally fake story about a *nāqūs* being suggested as an Islamic call to prayer overtakes by far this extent. There are also more reasons for narrators to lessen the role of the Christian instrument than to add it to the story. The mention of the Prophet's dislike (*karihahu*), the use of its components (*khashabatayn*) or the bare omission of the word are all schemes to downplay the potential use of the *nāqūs* by the early Muslim community.

It remains impossible to establish the exact details of the story with the sources we have, but the *nāqūs* has most certainly played a role in the beginning of the *adhān*. After Bilāl, it is the only element that is regularly associated with the *adhān* throughout most narratives. Yet, contrary to Bilāl, the Christian instrument became a significant source of worries among Muslim jurists of the second/eighth century onwards. These jurists expressed their worries in the form of rulings, leaving us important testimony of the context in which the *adhān* narratives were circulating and to which transmitters were reacting. In fact, we find in these legal treatises a direct explanation for the *karihahu* clause and the hesitations towards the treatment of the *nāqūs* that were highlighted throughout this chapter. The evidence collected from these texts allows us to draw conclusions from the observations we made about the *aḥādīth* of the three categories and confirm the presence of the *nāqūs* in the proto-narrative. In the growing hostility towards Christians, these treatises show us that Muslims could not possibly invent a story in which companions and the Prophet himself suggested

[291] BOWEN SAVANT 2013, 168.

or used a *nāqūs* before the adoption of the *adhān*. The writings of these Muslim jurists of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries about the *nāqūs* are exposed in the following chapter.

4 Legal considerations about the *nāqūs*

We have seen in chapter 3 how the *adhān* narratives use well-known historical elements, like the role of Bilāl as first *muʾadhdhin*, to build their narratives in support of specific political agendas and religious rulings. The close textual analyses applied to this corpus allowed me to extract most of the historical elements and establish a fairly accurate distinction between original materials and later additions and modifications. These modifications appeared in a context which was considerably different from the time when Muslims felt that a *nāqūs* could serve as an Islamic call to prayer. Worries about the potential influence of the Christian communities over Muslims were expressed in various forms including jurists' writing in which restrictions of the *nāqūs* are advocated. From the Conquest onwards, these worries became increasingly prominent, and with each period of instability, "anxieties about Christian influences" were being felt and expressed.[292]

Traces of these anxieties have been highlighted in the *adhān* narratives, in the *karihahu* clause or the omission of the *nāqūs*. They echo jurists' treatises and contrast with the proto-narrative, in which it seemed natural to suggest using a Christian instrument to call Muslims to prayer. The similarity between some additions to the *adhān* narratives and the writings of jurists from the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries allow us to date approximately additions such as the *karihahu* clause. They can be traced as far back as the second/eighth century, when jurists expressed a need to regulate and thus control the Christian call to prayer. Some went as far as advocating its prohibition, even though it contradicts the attitude of the Prophet who did not seem to mind the *nāqūs* according to the majority of *adhān* narratives. Conversely, the contrast between these additions and jurists' writings on the one hand, and the neutral tone of the proto-narrative on the other reflects the time gap which separates the original materials from the later modifications. The present chapter examines the context in which the *adhān* narratives were used and modified to fit a specific social environment, anxieties, and religious debates.

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[292] RASSI 2016, 219; RASSI's work on the Seljuq period and the Mongol conquest is an excellent example in this regard. He quotes scholars like Ibn ʿArabi and Ibn Taymīyah who adopted strong positions against Christians, fearing for their potential influences. See his article "'What Does the Clapper Say?': An Interfaith Discourse on the Christian Call to Prayer by ʿAbdīshōʿ Bar Brīkhā," in: PEACOCK, Andrew C. S. & DE NICOLA, Bruno & YILDIZ, Sara Nur (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2015, 263–84.

4.1 Some general views on the *nāqūs*

In the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) mentions the *nāqūs* in two reports. The first one narrates how Khulayd ibn Saʿīd and Mālik ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Khathʿamī used to pray on Temple Mount when the *nāqūs* was struck in Jerusalem:

> حدثنا عبدالله بن محمد بن جعفر ثنا أبو بكر بن أبي راشد ثنا أبو عمر بن النحاس ثنا ضمرة عن علي قال ما ضرب الناقوس ببيت المقدس قط إلا وخليد بن سعيد قد جمع ثيابه وقام يصلي على الصخرة التي على شام الصخرة قال وما ضرب الناقوس ببلد قط إلا ومالك بن عبدالله الخثعمي قد جمع ثيابه وقام يصلي أسند علي بن أبي جملة عن نافع وعبدالله بن محيريز وعبادة بن نسى رضي الله تعالى عنهم
>
> ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar told us [that] Abū Bakr ibn Abī Rāshid told us [that] Abū ʿUmar ibn al-Naḥās told us [that] Ḍamrah told us according to ʿAlī who said whenever the *nāqūs* was struck in Jerusalem, Khulayd ibn Saʿīd would gather his garment and pray on the rock which is on the Temple Mount and he said that whenever the *nāqūs* was struck in the country Mālik ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Khathʿamī would gather his garment and pray, supported by ʿAlī ibn Abī Jamlah, according to Nāfiʿ and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maḥayrīz and ʿUbādah ibn Nasá [...].[293]

The report seems to indicate that these Muslims were praying upon hearing the Christian call to prayer or possibly the Muslims using the *nāqūs* to call, which is unlikely considering that which has been discussed in the previous chapter but cannot be excluded because of the absence of precision. Knowing that the establishment of Islamic institutions took time and the pre-Islamic way of life continued almost unchanged after the Conquest, religious practices were presumably intertwined for a while.[294] In the context of the *Ḥilyah*, which claims to contain information on the pious mystics of early Islam, starting with the four rightly guided caliphs, the *rāshidūn*, the report gives the impression that such prayer was an act of piety according to Abū Nuʿaym. At least, there are no signs of condemnation of or a negative judgement on this practice. It is the only appearance of Khulayd ibn Saʿīd and Mālik ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Khathʿamī in the *Ḥilyah*, so that it is difficult to understand the reason for their practice to be quoted here. Could it be that these two men were praying both at the Muslim and the Christian times and that this was considered as an act of great piety? In any case, the association of the *nāqūs* with the prayer reminds us

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[293] Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyāʾ*. Ed. Muṣṭafá ʿAbd al-Qādir, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1997, vol. VI, *Warajāʾ ibn Abī Salmah*, p. 92. The English translation is mine.
[294] See the quote from al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* in chap. 3.b.vii of the present work and SIJPESTEIJN 2013, 64 ss.

of its link with the *adhān* in the proto-narrative and suggests positive feelings as well as a relative acceptance towards the Christian instrument and the ritual associated to it.

The tone changes radically with the second *ḥadīth* which reports the opinion of the Kufan scholar Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. *c.* 161/777):

> حدثنا أحمد بن جعفر ثنا أحمد بن علي الأبار ثنا إبراهيم ثنا ضمرة قال قلت لسفيان الثوري أي شيء أقول إذا سمعت صوت الناقوس قال أي شيء تقول إذا ضرط الحمار
>
> Aḥmad ibn Jaʿfar told us [that] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Abār told us [that] Ibrāhīm told us [that] Ḍamrah said [that] she asked Sufyān al-Thawrī 'what shall I say if I hear the sound of the *nāqūs*?', he [Sufyān] answered 'what would you say if you hear [an] ass farting?'[295]

The metaphor suggests that one should not pay attention to the *nāqūs*, it announces something unpleasant for Muslims, mainly Christians gathering for their religious service, but it has as much significance as an ass' fart. Nevertheless, in his choice of comparison, Sufyān expresses a certain dislike for the *nāqūs*, probably for both what it is and what it implies. The sound he chose as comparison with the *nāqūs* is in fact revealing of a dismissive attitude towards the Christian ritual, and by extrapolation, the Christians in general.

The contrast between these two narratives is striking. It might indicate two non-exclusive positions: geographical and/or temporal. A regional animosity can be attributed to Kufa, Sufyān's city, as opposed to Jerusalem. And, if we consider that the first narrative represents an early point of view, and the second reflects its evolution in the second/eighth century, then we can observe an increasing animosity over time, soaring after the Conquest. This is confirmed by the jurists' writings exposed below.

A conclusion can already be drawn with some certainty: the *nāqūs* continued to be struck long after the Conquest and the two narratives presented above indicate that when jurists reflected on the *nāqūs* and its usage, they were not simply producing intellectual reflections on hypothetical problems, but rather addressing a recurrent issue. We even have later confirmation of this enduring usage. In his doctoral thesis, Rassi evokes the "rigorist" position adopted, a few centuries later, by

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[295] Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyah*, vol. VI, *Sufyān al-Thawrī*, p. 379. The English translation is mine.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 751/1350), who advocates the total prohibition of the *nāqūs*.[296] In the same period, Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328) criticised the use of the *nāqūs* in Christian festivals "particularly in cases where Muslims partake in such festivities".[297] And in the *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), the *nāqūs* continues to be a source of concern.[298]

Most authors disapproved of the use of the *nāqūs*, and some jurists even condemned it, yet, the *nāqūs* kept being struck. Why was it not forbidden if it was such a source of discomfort for Muslims? A possible explanation for the preservation of the Christian ritual might be found in the Conquest treaties. When it comes to regulate Muslim-Christian relationships, jurists often referred to these treaties. Antrim had already noticed such tendency among geographers who also "preferred information mediated by earlier authorities over [their] own observations."[299] Likewise, jurists felt the need to base their reflections on the rulings established by the companions, even though they were facing different circumstances. The only leeway was provided to them by the contradictory statements encompassed in these treaties. At the time of the Conquest, it was more important to find viable solutions, than to strengthen the legal framework of the Muslim community through a consistent set of rulings. This task was left to later generations, whose main concern became the establishment of a coherent legal system.

4.2 Conquest treaties

Once a population had surrendered, the Muslim conquerors were facing difficult questions. Was diversity to be preserved, constrained or prevented? More specifically, when it comes to Christians, should they be allowed to practice their religion in broad daylight? What would justify any restrictions on Christian rituals? To which extent could important rituals be restricted without fostering dangerous rebellions, wars and bloodshed? On the one hand, Muslims wanted to conform to the Prophet's legacy as it was recalled, on the other, their circumstances had been changing

[296] RASSI 2016, 217-220.
[297] RASSI 2016, 219.
[298] See RASSI 2016, 216. A quick research in al-Qalqashandī's work shows twelve mentions of the *nāqūs*, often pertaining to the Christian instrument drowning out the *adhān*, see Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Kitāb ṣubḥ al-aʿshá*. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Khudaywīyah, 1922, vol. VI, p. 527 or vol. VII, p. 348, *inter alia*.
[299] Zayde ANTRIM, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013, 72.

considerably since the Prophet's time and in certain cases it seemed almost impossible to reconcile the Prophet's or Companions' attitudes with concerns or perceived needs of the ruler and the population. Furthermore, these past examples were not always homogeneous, and they did contain contradictions. Such contradictions are reflected in the Conquest treaties, which jurists used as a base for their rulings regarding the non-Muslim subjects long after the Conquest. None of these treaties has been preserved. We only possess recensions in later historical or legal accounts. Yet, scholars like Milka Levy-Rubin suggest that these recensions stand apart in these later sources and contain historical elements dating back to the time of the Conquest.[300] In her book *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire*, she analyses such 'surrender agreements', notably the 'Pact of ʿUmar' or *Shūrūṭ ʿUmar*. She dissects the pre-Islamic tradition of diplomacy in a wide range of non-Islamic as well as Islamic sources, compares the terminology, the content and the structure, and argues convincingly that "there is in fact good reason to acknowledge their validity".[301]

Such treaties had already been the subject of a study by Donald Routledge Hill in *The termination of hostilities in the early Arab conquests, A.D. 634-656*.[302] Having coded the information given in the primary sources according to specific criteria,[303] Hill develops a simple program to analyse the data and present them in comprehensive sections arranged according to his specifically defined types or 'tags'. With the successful completion of the the first aim of his study – "to present in a form readily available for reference the data given in the […] treaties" – we gained a useful tool for anyone wanting to look at this collection of reports from a wide range of different sources.[304] His second aim, however, which consists in the evaluation of the data, yields less convincing results, for his analysis lacks a thorough assessment of the authenticity of the reports in particular and the sources in general. He also focuses on Islamic sources, often ignoring possible cross-references with non-Islamic sources, which have been proven to be extremely valuable in Levy-Rubin's study. Finally,

[300] LEVY-RUBIN 2011.
[301] LEVY-RUBIN 2011, 10 and ss, and 32.
[302] HILL 1971.
[303] See HILL 1971, 2.
[304] HILL 1971, 1.

he does not leave enough room for the interpretation of his findings, such as the contradictions between the treaties.

Having examined all these treaties, I have found fifteen concessions – or types thereof –, granted to the conquered peoples for the payment of taxes.[305] Although life and possessions are the main protections, almost always included in the treaties, customs and rituals do get their share in the negotiation.[306]

Seven rituals have thus been extracted, which were allegedly protected by treaties at the time of the Conquest. These are:

nawāqīs (or *nāqūs*),

ṣulbān (crosses),

rāyāt (flags) and *bunūd* (banners),

ṣibghah (baptism),

bāʿūth (celebration of Eastern Monday),

zafan (dances),

ṣalawāt and *millah* or *dīn* (prayers or religious services).

Interestingly, the *nāqūs* figures in the list. I have already pointed out how difficult it is to conceive that the *nāqūs* could have been added in the *adhān* narratives *after* Muḥammad's death because of the growing animosity towards Christians. Similarly, the *nāqūs* could not be added in these treaties by the late authors who were reporting them. Besides, Milka Levy-Rubin has noticed in her study that clauses allowing the defeated population to preserve their customs were common in pre-Islamic treaties.[307] This long tradition, to which Conquest treaties belong, is, according to Levy-Rubin, a sign of authenticity. Thus, the treaties are likely to give us a relatively accurate description of the reality of the time at which they were concluded.[308] Another argument in favour

[305] These concessions are: protection of life, protection from eviction, protection of women, children, possessions, lands, houses, city walls, wells, mills, churches, crosses and other worship places, and customs, absence of tax increase, defence against the enemy, and freedom (protection from slavery).
[306] See the summary table in appendix 4.
[307] See LEVY-RUBIN 2011, 35.
[308] See LEVY-RUBIN 2011, 165: "[t]here is [...] not only no reason to doubt the reports regarding the specific surrender agreements adduced by the Muslim sources, but there is sound ground to support their acceptance as authentic documents which reflect an established procedure of surrender."

of the authentic character of the treaties is their variety: treaties differ from one place to another and occasionally even contradict each other.[309] This would probably not have been so flagrant if the treaties had been rewritten or even composed in later periods. Finally, the continuous use of the *nāqūs* clearly indicates that Christians had been allowed to strike it in many cities of the Islamic realm.

Yet, even if doubts remain on the reliability of this set of primary sources, the important point here is the fact that jurists from the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries refer to them in the form we see them today and because they are quite different, they also reach different conclusions.

4.2.1 Contradicting clauses in Conquest treaties

In Hill's selection of treaties, fourteen contain clauses protecting or condemning rituals. Only three forbid some rituals, either totally or all the time 'but once a year'. The eleven remaining clauses are protecting the mainly Christian rituals.[310] The *nāqūs* is mentioned four times, and it is twice among the restricted rituals, along with the flags or banners, the celebration of Easter Monday and the cross. The following table summarises this information on the ritual clauses, indicating the place concerned by the treaty, the source and the reference in Hill's work.

[309] See LEVY-RUBIN 2011, 58 ss., 103 ss., 164 ss.

[310] Jews and even more Zoroastrians are rarely mentioned in the Conquest treaties contrary to the Christians. This reflects the early years of Islam, when "Christianity […] clearly had the greatest reach", HOYLAND, *In God's Path: The Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire*. *Ancient Warfare and Civilization.* Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, 14.

Place	Source	Rituals	Hill's ref.
Syria	Abū Yūsuf	**no** *nāqūs*, **no** flags, but once a year	No 185, p. 74
ʿĀnāh	Abū Yūsuf	*nāqūs* anytime except Muslim prayers and crosses out during feasts	No 202, p. 86
Ḥīrah	Abū Yūsuf	*nāqūs* and crosses	No 297, p. 109
Banū Taghlib	Abū ʿUbayd	**no** baptism	No 227, p. 92
Raqqah	Balādhurī	**no** *nāqūs*, **no** celebration on Easter Monday, **no** cross in public	No 219, p. 90-1
Tiflis	Balādhurī	prayers (صلوات) and faith (دين)	No 489, p. 162
Adharbayjān	Balādhurī	dancing	No 461, p. 150
Adharbayjān	Ṭabarī	religions (ملل) and customary laws (شرائعهم)	No 468, p. 151
Māh Bahrādhān	Ṭabarī	religion (ملّه) and laws (شرائعهم)	No 394, p. 128
Qūmis	Ṭabarī	religious community (ملل) or religion or creed	No 469, p. 151
Dihistān Jurjān	Ṭabarī	religions (ملل) and customary laws (شرائعهم)	No 470, p. 152
al-Bāb	Ṭabarī	religion (ملّه)	No 471, p. 152
Mūqān	Ṭabarī	religion (ملّه) and laws (شرائعهم)	No 472, p. 152

Table 14: Clauses on rituals in the Conquest treaties.

In the *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, al-Balādhurī (d. *c.* 279/892) wrote that the people of Raqqah were prevented from exposing publicly or making apparent their *nāqūs* (*lā yuẓhirū nāqūsan*).[311] Was this a way to indirectly proscribe the *nāqūs*, for what could be the use of the instrument if it were not public? It seems that there is here a hidden way to forbid the Christian instrument without stating it explicitly. We have however one example of a clear interdiction with the Banū Taghlib, a powerful tribe of Christian Arabs from Upper Mesopotamia. In his *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, Abū ʿUbayd ibn Sallām (d. 224/838) narrates that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb concluded a treaty (*ṣulḥ*) with the Banū Taghlib on the condition *inter alia* that they would not baptise their children, *lā yaṣbighū ṣibyānahum*.[312] Baptism is here forbidden without any doubts and the contrast with *lā yuẓhirū nāqūsan* highlights the more lenient stance taken on the *nāqūs* of the people of Raqqah.

These two examples already show the lack of uniformity across treaties. The reasons behind this diversity lie in the fact that conquerors thought necessary to adapt their reactions to each situation. They must have deemed necessary to treat differently the people of Raqqah and the Banū Taghlib. Since the Banū Taghlib were a powerful Christian tribe of Arab origins who resisted the

[311] Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 1987, *Futūḥ al-Jazīrah*, 239.
[312] Abū ʿUbayd ibn Sallām, *Kitāb Al-amwāl*. Ed. Abū Anas Sayyid ibn Rajab, al-Mansurah: Dār al-Hādī al-Nabawī, 2007, *Kitāb sunan al-fayʾ wa-l-khums wa-l-ṣadaqah wa-hiya al-amwāl allatī talīhā al-aʾimmah li-l-raʿīyah*, *Bāb akhdh al-jizyah minʿarb ahl al-kitāb*, no. 72, p. 73.

Muslims fiercely, they might have represented a greater threat than the people of Raqqah. Also, the *nāqūs* is not mentioned in relation to the Banū Taghlib. Perhaps, as a nomadic tribe, they were not using the *nāqūs*, or they were not settled in a city and could not disturb the Muslim prayer with the sound of their *nāqūs*. These discrepancies between treaties are used by Abū Yūsuf who selected the most lenient clauses in order to allow Christians to practice their religion, at least to a certain extent.

4.3 Abū Yūsuf

In the *Kitāb al-kharāj*, Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) mentions that a treaty was concluded with the Christians of Syria (*shām*) on the condition that they "would not strike their *nawāqīs* before the *adhān* of the Muslim or at the time of their *adhān*" (*lā yaḍribū nawāqīsahum qabla adhāni al-muslimīn wa lā fī awqāti adhānihim*).[313] The clause is more precise than the one mentioned by al-Balādhurī, yet it is still unclear whether it meant to forbid the usual use of the *nāqūs* or to impose a more lenient restriction, which does not entail the complete prohibition of the instrument but protects Muslims at the same time from its nuisances. In fact, it could imply that the *nāqūs* was not allowed as a call to prayer but was tolerated during the service, perhaps indoors and not outdoors.

The clause concerning the Christians of ʿĀnāh contains an even more lenient restriction imposed by Khālid ibn al-Walīd (d. 21/642). The population of this city is granted the status of *dhimmī* on the condition that it would strike the *nawāqīs* at any time, day and night, except during the [Muslim] prayers, *ʿalā an yaḍribū nawāqīsa fī ayy sāʿahi shāʾū min layli aw nahāri illā fī awqāti al-ṣalawāti*.[314] The *nāqūs* is restricted but not proscribed.

Finally, in al-Ḥīrah, Khālid ibn al-Walīd was generous and Christians were not restricted at all, the clause even says that they should *not* be prevented from using their *nawāqīs*, *wa-lā yumnaʿūn min ḍarbi al-nawāqīsi*.[315] These three clauses all included in the same chapter of the *Kitāb al-kharāj* illustrate the great variations from one treaty to another, and from one army general to another. Additionally, they show that the *nāqūs* was an object of concern which could potentially disturb the

[313] Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb, *Kitāb al-kharāj*. Köln: Al-Kamel Verlag, 2009, *faṣl fī al-kanāʾis wa-l-biyaʿ wa-l-ṣulbān*, 166.
[314] Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-kharāj*, 176.
[315] Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-kharāj*, 176.

Islamic call to prayer or the prayer itself. It was probably not regulated in places where Muslims did not settle, but when the *nāqūs* could distract Muslims, then it was restricted, if not partially forbidden.

The chapter in which these clauses are found is located towards the end of the *Kitāb al-kharāj*. It is concerned with "churches, monasteries and crosses" (*faṣl fī al-kanāʾisi wa-l-biyaʿi wa-l-ṣulbāni*).[316] In its introduction, Abū Yūsuf says that he is replying to a question addressed to him by the ruler (*amīr al-muʾminīn*) on why there were still monasteries and churches in the Islamic realm and why (Christian) people were allowed to exhibit their crosses on feast days. The question reveals a potential worry about the visible presence of Christians and their religious practices. The *qāḍī* answers the question with an explanation about the historical reasons for this situation, referring to authoritative figures, famous historians, eye-witnesses and companions, and finally, he engages in a rhetorical justification for the preservation of the *status quo*.

Abū Yūsuf quotes several treaties mainly concluded by Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 18/639) and Khālid ibn al-Walīd during the caliphates of Abū Bakr (r. 11/632-13/634) and ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13/634-23/644). To support his historical arguments, he refers to 'authorities' in short *asānīd*, such as Makḥūl al-Shāmī (d. *c*. 115/733) when it comes to the conquest of Syria, *al-Shām*, or Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, who narrated the conquests of Khālid ibn al-Walīd. He shows the different approaches adopted by the two army generals. Abū ʿUbaydah imposed first restrictive conditions, forbidding the Christians of Syria from taking out their banners (*rāyāt*) on their feast days. And then, he agreed to lighten the condition, when the Christians asked to be allowed to exhibit their crosses once a year for their great festival. Khālid ibn al-Walīd seems to have been slightly more lenient by occasionally restricting the use of the *nāqūs* and only when it was disturbing the Muslims.

With these examples, Abū Yūsuf stresses the rather tolerant attitude of the conquerors, who were supported by the caliph. Indeed, letters from ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb are quoted in support of his generals. Furthermore, several verses of the Qurʾān are used to reinforce the righteousness of the decision taken and root it in the most solid ground, namely the Holy Book.[317]

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[316] Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-kharāj*, 165-178.
[317] Q. 9:29 and 59: 6-8 & 9.

Abū Yūsuf adds to the discussion his own reasoning and interpretation of the historical events he has chosen:

> وَإِنَّمَا كَانَ أَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ يُجِيبُهُمْ إِلَى الصُّلْحِ عَلَى هَذِهِ الشَّرَائِطِ وَيُعْطِيهِمْ مَا سَأَلُوا يُرِيدُ بِذَلِكَ تَأَلُّفَهُمْ، وَلْيَسْمَعْ بِهِمْ غَيْرُهُمْ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمُدُنِ الَّتِي لَمْ يَطْلُبْ أَهْلُهَا الصُّلْحَ فَيُسَارِعُوا إِلَى طَلَبِ الصُّلْحِ
>
> And when Abū ʿUbaydah [ibn al-Jarrāḥ] imposed the treaty (*ṣulḥ*) under such conditions and granted them what they asked for, he wanted thereby their good will so that other [people] from the cities whose residents had not [yet] requested a treaty would hear of them.[318]

Abū Yūsuf interprets Abū ʿUbaydah's tolerant gesture as a strategy to avoid battles and fights. Populations who would hear from such a lenient treaty should feel encouraged to renounce fighting and accept Muslim dominion. But it was more than a war strategy, it also entailed a social purpose, according to Abū Yūsuf:

> أَرَأَيْتَ لَوْ أَخَذْنَا أَهْلَهَا فاقتسمناهم مَا كَانَ لِمَنْ يَأْتِي مِنْ بَعْدِنَا مِنَ الْمُسلمين وَالله مَا كَانُوا يَجِدُونَ إِنْسَانًا يُكَلِّمُونَهُ وَلا يَنْتَفِعُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ ذَاتِ يَدِهِ
>
> Do you not think that if we were to take their people and divide them among ourselves, there would be nothing [left] for those Muslims who come after us? By God, there would be no human being left with whom they could speak and they could not benefit in any way from their wealth.[319]

Abū Yūsuf predicts that this sterile situation would have continued from generation to generation, if it were not for the tolerant stance adopted in the treaties and recommended by the Qurʾān. For the Qurʾān commands the fight against unbelievers only until they pay the tax. Once they agree to do so, fights must cease, reminds Abū Yūsuf.[320] Consequently, the *qāḍī* advises his ruler to guarantee the preservation of these treaties and prevent Muslims from treating unjustly or harming the Christians (*min ẓulmihim wa-l-iḍrār bihim*). He insists one more time towards the end of the chapter on the preservation of the *status quo*, introduced and preserved by the four rightly guided caliphs.[321]

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[318] Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharāj*, 167. The English translation is mine.
[319] Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharāj*, 169. The English translation is mine.
[320] Q. 9:29: "Fight those who do not believe in Allāh [...] until they pay the tax".
[321] Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-kharāj*, 176:
قال أبو يوسف: ولست أرى أن يهدم شيء مما جرى عليه الصلح ولا يحول وأن يمضي الأمر فيها على ما أمضاه أبو بكر وعمر وعثمان وعلي.

Despite all the reasons Abū Yūsuf gives in favour of a certain tolerance towards Christians, other scholars do not adopt his lenient position and approach religious diversity with a different stance.

4.4 Al-Shāfiʿī and al-Muzanī

In *Kitāb al-umm*, al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) mentions the *nāqūs* in a chapter about the *jihād* and the *jizyah*.[322] Like Abū Yūsuf, he starts the chapter with some historical context, and refers abundantly to the Qurʾān and Muḥammad, even more so than Abū Yūsuf did. He thus stresses the divine origin of the *jihād* and the *jizyah* through their apparition in the sacred book and their application by the Prophet. Building on these two main sources of his legal reflection, al-Shāfiʿī adopts a restrictive position regarding the *nāqūs*, for he simply advocates its prohibition. He insists five times on this point: First in a subchapter about how to write an agreement on the *jizyah*, *Idhā arād al-imām an yaktub kitāb ṣulḥ ʿalá al-jizyah*.[323] He provides the *imām* with an agreement-sample containing all the conditions to impose on the Christians, among which it is stipulated that the *nāqūs* should not be struck: *wa-lā taḍrabū bi-nāqūs*.[324] Al-Shāfiʿī's conditions are far more numerous than what was allegedly the case in Conquest treaties as they were preserved in historians' writings. This level of details suggests a longer encounter with Christians and the confrontation with problems which were not necessarily the priority for the Muslim conquerors of the first/seventh century, such as marriages and the payment of blood money. The concern about the *nāqūs* evolves as well from light restriction to complete prohibition.

In a following chapter on what can be taken from *ahl al-dhimmah* in the garrison towns, *taḥdīdu al-imāmi mā yaʾkhuda min ahli al-dhimmahi fī al-amṣāri*, al-Shāfiʿī repeats four times the strict prohibition of the *nāqūs*, its sound, *lā ṣawt nāqūs*, or its exhibition.[325] And he goes a step further:

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[322] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Al-umm*. Vol. 4, *K. al-jihād wa-l-jizyah*, pp. 361 ss.
[323] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Al-umm*. Vol. 4, *K. al-jihād wa-l-jizyah*, (42) *Idhā arād al-imām an yaktub kitāb ṣulḥ ʿalá al-jizyah*, pp. 471 ss.
[324] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Al-umm*. Vol. 4, *K. al-jihād wa-l-jizyah*, (42) *Idhā arād al-imām an yaktub kitāb ṣulḥ ʿalá al-jizyah*, p. 473.
[325] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Al-umm*. Vol. IV, (43) *K. al-jizyah ʿalá shayʾ min amwālihim*, pp. 479 ss. and *taḥdīd al-imām mā yaʾkhud min ahl al-dhimmah fī al-amṣār*, pp. 493 ss.

وإن أظهروا ناقوسا أو اجتمعت لهم جماعات أو تهيئوا بهيئة نهاهم عنها تقدم إليهم في ذلك فإن عادوا عاقبهم

> If they exhibit a *nāqūs* or a group of them meets or they prepare a group to fight, he [should] prevent them from doing so, and oppose them in this regard, and if they come back to it, he [should] punish them.[326]

With the mention of a punishment, it becomes clear that the jurist intends to prevent Christians from striking their *nāqūs* once and for all. This means that the Conquest treaties had given enough – too much according to al-Shāfiʿī – leeway to Christians to continue striking their *nāqūs*. In Baghdad, it was obviously creating tensions, which Abū Yūsuf addresses with tolerance and possible light restrictions. In Egypt, al-Shāfiʿī prefers to remove the cause of the problem and suppresses thus the tensions, from a Muslim perspective at least.

In his commentary (*mukhtaṣar*) of the *Kitāb al-umm,* al-Muzanī (d. 264/877) exposes his understanding of al-Shāfiʿī's position. He mentions the *nāqūs* only once and explains:

ولا يسمعونهم ضرب ناقوس وإن فعلوا عزروا ولا يبلغ بهم الحد

> They should not let them hear the *nāqūs* being struck and if they do so they should be reprimanded, but not excessively.[327]

It is difficult to assess whether al-Muzanī tempers his master's recommendation in order to protect Christians from ongoing or hypothetical severe punishment. Yet, we observe between the *K. al-umm* and the *Mukhtaṣar*, a similar problematic to the one analysed in Abū Yūsuf's *K. al-kharāj*: the striking of the *nāqūs* reminded the Muslims of the Christians' presence and their faith in their practices of the religion. It might have been perceived as a rejection of Islam and those who feel threatened by this presence ask jurists about means to restrain if not its existence at least its prominence. Like the Muslim conquerors about a century before, scholars disagree on the way to address the issue and express different opinions, perpetuating to some extent the diversity of views

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[326] Al-Shāfiʿī, *Al-umm*. Vol. IV, (43) *K. al-jizyah ʿalá shayʾan min amwālihim*, *taḥdīdu al-imāmi mā yaʾkhuda min ahli al-dhimmahi fī al-amṣāri*, p. 495. The English translation is mine.
[327] al-Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 363. The English translation is mine.

which had been generated by the various Conquest treaties. The last example of Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Rāhwayh supports further this observation.

4.5 Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Rāhwayh

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) also bears witness of the problematic presence of Christians among Muslims. His sons, Ṣāliḥ and ʿAbd Allāh, both reported in their recension of the *Masāʾil* that Aḥmad was in favour of restraining Christian freedom in Muslim cities. But when it comes to the *nāqūs*, Ibn Ḥanbal specifies that the prohibition of the *nāqūs* is only possible as long as it does not contradict a treaty previously concluded with the Christian population: *wa-lā yaḍrabū fīh* [i.e. *fī miṣr*] *bi-nāqūs illā mā kāna lahum ṣulḥ*.[328] In the present context, the sentence added regarding the *nāqūs* makes it clear that Ibn Ḥanbal is aware of a clause in some treaties allowing Christians to use their *nāwāqīs*. Contrary to al-Shāfiʿī, he aligns himself with Abū Yūsuf and recommends respecting the treaties, even when the latter contradict his stance on the *nāqūs*.

In the recension of Isḥāq ibn Manṣūr al-Kawsaj al-Marwazī (d. 251/865), Ibn Ḥanbal expresses the same judgement in other words. He is directly asked whether Christians should be allowed to expose the crosses or to strike the *nāqūs*, and he replied: *laysa lahum an yuẓhirū shayʾan lam yakun fī ṣulḥihim*, they are not allowed to display anything which is not in their treaty.[329] This recension of the *Masāʾil* also contains the *responsa* of Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh (d. 238/853). To the same question, he gives the following answer:

> ليس لهم أن يظهروا الصليب أصلاً لما نهى عمر ابن الخطاب رضي الله عنه عن ذلك ويقولون إن إظهارنا الصليب إنما هو دعاء ندعوكم إلى ديننا فيمنعون أشد المنع
>
> They are not allowed to display the cross at all since ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb [...] forbade that, for they say: Our displaying of the cross is only an invitation in which we invite you to our religion; therefore they are forbidden (to do so) most strongly.[330]

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[328] Ibn Ḥanbal & Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad, *Masāʾil al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal bi-riwāyat Abī al-Faḍl Ṣāliḥ*. Ed. Faḍl al-Raḥmān Dīn Muḥammad, Delhi: Dār al-ʿUlmīyah, 1988, *min aḥkām ahl al-dhimmah*, 747, pp. 186 ss. And Ibn Ḥanbal & ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, *Masāʾil al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal bi-riwāyat ibnihi ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad.* Ed. Abū al-Ashbāl Aḥmad ibn Sālim al-Maṣrī, al-Mansurah: Dār al-Ta'sīl and Dār al-Mawaddah, 2008, *ahl al-dhimmah yuḥdithūn al-bayʿ wa-l-kanāʾis wa-ghayr dhālik*, 923, p. 228.
[329] Ibn Ḥanbal & Ibn Rāhwayh, *Kitāb al-Masā'il*. Vol. III, p. 413, ch. 3329. The English translation is mine.
[330] Ibn Ḥanbal & Ibn Rāhwayh, *Kitāb al-Masā'il*. Vol. 3, p. 413, ch. 3329. The English translation is mine.

The specific mention of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb seems to indicate that Ibn Rāhwayh is referring to one treaty in particular. He most probably agrees with Ibn Ḥanbal, for he does not contradict him, yet in his view, it is important to provide an exact reference to the treaty which ought to serve as legal basis for such question, that is most likely the one attributed to ʿUmar and known as the *Shurūṭ ʿUmar*, which seemed to have been very popular in the third/ninth century.[331] This would explain why Ibn Rāhwayh quotes ʿUmar and the cross in his answer, omitting the *nāqūs*, for some versions of the *Shurūṭ* do not contain the *nāqūs*, as for instance al-Ṭurṭūshī's (d. 520/1126) recension.[332] It also reflects the need felt by some jurists to have a uniform ruling system concerning the Christians living among them instead of the "inconsistent and sometimes contradictory body of documents" left by the first Muslim conquerors.[333]

By referring to a specific treaty, Ibn Rāhwayh limits the confusion and the variety of rulings otherwise possible if jurists were to follow any Conquest treaties. He justifies his restrictive approach with the authority of a respected figure and by exploiting popular fear of Christian proselytising power, when he explains the reason why, according to him, Christians want to display their cross.

Such fears were fairly common in Muslims' writings and most probably, Ibn Ḥanbal agreed with Ibn Rāhwayh. He formulated his answer with less precision, but he clearly emphasised the restriction that should be imposed on Christians. Furthermore, he alluded to the danger of Christian proselytising power in other instances, like, for example, when he was asked whether Muslims can be present in the market during a festival (presumably a non-Muslim one). He replied that, as long as the Muslims did not enter the church or the synagogue (*bayʿatahum*) there was no objection to that (*lā baʾsa*).[334] His answer suggests that Muslims could be in danger if they were to enter such non-Islamic place of worship. In fact, Morony had noticed that "the ordinary faithful in their everyday relations with the members of other religions" tended to disregard religious rulings established by legal authorities, "especially through commerce and participation in each other's

[331] See LEVY-RUBIN 2011, 166.
[332] See the translation of and reference to the source text in LEVY-RUBIN 2011, 171 ss.
[333] LEVY-RUBIN 2011, 165 and on the legal debate over the *dhimmī* pp. 58 ss.
[334] Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Khallāl, *Aḥkām ahl al-milal min al-jāmiʿ li-masā'il Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*. Ed. Sayyid Kisrawī Ḥasan, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2002, 49.

religious festivals."[335] And Ibn Ḥanbal was right to doubt the indifference of Muslim believers *vis-à-vis* other faiths. Muslims did believe in the power of Christian rituals.

Seth Kimmel gives an example of Muslim faith in Christian conversion powers in a talk delivered at Stanford University, during which he describes the forced conversions organised in Spain after the Reconquista.[336] Muslims were locked into churches and splashed with holy water. One would think that Muslims who are 'baptised' in a church, but consider themselves to be Muslims, remain so, at least from their perspective. In fact, why would Muslims believe in the power of Christian holy water? But Muslims would not stay still and receive the water, showing their indifference. On the contrary, they tried to run away and avoid the water, presumably believing that it could have an effect on them and on their faith. Another similar example was analysed by David Taylor who has shown how some Muslims of the Jazīrah would use baptism to protect their children while preserving their Muslim faith.[337] Those Muslims were then believing in the "spiritual protection" that "Christian baptismal rite" could offer to them without their becoming Christian.[338]

As for the *nāqūs*, it was not clear whether it belonged to these Christian symbols and rituals with transcendental powers. Some saw in it a source of religious inspiration when it came to establish an Islamic call to prayer. Others considered it as an annoying or unpleasant sound. And finally, it became a potential danger for the Muslim community according to those who advocated its regulation or prohibition.

Summary of the findings

The various opinions presented in this chapter reflect the challenges that Muslim lawmakers and legal theorists were facing when they had to adapt an increasingly rigid legal basis, that is the

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[335] MORONY 1984, 520.
[336] Seth KIMMEL, *The Legibility of Ritual at the end of Al-Andalus*, talk delivered on 18.01.2012 at Stanford University and available on iTunesU: https://itunes.apple.com/us/itunes-u/abbasi-program-in-islamic/id384456828?mt=10 (last consulted on 26 October 2017).
[337] David TAYLOR, "The Syriac Baptism of St John: A Christian Ritual of Protection for Muslim Children," in: HOYLAND, Robert (ed.), *The Late Antique World of Early Islam: Muslims Among Christians and Jews in the East Mediterranean*. Princeton: Darwin Press, 2015, 431-455.
[338] TAYLOR 2015, 431.

Prophetic *sunnah*, to a constantly evolving society. The flexibility that the development of adapted legislation requires was difficult to achieve with the crystallisation of the legal sources.

As a Christian symbol and an important ritual, the *nāqūs* seems to have benefitted from the protection granted by some Conquest treaties, which allowed it to survive the Muslim takeover so that it continued being struck throughout the Middle Age in many parts of the Islamic realm. Some Muslim scholars, notably Abū Yūsuf, are concerned about preserving the tradition established by their famous predecessors. In their cases, this tradition is therefore used to convince the Muslims, annoyed by the instrument or worried about its power or its symbolic presence, that if the Prophet and his companions had respected it, they should follow the example and bear its nuisance. As Sufyān al-Thawrī said, the *nāqūs* was just an unpleasant noise, nothing else. But was it really?

Muslims and Christians belong to the category defined by Eliade as the "*homo religiosus*" who constantly live in a sacralised cosmos.[339] Rituals, especially the repetitive ones, partook in rooting the *homo religiosus* in this sacralised cosmos and allowed the performers to come closer to the divine. Even though Muslims wished they could consider the *nāqūs* as an unpleasant noise, they were unable to do so because they originated in a Judeo-Christian sacralised cosmos, knew its idiosyncrasies and believed to a certain extent in its divine connection. Like the Muslims in Spain who tried to avoid being touched by the holy water that Christian priests were splashing on them, those who heard the *nāqūs* understood that it was much more than a noise. They knew what it meant for Christians, the strengthening power it had in their belief, and somehow, they believed in it as well, albeit differently. In a way, Muslims belonged to this cosmos, only in its Islamic form, which was the original religion from a Muslim perspective, or a perversion of the original faith according to Jews and Christians. Because of the great number of similarities between Islam and the other monotheistic religions, Muslims were forced to invest considerable efforts to distinguish themselves from the Other. Yet, Islam, as it started, did not facilitate their task.

In her last book, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran*, Patricia Crone describes early Islam as "a set of propositions detachable from the ethnic context in which they were first

[339] Mircea ELIADE, *Le sacré et le profane*. Paris: Gallimard, 1987, 20-22.

formulated."[340] As such, it could be exported and adopted by many people in the vast conquered lands, regardless of their cultural context or their religious backgrounds. This set of propositions was malleable and therefore easy to adopt by different people. Yet it was also difficult to control: where were the limits? Who could be refused or expelled? Gradually, norms were moulded to set the borders of a distinctive Muslim "ethnie".[341] Like any ethnic identities, it "had to be exclusive, because the privileges of ethnic rule could not be shared indefinitely, and at the same time open enough to accommodate those who had recently been won over or even those whose support might be desirable in the future."[342] Norms became the pillars that facilitated the creation of a strong sense of belonging distinctive from the Other and able to forge loyalties towards the community, and by extrapolation, towards its purportedly representative leaders.

Islamic rituals seem to have played a preponderant role in this development phase. Simple, voluntarily distinctive and considerably repetitive, these rituals were successfully established in the early community, before norms were implemented, for "the maintenance of the constant element in the tradition is supported by religious practice" such as religious rituals.[343] Thus religious rituals pertain to the "main elements of collective continuity and cultural distinctiveness", which sustain ethnies in disrupting times.[344] The repetitive *adhān*, occurring several times a day across the wide Islamic territory, is surely one of these rituals. It must have given a powerful sense of belonging to the Muslim populations and a strong impression of continuity over time amidst the turbulences of the early Islamic history.

As element of continuity and distinctiveness, the *adhān* resembles the lands examined by Zayde Antrim in *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World*. It had diversified early enough to allow certain communities, groups or cities to follow their own practice

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[340] Patricia CRONE, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 176.
[341] Anthony D. SMITH, *The Antiquity of Nations*. Cambridge/Malden: Polity, 2004, 131. SMITH defines "ethnie" as "a named community whose members share common myths of ancestry and memories, elements of common culture, and some measure of solidarity, at least among the élites."
[342] Walter POHL & Helmut REIMITZ (eds), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of the Ethnic Communities, 300-800*. Leiden: Brill, 1998, 6.
[343] SHILS 1981, 95.
[344] SMITH 2004, 19.

while still feeling a connection with those who practiced it differently. Like lands according to Antrim, it answers to Muslims' "broader aspiration to a heterogeneous, but nonetheless unified, vision of the Islamic *umma*, or worldwide community of Muslims".[345] Antrim argues that this 'aspiration' eventually led to "pluralistic forms of belonging", which became possible, especially in times of great political and social turmoil, thanks to the "attachment to a land" and the "sense of connectivity" it created.[346] This connectivity was undoubtedly strengthened by rituals such as the *adhān*. In this sense, the Islamic call to prayer works like a homeland: anyone could grow an attachment to it and find in it comforting stability. For the Conquest was a time of 'great political and social turmoil', marked notably by the death of the Prophet, the *fitnah*, followed soon after by the Abbasid takeover. In these chaotic times, Antrim explains, the lands – stable, unchanged – offered stability and constancy.[347] So did constant, repetitive rituals, which were furthermore perceived as the legacy of the Prophet. Hence Sunnī, Shīʿī, and others could all announce the prayer, pray, fast or perform the pilgrimage in ways that were identified as Islamic despite their disagreements and oppositions.

Under this light, the *adhān* appears as much more than a simple call. It represents an ethnie, an expression of the Muslim identity, with which individuals could identify precisely through such distinctive rituals. And this explains why Muslims felt first inspired by the Christian ritual, as they did not have such powerful means of connecting people. With time, however, they developed fears that the Christian ritual could overshadow their ritual. Deep behind the Muslim campaign against the *nāqūs*, there might have been the same fear that nowadays triggers political decisions like the ban of minarets or religious signs and serves as fuel for the far-right parties across Europe: it is the fear of the Other, the fear that an identity is threatened by the daily interactions with people who are so different. It seems that all human beings have a sense of the intrinsically inconstant nature of their identity, which, like the set of propositions that Islam was initially, must remain flexible in order to allow us to survive in changing environments, to evolve from baby to child and then to adult, from

[345] ANTRIM 2013, 83; see also p. 1.
[346] ANTRIM 2013, 144.
[347] See ANTRIM 2013, 144.

powerful to defeated, from girl to mother, from rich to poor, and so forth. Even though the Prophet himself might have let the Christians strike their *nāqūs*, he could not dispel this fear of the Other, of the difference, which is inborn and universal. He left then Muslim jurists with a complex choice: finding compromises or changing the past. They used both solutions. Abū Yūsuf tried to find positive assets in the existing diversity, selecting the examples that corroborated his arguments. Ibn Ḥanbal reported the narratives with the *karihahu* clause and advised to adopt restrictions towards Christians on the basis of the same treaties mentioned by Abū Yūsuf but focusing on different clauses. Al-Shāfiʿī was more pragmatic and he advocated the simple prohibition of the *nāqūs*, to shed the problem.

Eventually, the *nāqūs* disappeared almost totally from Muslim lands, in Syria, Iraq and Egypt. Its disappearance probably corresponds with the slow dissolution of many Christian communities in the *dār al-islām* or Muslim territories.[348] Yet, more studies are needed about the extinction of the *semantron* in order to clarify to which extent it should be attributed to the Muslim campaigns against the *nāqūs* on the one hand, and to the introduction of the western bells, on the other. For the word '*nāqūs*' does not mean '*semantron*' any more. It came to describe the bell, which could indicate that bells replaced the *semantron*, and were not given another name because they did not coexist long enough. The fear of the Other however remained and continued to find objects and means to sustain its existence.

This chapter has shown the crucial role played by the context in shaping *ḥadīth* literature. The writings of the scholars exposed here provide us with a clear explanation for the addition of the *karihahu* clause or the omission of the *nāqūs*. Likewise, the knowledge about the Christian and Jewish instruments and rituals helps apprehend the milieu in which the *adhān* originated. *Aḥādīth* are concerned first and foremost with the use of the past to address issues of the daily life of their audience. Understanding the present in which *aḥādīth* were circulated is therefore necessary to extract from them information about the past.

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[348] A good example of the dissolution of Christian communities is is reflected in the cases of churches in al-Ruha/Edessa studied by Mattia GUIDETTI, "The Byzantine Heritage in the Dār al-Islām: Churches and Mosques in al-Ruha Between the Sixth and Twelfth Centuries," in: *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 1–36.

5 Conclusion

The study of the contexts in which the *aḥādīth* originated, evolved and were circulated alog with the close textual analysis of the *aḥādīth* have allowed me to expose four different types of information: (1) the proto-narrative and its general outline; (2) some mechanisms of *ḥadīth* transmission; (3) the changes generated by these mechanism; and finally, (4) the interests at stake which triggered these changes.

5.1 The proto-narrative

From the similarities between all the narratives about the introduction of the *adhān* it was possible to draw the general outline of a proto-narrative which putatively served as basis to the different versions preserved in *ḥadīth* collections. In his article about the Travelling Tradition Test, Sadeghi had already observed that "unity of distinctive contents implies unity of origin", in our case a proto-narrative or "common ancestor" if we use Sadeghi's terminology.[349] This proto-narrative originated in Medina as indicated by the chains of transmission and the object of the story. We know that this "material does not represent objective descriptions of actual events, but only 'oral tradition' or, at best, 'oral history'."[350] The "*main outlines*" convey however historical information.[351] This was the conclusion that Schoeler reached from his studies of the accounts about the first revelation and the slander against ʿĀʾishah. The same conclusion can be drawn from the present study.

Debates were taking place about the best way to call the believers to gather for the prayers. There was a need for something efficient, that was more adapted to the growing Muslim community than the initial method consisting in walking throughout the streets calling to prayer. At the same time, Jews and Christians were performing codified rituals with specific instruments. Their presence in the daily life of the Medinan Muslims favoured the development of a ritual which was not a call anymore, but a codified set of chanted formulæ. And the main and most famous *muʾadhdhin* at that time was Bilāl. Whether banners and fires were suggested to call to prayer, or any other means, will

[349] SADEGHI [1] 2010, 205.
[350] SCHOELER 2011, 114.
[351] SCHOELER 2011, 115.

probably remain unknown. We might also never discover if a dream was involved in the introduction of the *adhān*. Nevertheless, the gist of the story has been preserved in all these narratives, which were built on the common memories about the *adhān* embedded in the proto-narrative. Narrators were then able to generate purposeful *aḥādīth*, which had become the most efficient arguments in religious debates.

5.2 Mechanisms of *ḥadīth* transmission

The outlines of the proto-narrative facilitate the observation of the different mechanisms employed by some transmitters to transform this 'common ancestor' and reach their various goals. Nine potential mechanisms were highlighted throughout the analysis of the *adhān*-narratives and summarised in Table 12. On this point, an important line for future inquiry has been suggested. The digitisation of most edited *ḥadīth* collections should allow us to perform systematic studies to examine these mechanisms and their repetitive use by specific narrators, transmitters and collectors. Such a study yields two main advantages. Firstly, it shall enable us to discover further mechanisms of *ḥadīth* transmission. And secondly, it can be coupled with other types of analyses to confirm or disconfirm their results. By observing the ways scholars transmitted *aḥādīth*, we might be able to assign to particular scholars the use of specific vocabulary or formulæ and transmission patterns. This information can lead us in turn to distinguish reports rightfully attributed to a scholar from those reported by a student and wrongly attributed to the same scholar. Such observations contribute to our understanding of the reasons why certain scholars gathered, modified and transmitted *aḥādīth*.

The importance of determining the idiosyncrasies of Muslim scholars has been demonstrated by Sadeghi in his study of al-Shaybānī's *Kitāb al-āthār* and *al-Muwaṭṭa'*.[352] In this article, he establishes the origin of different recensions of the *K. al-āthār* written down as notes by al-Shaybānī's students with the help of structures and vocabularies that can be attributed to the different scholars involved in the production of the text. As he claims himself, his results do "not *prove* authenticity, but it will help restore the plausibility of authenticity, pending further investigation."[353]

[352] SADEGHI [2] 2010.
[353] SADEGHI [2] 2010, 308.

My results show that such investigation will be fruitfully expanded from Islamic law to *ḥadīth* studies.

5.3 Modifications on the proto-narrative

Usually mechanisms of *ḥadīth* transmission have a clear purpose: modifying a text or a tradition (oral) to serve interests at stake. The changes normally take the form of an omission, a modification, or an addition. The *nāqūs* was sometimes omitted to hide its link with the *adhān* origins and delete all traces of Christian influences. The *qarn* was turned into a *būq* either by mistake or by choice. And finally, the addition was the most popular of these changes because it was probably the easiest to apply, and it appears therefore in all narratives. The *karihahu*-clause was added to condemn the use of non-Islamic instrument and strengthen this condemnation with the Prophet's authority. Or the exact formulæ of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* were added to clarify the number of repetitions advocated. The various introductions of C2 also constitute an addition to the conclusive sentence in order to produce a complete narrative rooted in a well-known tradition.

5.4 The interests at stake

Some changes are difficult to explain, like the mention of the fire in the second category. Similarly, the insistence on ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's role in the introduction of the *adhān* and potentially its unsuccessful attempt to establish a unique practice remain obscure. Further studies on the fire and ʿUmar will be necessary to shed light on these topics. But many interests are traceable, to a certain extent at least. The debates about the right or orthodox form of the *adhān* can be dated to the period spreading from the death of the Prophet to the lifetime of Abū Qilābah (d. 104/722), with a greater likelihood towards the second half of the first/seventh century. In Abū Qilābah's words and in Basra in particular, they had not been fully formulated and it was sufficient to advise people to repeat the *adhān* twice and the *iqāmah* once. They later crystallised with the schools of law and became simultaneously more precise. Scholars then felt the need to quote all the formulæ. Thus, Ibn Ḥanbal gives two versions of the dream-narratives both with mention of the formulæ of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*, quoted in full.

Before the rise of the debates about the repetitions, the intervention of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was discussed in particular in Medina and Mecca. This explains why Ibn Jurayj never mentions the formulæ or their repetitions. He writes the accounts that interest him, his city and his time, and are concerned with ʿUmar's role, not the form of the *adhān*. He reflects an earlier stage of the debate and a potential attempt to create a strong bond between the second caliph and the origins of the ritual.

Finally, the dream-narratives mirror these two stages of discussion about ʿUmar and the repetitions. They are rooted in the first/seventh century but were compiled later in the second/eighth century. Interestingly, C1's and C2's interests are still visible in C3, although ʿUmar is not central anymore, and the discussions about the repetitions have developed. Yet, the third category defends a particular point absent from the other categories: the establishment of a distance between Muslims and Christian influence.

5.5 Need for context

The interests at stake in the *adhān* narratives, and more generally in *ḥadīth* literature, cannot be exposed with the sole help of textual analysis, regardless of the size of the corpus and the scope of the study. *Ḥadīth* studies require context. This was best illustrated in the fourth chapter of the present work. Many legal writings can often be dated with some accuracy and they address contemporaneous issues, giving us numerous hints to understand the context in which they were written. In his article about "The Role of Culture in the Creation of Islamic Law", John Hursh articulates the relationship between law and culture. He explains that "while the Qur'an is the infallible word of God, the transmission of these words into law was a cultural enterprise."[354] He argues convincingly that "law and culture are inseparable because they create meaning in one another."[355] Jurists shape laws influenced by their own culture, and laws influence culture when people apply legal norms and rulings. Hence the interpretation of the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* "is not a divine practice, but a production of social meaning limited to a particular sociohistorical moment."[356] The history of the

[354] HURSH, "The Role of Culture in the Formation of Islamic Law," in: *Indiana Law Journal* 84 (2009): 1402.
[355] HURSH 2009, 1402.
[356] HURSH 2009, 1421.

adhān and the fact that Muslims developed their own ritual instead of simply calling people attest to the accepted presence of Christian and Jewish rituals. Conversely, the writings of the jurists introduced in chapter 4 reflect another context, a different 'sociohistorical moment', in which scholars started shaping new laws according to their evolving culture.

The growing knowledge, which scholarship on early Islam continuously enriches, is also a key factor to the understanding of this Islamic culture in constant evolution. It allows us to confirm hypotheses based on the texts and the chains of transmission. Studies of archaeological and numismatic findings, Christian-Muslim relationships, Qurʾān and Islam's earliest historical, administrative and legal writings are all prerequisite for the appreciation of *ḥadīth* literature and the periods it reflects. Yet, Islamic studies encompass vast fields which still need to be explored. Beside the role of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, many *ḥadīth* scholars, such as Ibn Jurayj and Abū Qilābah, still require further research to reveal their style and their interests. Holistic studies of large corpus of *aḥādīth* pertaining to a topic or attributed to a scholar will yield significant results in the coming decade. In this regard, modern technologies will have an important role and on this note I would like to conclude the present work.

5.6 Information technologies and *ḥadīth* studies

One of the most time-consuming tasks in *ḥadīth* studies consists in examining the sheer volume of primary sources. *Ḥadīth* collections often encompass several volumes and *ḥadīth* scholars are among the most prolific in the field. An exhaustive analysis of a topic in *ḥadīth* literature is therefore impeded primarily because it requires searching in numerous volumes differently organised, *musnad* and *muṣannaf*, all the reports pertaining to one specific topic or narrated by a certain transmitter. Such tedious work is already being facilitated by the tremendous progress made in artificial intelligence with powerful search engines and large-scale natural language processing software. Maktabah Shamelah and Corpus Coranicum are the leading tools in the field at the moment but new projects promise to yield significant progress in digital Islamic studies.[357]

[357] See http://shamela.ws & http://corpuscoranicum.de.

In 2011, a team in Rome published a model for the study of *aḥādīth* called the SALAH Project.[358] The model operates an automated segmentation of the texts with distinction between *isnād* and *matn*. It isolates the transmitters in a transmission graph and the *lemmata* (lemmatisation) in groups. The results can then be used to establish the presence of concordances between different recensions of one text or different texts from one transmitter. They should serve further linguistic exploration of *ḥadīth* corpus. The model is neither open source nor public and it remains unclear whether it has been fully implemented for the study of *aḥādīth* by scholars in the field.

When it comes to Islamic studies in general, the main breakthrough was achieved by the Open Islamicate Texts Initiative (OpenITI) from the KITAB project, which I have employed extensively in the present work.[359] OpenITI uses existing database, such as Shamelah, yet it is fully open source[360] and covers a much wider spectrum of primary sources, for it includes Shīʿī as well as Persian sources. The final product should serve research in many directions, including qualitative and quantitative textual analysis thanks to the fully machine-actionable database.

5.7 The *adhān* as early Islamic ritual

The development of these two projects, SALAH and OpenITI, and the systematic exploration of their datasets allow us to expand the research initiated in the present thesis and launch an investigation of Islamic rituals which were introduced in the first half of the first/seventh century. Fasts or animal sacrifices, like the call to prayer, are also Jewish and Christian rituals which entered Islam at an early stage of its evolution and yet they have not been explored in detail. In particular, attention could be drawn to the mechanisms developed to distinguish the Islamic practice of these rituals from their Jewish and Christian models. The study of these rituals is necessary to fully

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[358] See Marco BOELLA & Francesca Romana ROMANI & Anjela AL-RAIES & Cristina SOLIMANDO & Giuliano LANCIONI, "The SALAH Project: Segmentation and Linguistic Analysis of ḥadīṯ Arabic Texts," in: SALEM, Mohamed Vall Mohamed *et al*. (ed.), *Information Retrieval Technology*. Lecture Notes in Computer Science, vol 7097. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer, 2011, 538-549. This project was brought to my attention in September 2017 by Andreas Kaplony whom I would like to thank here for his remarks at the DOT conference 2017.

[359] See the websites of the KITAB project http://kitab-project.org/ and Open ITI http://iti-corpus.github.io/. I owe a special thank to Sarah Bowen Savant, Maxime Romanov and their team for the efforts they are investing to improve the quality and the accuracy of large-scale studies of Islamic primary sources.

[360] See the Github page to take part in the project https://github.com/iti-corpus.

apprehend early Islamic history and how the Islam we know today was shaped, how it lost its original "religiously pluralist character" and became a distinctive religion *per se*.[361]

It seems that Muslims themselves "did not initially see their faith as totally distinct from other monotheistic confessions".[362] This could explain the presence of such Jewish and Christian rituals, which were introduced when Islam was rather undefined and were only later transformed into distinct practices for reasons we still need to explore. We have seen in Crone's latest monograph how the ephemeral success of the so-called 'nativist prophets' in the aftermath of the Conquest reflects the blurred frontier of the Muslim identity and the absence of unequivocal distinctions between Muslims and non-Muslims.[363] Social anthropology has taught us that Islam, like any ethnie, "is not a primordial category, but a negotiated system of social classification."[364] In its infancy, Islam was shaped, modelled, carved by the constant negotiations between cultures, laws, religions, and traditions of the people who considered themselves as Muslims. In the formation of this 'negotiated system', ritual observance plays a crucial role for it "serves to individualize and internalize a communal identity and assists in social differentiation."[365] This is why a better understanding of Islamic rituals, starting with the *adhān*, brings us closer to the comprehension of Islamic identity, or what it meant – and means – to be *Muslim*.

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[361] HOYLAND 1997, 555.
[362] HOYLAND 2015, 135.
[363] See CRONE 2012.
[364] POHL 1998, 21.
[365] MORONY 1984, 524 or, in Clifford GEERTZ's word, the keys to understand the essence of human being should be sought "in cultural particularities of people", GEERTZ, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 1973, 43.

Appendices

Appendix 1.1: Transmitters of C1 in chronological order

B=al-Bukhārī; M=Muslim; S=Nasāʾī; T=Tirmidhī; IH=Ibn Ḥanbal.

Transmitter	d.	Place	To	From	Source(s)
Ibn ʿUmar	c. 73/692	Medina	Nāfiʿ	-	All
Nāfiʿ	c. 117/735	Medina	Ibn Jurayj	Ibn ʿUmar	All
Ibn Jurayj	150/767	Mecca/Iraq	Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Bursanī ʿAbd al-Razzāq	Nāfiʿ	All
Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Bursanī	c. 203/818	Basra	Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī	Ibn Jurayj	IH; M
Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad	206/821	Baghdad	Abū Bakr b Abī al-Naḍr Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥassan al-Bukhārī Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh	Ibn Jurayj	T; B; M
ʿAbd al-Razzāq	211/827	Sana'a	Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ Ibn Ḥanbal	Ibn Jurayj	IH; M; B
Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī	238/853	Nishabur	Muslim	Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Bursanī	M
Harūn b. ʿAbd Allāh	243/858	Baghdad	Muslim	Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad	M
Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ	245/859	Nishabur	Muslim	ʿAbd al-Razzāq	M
Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Naḍr	245/859	Baghdad	Tirmidhī	Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad	T
Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān	249/863	Baghdad	al-Bukhārī	ʿAbd al-Razzāq	B
Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥassan	?	Mopsuestia	al-Bukhārī Nasāʾī	Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad	B; S

Appendix 1.2: Texts of C1

ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Muṣannaf*. Ed. Ḥabībburraḥmān Aʿẓamī, Beirut: Al-Majlis Al-ʿIlmī, 1970, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, 1776.

أَخْبَرَنَا عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ قَالَ أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ قَالَ أَخْبَرَنِي نَافِعٌ، أَنَّ ابْنَ عُمَرَ كَانَ يَقُولُ كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ حِينَ قَدِمُوا الْمَدِينَةَ يَجْتَمِعُونَ فَيَتَحَيَّنُونَ الصَّلَاةَ لَيْسَ يُنَادِي بِهَا أَحَدٌ فَتَكَلَّمُوا يَوْمًا فِي ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعْضٍ اتَّخِذُوا نَاقُوسًا مِثْلَ نَاقُوسِ النَّصَارَى وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ: بَلْ بُوقًا مِثْلَ بُوقِ الْيَهُودِ، فَقَالَ عُمَرُ أَوَلَا تَبْعَثُونَ رَجُلًا يُنَادِي بِالصَّلَاةِ فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَا بِلَالُ قُمْ فَأَذِّنْ بِالصَّلَاةِ

Al-Bukhārī, *Al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*. Ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb *et al.*, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Salafīyah, 1979, *K. al-adhān* 10, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, no. 604.

حَدَّثَنَا مَحْمُودُ بْنُ غَيْلاَنَ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ قَالَ أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ قَالَ أَخْبَرَنِي نَافِعٌ أَنَّ ابْنَ عُمَرَ كَانَ يَقُولُ كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ حِينَ قَدِمُوا الْمَدِينَةَ يَجْتَمِعُونَ فَيَتَحَيَّنُونَ الصَّلوةَ لَيْسَ يُنَادَى لَهَا، فَتَكَلَّمُوا يَوْمًا فِي ذَلِكَ، فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ اتَّخِذُوا نَاقُوسًا مِثْلَ نَاقُوسِ النَّصَارَى وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ بَلْ بُوقًا مِثْلَ قَرْنِ الْيَهُودِ. فَقَالَ عُمَرُ أَوَلاَ تَبْعَثُونَ رَجُلاً يُنَادِي بِالصَّلاَةِ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَا بِلاَلُ قُمْ فَنَادِ بِالصَّلاَةِ

Muslim, *Al-ṣaḥīḥ*. Ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd Al-Bāqī. Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabīyah, 1955, *K. al-ṣalāh* 4, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, no. 1 (377).

حَدَّثَنَا إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْحَنْظَلِيُّ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَكْرٍ ح وَحَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ رَافِعٍ، حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ، قَالاَ أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ ح وَحَدَّثَنِي هَارُونُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ (وَاللَّفْظُ لَهُ) قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا حَجَّاجُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، قَالَ قَالَ ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ أَخْبَرَنِي نَافِعٌ، مَوْلَى ابْنِ عُمَرَ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ أَنَّهُ قَالَ كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ حِينَ قَدِمُوا الْمَدِينَةَ يَجْتَمِعُونَ فَيَتَحَيَّنُونَ الصَّلَوَاتِ وَلَيْسَ يُنَادِي بِهَا أَحَدٌ فَتَكَلَّمُوا يَوْمًا فِي ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمُ اتَّخِذُوا نَاقُوسًا مِثْلَ نَاقُوسِ النَّصَارَى وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ قَرْنًا مِثْلَ قَرْنِ الْيَهُودِ فَقَالَ عُمَرُ أَوَلاَ تَبْعَثُونَ رَجُلاً يُنَادِي بِالصَّلاَةِ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَا بِلاَلُ قُمْ فَنَادِ بِالصَّلاَةِ

Al-Tirmidhī, *Al-jāmiʿ al-kabīr*. Ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1996, *K. al-ṣalāt*, *Bāb mā jāʾ fī badʾ al-adhān*, 190.

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ النَّضْرِ بْنِ أَبِي النَّضْرِ حَدَّثَنَا حَجَّاجُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ قَالَ قَالَ ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ أَخْبَرَنَا نَافِعٌ عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، قَالَ كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ حِينَ قَدِمُوا الْمَدِينَةَ يَجْتَمِعُونَ فَيَتَحَيَّنُونَ الصَّلَوَاتِ وَلَيْسَ يُنَادِي بِهَا أَحَدٌ فَتَكَلَّمُوا يَوْمًا فِي ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمُ اتَّخِذُوا نَاقُوسًا مِثْلَ نَاقُوسِ النَّصَارَى وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمُ اتَّخِذُوا قَرْنًا مِثْلَ قَرْنِ الْيَهُودِ قَالَ فَقَالَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ أَوَلاَ تَبْعَثُونَ رَجُلاً يُنَادِي بِالصَّلاَةِ قَالَ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَا بِلاَلُ قُمْ فَنَادِ بِالصَّلاَةِ

Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*. Ed. Shuʿayb Arnaʾūṭ, Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1993, X, *ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar*, 6357.

أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ الْحَسَنِ قَالاَ حَدَّثَنَا حَجَّاجٌ قَالَ قَالَ ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ أَخْبَرَنِي نَافِعٌ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ أَنَّهُ كَانَ يَقُولُ كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ حِينَ قَدِمُوا الْمَدِينَةَ يَجْتَمِعُونَ فَيَتَحَيَّنُونَ الصَّلاَةَ وَلَيْسَ يُنَادِي بِهَا أَحَدٌ فَتَكَلَّمُوا يَوْمًا فِي ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمُ اتَّخِذُوا نَاقُوسًا مِثْلَ نَاقُوسِ النَّصَارَى وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ بَلْ قَرْنًا مِثْلَ قَرْنِ الْيَهُودِ فَقَالَ عُمَرُ رضى الله عنه أَوَلاَ تَبْعَثُونَ رَجُلاً يُنَادِي بِالصَّلاَةِ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَا بِلاَلُ قُمْ فَنَادِ بِالصَّلاَةِ

Appendix 2.1: Transmitters of C2 in chronological order

B=al-Bukhārī; M=Muslim.

Transmitter	d.	Place	Transmitted to	Transmitted from	Source(s)
Anas b. Mālik	93/712	Basra	Abū Qilābah	-	B; M
Abū Qilābah al-Jarmī	104-7/722-5	Basra/Sham/Egypt	Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ	Anas b. Mālik	B; M
Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ	141-2/758-9	Basra	Wuhayb b. Khālid ʿAbd al-Wārith ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī	Abū Qilābah	B; M
Wuhayb b. Khālid	165-9/782-6	Basra	Bahz b. Asad	Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ	M
ʿAbd al-Wārith	180/796	Basra	ʿImrān b. Maysarah	Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ	B
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī	194/818	Nishabur	Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Hanẓalī Muḥammad b. Salām	Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ	B; M
Bahz b. Asad	197-202/813-17	Basra	Muḥammad b. Ḥātim	Wuhayb b. Khālid	M
ʿImrān b. Maysarah	223/838	Basra	al-Bukhārī	ʿAbd al-Wārith	B
Muḥammad b. Salām	225/839	Bukhara	al-Bukhārī	ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī	B
Muḥammad b. Ḥātim	235-6/839-40	Basra	Muslim	Bahz b. Asad	M
Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Hanẓalī	238/853	Nishabur	Muslim	ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī	M

Appendix 2.2: Texts of C2

Al-Bukhārī, *Al- Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*. Ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb *et al.*, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Salafīyah, 1979, *K. al-adhān* 10, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah*, no. 160.

Version 1

حَدَّثَنَا عِمْرَانُ بْنُ مَيْسَرَةَ قال حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الْوَارِثِ قال حَدَّثَنَا خَالِدٌ الْحَذَّاءُ عَنْ أَبِي قِلاَبَةَ عَنْ أَنَسٍ قَالَ ذَكَرُوا النَّارَ وَالنَّاقُوسَ فَذَكَرُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَى فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَأَنْ يُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

Version 2

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدٌ بن سلام قَالَ حدثنى عَبْدُ الْوَهَّابِ الثقفى قَالَ حدثنا خَالِدٌ الْحَذَّاءُ عَنْ أَبِي قِلاَبَةَ عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ قَالَ لَمَّا كَثُرَ النَّاسُ قَالَ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَعْلَمُوا وَقْتَ الصلوة بِشَىْءٍ يَعْرِفُونَهُ فَذَكَرُوا أَنْ يُورُوا نَارًا أَوْ يَضْرِبُوا نَاقُوسًا فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَأَنْ يُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

Muslim, *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād ʿAbd Al-Bāqī. Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabīyah, 1955, *K. al-ṣalāh* 4, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, 185-6.

Version 1

وَحَدَّثَنَا إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْحَنْظَلِيُّ أَخْبَرَنَا عَبْدُ الْوَهَّابِ الثَّقَفِيُّ حَدَّثَنَا خَالِدٌ الْحَذَّاءُ عَنْ أَبِي قِلاَبَةَ عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ قَالَ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يُعْلِمُوا وَقْتَ الصَّلاَةِ بِشَىْءٍ يَعْرِفُونَهُ فَذَكَرُوا أَنْ يُنَوِّرُوا نَارًا أَوْ يَضْرِبُوا نَاقُوسًا فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَيُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

Version 2

حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ حَاتِمٍ حَدَّثَنَا بَهْزٌ حَدَّثَنَا وُهَيْبٌ حَدَّثَنَا خَالِدٌ الْحَذَّاءُ، بِهَذَا الإِسْنَادِ لَمَّا كَثُرَ النَّاسُ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يُعْلِمُوا بِمِثْلِ حَدِيثِ الثَّقَفِيِّ غَيْرَ أَنَّهُ قَالَ أَنْ يُورُوا نَارًا

Appendix 3.1: Transmitters of C3 in chronological order

Ih=Ibn Hishām; AR=ʿAbd al-Razzāq; D=Abū Dāwūd; T=Tirmidhī; Q=Ibn Mājah; MM=Mālik; IH=Ibn Ḥanbal; IASh=Ibn Abī Shaybah; IS=Ibn Saʿd; Dar=Dārimī || M.=Muḥammad

Transmitter	d.	Place	To	From	Source(s)
Muʿādh b. Jabal	18/639	Medina	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylá	-	D
ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbih al-Anṣārī	63/682	Medina	M. b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbih Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā	-	D; Dar; IH; Ih; IS; Q; T
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar	74/693	Medina	Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar		IS; Q
ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr	c. 74/693	Mecca	ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ	-	AR; Ih
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylá	83/702	Kufa	Ḥuṣayn ʿAmr b. Murrah	ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd a companion	D; IASh; IS
ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr	c. 94/712	Medina	Yazīd b. Rūmān	-	IS
Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab	c. 94/713	Medina	Al-Zuhrī	ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd	AR; IS
Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar		Medina	Al-Zuhrī	ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar	IS; Q
M. b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbih	?	Medina	M. b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Tayymī	ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd	D; Dar; IH; Ih; Q; T
ʿAbd Allāh Abū ʿUmayr b. Anas	?	Basra	Jaʿfar b. Iyās Abū Bishr al-Wāsiṭī	an uncle of his	D
ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ	115/733	Mecca	Ibn Jurayj	ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr	AR; Ih
Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr	c. 117/735	Medina	Sulaymān b. Suḥaym	-	IS
ʿAmr b. Murrah	118/736	Kufa	Shuʿbah al-Masʿūdī	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylá	D
M. b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Tayymī	120/738	Medina	M. b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbih	Ibn Isḥāq	D; Dar; IH; Ih; Q; T
M. b. ʿAmr al-Anṣārī	c. 120/738	Medina/ Basra	Ḥammād b. Khālid al-Khayyāṭ	M. b. ʿAbd Allāh	D
M. b. Muslim al-Zuhrī	124/742 -1	Medina	Maʿmar Ibn Isḥāq ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿUmar	Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab	AR; IH; IS; Q
Jaʿfar b. Iyās Abū Bishr al-Wāsiṭī	c. 126/743	Wasit	Hushaym Ziyād b. Ayyūb	ʿAbd Allāh Abū ʿUmayr b. Anas	D
Yazīd b. Rūmān	130/747	Medina	ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar	ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr	IS
Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	136/753 -4	Kufa	Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-ʿAbdī	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylá	IS
Zayd b. Aslam	136/753	Medina	Hishām b. Saʿīd	-	IS
Sulaymān b. Suḥaym	c. 136/754	Medina	Sulaymān b. Sulaym al-Qārī	Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr	IS
Sulaymān b. Sulaym al-Qārī	147/764	?	M. b. ʿUmar al-Aslamī al-Wāqidī	Sulaymān b. Suḥīm	IS
Abd al-Raḥīm b. ʿUmar	?	?	Muslim b. Khālid	Al-Zuhrī	IS

Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash	147/764	Kufa	Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ	ʿAmr b. Murrah	IASh
M. b. Isḥāq	150/767	Medina	Abū Yaʿqūb Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī M. b. Salamah al-Ḥarrānī Salamah	Al-Zuhrī M. al-Tayymī	D; Dar; IH; Ih; Q; T
Ibn Jurayj	150/767-8	Mecca/Iraq	ʿAbd al-Razzāq	ʿUbayd b. ʿUmar	AR; Ih
ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar	153/770	Medina	Ibn Saʿd	Yazīd b. Rūmān	IS
Maʿmar b. Rāshīd	154/770	Basra/ Medina /Yemen	Ibn Saʿd ʿAbd al-Razzāq	Al-Zuhrī	AR; IS
Shuʿbah b. al-Ḥajjāj	160/777	Basra	ʿAmr b. Marzūq M. b. Jaʿfar	ʿAmr b. Murrah	D
Hishām b. Saʿīd	160/776 ?	Medina	Ibn Saʿd	Zayd b. Aslam	IS
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq	c. 160/776	Medina/ Basra	Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Wāsiṭī	Al-Zuhrī	Q
Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-ʿAbdī	163/779	Basra	M. b. Kathīr al-ʿAbdī	Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	IS
Mālik b. Anas	179/795	Medina	Yaḥyá b. Yaḥyá al-Masmūdī	Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Umawī	MM
Muslim b. Khālid	c. 179/795	Mecca	Aḥmad b. M. b. al-Wālid al-Azraqī	Abd al-Raḥīm b. ʿUmar	IS
Hushaym	183/799	Wasit	ʿAbbād b. Mūsā al-Khuttalī Ziyād b. Ayyūb	Jaʿfar b. Iyās Abū Bishr al-Wāsiṭī	D
Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd Abū Yaʿqūb	185/801	Medina /Baghdad	Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd	Ibn Isḥāq	D; Dar; IH
Salamah b. al-Fadl al-Abrash	190/806	Ray	M. b. Ḥamīd	Ibn Isḥāq	Dar
Muḥammad b. Salamah al-Ḥarrānī	c. 191/806	Harran	Abū ʿUbayd M. b. ʿUbayd b. Maymūn al-Madanī	Ibn Isḥāq	Q
Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Umawī	194/819	Baghdad/ Kufa	Mālik b. Anās Saʿīd b. Yaḥyá al-Umawī	Ibn Isḥāq	T; MM
Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Hudhalī	194/812	Basra	Ibn al-Muthanná	Shuʿbah	D
Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ	c. 197/812	Kufa	Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaybah	Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash	IASh
Ḥammād b. Khālid al-Khayyāṭ	?	Baghdad/ Basra	ʿUthmān b. Abī Shaybah	M. b. ʿAmr	D
ʿAbbād b. Mūsā al-Khuttalī	203/818	Baghdad	Abū Dāwūd	Hushaym	D
Yazīd b. Hārūn	206/821	Wasit	al-Masʿūdī	Naṣr b. al-Muhājir	D
M. b. ʿUmar al-Aslamī al-Wāqidī	207/823	Baghdad	Ibn Saʿd	Sulaymān b. Sulaym al-Qārī	IS
Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd	208/823	Baghdad/ Medina	Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal M. b. Manṣūr al-Ṭūsī Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá al-Dhuhlī	Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd Abū Yaʿqūb	D; Dar; IH
ʿAbd al-Razzāq	211/826	Sana'a	-	Maʿmar b. Rāshid	AR
M. b. Kathīr al-ʿAbdī	223/837	Basra	Ibn Saʿd	Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-ʿAbdī	IS
ʿAmr b. Marzūq	223/837	Basra	Abū Dāwūd	Shuʿbah	D
Naṣr b. al-Muhājir	c. 230/845	Musaysah	Abū Dāwūd	Yazīd b. Hārūn	D

Aḥmad b. M. b. al-Walīd al-Azrāqī	c. 230/845	?	Ibn Saʿd	Muslim b. Khālid	IS
Ibn Saʿd	230/845	Basra	-	M. b. Kathīr al-ʿAbdī	IS
Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaybah	235/849	Kufa	Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Baqī b. Makhlad	Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ	IASh
ʿUthmān b. Abī Shaybah	239/853-4	Kufa	Abū Dāwūd	Ḥammād b. Khālid al-Khayyāṭ	D
M. b. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Wāsiṭī	240/854	Wasit	Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Wāsiṭī	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq	Q
M. b. Manṣūr al-Ṭūsī	c. 245/859	Baghdad	Abū Dāwūd	Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd	D
M. b. Ḥamīd b. Hayān	248/862		Dārimī	Salamah	Dar
Saʿīd b. Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Umawī	249/863	Baghdad	Tirmidhī	Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Umawī	T
Abū ʿUbayd M. b. ʿUbayd b. Maymūn al-Madanī	?	Medina	Ibn Mājah	M. b. Salamah al-Ḥarrānī	Q
Ziyād b. Ayyūb	252/866	Baghdad	Abū Dāwūd	Hushaym Jaʿfar b. Iyās Abū Bishr al-Wāsiṭī	D
M. b. al-Muthanná Abū Mūsá	252/866	Basra	Abū Dāwūd	M. b. Jaʿfar	D
M. b. Yaḥyá al-Dhuhlī	258/872	Nishabur	Dārimī	Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd	Dar

Appendix 3.2: Texts of C3

ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Muṣannaf*. Ed. Ḥabībburraḥmān Aʿẓamī, Beirut: Al-Majlis al-ʿIlmī, 1970, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, 1774-5.

AR1

أَخْبَرَنَا أَبُو سَعِيدٍ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ زِيَادِ بْنِ بِشْرٍ الْعِبْرِيُّ الْبَصْرِيُّ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ عَبَّادٍ الدَّبَرِيُّ قَالَ قَرَأْنَا عَلَى عَبْدِ الرَّزَّاقِ بْنِ هَمَّامٍ عَنْ مَعْمَرٍ عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ عَنِ ابْنِ الْمُسَيِّبِ قَالَ كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ يَهُمُّهُمْ شَيْءٌ يَجْمَعُونَ بِهِ لِصَلَاتِهِمْ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ نَاقُوسٌ وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ بُوقٌ فَأُرِيَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ فِي الْمَنَامِ أَنَّ رَجُلًا مَرَّ بِهِ مَعَهُ نَاقُوسٌ فَقَالَ لَهُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ: تَبِيعُ هَذَا فَقَالَ الرَّجُلُ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ قَالَ نَضْرِبُ بِهِ لِصَلَاتِنَا قَالَ أَفَلَا أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ قَالَ بَلَى قَالَ تَقُولُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ، أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ قَالَ وَرَأَى عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ فِي مَنَامِهِ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ فَلَمَّا صَلَّى عَبْدُ اللَّهِ الصُّبْحَ غَدَا إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لِيُخْبِرَهُ وَغَدَا عُمَرُ فَوَجَدَ الْأَنْصَارِيَّ قَدْ سَبَقَهُ وَوَجَدَ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَدْ أَمَرَ بِلَالًا بِالْأَذَانِ

AR2

عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ عَنِ ابْنِ جُرَيْجٍ قَالَ عَطَاءٍ سَمِعْتُ عُبَيْدَ بْنَ عُمَيْرٍ يَقُولُ إِيتَمَرَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَصْحَابُهُ كَيْفَ يَجْعَلُونَ شَيْئًا إِذَا أَرَادُوا جَمْعَ الصَّلَاةِ اجْتَمَعُوا لَهَا فَائْتَمَرُوا بِالنَّاقُوسِ قَالَ فَبَيْنَا عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَشْتَرِيَ خَشَبَتَيْنِ لِلنَّاقُوسِ إِذْ رَأَى فِي الْمَنَامِ أَنْ لَا تَجْعَلُوا النَّاقُوسَ بَلْ أَذِّنُوا بِالصَّلَاةِ قَالَ فَذَهَبَ عُمَرُ إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لِيُخْبِرَهُ بَالَّذِي رَأَى وَقَدْ جَاءَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْوَحْيُ بِذَلِكَ فَمَا رَاعَ عُمَرَ إِلَّا بِلَالٌ يُؤَذِّنُ فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَدْ سَبَقَكَ بِذَلِكَ الْوَحْيُ حِينَ أَخْبَرَهُ بِذَلِكَ عُمَرُ

Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*. Ed. Shuʿayb Arnaʾūṭ *et al.*, Beirut: Dar al-Risālah al-ʿAlamīyah, 2009, *K. al-ṣalāt*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*, no. 498, 499, 506, 507, 512.

D1

حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ بْنُ مُوسَى الْخُتَّلِيُّ وَزِيَادُ بْنُ أَيُّوبَ وَحَدِيثُ عَبَّادٍ أَتَمُّ قَالاَ حَدَّثَنَا هُشَيْمٌ، عَنْ أَبِي بِشْرٍ قَالَ زِيَادٌ أَخْبَرَنَا أَبُو بِشْرٍ عَنْ أَبِي عُمَيْرِ بْنِ أَنَسٍ عَنْ عُمُومَةٍ لَهُ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ قَالَ اهْتَمَّ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم لِلصَّلاَةِ كَيْفَ يَجْمَعُ النَّاسَ لَهَا فَقِيلَ لَهُ انْصِبْ رَايَةً عِنْدَ حُضُورِ الصَّلاَةِ فَإِذَا رَأَوْهَا آذَنَ بَعْضُهُمْ بَعْضًا فَلَمْ يُعْجِبْهُ ذَلِكَ قَالَ فَذُكِرَ لَهُ الْقُنْعُ يَعْنِي الشَّبُّورَ وَقَالَ زِيَادٌ شَبُّورَ الْيَهُودِ فَلَمْ يُعْجِبْهُ ذَلِكَ وَقَالَ هُوَ مِنْ أَمْرِ الْيَهُودِ قَالَ فَذُكِرَ لَهُ النَّاقُوسُ فَقَالَ هُوَ مِنْ أَمْرِ النَّصَارَى فَانْصَرَفَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ وَهُوَ مُهْتَمٌّ لِهَمِّ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأُرِيَ الأَذَانَ فِي مَنَامِهِ قَالَ فَغَدَا عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأَخْبَرَهُ فَقَالَ لَهُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إِنِّي لَبَيْنَ نَائِمٍ وَيَقْظَانَ إِذْ أَتَانِي آتٍ فَأَرَانِي الأَذَانَ قَالَ وَكَانَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ رضى الله عنه قَدْ رَآهُ قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ فَكَتَمَهُ عِشْرِينَ يَوْمًا قَالَ ثُمَّ أَخْبَرَ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَقَالَ لَهُ مَا مَنَعَكَ أَنْ تُخْبِرَنِي فَقَالَ سَبَقَنِي عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ فَاسْتَحْيَيْتُ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَا بِلاَلُ قُمْ فَانْظُرْ مَا يَأْمُرُكَ بِهِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ فَافْعَلْهُ قَالَ فَأَذَّنَ بِلاَلٌ قَالَ أَبُو بِشْرٍ فَأَخْبَرَنِي أَبُو عُمَيْرٍ أَنَّ الأَنْصَارَ تَزْعُمُ أَنَّ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ زَيْدٍ لَوْلاَ أَنَّهُ كَانَ يَوْمَئِذٍ مَرِيضًا لَجَعَلَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم مُؤَذِّنًا

D2

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مَنْصُورٍ الطُّوسِيُّ حَدَّثَنَا يَعْقُوبُ حَدَّثَنَا أَبِي عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ إِسْحَاقَ حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ التَّيْمِيُّ عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي أَبِي عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ قَالَ لَمَّا أَمَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بِالنَّاقُوسِ يُعْمَلُ لِيُضْرَبَ بِهِ لِلنَّاسِ لِجَمْعِ الصَّلاَةِ طَافَ بِي وَأَنَا نَائِمٌ رَجُلٌ يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا فِي يَدِهِ فَقُلْتُ يَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ أَتَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ قَالَ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ فَقُلْتُ نَدْعُو بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلاَةِ قَالَ أَفَلاَ أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى مَا هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِنْ ذَلِكَ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ بَلَى قَالَ فَقَالَ تَقُولُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ حَىَّ عَلَى الصَّلاَةِ حَىَّ عَلَى الصَّلاَةِ حَىَّ عَلَى الْفَلاَحِ حَىَّ عَلَى الْفَلاَحِ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ قَالَ ثُمَّ اسْتَأْخَرَ عَنِّي غَيْرَ بَعِيدٍ ثُمَّ قَالَ وَتَقُولُ إِذَا أَقَمْتَ الصَّلاَةَ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ حَىَّ عَلَى الصَّلاَةِ حَىَّ عَلَى الْفَلاَحِ قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلاَةُ قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلاَةُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ فَلَمَّا أَصْبَحْتُ أَتَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأَخْبَرْتُهُ بِمَا رَأَيْتُ فَقَالَ إِنَّهَا لَرُؤْيَا حَقٌّ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ فَقُمْ مَعَ بِلاَلٍ فَأَلْقِ عَلَيْهِ مَا رَأَيْتَ فَلْيُؤَذِّنْ بِهِ فَإِنَّهُ أَنْدَى صَوْتًا مِنْكَ فَقُمْتُ مَعَ بِلاَلٍ فَجَعَلْتُ أُلْقِيهِ عَلَيْهِ وَيُؤَذِّنُ بِهِ قَالَ فَسَمِعَ ذَلِكَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ وَهُوَ فِي بَيْتِهِ فَخَرَجَ يَجُرُّ رِدَاءَهُ وَيَقُولُ وَالَّذِي بَعَثَكَ بِالْحَقِّ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ مَا رَأَى فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ قَالَ أَبُو دَاوُدَ هَكَذَا رِوَايَةُ الزُّهْرِيِّ عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْمُسَيَّبِ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ وَقَالَ فِيهِ ابْنُ إِسْحَاقَ عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ وَقَالَ مَعْمَرٌ وَيُونُسُ عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ فِيهِ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ لَمْ يُثَنِّيَا

D3

حَدَّثَنَا عَمْرُو بْنُ مَرْزُوقٍ أَخْبَرَنَا شُعْبَةُ عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ مُرَّةَ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ ابْنَ أَبِي لَيْلَى ح وَحَدَّثَنَا ابْنُ الْمُثَنَّى حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ عَنْ شُعْبَةَ عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ مُرَّةَ سَمِعْتُ ابْنَ أَبِي لَيْلَى قَالَ أُحِيلَتِ الصَّلاَةُ ثَلاَثَةَ أَحْوَالٍ قَالَ وَحَدَّثَنَا أَصْحَابُنَا أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ لَقَدْ أَعْجَبَنِي أَنْ تَكُونَ صَلاَةُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ أَوْ قَالَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَاحِدَةً حَتَّى لَقَدْ هَمَمْتُ أَنْ أَبْثَّ رِجَالاً فِي الدُّورِ يُنَادُونَ النَّاسَ بِحِينِ الصَّلاَةِ وَحَتَّى هَمَمْتُ أَنْ آمُرَ رِجَالاً يَقُومُونَ عَلَى الآطَامِ يُنَادُونَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بِحِينِ الصَّلاَةِ حَتَّى نَقَسُوا أَوْ كَادُوا أَنْ يَنْقُسُوا قَالَ فَجَاءَ رَجُلٌ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ فَقَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إِنِّي لَمَّا رَجَعْتُ - لِمَا رَأَيْتُ مِنَ اهْتِمَامِكَ رَأَيْتُ رَجُلاً كَأَنَّ عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَيْنِ أَخْضَرَيْنِ فَقَامَ عَلَى الْمَسْجِدِ فَأَذَّنَ ثُمَّ قَعَدَ قَعْدَةً ثُمَّ قَامَ فَقَالَ مِثْلَهَا إِلاَّ أَنَّهُ يَقُولُ قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلاَةُ وَلَوْلاَ أَنْ يَقُولَ النَّاسُ قَالَ ابْنُ الْمُثَنَّى أَنْ تَقُولُوا لَقُلْتُ إِنِّي كُنْتُ يَقْظَانًا غَيْرَ نَائِمٍ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَقَالَ ابْنُ الْمُثَنَّى لَقَدْ أَرَاكَ اللَّهُ خَيْرًا وَلَمْ يَقُلْ عَمْرٌو لَقَدْ أَرَاكَ اللَّهُ خَيْرًا فَمُرْ بِلاَلاً فَلْيُؤَذِّنْ قَالَ فَقَالَ عُمَرُ أَمَا إِنِّي قَدْ رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ الَّذِي رَأَى وَلَكِنِّي لَمَّا سُبِقْتُ اسْتَحْيَيْتُ قَالَ وَحَدَّثَنَا أَصْحَابُنَا قَالَ وَكَانَ الرَّجُلُ إِذَا جَاءَ يَسْأَلُ فَيُخْبَرُ بِمَا سُبِقَ مِنْ صَلاَتِهِ وَإِنَّهُمْ قَامُوا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم مِنْ بَيْنِ قَائِمٍ وَرَاكِعٍ وَقَاعِدٍ وَمُصَلٍّ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ ابْنُ الْمُثَنَّى قَالَ عَمْرٌو وَحَدَّثَنِي بِهَا حُصَيْنٌ عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي لَيْلَى حَتَّى جَاءَ مُعَاذٌ قَالَ شُعْبَةُ وَقَدْ سَمِعْتُهَا مِنْ حُصَيْنٍ فَقَالَ لاَ أَرَاهُ عَلَى حَالٍ إِلَى قَوْلِهِ كَذَلِكَ فَافْعَلُوا قَالَ أَبُو دَاوُدَ ثُمَّ رَجَعْتُ إِلَى حَدِيثِ عَمْرِو بْنِ مَرْزُوقٍ قَالَ فَجَاءَ مُعَاذٌ فَأَشَارُوا إِلَيْهِ قَالَ شُعْبَةُ وَهَذِهِ سَمِعْتُهَا مِنْ حُصَيْنٍ قَالَ فَقَالَ مُعَاذٌ لاَ أَرَاهُ عَلَى حَالٍ إِلاَّ كُنْتُ عَلَيْهَا قَالَ فَقَالَ إِنَّ مُعَاذًا قَدْ سَنَّ لَكُمْ سُنَّةً كَذَلِكَ فَافْعَلُوا قَالَ وَحَدَّثَنَا أَصْحَابُنَا أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم لَمَّا قَدِمَ الْمَدِينَةَ أَمَرَهُمْ بِصِيَامِ ثَلاَثَةِ أَيَّامٍ ثُمَّ أُنْزِلَ رَمَضَانُ وَكَانُوا قَوْمًا لَمْ يَتَعَوَّدُوا

الصِّيَامَ وَكَانَ الصِّيَامُ عَلَيْهِمْ شَدِيدًا فَكَانَ مَنْ لَمْ يَصُمْ أَطْعَمَ مِسْكِينًا فَنَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الآيَةُ فَمَنْ شَهِدَ مِنْكُمُ الشَّهْرَ فَلْيَصُمْهُ فَكَانَتِ الرُّخْصَةُ لِلْمَرِيضِ وَالْمُسَافِرِ فَأُمِرُوا بِالصِّيَامِ قَالَ وَحَدَّثَنَا أَصْحَابُنَا قَالَ وَكَانَ الرَّجُلُ إِذَا أَفْطَرَ فَنَامَ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَأْكُلَ لَمْ يَأْكُلْ حَتَّى يُصْبِحَ قَالَ فَجَاءَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ فَأَرَادَ امْرَأَتَهُ فَقَالَتْ إِنِّي قَدْ نِمْتُ فَظَنَّ أَنَّهَا تَعْتَلُّ فَأَتَاهَا فَجَاءَ رَجُلٌ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ فَأَرَادَ الطَّعَامَ فَقَالُوا حَتَّى نُسَخِّنَ لَكَ شَيْئًا فَنَامَ فَلَمَّا أَصْبَحُوا أُنْزِلَتْ عَلَيْهِ هَذِهِ الآيَةُ أُحِلَّ لَكُمْ لَيْلَةَ الصِّيَامِ الرَّفَثُ إِلَى نِسَائِكُمْ

D4

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْمُثَنَّى عَنْ أَبِي دَاوُدَ ح وَحَدَّثَنَا نَصْرُ بْنُ الْمُهَاجِرِ حَدَّثَنَا يَزِيدُ بْنُ هَارُونَ عَنِ الْمَسْعُودِيِّ عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ مُرَّةَ عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي لَيْلَى عَنْ مُعَاذِ بْنِ جَبَلٍ قَالَ أُحِيلَتِ الصَّلاَةُ ثَلاَثَةَ أَحْوَالٍ وَأُحِيلَ الصِّيَامُ ثَلاَثَةَ أَحْوَالٍ وَسَاقَ نَصْرٌ الْحَدِيثَ بِطُولِهِ وَاقْتَصَّ ابْنُ الْمُثَنَّى مِنْهُ قِصَّةَ صَلاَتِهِمْ نَحْوَ بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ قَطُّ قَالَ الْحَالُ الثَّالِثُ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَدِمَ الْمَدِينَةَ فَصَلَّى يَعْنِي نَحْوَ بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ ثَلاَثَةَ عَشَرَ شَهْرًا فَأَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى هَذِهِ الآيَةَ { قَدْ نَرَى تَقَلُّبَ وَجْهِكَ فِي السَّمَاءِ فَلَنُوَلِّيَنَّكَ قِبْلَةً تَرْضَاهَا فَوَلِّ وَجْهَكَ شَطْرَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ وَحَيْثُ مَا كُنْتُمْ فَوَلُّوا وُجُوهَكُمْ شَطْرَهُ }(1) فَوَجَّهَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِلَى الْكَعْبَةِ . وَتَمَّ حَدِيثُهُ وَسَمَّى نَصْرٌ صَاحِبَ الرُّؤْيَا قَالَ فَجَاءَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ رَجُلٌ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ وَقَالَ فِيهِ فَاسْتَقْبَلَ الْقِبْلَةَ قَالَ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ حَىَّ عَلَى الصَّلاَةِ مَرَّتَيْنِ حَىَّ عَلَى الْفَلاَحِ مَرَّتَيْنِ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ ثُمَّ أَمْهَلَ هُنَيَّةً ثُمَّ قَامَ فَقَالَ مِثْلَهَا إِلاَّ أَنَّهُ قَالَ زَادَ بَعْدَ مَا قَالَ حَىَّ عَلَى الْفَلاَحِ قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلاَةُ قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلاَةُ قَالَ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم " لَقَّنْهَا بِلاَلاً فَأَذَّنَ بِهَا بِلاَلٌ وَقَالَ فِي الصَّوْمِ قَالَ فَإِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم كَانَ يَصُومُ ثَلاَثَةَ أَيَّامٍ مِنْ كُلِّ شَهْرٍ وَيَصُومُ يَوْمَ عَاشُورَاءَ فَأَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى { كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الصِّيَامُ كَمَا كُتِبَ عَلَى الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ } (2) إِلَى قَوْلِهِ { طَعَامُ مِسْكِينٍ } (3) فَكَانَ مَنْ شَاءَ أَنْ يَصُومَ صَامَ وَمَنْ شَاءَ أَنْ يُفْطِرَ وَيُطْعِمَ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ مِسْكِينًا أَجْزَأَهُ ذَلِكَ وَهَذَا حَوْلٌ فَأَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى { شَهْرُ رَمَضَانَ الَّذِي أُنْزِلَ فِيهِ الْقُرْآنُ } إِلَى { أَيَّامٍ أُخَرَ }(4) فَثَبَتَ الصِّيَامُ عَلَى مَنْ شَهِدَ الشَّهْرَ وَعَلَى الْمُسَافِرِ أَنْ يَقْضِيَ وَثَبَتَ الطَّعَامُ لِلشَّيْخِ الْكَبِيرِ وَالْعَجُوزِ اللَّذَيْنِ لاَ يَسْتَطِيعَانِ الصَّوْمَ وَجَاءَ صِرْمَةُ وَقَدْ عَمِلَ يَوْمَهُ وَسَاقَ الْحَدِيثَ

(1) Q. 2:144; (2) Q. 2:183; (3) Q. 2:184; (4) Q. 2:185.

D5

حَدَّثَنَا عُثْمَانُ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ حَدَّثَنَا حَمَّادُ بْنُ خَالِدٍ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَنْ عَمِّهِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ قَالَ أَرَادَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم فِي الأَذَانِ أَشْيَاءَ لَمْ يَصْنَعْ مِنْهَا شَيْئًا قَالَ فَأُرِيَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ الأَذَانَ فِي الْمَنَامِ فَأَتَى النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأَخْبَرَهُ فَقَالَ أَلْقِهِ عَلَى بِلاَلٍ فَأَلْقَاهُ عَلَيْهِ فَأَذَّنَ بِلاَلٌ فَقَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ أَنَا رَأَيْتُهُ وَأَنَا كُنْتُ أُرِيدُهُ قَالَ فَأَقِمْ أَنْتَ

Al-Tirmidhī, *Al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr. K. al-ṣalāt, Bāb mā jāʾ fī badʾ al-adhān*, 189.

T1

حَدَّثَنَا سَعِيدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى بْنِ سَعِيدٍ الأُمَوِيُّ حَدَّثَنَا أَبِي حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِسْحَاقَ عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ التَّيْمِيِّ عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ لَمَّا أَصْبَحْنَا أَتَيْنَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأَخْبَرْتُهُ بِالرُّؤْيَا فَقَالَ

إِنَّ هَذِهِ لَرُؤْيَا حَقٍّ فَقُمْ مَعَ بِلاَلٍ فَإِنَّهُ أَنْدَى وَأَمَدُّ صَوْتًا مِنْكَ فَأَلْقِ عَلَيْهِ مَا قِيلَ لَكَ وَلْيُنَادِ بِذَلِكَ قَالَ فَلَمَّا سَمِعَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ نِدَاءَ بِلاَلٍ بِالصَّلاَةِ خَرَجَ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَهُوَ يَجُرُّ إِزَارَهُ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِي بَعَثَكَ بِالْحَقِّ لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ الَّذِي قَالَ . قَالَ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ فَذَلِكَ أَثْبَتُ

قَالَ وَفِي الْبَابِ عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ قَالَ أَبُو عِيسَى حَدِيثُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ حَدِيثٌ حَسَنٌ صَحِيحٌ وَقَدْ رَوَى هَذَا الْحَدِيثَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ سَعْدٍ عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ إِسْحَاقَ أَتَمَّ مِنْ هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ وَأَطْوَلَ وَذَكَرَ فِيهِ قِصَّةَ الأَذَانِ مَثْنَى مَثْنَى وَالإِقَامَةِ مَرَّةً مَرَّةً

وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ هُوَ ابْنُ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ وَيُقَالُ ابْنُ عَبْدِ رَبٍّ وَلاَ نَعْرِفُ لَهُ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم شَيْئًا يَصِحُّ إِلاَّ هَذَا الْحَدِيثَ الْوَاحِدَ فِي الأَذَانِ وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَاصِمٍ الْمَازِنِيُّ لَهُ أَحَادِيثُ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَهُوَ عَمُّ عَبَّادِ بْنِ تَمِيمٍ

Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*. Ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd Al-Bāqī, Cairo: ʿĪsá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1952, *K. al-adhān wa-l-sunnah fīhā*, *Bāb badʾ al-adhān*.

Q1

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو عُبَيْدٍ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عُبَيْدِ بْنِ مَيْمُونٍ الْمَدَنِيُّ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سَلَمَةَ الْحَرَّانِيُّ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِسْحَاقَ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ التَّيْمِيُّ عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ـ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَدْ هَمَّ بِالْبُوقِ وَأَمَرَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ فَنُحِتَ فَأُرِيَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ فِي الْمَنَامِ قَالَ رَأَيْتُ رَجُلاً عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا فَقُلْتُ لَهُ يَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ تَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ قَالَ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ قُلْتُ أُنَادِي بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلاَةِ قَالَ أَفَلاَ أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ مِنْ ذَلِكَ قُلْتُ وَمَا هُوَ قَالَ تَقُولُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ حَىَّ عَلَى الصَّلاَةِ حَىَّ عَلَى الصَّلاَةِ حَىَّ عَلَى الْفَلاَحِ حَىَّ عَلَى الْفَلاَحِ للَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ قَالَ فَخَرَجَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ حَتَّى أَتَى رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ـ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأَخْبَرَهُ بِمَا رَأَى قَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ رَأَيْتُ رَجُلاً عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا فَقَصَّ عَلَيْهِ الْخَبَرَ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم إِنَّ صَاحِبَكُمْ قَدْ رَأَى رُؤْيَا فَاخْرُجْ مَعَ بِلاَلٍ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ فَأَلْقِهَا عَلَيْهِ وَلْيُنَادِ بِلاَلٌ فَإِنَّهُ أَنْدَى صَوْتًا مِنْكَ قَالَ فَخَرَجْتُ مَعَ بِلاَلٍ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ فَجَعَلْتُ أُلْقِيهَا عَلَيْهِ وَهُوَ يُنَادِي بِهَا . قَالَ فَسَمِعَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ بِالصَّوْتِ فَخَرَجَ فَقَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ الَّذِي رَأَى

قَالَ أَبُو عُبَيْدٍ فَأَخْبَرَنِي أَبُو بَكْرٍ الْحَكَمِيُّ أَنَّ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ زَيْدٍ الأَنْصَارِيَّ قَالَ فِي ذَلِكَ أَحْمَدُ اللَّهَ ذَا الْجَلاَلِ وَذَا الإِكْرَامِ حَمْدًا عَلَى الأَذَانِ كَثِيرًا إِذْ أَتَانِي بِهِ الْبَشِيرُ مِنَ اللَّهِ فَأَكْرِمْ بِهِ لَدَىَّ بَشِيرًا فِي لَيَالٍ وَالَى بِهِنَّ ثَلاَثٍ كُلَّمَا جَاءَ زَادَنِي تَوْقِيرًا

Q2

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ خَالِدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْوَاسِطِيُّ حَدَّثَنَا أَبِي عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ إِسْحَاقَ عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ عَنْ سَالِمٍ عَنْ أَبِيهِ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم اسْتَشَارَ النَّاسَ لِمَا يُهِمُّهُمْ إِلَى الصَّلاَةِ فَذَكَرُوا الْبُوقَ فَكَرِهَهُ مِنْ أَجْلِ الْيَهُودِ ثُمَّ ذَكَرُوا النَّاقُوسَ فَكَرِهَهُ مِنْ أَجْلِ النَّصَارَى فَأُرِيَ النِّدَاءَ تِلْكَ اللَّيْلَةَ رَجُلٌ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ يُقَالُ لَهُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ وَعُمَرُ بْنُ

الْخَطَّابِ فَطَرَقَ الأَنْصَارِيُّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ـ صلى الله عليه وسلم لَيْلاً فَأَمَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم ـ بِلاَلاً بِهِ فَأَذَّنَ

قَالَ الزُّهْرِيُّ وَزَادَ بِلاَلٌ فِي نِدَاءِ صَلاَةِ الْغَدَاةِ الصَّلاَةُ خَيْرٌ مِنَ النَّوْمِ فَأَقَرَّهَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ـ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ عُمَرُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ قَدْ رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ الَّذِي رَأَى وَلَكِنَّهُ سَبَقَنِي

Mālik ibn Anas, *Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, Cairo 1952-3, *K. al-ṣalāh*.

MM1

حَدَّثَنِي يَحْيَى عَنْ مَالِكٍ عَنْ يَحْيَى بْنِ سَعِيدٍ أَنَّهُ قَالَ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَدْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَتَّخِذَ خَشَبَتَيْنِ يُضْرَبُ بِهِمَا لِيَجْتَمِعَ النَّاسُ لِلصَّلاَةِ فَأُرِيَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ الأَنْصَارِيُّ ثُمَّ مِنْ بَنِي الْحَارِثِ بْنِ الْخَزْرَجِ خَشَبَتَيْنِ فِي النَّوْمِ فَقَالَ إِنَّ هَاتَيْنِ لَنَحْوٌ مِمَّا يُرِيدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَقِيلَ أَلاَ تُؤَذِّنُونَ لِلصَّلاَةِ فَأَتَى رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم حِينَ اسْتَيْقَظَ فَذَكَرَ لَهُ ذَلِكَ فَأَمَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بِالأَذَانِ

Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*. Ed. Shuʿayb Arnaʾūṭ, Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1993, XXVI, *ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd ibn ʿAbd Rabbih*, 16477 and 16478.

IH1

حَدَّثَنَا يَعْقُوبُ قَالَ أَخْبَرَنَا أَبِي عَنِ ابْنِ إِسْحَاقَ قَالَ وَذَكَرَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مُسْلِمٍ الزُّهْرِيُّ عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْمُسَيَّبِ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ قَالَ لَمَّا أَجْمَعَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنْ يَضْرِبَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ يَجْمَعُ لِلصَّلَاةِ النَّاسَ وَهُوَ لَهُ كَارِهٌ لِمُوَافَقَتِهِ النَّصَارَى طَافَ بِي مِنَ اللَّيْلِ طَائِفٌ وَأَنَا نَائِمٌ رَجُلٌ عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ وَفِي يَدِهِ نَاقُوسٌ يَحْمِلُهُ قَالَ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ يَا عَبْدَ اللهِ أَتَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ قَالَ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ قُلْتُ نَدْعُو بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ قَالَ أَفَلَا أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ مِنْ ذَلِكَ قَالَ فَقُلْتُ بَلَى قَالَ تَقُولُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ، أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللهِ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللهِ حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ قَالَ ثُمَّ اسْتَأْخَرَ غَيْرَ بَعِيدٍ قَالَ ثُمَّ تَقُولُ إِذَا أَقَمْتَ الصَّلَاةَ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللهِ حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ قَالَ فَلَمَّا أَصْبَحْتُ أَتَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَأَخْبَرْتُهُ بِمَا رَأَيْتُ قَالَ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِنَّ هَذِهِ لَرُؤْيَا حَقٌّ إِنْ شَاءَ اللهُ ثُمَّ أَمَرَ بِالتَّأْذِينِ فَكَانَ بِلَالٌ مَوْلَى أَبِي بَكْرٍ يُؤَذِّنُ بِذَلِكَ وَيَدْعُو رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ، قَالَ فَجَاءَهُ فَدَعَاهُ ذَاتَ غَدَاةٍ إِلَى الْفَجْرِ فَقِيلَ لَهُ إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ نَائِمٌ قَالَ فَصَرَخَ بِلَالٌ بِأَعْلَى صَوْتِهِ الصَّلَاةُ خَيْرٌ مِنَ النَّوْمِ قَالَ سَعِيدُ بْنُ الْمُسَيَّبِ فَأُدْخِلَتْ هَذِهِ الْكَلِمَةُ فِي التَّأْذِينِ إِلَى صَلَاةِ الْفَجْرِ

IH2

حَدَّثَنَا يَعْقُوبُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي أَبِي عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ إِسْحَاقَ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ التَّيْمِيُّ عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي عَبْدُ اللهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ قَالَ لَمَّا أَمَرَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ

لِيُضْرَبَ بِهِ لِلنَّاسِ فِي الْجَمْعِ لِلصَّلَاةِ طَافَ بِي وَأَنَا نَائِمٌ رَجُلٌ يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا فِي يَدِهِ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ يَا عَبْدَ اللهِ أَتَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ قَالَ مَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ قَالَ فَقُلْتُ نَدْعُو بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ، قَالَ أَفَلَا أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى مَا هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِنْ ذَلِكَ قَالَ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ بَلَى قَالَ تَقُولُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ، اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللهِ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللهِ حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ، حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ ثُمَّ اسْتَأْخَرَ غَيْرَ بَعِيدٍ ثُمَّ قَالَ: تَقُولُ إِذَا أُقِيمَتِ الصَّلَاة اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ، أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللهِ، حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ، قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ فَلَمَّا أَصْبَحْتُ أَتَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَأَخْبَرْتُهُ بِمَا رَأَيْتُ فَقَالَ إِنَّهَا لَرُؤْيَا حَقٌّ إِنْ شَاءَ اللهُ، فَقُمْ مَعَ بِلَالٍ فَأَلْقِ عَلَيْهِ مَا رَأَيْتَ فَلْيُؤَذِّنْ بِهِ فَإِنَّهُ أَنْدَى صَوْتًا مِنْكَ قَالَ فَقُمْتُ مَعَ بِلَالٍ فَجَعَلْتُ أُلْقِيهِ عَلَيْهِ وَيُؤَذِّنُ بِهِ قَالَ فَسَمِعَ بِذَلِكَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ وَهُوَ فِي بَيْتِهِ فَخَرَجَ يَجُرُّ رِدَاءَهُ يَقُولُ وَالَّذِي بَعَثَكَ بِالْحَقِّ لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ الَّذِي أُرِيَ قَالَ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ

Muḥammad ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*. Ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2001, vol. I, *Dhikr al-adhān*, pp. 212-213.

IS1

أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عُمَرَ الأَسْلَمِيُّ أَخْبَرَنَا سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ سُلَيْمٍ الْقَارِيُّ عَنْ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ سُحَيْمٍ عَنْ نَافِعِ بْنِ جُبَيْرٍ قَالَ وَحَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الْحَمِيدِ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ عَنْ يَزِيدَ بْنِ رُومَانَ عَنْ عُرْوَةَ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ قَالَ وَحَدَّثَنَا هِشَامُ بْنُ سَعِيدٍ عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ أَسْلَمَ قَالَ وَحَدَّثَنَا مَعْمَرُ بْنُ رَاشِدٍ عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْمُسَيَّبِ قَالُوا كان الناس في عهد النبي ص قَبْلَ أَنْ يُؤْمَرَ بِالأَذَانِ يُنَادِي مُنَادِي النَّبِيِّ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - الصَّلاةُ جَامِعَةٌ فَيَجْتَمِعُ النَّاسُ فَلَمَّا صُرِفَتِ الْقِبْلَةُ إِلَى الْكَعْبَةِ أُمِرَ بِالأَذَانِ. وَكَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَدْ أَهَمَّهُ أَمْرُ الأَذَانِ وَأَنَّهُمْ ذَكَرُوا أَشْيَاءَ يَجْمَعُونَ بِهَا النَّاسَ لِلصَّلاةِ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمُ البوق وقال بَعْضُهُمُ النَّاقُوسُ. فَبَيْنَا هُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ إِذْ نَامَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ الْخَزْرَجِيُّ فَأُرِيَ فِي النَّوْمِ أَنَّ رَجُلا مَرَّ وَعَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ وَفِي يَدِهِ نَاقُوسٌ قَالَ فَقُلْتُ أَتَبِيعُ النَّاقُوسَ فَقَالَ مَاذَا تُرِيدُ بِهِ فَقُلْتُ أُرِيدُ أَنْ أَبْتَاعَهُ لِكَيْ أَضْرِبَ بِهِ لِلصَّلاةِ لِجَمَاعَةِ النَّاسِ قَالَ فَأَنَا أُحَدِّثُكَ بِخَيْرٍ لَكُمْ مِنْ ذَلِكَ. تَقُولُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لا إِلَهَ إِلا اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ. حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلاةِ. حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلاحِ. اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ لا إِلَهَ إِلا اللَّهُ

فَأَتَى عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَأَخْبَرَهُ فقال لَهُ قُمْ مَعَ بِلالٍ فَأَلْقِ عَلَيْهِ مَا قِيلَ لَكَ وَلْيُؤَذِّنْ بِذَلِكَ فَفَعَلَ وَجَاءَ عُمَرُ فَقَالَ لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ الَّذِي رَأَى فَقَالَ رسول الله ص فَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ فَذَلِكَ أَثْبَتُ قَالُوا وَأُذِّنَ بِالأَذَانِ وَبَقِيَ يُنَادَى فِي النَّاسِ الصَّلاةَ جَامِعَةً لِلأَمْرِ يَحْدُثُ فَيَحْضُرُونَ لَهُ يُخْبَرُونَ بِهِ مِثْلَ فَتْحٍ يقرأ أو أمر يؤمرون فَيُنَادَى الصَّلاةَ جَامِعَةً وَإِنْ كَانَ فِي غَيْرِ وقت صلاة

IS2

أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ كَثِيرٍ الْعَبْدِيُّ أَخْبَرَنَا سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ كَثِيرٍ أَخْبَرَنَا حُصَيْنٌ عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ أَبِي لَيْلَى عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ الأَنْصَارِيِّ ثُمَّ مِنْ بَنِي النَّجَّارِ قَالَ اسْتَشَارَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ النَّاسَ فِي الأَذَانِ فَقَالَ لَقَدْ هَمَمْتُ أَنْ أَبْعَثَ رِجَالا فَيَقُومُونَ عَلَى آطَامِ الْمَدِينَةِ فَيُؤْذِنُونَ النَّاسَ بِالصَّلاةِ حَتَّى هَمُّوا أَنْ يَنْفُسُوا قَالَ فَأَتَى عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ أَهْلَهُ فَقَالُوا أَلا نُعَشِّيكَ قَالَ لا أَذُوقُ طَعَامًا فَإِنِّي قد رأيت نبي الله ص قَدْ أَهَمَّهُ أَمْرُهُ لِلصَّلاةِ فَنَامَ فَرَأَى فِي الْمَنَامِ كَأَنَّ رَجُلا عَلَيْهِ ثِيَابٌ خُضْرٌ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ عَلَى سَقْفِ الْمَسْجِدِ فَأَذَّنَ ثُمَّ قَعَدَ قعدة ثم قام فأقام الصلاة فَأَمَرَهُ أَنْ يُعَلِّمَ بِلالا فَفَعَلَ

قَالَ فَأَقْبَلَ النَّاسُ لَمَّا سَمِعُوا ذَلِكَ وَجَاءَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ فَقَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ الذي رأى فقال له نبي الله ص فَمَا مَنَعَكَ أَنْ تَأْتِيَنِي قَالَ اسْتَحْيَيْتُ لَمَّا رَأَيْتُنِي قَدْ سُبِقْتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ

IS3

أَخْبَرَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْوَلِيدِ الأَزْرَقِيُّ أَخْبَرَنَا مُسْلِمُ بْنُ خَالِدٍ حَدَّثَنِي عَبْدُ الرَّحِيمِ بْنُ عُمَرَ عَنِ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ عَنْ سَالِمِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَجْعَلَ شَيْئًا يَجْمَعُ بِهِ النَّاسَ لِلصَّلاةِ فَذُكِرَ عِنْدَهُ الْبُوقُ وَأَهْلُهُ فَكَرِهَهُ وَذُكِرَ النَّاقُوسُ وَأَهْلُهُ فَكَرِهَهُ حَتَّى أُرِيَ رَجُلٌ مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ يُقَالُ لَهُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ الأَذَانَ وَأُرِيَهُ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ تِلْكَ اللَّيْلَةَ فَأَمَّا عُمَرُ فَقَالَ إِذَا أَصْبَحْتُ أَخْبَرْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَمَّا الأَنْصَارِيُّ فَطَرَقَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ فَأَخْبَرَهُ وَأَمَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِلالا فَأَذَّنَ بِالصَّلاةِ. وَذَكَرَ أَذَانَ النَّاسِ الْيَوْمَ قَالَ فَزَادَ بِلالٌ فِي الصُّبْحِ الصَّلاةُ خَيْرٌ مِنَ النَّوْمِ فَأَقَرَّهَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَلَيْسَتْ فِيمَا أُرِيَ الأَنْصَارِيُّ

Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Al-Muṣannaf*. Ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad *et al.*, Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd Nāshirūn, 2006, II, *K. al-ṣalāh*, *Abwāb al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah, Mā jāʾ fī al-adhān wa-l-iqāmah kaif huw*, 2130.

IASh

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بَقِيُّ بْنُ مَخْلَدٍ قَال نا أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنِ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ قَال نا وَكِيعٌ، قَال نا الْأَعْمَش عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ مُرَّة عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ أَبِي لَيْلَى قَال حَدَّثَنَا أَصْحَابُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّم أَنَّ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ زَيْدٍ الْأَنْصَارِيَّ جَاءَ إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَال يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ رَأَيْتُ فِي الْمَنَامِ كَأَنَّ رَجُلًا قَامَ وَعَلَيْهِ بُرْدَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ عَلَى جِذْمَةِ حَائِطٍ فَأَذَّنَ مَثْنَى وَأَقَامَ مَثْنَى وَقَعَدَ قَعْدَةً قَال فَسَمِعَ ذَلِكَ بِلَالٌ فَقَامَ فَأَذَّنَ مَثْنَى، وَأَقَامَ مَثْنَى، وَقَعَدَ قَعْدَةً

Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabawīyah*. Ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1990, II, *Khabar al-adhān*.

Ih1

قَالَ ابْنُ إِسْحَاقَ فَلَمَّا اطْمَأَنَّ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِالْمَدِينَةِ وَاجْتَمَعَ إِلَيْهِ إِخْوَانُهُ مِنْ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَاجْتَمَعَ أَمْرُ الْأَنْصَارِ اسْتَحْكَمَ أَمْرُ الْإِسْلَامِ فَقَامَتْ الصَّلَاةُ وَفُرِضَتْ الزَّكَاةُ وَالصِّيَامُ وَقَامَتْ الْحُدُودُ وَفُرِضَ الْحَلَالُ وَالْحَرَامُ وَتَبَوَّأَ الْإِسْلَامُ بَيْنَ أَظْهُرِهِمْ وَكَانَ هَذَا الْحَيُّ مِنْ الْأَنْصَارِ هُمْ الَّذِينَ تَبَوَّءُوا الدَّارَ وَالْإِيمَانَ وَقَدْ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَيْنَ قَدِمَهَا إنَّمَا يَجْتَمِعُ النَّاسُ إلَيْهِ لِلصَّلَاةِ لِحِينِ مَوَاقِيتِهَا بِغَيْرِ دَعْوَةٍ فَهَمَّ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حِين قَدِمَهَا أَنْ يَجْعَلَ بُوقًا كَبُوقِ يَهُودَ الَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ بِهِ لِصَلَاتِهِمْ ثُمَّ كَرِهَهُ ثُمَّ أَمَرَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ فَنُحِتَ لِيُضْرَبَ بِهِ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ لِلصَّلَاةِ

رُؤْيَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ فَبَيْنَمَا هُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ إذْ رَأَى عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدِ بْنِ ثَعْلَبَةَ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ أَخُو بَلْحَارِثِ بْنِ الْخَزْرَجِ النِّدَاءَ فَأَتَى رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ لَهُ

يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إنَّهُ طَافَ بِي هَذِهِ اللَّيْلَةَ طَائِفٌ مَرَّ بِي رَجُلٌ عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا فِي يَدِهِ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ يَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ أَتَبِيعُ هَذَا النَّاقُوسَ قَالَ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ قَالَ قُلْتُ نَدْعُو بِهِ إلَى الصَّلَاةِ قَالَ أَفَلَا أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ مِنْ ذَلِكَ

قَالَ قُلْتُ وَمَا هُوَ قَالَ تَقُولُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ حَيِّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيِّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيِّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ حَيِّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

فَلَمَّا أَخْبَرَ بِهَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، قَالَ إِنَّهَا لَرُؤْيَا حَقٍّ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ فَقُمْ مَعَ بِلَالٍ فَأَلْقِهَا عَلَيْهِ فَلْيُؤَذِّنْ بِهَا فَإِنَّهُ أَنْدَى صَوْتًا مِنْكَ

فَلَمَّا أَذَّنَ بِهَا بِلَالٌ سَمِعَهَا عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ وَهُوَ فِي بَيْتِهِ، فَخَرَجَ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَهُوَ يَجُرُّ رِدَاءَهُ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ يَا نَبِيَّ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِي بَعَثَكَ بِالْحَقِّ لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ الَّذِي رَأَى فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ

رُؤْيَا عُمَرُ قَالَ ابْنُ إِسْحَاقَ حَدَّثَنِي بِهَذَا الْحَدِيثِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ ابْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ ثَعْلَبَةَ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ

Ih2

قَالَ ابْنُ هِشَامٍ وَذَكَرَ ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ قَالَ قَالَ لِي عَطَاءٌ سَمِعْتُ عُبَيْدَ بْنَ عُمَيْرٍ اللَّيْثِيَّ يَقُولُ ائْتَمَرَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَصْحَابُهُ بِالنَّاقُوسِ لِلِاجْتِمَاعِ لِلصَّلَاةِ فَبَيْنَمَا عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَشْتَرِيَ خَشَبَتَيْنِ لِلنَّاقُوسِ إِذْ رَأَى عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ فِي الْمَنَامِ لَا تَجْعَلُوا النَّاقُوسَ بَلْ أَذِّنُوا لِلصَّلَاةِ فَذَهَبَ عُمَرُ إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لِيُخْبِرَهُ بِالَّذِي رَأَى وَقَدْ جَاءَ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْوَحْيُ بِذَلِكَ، فَمَا رَاعَ عُمَرُ إِلَّا بِلَالٌ يُؤَذِّنُ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَيْنَ أَخْبَرَهُ بِذَلِكَ قَدْ سَبَقَكَ بِذَلِكَ الْوَحْيُ

مَا كَانَ يَقُولُهُ بِلَالٌ قَبْلَ الْأَذَانِ قَالَ ابْنُ إِسْحَاقَ وَحَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ عَنْ عُرْوَةَ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ عَنْ امْرَأَةٍ مِنْ بَنِي النَّجَّارِ قَالَتْ كَانَ بَيْتِي مِنْ أَطْوَلِ بَيْتٍ حَوْلَ الْمَسْجِدِ، فَكَانَ بِلَالٌ يُؤَذِّنُ عَلَيْهِ لِلْفَجْرِ كُلَّ غَدَاةٍ، فَيَأْتِي بِسَحَرٍ، فَيَجْلِسُ عَلَى الْبَيْتِ يَنْتَظِرُ الْفَجْرَ فَإِذَا رَآهُ تَمَطَّى، ثُمَّ قَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَحْمَدُكَ وَأَسْتَعِينُكَ عَلَى قُرَيْشٍ أَنْ يُقِيمُوا عَلَى دِينِكَ قَالَتْ وَاَللَّهِ مَا عَلِمْتُهُ كَانَ يَتْرُكُهَا لَيْلَةً وَاحِدَةً

Al-Dārimī, *Sunan*. Ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad Darānī, Riyadh: Dār al-Mughnī, 2000, *Bāb fī badʾ al-adhān*.

Dar

أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ حُمَيْدٍ حَدَّثَنَا سَلَمَةُ حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِسْحَاقَ قَالَ وَقَدْ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حِينَ قَدِمَهَا قَالَ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ: يَعْنِي الْمَدِينَةَ إِنَّمَا يُجْتَمَعُ إِلَيْهِ بِالصَّلَاةِ لِحِينِ مَوَاقِيتِهَا بِغَيْرِ دَعْوَةٍ فَهَمَّ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنْ يَجْعَلَ بُوقًا كَبُوقِ الْيَهُودِ الَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ بِهِ لِصَلَاتِهِمْ ثُمَّ كَرِهَهُ ثُمَّ أَمَرَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ فَنُحِتَ لِيُضْرَبَ بِهِ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ فَبَيْنَمَا هُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ إِذْ رَأَى عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ أَخُو الْحَارِثِ بْنِ الْخَزْرَجِ فَأَتَى رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إِنَّهُ طَافَ بِيَ اللَّيْلَةَ طَائِفٌ: مَرَّ بِي رَجُلٌ عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبَانِ أَخْضَرَانِ يَحْمِلُ نَاقُوسًا فِي يَدِهِ فَقُلْتُ يَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ، أَتَبِيعُ هَذَا النَّاقُوسَ فَقَالَ وَمَا تَصْنَعُ بِهِ قُلْتُ: نَدْعُو بِهِ إِلَى الصَّلَاةِ. قَالَ أَفَلَا أَدُلُّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ مِنْ ذَلِكَ قُلْتُ وَمَا هُوَ قَالَ تَقُولُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ حَيَّ عَلَى الْفَلَاحِ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ ثُمَّ اسْتَأْخَرَ غَيْرَ كَثِيرٍ ثُمَّ قَالَ مِثْلَ مَا قَالَ وَجَعَلَهَا وِتْرًا إِلَّا أَنَّهُ قَالَ قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ

قَدْ قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ فَلَمَّا أُخْبِرَ بِهَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ إِنَّهَا لَرُؤْيَا حَقٌّ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ فَقُمْ مَعَ بِلَالٍ فَأَلْقِهَا عَلَيْهِ فَإِنَّهُ أَنْدَى صَوْتًا مِنْكَ فَلَمَّا أَذَّنَ بِلَالٌ سَمِعَهَا عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ، وَهُوَ فِي بَيْتِهِ فَخَرَجَ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَهُوَ يَجُرُّ إِزَارَهُ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ يَا نَبِيَّ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِي بَعَثَكَ بِالْحَقِّ لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ مِثْلَ مَا رَأَى فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ، فَذَاكَ أَثْبَتُ [تعليق المحقق] اسناد ضعيف ولكن الحديث صحيح

قالَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ حُمَيْدٍ حَدَّثَنِيهِ سَلَمَةُ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِيهِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنُ إِسْحَاقَ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي هَذَا الْحَدِيثَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ التَّيْمِيُّ عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ بِهَذَا الحديثِ [تعليق المحقق] إسناده ضعيف

أَخْبرنا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى حَدَّثَنَا يَعْقُوبُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ سَعْدٍ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا أَبِي عَنْ ابْنِ إِسْحَاقَ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ التَّيْمِيُّ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي أَبِي عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ قَالَ لَمَّا أَمَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِالنَّاقُوسِ فَذَكَرَ نَحْوَهُ [تعليق المحقق] إسناده صحيح

Appendix 4: Treaties with clauses about rituals or traditions extracted from Hill's selection

Donald Routledge HILL, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests, A.D. 634-656*. London: Luzac, 1971.

Place	Source	Life	Eviction	Women	Children	Possess	Land	House	No Tax Increase	No Slaves	Defence against Enemies	Churches and Cross	City Wall	Well	Mills	Traditions	Hill's quote
Syria	Abū Yūsuf											x (church and place of worship)				no clappers, no flags, but once a year	No 185, p.74
ʿĀnāh	Abū Yūsuf											x (church and place of worship)				clappers except Muslim prayers and crosses out during Feasts	No 202, p.86
al-Jazīrah (Raqqah?)	Balādhurī	x			x	x						x (church)	x (city)			no clappers, no Easter Monday no cross in public	No 219, p.90-1
Banū Taghlib	Abū ʿUbayd															no baptism, no proselytising	No 227, p.92
Ḥīrah	Abū Yūsuf											x (church and place of worship)	x (forts)			clappers and crosses	No 297, p.109
Māh Bahrādhān	Ṭabarī	x				x	x				x (manʿa)					religion (ملّه) and laws (شرائعهم)	No 394, p.128
Māh Dīnār	Ṭabarī															religion (ملّه) and laws (شرائعهم)	Ibid.
Adharbayjān	Balādhurī	x							x			x (fire temple)				dancing	No 461, p.150
Adharbayjān	Ṭabarī	x				x										religions (ملل) and customary laws (شرائعهم)	No 468, p.151
Qūmis	Ṭabarī	x				x										religious community (ملل) or religion or creed	No 469, p.151
Dihistān Jurjān	Ṭabarī	x				x										religions (ملل) and customary laws (شرائعهم)	No 470, p.152
al-Bāb	Ṭabarī	x				x										religion (ملّه)	No 471, p.152
Mūqān	Ṭabarī	x				x										religion (ملّه) and laws (شرائعهم)	No 472, p.152
Tiflis	Balādhurī & Abū ʿUbayd	x										x (church and convent)				prayers (صلوات) and faith (دين)	No 489, p.162
TOTAL MENTIONS		**38**	**1**	**7**	**10**	**36**	**6**	**7**	**10**	**1**	**3**	**21**	**9**	**1**	**2**	**14**	

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