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**MORNING AND EVENING PRAYERS IN EARLY ISLAM**

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*To my teacher, Prof. M.J. Kister,*

*on his seventieth birthday.*

**Preface**

Western scholars have already noticed that according to Muslim sources, before the five daily prayers became part of the "pillars" of Islam, the Muslims used to pray only twice a day. Goldziher states that "before the duty of prayer was extended to five times a day, the Muslims are said to have observed only two canonical times of prayer: morning and afternoon ... ".[[1]](#footnote-1) Other scholars, like Mittwoch, for instance, who studied the evidence of Muslim sources, maintained that the first two prayers which the Muslims reportedly used to pray daily were *ṣalāt al-fajr* (before sunrise), and *ṣalāt al-'ishā'* (after sunset).[[2]](#footnote-2)

In the present study various reports and traditions are examined which may give us a better insight into the evidence of Muslim sources concerning the first times of prayer in Islam, their special significance, and their position in relation to other times of prayer.

1. **Ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā**

A. The first report to be examined was recorded on the authority of al-Wāqidī

(d. 207H/823), by al-Balādhurī (d. 279H/892).[[3]](#footnote-3) This report was quoted from al- Balādhurī by Ibn Ḥajar,[[4]](#footnote-4) and it was also reproduced by al-Maqrīzī,[[5]](#footnote-5) who in turn was quoted by al-Ḥalabī.[[6]](#footnote-6) The most coherent version of this report of al-Wāqidī is that of al-Maqrīzī. It reads:

*wa-kāna salla llahu 'alayhi wa-sallama yakhruju ila l-ka'bati awwala 1-nahari fa- yusalli ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā. wa-kānat .ṣalātan la tunkiruha Quraysh. wa-kāna idha salla fi sa'iri l-yawmi ba'da dhalika qa'ada 'Ali aw Zayd radiya llahu 'anhuma yarsudanihi. wa-kāna salla llahu 'alayhi wa-ashabuhu idha ja 'a waqtu l-’aṣri tafarraqu fi l-shi'abi furada wa-mathna. wa-kanu yusalluna 1-ḍuḥā wa-l-’aṣra. thumma nazalati 1-.salawatu 1-khamsu. wa-kānati 1-ṣalātu rak'atayni qabla 1-hijrati* ...

The Prophet used to go out to the Ka'ba at the beginning of the day and perform the ḍuḥāprayer. It was a prayer with which Quraysh did not find any fault. When he afterwards prayed during the rest of the day, 'Ali and Zayd used to sit and keep guard on him. When it was the time of the *‘aṣr,* the Prophet and his companions would scatter in the ravines, one by one and in pairs; they used to pray (the prayers of) the *ḍuḥā* and the *‘aṣr.* Afterwards the five prayers were enjoined on them. Before the Hijra, each prayer consisted of two *rak'as ...*

This passage implies that the first times of prayer observed by the Muslims before the introduction of the five daily prayers were the *ḍuḥā* and the *‘aṣr*. These times deserve a special examination. The term *ḍuḥā* occurs several times in the Quran, but its basic meaning is indicated in one verse only, 91/1 : *wa-l-shamsi wa-ḍuḥāha.* In this Quranic oath, *ḍuḥā* means the brightness of the sun, or simply, daylight. In other cases the term *ḍuḥā* appears indeed in contrast to the term *lay/* (113/1; 79/29). But *ḍuḥā* meaning the brightness of the sun could be, and indeed was, restricted to that part of the day when the brightness of the sun first appears. In Quran 79/46, *ḍuḥā* occurs in juxtaposition with *‘ashiyya* (evening), which means that the former signifies the first part of the day, or as put in the *Tafsir* of Muqatil: .. the first hour of daylight following sunrise'.[[7]](#footnote-7) In view of this, it is clear that *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* which the first Muslims reportedly practiced, was performed in the morning, shortly after sunrise.[[8]](#footnote-8) The term *‘asr,* which also occurs in a Quranic oath (103/1), is explained as "the last hour of day .. when I he sun sinks towards setting".[[9]](#footnote-9) In fact, the term ‘asr is almost identical with the term ‘ashiyy (evening) which occurs quite often in the Quran. The latter is explained by Muslim commentators as 'asr .[[10]](#footnote-10) It follows that *ṣalāt-al-‘asr* was an evening prayer performed shortly before sunset.[[11]](#footnote-11)

The above passage of al-Wāqidī points to a decisive difference between *ṣalāt-al-ḍuḥā* and *ṣalāt-al’asr.* The former did not arouse any objection on the part of the Quraysh, and therefore Muhammad could practice it openly near the Ka'ba. The latter prayer, however, seems to have been very provoking to the Quraysh, so that the Muslims were forced 'to practice it secretly in the ravines of Mecca. The reason why the Muslims were not hindered from praying the *ḍuḥā* prayer near the Ka'ba seems, at first sight, to be connected with the fact that the Quraysh themselves were used to practicing various religious rites in the *ḍuḥā,* some of which were closely associated with the cult of the Ka'ba. The most notable of these rites was the circumambulation *(tawaf)* of the Ka'ba, which included also the touching of the Black Stone. In an early verse attributed to Abu Talib, it is stated that the worshippers used to touch the Black Stone and gather around it in the *ḍuḥā* as well as in the evenings.[[12]](#footnote-12) Other rituals of the Hajj in general also took place in the *ḍuḥā.* The ceremonies of Yawm al-Nahr which were observed at Mina on the tenth of Dhu l-Hijja were focused on the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the *ḍuḥā* of that day. This act was signified by the verb dahha*,* which originally meant: to perform sacrificial slaughter in the *ḍuḥā* of Yawm al-Nahr.[[13]](#footnote-13) On the same day, the worshippers used to throw pebbles at the three *Jamras* in Mina. This ritual as well was performed during the *ḍuḥā.[[14]](#footnote-14)* The *ifada* from Muzdalifa to Mina was also performed in the *ḍuḥā.* It is reported that in the morning of Yawm al-Nahr, the pilgrims used to ascend the mountain of Quzah in Muzdalifa, and when they saw the first rays of the rising sun they commenced the *ifada.[[15]](#footnote-15)*

The time of the *ḍuḥā,* i.e., that part of the day immediately following sunrise, functioned as a time of ritual practices not only among the Meccans and the pilgrims, but also among those pious monotheistic persons who were active in Arabia already in pre-Islamic times. One of them was Abu Qays Sirma b. Abi Anas who, reportedly, abandoned idolatry and led an ascetic life. One of the verses attributed to him runs as follows:[[16]](#footnote-16)

*sabbihu llaha sharqa kulli sabahin*

*tala’at shamsuhu wa-kulla hilalī.*

Praise Allah at the breaking of each morning

whose sun has risen, and at the rising of each moon.

These reports which illustrate the ritual significance of the time of the *ḍuḥā* in pre-Islamic times could explain why the Quraysh let Muhammad pray freely near the Ka'ba in the *ḍuḥā.* But, as a matter of fact, the Quraysh were also used to performing various rituals in the *‘asr,* for instance the *ifada* to Muzdalifa which took place when the setting sun was very close to the horizon.[[17]](#footnote-17) In spite of this, they did not let the Muslims pray freely in the *‘asr.* It seems, therefore, that the reason why the Quraysh put up with *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* must be connected with something in the very nature of the prayer itself, which made it so distinct from *ṣalāt al-’asr.*

In fact, *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* was a typical Arab way of worship. This is indicated in a series of reports implying that in the first decades of Islam, *ṣalāt* *al-ḍuḥā* was in vogue especially among the Arabs, or rather among the Bedouins. One of these reports relates that the first Muslim who prayed the *ḍuḥā* prayer was a *sahabī* called Dhu l-Zawa'id, or Abu 1-Zawa'id, from the tribe of Juhayna.[[18]](#footnote-18) Another report was recorded by 'Abd al-Razzaq (d. 211H/827) on the authority of Ibn Jurayj (d. l50H/767). It reads:[[19]](#footnote-19)

*'Abd al-Razzaq 'an Ibn Jurayj, qala:. akhbarani Sulayman aydan annahu*

*sami'a Tawus yaqul: inna awwala man sallaha 1-a 'rabu. idha ba 'a ahaduhum*

*hida’atan ya-tī 1-masjida fa-yukabbiru wa-yasjudu, illa anna Tawus yaqul:*

*allahu akbar, allahu akhar, allahu akbar, thumma yasjudu 1-a’rabī.*

'Abd al-Razzaq from lbn Jurayj. He said: Sulayman also informed me that he had heard Tawus saying: The first who prayed it (i.e. the *ḍuḥā* prayer) were the Bedouins. When one of them sold a commodity he would come to the mosque and say: *allah akbar,* and perform the *sujud* (prostration). But Tawus said: (the Bedouin used to say:) *allah akbar, allah akbar, allah akbar,* and then he would perform the *sujud.* 'Abd al-Razzaq has also recorded a shorter version of the same account:[[20]](#footnote-20)

*... qala Ibn Jurayj: wa-qala nasun: awwalu man sallaha ahlu 1-bawadi, yadkhuluna*

*1-masjida idha faraghu min aswaqihim.*

Ibn Jurayj said: Some people said: The first who prayed it (i.e. the *ḍuḥā* prayer)

were the dwellers of the desert. They used to enter the mosque when they had finished their fairs.

These reports indicate that *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* was a thanksgiving ceremony which the Bedouins used to observe whenever they succeeded in selling their wares in the markets. In fact, religious rites had been closely associated with Arab commercial life since pre-Islamic times, especially during the Hajj and the 'Umra. It may even be supposed that *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* itself had been practiced by the Bedouins since pre-Islamic times which explains why they, of all Muslims, adhered to it at the beginning of Islam. The fact that *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* was essentially connected with the Arab trade leads to the conclusion that this kind of devotional practice was well known to the Quraysh, the leading tradesmen of Arabia. Thus, the reason why the Quraysh let Muhammad practice it openly becomes self-evident. The Prophet appears to have merely adopted a pre-Islamic Arab practice which for him was a natural way of expressing his own gratitude and devotion to Allah.

*ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* as performed by the Bedouins consisted mainly in the *takbir* and the *sujud*. This fact is most significant; the *sujud* is a characteristic gesture of obedience and gratitude, and in view of the above reports it seems that it was far more common among the Bedouins than is usually admitted in the Muslim sources.[[21]](#footnote-21) *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* preserved its basic significance as a thanksgiving ritual during the first decades of Islam.

There is evidence that Muhammad used to perform it following great victories over his enemies. For instance, when Abu Jahl was killed (in Badr), Muhammad reportedly prayed the *ḍuḥā* prayer.[[22]](#footnote-22) Most current are the traditions of Umm Hani' about *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* which Muhammad prayed on the conquest of Mecca.[[23]](#footnote-23)

The same prayer was performed as a token of gratitude for water and food. Once, when Muhammad managed to provide a whole army of Muslims with water in a miraculous way, he prayed the *ḍuḥā.[[24]](#footnote-24)* Another report relates that the Prophet had a special bowl *(qas'a),* which was carried by four persons. The companions of the Prophet used to eat from it after having performed the *sujud* of the *ḍuḥā.[[25]](#footnote-25)*

**B.** Many Muslim traditions reflect the idea that prayers performed during sunrise or sunset are reprehensible because these were the hours when the idolaters used to prostrate themselves to the sun. The traditions condemning prayers during these parts of the day stress that when the sun rises or sets it is clasped between the two horns of the devil.[[26]](#footnote-26) The ·aversion to ritual acts at sunrise or sunset[[27]](#footnote-27) seems to date back to the days of the Prophet himself. Shortly before his death, Muhammad made some changes in the *ifada,* which were designed to remove all traces of sunworship from this ritual. It is reported that during his last pilgrimage *(hajjat al-wada),* Muhammad ordered that the *ifada* from 'Arafa to Muzdalifa be performed after sunset and not during sunset, and that the *ifada* from Muzdalifa to Mina be performed before sunrise and not during sunrise.[[28]](#footnote-28)

This attitude towards the hours of sunrise and sunset had direct bearings on *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā;* in fact, in the first decades after Muhammad's death there were several pious Muslims who wished to suppress the *ḍuḥā* prayer altogether, declaring it to be unlawful. This is demonstrated in the story about Mujahid and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr who once entered the mosque of Medina and saw the people praying the *ḍuḥā.* They asked Ibn ‘Umar, who was sitting there, about it, and he said: "'It is an innovation" *(bid’a).*[[29]](#footnote-29)The same 'Abdallah b. ‘Umar is also reported to have stated: "I have never prayed the *ḍuḥā* since I embraced Islam".[[30]](#footnote-30) He also declared that he had never seen the Prophet .Praying the *ḍuḥā,[[31]](#footnote-31)* nor had he seen ‘Umar and Abu Bakr doing it.[[32]](#footnote-32) The same attitude. towards the *ḍuḥā* prayer was shared by other *sahaba* as well. When Anas b. Malik was asked about *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā,* he stated: "The prayers are (only) five".[[33]](#footnote-33) Abu Bakr once saw people praying the *ḍuḥā,* and he as well told them that they were praying something which the Prophet and his companions had never prayed.[[34]](#footnote-34) Likewise, it is related that ‘Abdallah b. Mas'ud never prayed the *ḍuḥā.* Instead, he used to pray between the zu*hr* and the *‘asr* prayers, apart from night vigils.[[35]](#footnote-35)

Those theologians who objected to *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* had to produce proper explanations for the above-mentioned reports implying that the Prophet had prayed the *ḍuḥā.* The main line of argumentation which was eventually taken by these theologians was that Muhammad had never prayed the *ḍuḥā* regularly and intentionally; there were only some cases in which a prayer performed by Muhammad happened to coincide with the time of the *ḍuḥā.* This line is reflected in a tradition relating that the Prophet prayed in the *ḍuḥā* only once, when he was visiting a certain Muslim who asked the Prophet to pray at his house, and this happened to take place in the *ḍuḥā*.[[36]](#footnote-36) According to a tradition of A'*ishā*, the Prophet used to pray the *ḍuḥā* prayer only upon returning to Medina from a journey; his return always took place in the *ḍuḥā*.[[37]](#footnote-37)Al-Zuhri, too, declared that the Prophet had never prayed the *ḍuḥā* except on the conquest of Mecca, and upon returning from a journey.[[38]](#footnote-38) As for the conquest of Mecca, Muhammad's prayer on that occasion was explained by Muslim theologians as *ṣalāt al-fath,* which was performed also in later periods following the conquest *(fath*) of various places.[[39]](#footnote-39)

But the objection of Muslim theologians to *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* did not bring about its disappearance. This prayer, like some other practices condemned by pious theologians as *bid'a,* survived within the framework of a whole system of rites which had their origin in pre-Islamic Arab practices - namely, the pilgrimage to Mecca. The cult of the Ka'ba had consisted, since pre-Islamic times, of the t*awaf,* and the *ḍuḥā* prayer was practiced as a part of this ritual.

The survival of *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* as a part of the *tawaf* is plainly attested in a tradition about 'A'*ishā* who reportedly saw people performing the *t*awaf aroundthe Ka'ba, then awaiting sunrise in order to pray. She went on stressing that they had prayed in the "hour when prayer is reprehensible" *(al-sa'atu 1lati tukrahu fiha l-ṣalātu*).[[40]](#footnote-40) The custom of praying during sunrise following the *tawaf* seems to have been deeply rooted in the cult of the Ka'ba, so that Muslim theologians were eventually obliged to provide it with an appropriate legal basis, in the form of a prophetic *hadith.* The hadi*th* reads:[[41]](#footnote-41)

Children of ‘Abd Manaf, do not hinder anyone who has circumambulated this house (i.e. the Ka'ba) from praying at any hour one chooses, be it at night or during the day.

Many pious Muslims indeed thought that *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* was legitimate as long as it was performed in Mecca as part of the *tawaf.* Ibn 'Abbas is said never to have prayed the *ḍuḥā* except when he circumambulated the Ka'ba.[[42]](#footnote-42) 'Abdallah b. 'Umar as well declared: "I have never prayed the *ḍuḥā* since I became a Muslim, except when I was circumambulating the House".[[43]](#footnote-43)

Further traditions indicate that pious Muslims did not always confine the *ḍuḥā* prayer to the *tawaf* . There is evidence that some of them practiced it also without the *tawaf,* while being careful not to perform it too frequently. Ibn ‘Abbas, for instance, reportedly used to pray it once every ten days,[[44]](#footnote-44) and others as well used to perform it occasionally.[[45]](#footnote-45)

Similarly, an irregular observance of the *ḍuḥā* prayer was attributed to the Prophet himself.[[46]](#footnote-46) Some maintained that the *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* was lawful, provided that it was practiced privately at home.[[47]](#footnote-47)

In fact, however, *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* was far too favoured to be practiced in a limited fashion only. Traditions soon appeared in which the same persons who had reportedly objected to it were now quoted as though highly recommending it. The introduction of such traditions was the result of the special attachment with which this prayer was treated in large circles. 'A'*ishā*, for instance, was reported to have stated that she used to perform the *ḍuḥā* prayer in spite of the fact that Muhammad had refrained from it. She explained that Muhammad had not performed the *ḍuḥā* prayer only because of his wish to spare the believers the burden of this prayer, in case they followed his example.[[48]](#footnote-48) 'A'*ishā* also stated that she would never give up this prayer, not even in return for the resurrection of her parents.[[49]](#footnote-49) Ibn 'Umar, to whom the definition of *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* as *bid'a* was attributed (see above), was now quoted as having stated that the people had never invented anything he liked more than *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā*[[50]](#footnote-50)or, that it was a good *bid'a.[[51]](#footnote-51)* 'Ali b. Abi Talib was asked about this prayer which the people had invented. He said: "Pray as much as you can because Allah does not punish for praying".[[52]](#footnote-52) Further traditions actually present the Prophet himself as prescribing the *ḍuḥā* prayer to some of his companions. Abu Hurayra is reported to have stated that the Prophet had told him to perform the *witr* before bedtime, to fast three days each month, and to pray the *ḍuḥā* prayer.[[53]](#footnote-53) The same prescription is said to have been given to Abu l-Darda.[[54]](#footnote-54)

In a further group of traditions *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* is presented as practiced regularly by the Prophet himself. According to one tradition, the Prophet used to pray the *ḍuḥā* prayer defining it as "a prayer of desire and fright" *(ṣalāt raghba wa-rahba* ).[[55]](#footnote-55) 'A'*ishā* is said to have stated that the Prophet used to perform the *ḍuḥā* prayer, sometimes with four *rak'a* s and sometimes with more.[[56]](#footnote-56) According to another statement attributed to both 'A'*ishā* and Umm Salma, the Prophet used to pray the *ḍuḥā* prayer with twelve *rak'as.[[57]](#footnote-57)* Mujahid reports that the Prophet used to perform the *ḍuḥā* prayer sometimes with two *rak'as,* sometimes with four, six or eight *rak'as.[[58]](#footnote-58)* According to Jabir b. 'Abdallah, the Prophet used to perform six *rak'as* during *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā.[[59]](#footnote-59)*

Such traditions about the Prophet were designed to rule out the above-mentioned traditions claiming that Muhammad had never performed the *ḍuḥā* prayer. The only way left for those who still objected to this prayer was to try and present it as one of Muhammad's exclusive *khasa'is.* In the following tradition Muhammad is reported to have stated: "I was ordered to observe the two *rak'as* of the *ḍuḥā,* but you (i.e. the Muslims) were not ordered to observe it...".[[60]](#footnote-60) But the partisans of *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* were not short of traditions of their own. In the following version the Prophet says: "Three things are incumbent upon me *as fara'id* (obligatory duties), and upon you as *tatawwuc* (voluntary act): the *witr,* the two *rak'as* before the *fajr* prayer, and the two *rak'as* of the *ḍuḥā* prayer".[[61]](#footnote-61) In this manner, *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* was given a firm legal basis as a most recommended *tatawwuc.* The Shafi'is, in fact, considered it the best *tatawwuc.[[62]](#footnote-62)* Moreover, in a further tradition of the Prophet the *ḍuḥā* prayer is elevated to the rank of a *sunna* with respect to the believers, being a *fariqa* with respect to Muhammad.[[63]](#footnote-63)

The exact number of *rak'as* which had to be performed during *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* was something about which Muslim scholars could never reach agreement, and the variety of opinions is clearly reflected in traditions of the Prophet recommending different numbers of *rak'as.* Some traditions recommend two *rak'as,* which seems to be the original number. According to one of these traditions, two *rak'as* of *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* substitute for the duty of *sadaqa* which is incumbent upon each knuckle of the human body.[[64]](#footnote-64) Another tradition states that he who prays two *rak'as* when the sun is opposite his face *(idha staqbalathu l-shams),* his sins will be forgiven.[[65]](#footnote-65)

Other traditions recommend four *rak'a*s. The Prophet reportedly stated that Allah had asserted that four *rak'as* performed at the beginning of the day substitute for four *rak'as* at the end of the day.[[66]](#footnote-66) "He who performs the *ḍuḥā* prayer with four *rak'as"-* says the Prophet in another tradition - "Allah will build a house for him in paradise".[[67]](#footnote-67) “He who prays the *ḍuḥā* with eight *rak'as* will be written among the repentants" – says another tradition.[[68]](#footnote-68) A further tradition promises a golden palace in paradise to those who perform twelve *rak'as* during *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā*.[[69]](#footnote-69)A harmonizing tradition was also produced promising due reward to those performing 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, or 12 *rak'a*s during the *ḍuḥā* prayer.[[70]](#footnote-70) The mere existence of this variety of traditions shows that *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* was regarded as highly distinguished. The attitude of the believers towards this prayer is reflected also in the following tradition to the effect that *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* brings forth livelihood *(rizq)* and drives away poverty.[[71]](#footnote-71) A special group of traditions was designed to stress the value of a constant practice of *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā,* in contrast to the traditions recommending only an occasional performance of this prayer. "He who keeps performing the *ḍuḥā* prayer, his sins will be forgiven even if they were as plentiful as the foam of the sea".[[72]](#footnote-72) Or, "He who prays the *ḍuḥā* constantly, interrupting it only in case of illness, I (i.e. the Prophet) and he will be in paradise, in a boat of light, in a sea of the light of Allah".[[73]](#footnote-73) Those who persist in praying the *ḍuḥā* are promised, in another tradition, to enter paradise through a special door, named "*ḍuḥā*”.[[74]](#footnote-74) Another tradition says that he who sticks to the *ḍuḥā* prayer for a whole year, and then abandons it, this prayer shall miss him like a she-camel which misses its young.[[75]](#footnote-75) A special reward is promised to those who pray *ṣalāt al-subh* and then remain in their places till the sun rises in order to pray the *ḍuḥā.[[76]](#footnote-76)*

The importance attributed in early Islam to *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* reached such a degree that it was sometimes considered as matching other Islamic duties. It is related, for instance, that once the Muslims accomplished a successful raid, and returned to Medina with a lot of booty. The Prophet, however, declared that he who prayed the *ḍuḥā* had accomplished a more successful raid and gained more booty.[[77]](#footnote-77) In other words, *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* was regarded as superior to the duty of *jihad.* In another tradition, the Prophet is quoted as having stated that he who sets out for *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* shall have the reward of him who performs the 'Umra.[[78]](#footnote-78) In fact, the *ḍuḥā* prayer was eventually regarded as the essence of the true faith; refraining from observing it was declared to be one of the signs of the *munafiq* .[[79]](#footnote-79)

*ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* was provided in due course with a Quranic basis as well. This basis was reportedly discovered by Ibn 'Abbas in *sura* 38/18. This verse appears in a passage about David who is said to have been "penitent" *(awwab* ). The verse runs as follows (tr. Arberry):

With him we subjected the mountains to give glory at evening and sunrise

( *... bi l-‘ashiyyi wa-1-ishraqi).*

The prayer of the penitent David and the mountains in the *ishraq,* i.e. sunrise,[[80]](#footnote-80) was identified by Ibn ‘Abbas with *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā.* He is reported to have said: "The virtue of *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* never occurred to me till I came across this verse (i.e. 38/ 18)".[[81]](#footnote-81) In further versions it is related that upon hearing from Umm Hani' that Muhammad had prayed the *ḍuḥā* at her house (see above), Ibn ‘Abbas stated that it was *ṣalāt al-ishraq*.[[82]](#footnote-82)

Muhammad himself is sometimes said to have identified the *ḍuḥā* with *ṣalāt al-ishraq.[[83]](#footnote-83)* The identification of *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* with David's prayer who is labelled in the Quran as *awwab* gave rise to a tradition of the Prophet in which the *ḍuḥā* prayer is called *ṣalāt al-awwabin.[[84]](#footnote-84)* The *ḍuḥā* was connected by Ibn ‘Abbas with a further Quranic verse, namely 24/36, which speaks about prayers held in the mosques .. in the mornings and in the evenings'.[[85]](#footnote-85) The relation between *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* and the Quran was reaffirmed through the tradition to the effect that the Prophet had ordered the believers to recite in this prayer *sura* 91 ( *wa-l-shamsi wa-ḍuḥāha),* and *sura* 93 *(wa-1-ḍuḥā).[[86]](#footnote-86)* David was not the only Quranic prophet with whom *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* was connected. Abraham who, according to Quran 53/37 "paid his debt in full” *(wajfa),* is said to have paid it daily by means of the four *rak'as* of *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā*.[[87]](#footnote-87) Moses was told by Allah that if he wanted the high mountains to pray for him, he should not stop praying the *ḍuḥā.*[[88]](#footnote-88)

Such was the way in which *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* survived as a legitimate Muslim way of worship. The only thing left for Muslim theologians was to see to it that this prayer was performed not too close to sunrise. This tendency is clearly reflected in the following story: The *sahabi* Abu Bashir al-Ansari once saw another man (Sa’id b. Nafi’) praying the *ḍuḥā* as soon as the sun had risen. Abu Bashir reproached the latter for this, and said that the Prophet had stated: "Do not pray till the sun is high, because it rises between the two horns of the devil".[[89]](#footnote-89) The same injunction appears in a further version of the tradition stating that Ibn ‘Umar used to pray the *ḍuḥā* following the *tawaf (see* above). This version ends with the following statement: "I do only what my companions used to do, and I hinder no one from praying at any hour one chooses, at night or in the day, but do not seek the (hour of) sunrise or sunset".[[90]](#footnote-90) In a further version of the same tradition it is related that Ibn ‘Umar used to refrain from praying at the beginning of the day till the sun was high.[[91]](#footnote-91) Likewise, it is reported that Ibn ‘Abbas stated that *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* must be performed when the shadows disappear (i.e. at noon).[[92]](#footnote-92) Al-Zuhri as well reportedly related that the companions of the Prophet used to pray the *ḍuḥā* at the hot hours of the day *(bi-l-hawajir).[[93]](#footnote-93)* The Prophet himself is reported to have once seen the people of Quba' praying the *ḍuḥā* shortly after sunrise, upon which he stated: "The prayers of the repentants must be performed when the knuckles are excessively hot".[[94]](#footnote-94) Muslim scholars stressed accordingly that *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā* should not be performed as long as the rising sun is still yellow, just as the *‘asr* prayer should not be delayed till the setting sun becomes yellow.[[95]](#footnote-95)

On the other hand, however, there were also certain Muslims who still preferred an earlier hour for the performance of *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā,* i.e. closer to the original one. ‘Umar is reported to have stated: "Servants of Allah, perform the *ḍuḥā* prayer in the *ḍuḥā,* i.e. pray it in its proper time, and do not delay it till the time of the *ḍuḥā* has become advanced".[[96]](#footnote-96) In view of this, one may conclude that, theoretically at least, this pre-Islamic way of worship survived almost intact till later Islamic periods.

1. ***Salāt* al-‘asr and *ṣalāt* al-fajr**

**A.** The report quoted at the beginning of this study (above, p. 41) concerning the two times of prayer which the first Muslims used to observe, relates that the second time of prayer, apart from the *ḍuḥā,* was the *‘asr,* i.e. that part of the day immediately preceding sunset. According to that report, Muhammad was unable to pray the *‘asr* openly, due to the objection of the Quraysh. This means that in contrast to *ṣalāt* al-*ḍuḥā, ṣalāt al-’asr* did not have any roots in Arab pre-Islamic customs. Various pre-Islamic rituals did take place at the end of the day, for instance the tawaf whichwas performed at the *ḍuḥā* as well as in the evening (above, p. 42), and especially the *ifada* from ‘Arafa to Muzdalifa which was performed close to the setting of the sun (above, p. 43). But the mere fact that the Quraysh objected to the performance of *ṣalāt al-’asr* by Muhammad indicates that there were some elements in it which did not accord with the customs of the Quraysh.

It seems that the Quraysh objected to *ṣalāt al-’asr* because this prayer reflected Jewish practices. The relation of *ṣalāt al-’asr* to the Jewish *minhah* is quite obvious, and already Goldziher pointed out the Jewish origin of the sacredness of the *‘asr* time in Islam.[[97]](#footnote-97) The above report implies, therefore, that apart from authentic Arab ways of worship *(ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā),* Muhammad adopted, at a very early stage, some Jewish ritual practices as well. The latter were those to which the Quraysh were firmly opposed.

Jewish influence is especially conspicuous in those Muslim traditions stressing the sacredness of the hour of the ‘asr on Friday. The *‘asr* on Friday is regarded in Islam as a most blessed hour, in which all prayers arc responded to, and all oaths have special solemnity. Some traditions state that this hour coincides with the time of *ṣalāt al-’asr.[[98]](#footnote-98)* Other traditions say that this hour commences after *ṣalāt al-’asr,[[99]](#footnote-99)* or, that it lasts from *ṣalāt al-’asr* till the sun disappears,[[100]](#footnote-100) or, that it occurs in the last hour of daylight *(akhir sa’at al-nahar);[[101]](#footnote-101)* some traditions say that this hour starts when the sun becomes yellow and lasts till the sun disappears.[[102]](#footnote-102) The Jewish origin of this belief is self-evident in view of the fact that in Judaism the same hour marks the beginning of the holy Sabbath.[[103]](#footnote-103)

*ṣalāt al-’asr* seems to have retained always a special position in Islam. This is reflected in traditions dealing with the introduction of *ṣalāt al-khawf.* Mujahid reports that once the Muslims prayed the zuhr prayer during a military expedition, while being watched by the polytheists. The latter were about to attack the praying Muslims, but no sooner had they charged than one of them said: "They (i.e. the Muslims) are about to perform another prayer before the setting of the sun (namely, the *‘asr),* which is dearer to them than their own selves".[[104]](#footnote-104) *ṣalāt at-’asr* was thus preferred by the polytheists as the most appropriate time for attacking the Muslims, on the assumption that the latter would not interrupt it even if their lives were endangered. In order to protect the Muslims and to secure the undisturbed performance of *ṣalāt al-’asr,* Gabriel reportedly revealed to Muhammad the verses about *ṣalāt al-khawf (Quran,* 4/101 ff.).

The special veneration with which *ṣalāt al-’asr* was treated by the Muslims brought about the introduction of traditions of the Prophet stressing the vital importance of its performance by the believers. The Prophet reportedly stated that *ṣalāt al-’asr* had been enjoined upon the previous peoples but they had refused to practice it because it was too burdensome for them. But in fact, it was superior to· the rest of the prayers by twenty-six degrees.[[105]](#footnote-105) In another version of the same tradition, the Prophet promises a double reward to those who pray the *‘asr.[[106]](#footnote-106)* "He who neglects the *‘asr* prayer", says another tradition, "his (entire) work has failed".[[107]](#footnote-107) Another tradition states that missing the appropriate time of *ṣalāt al-’asr* is like losing one's family and fortune.[[108]](#footnote-108) The importance of this prayer is clearly reflected in some legendary traditions relating that ‘Ali b. Abi Talib was once entrusted by Muhammad with a certain task, due to which he was unable to pray the *‘asr* before the setting of the sun. The Prophet, it is related, invoked Allah to draw back the sun, till it shone again above the western horizon; there upon ‘Ali prayed the *‘asr,* and the sun set again.[[109]](#footnote-109)

**B.** The fact that *ṣalāt al-’asr* was one of the two daily prayers which preceded the five constitutional ones, is mentioned in a whole series of exegetic traditions referring to some Quranic verses which are interpreted as though dealing with that early stage when the Muslims prayed only twice a day. The interesting point is that the morning prayer, which is mentioned in these traditions alongside *ṣalāt al-’asr* is not *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā,* but rather another prayer - *ṣalāt al-fajr* which is performed before sunrise. This fact means that already before the introduction of the five daily prayers, *ṣalāt al-fajr* replaced *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* as an official morning prayer, performed together with *ṣalāt al-’asr.*

Among the Quranic verses which Muslim commentators connected with the prayers of the *fajr* and the *‘asr,* the most noteworthy is 20/130 (cf. also 50/39-40):

*wa-sabbih bi-hamdi rabbika qabla tulu’i 1-shamsi wa-qabla ghurubiha ...*

And praise your Lord before the rising of the sun and before its setting ...

According to al-Suddi, this verse refers to the first two daily prayers, which preceded the five constitutional ones,[[110]](#footnote-110) and these prayers are said to be *ṣalāt* al-fajrand *ṣalāt al-’asr.[[111]](#footnote-111)* Another Quranic verse which is also connected by Muslim exegetes with *ṣalāt al-fajr* and *ṣalāt al-’asr[[112]](#footnote-112)* is 11/114: *wa-aqimi l-salata* *(arafayi 1-nahari wa-zulafan mina l-layli).*

And perform the prayer at the two ends of the day and during some stages of the night.

The same prayers are said to be mentioned in Quran 40/55,[[113]](#footnote-113) 6/52,[[114]](#footnote-114) and 17/78-79.[[115]](#footnote-115) The fact that *ṣalāt al-fajr* substituted for *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* as an official morning prayer already before the number of prayers was extended to five is most significant. The obvious similarity between *ṣalāt al-fajr* and the Jewish *shaharith* indicates, once again, how early Muhammad began to look for Jewish models of prayer which substituted for Arab pre-Islamic manners of worship *(ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā*). The same process is discernible in the fact that at a certain stage before the *hijra,* Muhammad stopped praying towards the Ka'ba which served as his first *qibla,* and started praying towards Jerusalem instead.[[116]](#footnote-116) After the *hijra,* however, the Ka'ba was taken up again as a *qibla.* The sacredness of the hours of the *fajr* and the *‘asr* was mainly the result of the fact that they marked the middle stage between day and night. The Prophet is reported to have related that at the *fajr* and the *‘asr* the angels of the day and of the night meet with each other, on their way up to heaven and down to earth. Those going up inform Allah about the prayers of the worshippers.[[117]](#footnote-117) This tradition indicates that the *fajr* and the *‘asr* were regarded as most appropriate hours for prayer. The fact that the prayers of the *fajr* and the *‘asr* were performed during the middle stage between night and day brought about the identification of these prayers with the Quranic phrase *al-ṣalāt al-wusta* (2/238). This phrase in itself means a prayer performed between night and day,[[118]](#footnote-118) and it seems to have been connected at first with *ṣalāt al-subh (al-fajr)* which was performed between the darkness of the night and the brightness of the day.[[119]](#footnote-119) The application of the same Quranic phrase to *ṣalāt af\_’asr* is ascribed to the Prophet himself. ‘Ali related that the Muslims used to think that *al-ṣalāt al-wusta* was *ṣalāt al-subh,* till they had heard the Prophet cursing the polytheists during the Battle of the Ditch for having detained the Muslims from praying the *‘aṣr.* The words of the Prophet were: *"shaghluna 'ani l-ṣalāti l-wusta ṣalāti l-‘asri…*"[[120]](#footnote-120) It was even maintained that the words *“ṣalāt al-’asr* were originally written in the Quran itself, serving as a *badal* for the phrase *al-ṣalāt al-wusta.* This *qira’a* is related on the authority of ‘A'*ishā*, Hafsa and Umm Salama.[[121]](#footnote-121)

*ṣalāt al-fajr* and *ṣalāt al-’asr* have always retained their superiority over the rest of the official Islamic prayers. Thus it is related that a person told the Prophet that his preoccupations hindered him from sticking to the five daily prayers. So the Prophet instructed him to keep to the *‘asrani* only. The man asked: "What are the *‘asrani?"* The Prophet said: "A prayer before sunrise and a prayer before sunset".[[122]](#footnote-122) The virtue of these prayers is stressed also in the following statement of the Prophet: "He who prays before the rising of the sun and before its setting will not enter hell".[[123]](#footnote-123) The prayers of the *fajr* and the *‘asr* were also called *al-bardani,* i.e. the cool ones. The Prophet reportedly stated: "He who prays the *bardani* will enter paradise".[[124]](#footnote-124)

**C.** The data surveyed thus far concerning *ṣalāt al-fajr* and *ṣalāt al-’asr* indicate that these prayers were actually performed close to sunrise and sunset. But these prayers were never condemned as *bid’a,* not even after the aversion to prayers during sunrise and sunset became dominant in Islam. The reason for this seems to have been connected with the fact that, in contrast to *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā,* the prayers of the *fajr* and ‘asr had a clear parallel in other monotheistic circles, i.e. the Jews, and this apparently provided these prayers with a kind of legitimacy. Nevertheless, there is evidence in Muslim sources that some scholars preferred that the prayers *of the fajr* and *‘asr be* performed not too close to sunrise and sunset. As for *ṣalāt al-’asr,* those who waited till the sun became yellow in order to perform this prayer were sometimes labelled as *munafiqun* .[[125]](#footnote-125) As for *ṣalāt al-fajr,* several traditions were circulated stressing that this prayer must not be extended beyond sunrise.[[126]](#footnote-126) The general tendency was to detach it as far as possible from sunrise, so that prayers performed even during the first brightness preceding sunrise were deplored.[[127]](#footnote-127) The best time prescribed for *ṣalāt al-fajr* was the *ghalas,* i.e., the last moments of darkness.[[128]](#footnote-128) Sometimes it was even stressed that when this prayer was concluded, one was still unable to recognize one's own son or friend.[[129]](#footnote-129) Delaying the *fajr* prayer till after the disappearance of the stars was sometimes condemned as a Christian practice.[[130]](#footnote-130) On the other hand, however, there were quite a few Muslims who, in spite of the aversion to prayers during sunrise and sunset, used to delay the *fajr* and the *‘asr* prayers till very close to sunrise and sunset, thus maintaining their original time. Those who used to delay the *‘asr* prayer during Muhammad's lifetime were mainly the inhabitants of Quba', near Medina, namely the Banu ‘Amr b. ‘Awf. It is reported that they used to pray the *‘asr* much later than did the people of Medina.[[131]](#footnote-131) The scholar Tawus reportedly used to delay the *‘asr* prayer till the sun became very yellow.[[132]](#footnote-132) Ibn Mas’ud also used to delay the *‘asr* prayer,[[133]](#footnote-133) and so did Ibn Sirin and Abu Qilaba.[[134]](#footnote-134) Abu Hurayra reportedly postponed the *‘asr* until the rays of the sun were seen only upon the summit of the highest mountain in Medina.[[135]](#footnote-135) The name of *ṣalāt al-‘asr* was explained as though derived from the term *r’sar* in the sense of *ta'khir,* i.e., delay.[[136]](#footnote-136) Abu Qilaha reportedly stated that *ṣalāt al-‘asr* was thus named in order to be delayed.[[137]](#footnote-137)

Traditions soon appeared in which those who prayed the *‘asr* as early as possible were actually condemned for deviating from the *sunna* of the Prophet. Umm Salama is reported to have stated: "The apostle of Allah used to pray the *zuhr* earlier than you do, and you pray the *‘asr* earlier than he did".[[138]](#footnote-138) In a similar tradition, the too early performance of the *‘asr* prayer is presented as a deviation from the *sunna* of the preceding peoples:

"Those who were before you used to pray the *zuhr* earlier than you do, and to pray the *‘asr* later than you do".[[139]](#footnote-139) In fact, the Prophet himself was quoted as explicitly favouring the delayed performance *(ta'khir)* of *ṣalāt al-’asr.[[140]](#footnote-140)* The great scholar Abu Hanifa objected to the early performance of *ṣalāt al-’asr.* He maintained that the appropriate time for this prayer commences only when the shadows are twice as long as the· objects that cast them.[[141]](#footnote-141) The followers of Abu Hanifa maintained that the *‘asr* prayer should be delayed till the ascension of the angels at the end of the day.[[142]](#footnote-142)

Likewise, *ṣalāt al-fajr* was not always detached from sunrise. Pious Muslims like ‘Umar b. al-Khattab, although recommending that *ṣalāt al-fajr* be started when the stars are still visible, gave instructions to prolong it through the recitation of two long *suras.[[143]](#footnote-143)* In fact, many Muslims used to carry on *the fajr* prayer till the day became very bright, or even to start it only when the day was already bright. Such, for instance, was the practice of Tawus *(kāna yusfiru bi-ṣalāt al-ghadat).[[144]](#footnote-144)* ‘Ali and Sa’id b. Jubayr reportedly used to instruct the *mu'adhdhin* to wait with the announcement of this prayer till the day was bright (asfir! asfir!).[[145]](#footnote-145) This injunction *(asfiru bi-ṣalāt al-subh)* was even circulated as a Prophetic *hadith.[[146]](#footnote-146)* lbn Mas’ud actually delayed this prayer till just before sunrise. It is related that some people once prayed this prayer with him, and as soon as they were finished, the sun rose. They asked Ibn Mas’ud about it, and he swore to them that this was the appropriate time for this prayer. To prove it he recited *sura* 17/78: *"aqimi l-ṣalāta li-duluki l-shamsi ila ghasaqi l.layl".* He said: This is the *duluk* of the sun (i.e., the eastern horizon), and this is the *ghasaq* of the night (i.e., the western horizon).[[147]](#footnote-147)

**D.** The question of the lawfulness of prayers close to sunrise and sunset was especially acute with respect to the voluntary *rak'as* following the prayers of the *fajr* and the *'asr.* Those who objected to prayers close to sunrise and sunset utterly forbade such voluntary supplications following *ṣalāt al-fajr* and *ṣalāt al-'asr.* Their attitude is reflected in the following traditions about the Prophet. ‘Ali reportedly stated that the Prophet used to pray two *rak'as* following each compulsory prayer, except for the *fajr* and the *‘aṣr.[[148]](#footnote-148)* Salama b. al-Akwa’, too, stated that he had never seen the Prophet pray following the *subh* and *‘aṣr* prayers.[[149]](#footnote-149) The Prophet himself was reported to have interdicted in several traditions prayers following the *subh* till sunrise, and following the *‘aṣr* till sunset.[[150]](#footnote-150) Prayers following *ṣalāt al-’asr* were especially prohibited, and several traditions of the Prophet to that effect were circulated.[[151]](#footnote-151)

As is to be expected, however, there is evidence that voluntary prayers following *ṣalāt al-fajr* and *ṣalāt al-’aṣr* were not altogether abandoned. The adherence to such voluntary *rak'as* was customary mainly in Mecca; here they were performed at the end of the *tawaf which* took place following the prayers of the *fajr* and the *‘aṣr.* A tradition of the Prophet says that there are two kinds of *tawaf* which provide the believers with total forgiveness: a tawaf following *ṣalāt al-fajr* which is finished at sunrise, and a *tawaf* following the *‘aṣr* prayer which is finished at sunset. These are sacred hours attended by the angels.[[152]](#footnote-152) Each of these two daily *tawafs* was concluded by two *rak'as,* and there are several traditions of the Prophet stressing the lawfulness of such *rak'as.* In one of them the following statement is attributed to the Prophet: "There is no prayer following the *'asr* till sunset, neither following *the fajr* till sunrise, except at Mecca".[[153]](#footnote-153) In fact, there is a whole chapter in al-Fakihi containing traditions about prominent *sahaba,* such as Ibn ‘Umar, Ibn 'Abbas, al-Hasan, al-Husayn and others, who prayed the voluntary *rak* 'as at Mecca following the *tawaf* of the subh and the *‘asr.[[154]](#footnote-154)* Muslim scholars sometimes made a point of stressing that the concession relating to prayers following the *fajr* and the *‘asr* was exclusive to Mecca,[[155]](#footnote-155) but, on the other hand, the *tawaf* did not always remain the only legitimate setting for practicing these extra prayers. It is reported that the Zahiris considered all traditions prohibiting additional *rak'as* following *the fajr* and the *‘aṣr* prayers as abrogated *(mansukha* ).[[156]](#footnote-156) There are, in fact, several examples proving that the adherence to this kind of *rak'as* overcame the resistance of pious Muslims. It is related, for instance, that ‘Umar used to flog people who dared pray after the *'asr* prayer, but Tamim al-Dari ignored it and stated that he had seen the Prophet himself praying following *ṣalāt al-’aṣr.[[157]](#footnote-157)* The same statement was made by Zayd b. Khalid al-Juhani.[[158]](#footnote-158) Abu Musa al-Ash’ari as well related that he had seen the Prophet perform two *rak'a* s following *ṣalāt al-’aṣr.[[159]](#footnote-159) ‘*A'*ishā*, too, stated that the Prophet had never given up the two *rak'as* following the *‘asr* prayer.[[160]](#footnote-160)

These traditions indicate that despite the efforts exerted by Muslim scholars to suppress prayers during sunrise and sunset, due to their alleged pagan nature - prayers at these hours were never abandoned in early Islam. The sacredness attached to these hours was greater than the fear of paganism.

1. I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies,* ed. by S.M. Stern, London 1971, I, 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. E.Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus,* Berlin 1913, p. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Baladhuri, Ansab, I, 113, 117. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Isaba, VIII, 25-26. Cf. also Goldzher. Muslim Studies, I, 42-43. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Maqrizi, Imar, I, 16-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Halabi, I, 267. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Muqatil, II, 242: *wa-hiya awwalu sa'atin mina l-nahari, min hini tatlu'u l-shamsu.* [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. For a further description of Muhammad's prayer near the Ka'ba following sunrise, see Tabati, Tarikh, II, 56 (the story of 'Afif al-Kindi). Cf. Bayhaqi, Dala'il, I, 416; Halabi, I, 270-271. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Ibid., 249: *...wa huwa akhiru sa'atin mina l-nahari... hina tasubu l-shamsu li-l-ghurub.* [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. E.g. Suyuti, Durr, V, 154 (on 30/17-18), 309 (on 38/31), 352 (on 40/55); III, 14 (on 6/52); IV, 219.220 (on 18/28), 260 (on 19/11). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. It is now clear that *ṣalāt* al-'asr was introduced into Islamic cult much earlier than the Madinan period, contrary to Mittwoch, op. cit., I I ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Ibn Hisham, I, 292:

    *wa-bi-l-hajari l-muswaddi idh yamsahunahu/*

    *idha ktanafuhu bi-l-duha wa-l-asa'ili.* [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Taj, s.v., "d.h.w.": *wa-dahhaytu bi-lshati tadhiyatan - dhabahtuha fiha, ay fi duha l nahari: hadha huwa l-aslu fihi...* [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. E.g. Qira, 523; Fath al-bari, III, 462. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. E.g. Azraqi, 130. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Ibn Hisham, II, 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. E.g. Azraqi, 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Isaba, II, 413; Majma' al-zawa'id, II, 234; Suyuti, Hawi, I, 73. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 79/80. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Ibid., 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. For a survey of these sources see M.J.Kister, "Some reports concerning al-Ta'if", JSAI, I, 1979, p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Bayhaqt, Dala'il, II, 363. See also Fath al-bari, III, 45; Zad, 348; Majma'al-zawa'id, II, 238; Suyuti, Hawi, I, 60-61. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. E.g. Ibn Hisham, IV, 53-54; Waqid, II, 830: Ibn Sa'd, II, 144-145; Bukhari, II, 73: Muslim, II, 157-158; Malik, I, 166; Abu Dawud, I, 297; Tirnidhi, II, 258; Fath al-bari, III, 43-44; Zad, 332; Suyuti, Hawi, I, 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Majma' al-zawa'id, II, 235; Suyuti, Hawi, I, 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Abu Dawud, II, 313. Cf. also Suyuti, Hawi, I, 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Ibn Sa'd, IV, 216-217, 218; Abu Dawud, I, 294; Muslim, II, 209; Ibn Qutayba, Tawil, 125. On the meaning of "the two horns of the devil" in connection with the sun, see I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, I, Leiden 1896, p. 113 ff. And see further traditions forbidding prayers at sunrise or sunset, Wensink, Handbook, 192. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. E.g. El' s.v. "mikat". [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. E.g. Azraqi, 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Bukhari, III, 3; Muslim, IV, 61. And see further Suyuti, Hawi, I, 73. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 81: *ma sallaytu l-duha mundhu aslamtu.* [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Bukhari, II, 73; Zad, 331, 343. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Zad, 344. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Ibid., 343: Fath al-bari, III. 45-46. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 80; Zad, 344. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Bukhari, II, 73-74; Zad, 347; Fath al-bari, III, 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Muslim, II, 156; Zad, 332, 345. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 77. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. See Zad, 346 ff.; Fath al-bari, III, 44, Suhayli, IV, 103. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Bukhari, II, 190; Abd al-RAzzaq, II, 427. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Tirmidhi, IV, 98-99. See also ibid., I, 299; Fath al-bari, III, 390 ff.; Majma' al-zawa'id, II, 228-229; Azraqt, 265. Fakiht, fol. 300; Qira, 320 ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Fath al-bari, III, 43 (from Ibn Abi Shayba): *...ma sallaytu l-duha mundhu aslamtu illa an atufa bi-l-bayti.* [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Zad, 345, 349; Sutati, Hawi, 1, 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Zad, 345, 349. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Tirmidhi, II, 258; Zad, 340, 345; Suyuti, Hawi, I, 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Zad, 346. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 78; Bukhari, II, 73; Muslim, II, 156-157; Abu Dawud, I, 297; Zad, 331, 344; Malik, I, 166-168. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 78; Malik, I, 168. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, III, 78-79: ...wa-ma ahdatha l-nasu shay'an ahabba ilayya minha. See also Suyuti, Hawi, I, 73. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Fath al-bari, III, 43: ...wa-ni'mat al-bid'a. See also Zad, 344. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 74; Bukhari, II, 73; Muslim, II, 158; Tirmidhi, III, 291-292; Zad, 336; Mundhirt, Targhib, II, 55. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Muslim, II, 159; Zad, 336; Mundhirt, Targhib, II, 56. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 75. Cf. Mustadrak, I, 314; Zad, 333; Suyut, Hawi, I, 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 74-75. See also Muslim, II, 157; Zad, 334; Suyutt, Hawi, I, 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Zad, 334-335. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 74; Zad, 333-334. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Zad, 334. See also Suyuti, Hawi, I, 60 (on the authority of Anas b. Malik). [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Suyuti, Khasa'is, III, 254; umirtu bi-rak'atayi l-duha wa-lam tu'maru biha... See also idem, Hawi, I, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Suyuti, Khasa'is, III, 254; Halabi, III, 296. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Alusi, XXIII, 175. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. A.J. Wensinck, s.v. "*ṣalāt*" El' (quoting Ahmad). [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Muslim, II, 158; Abu Dawud, I, 295-296; Mundhirt, Targhib, II, 55,; Zad, 336-337. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Mundhiri, Targhib, II, 58; Majma' al-zawa'id, II, 236; Suyuti, Hawi, I, 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Tirmidhi, II, 259; Abu Dawud, I, 296; Mundhiri, Targhib, II, 57-58; Zad, 337; Majma' al-zawa'id, II, 235-236. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Fath al-bari, III, 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, III,75; Zad, 337; Fath al-bari, III, 44; Suyuti, Durr, V, 299; idem, Hawi, I, 62; Mundhiri, Targhib, II, 56. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Mundhiri, Targhib, II, 58; Nuzhat al-majalis, I, 123; Fath al-bari, III, 44; Suyuti, Durr, V, 299; idem., Hawi, I, 69. For the discussion of this problem see further Zad, 341 ff.; Fath al-bari, III, 43-45; Nuzhat al-majalis, I, 123; Suyuti, Hawi, I, 71 ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Nuzhat al-majalis, I, 122. See also Fath al-bari, III, 47: Neglecting this prayer causes blindness. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Tirmidhi, II, 260; Mundhiti, Targhib, II, 56; Zad, 337, 352; Suyuti, Durr, V, 299; idem., Hawi, I, 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Ibn al-Jawzi, 'Ilal, I, 472; Zad, 350. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Ibn al-Jawzi, 'Ilal, I, 471-472; Zad, 339; Suyuti, Hawi, I, 63, 70; Nuzhat al-majalis, I, 122; Munhir, Targhib, II, 59; Majma' al-zawa'id, II, 239. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Zad, 351. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Abu Dawud, I, 296, 297; Mundhiri, Targhib, II, 57, I, 234 ff.; Nuzhat al-majalis, I, 123; Zad, 337, 340-341; Suyuti, Durr, V, 299; idem., Hawi, I, 63; Ibn Hibban, I, 176; Majma' al-zawa'id, II, 235. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Mundhiri, Targhib, II, 56; Majma al-zawa'id, II, 235; Suyuti, Hawi, I, 65, 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Mundhiri, Targhib, II, 58; Zad, 340. See further, Suyuti, Hawi, I, 63, 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Suyuti, Durr, VI, 405: al muna'iq la yusalli l-duha wa-la yaqra'u "qul: ya ayyuha l-kakafiran". See also idem, Hawi, I, 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. See Muqatil, Tafsri *al-khams mi'a aya mina l-Quran*, MS Br, Lib, Or, 6333, fol. 9: ...*bi-l-'ashiyyi wa-l'ishraq: ya'n wa-hina iushriqu l-shamsu fi awwali l-nahar.* [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Loc. cit.: qala Ibn 'Abbas: *ma fatantu bi-fadli ṣalāti l-duha hatta ataytu 'ala hadhihi l-aya*... And see also 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 79; Suyuti, Durr, V, 298; idem, Hawi, I, 59; Qurtubi, XV, 160. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Suyull, Durr, V, 298-299; Halabi, III, 93; Majma' al-zawa'id, II, 238. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Qurtubi, XV, 159-160: Razi, XXVI, 186. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Mustadrak, I, 314; Suyuti, Durr, V, 299; idem, Hawi, I, 59, 71; Qurtubi, XV, 160; Mundhiri, Targhib, II, 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Suyuti, Durr, V, 52; idem, Hawi, 1,59; Razi, XXIV, 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Fath al-Bari, III, 46 (from al-Hakim); Nuzhat al-majalis, I, 122; Suyufi, Hawi, I, 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Fath al-Bari, III, 45; Suyuti, Hawi, I, 68. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Nuzhat al-majalis, I, 122. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Majma' al zawa'id, II, 226*: la tusalli hatta tartafra l-shamsu fa innaha tatlu'u fi qarnayi l-shaytan.* [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Bukhari, II, 76-77. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. 'Abd al-Razzaq, II, 430. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Ibid., III, 80: *ṣalāt* *al-duha idha inqata'at al-zilal*. See also Suyuti, Hawi, I, 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Suyuti, Durr, V, 299: *ṣalāt* *al-awwabin idha ramidat al-fisal*. See also idem, Hawi, I, 64; Zad, 338; 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Qurfubi, XV, 160. See also El' s.v. "*ṣalāt*" (A.J. Wensinck). [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Taf, s.v., "d.h.w.", *wa-minhu qawl 'Umar adha'ibada llahi bi-ṣalāti l-duha - ay salluha li-waqtiha wa-la tu'akhkhiruha ila irtifa'i l-duha*. See also Suyuti, Hawi, I, 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. I. Goldziher, "*Die Bedeutung der Nachmittagszeit im Islam*", Gesammelte Schriften, V, 27 ff., 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 262. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Ibid., III, 265; Fath al-bari, II, 349; Suyutt, Durr, VI, 217. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 262. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Ibid., III, 262. See also 265-266; Fath al-bari, II, 349. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 264; Fath al-bari, II, 349. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. See M.J.Kirster and Menahem Kirster, "On the Jews of Arabia - some notes", Tarbiz, 48, 1979, p. 247, n. 70 (in Hebrew). [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. 'Abd al-Razzaq, II, 502-503. For other versions see ibid., 505, 506; Waqidi, II, 582; Tabari, Tafsir, V, 164; Suyuti, Durr, II, 211, 213, 214; Tahawi, Sharh, I, 318. And cf. also Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 580. See also Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Tabari, Tafsir; II, 351; Majma' al-zawa-id, I, 308; Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25-26. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Bukhari, II, 145: man taraka *ṣalāt*a l-'asr fa qad habita'amaluhu (cf. Quran 5/5 etc.). See also Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 576: *alladhi tafutuhu ṣalātu l-'asr fa-ka-annama wutira ahlahu wa-malahu*. See also Bukhari, I, 145; Muslim, II, 111; Tahawi, Mushkil, II, 12, IV, 232-233; Fath al-bari, II, 24, Tabari, Tafsir, II, 351, Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. E.g. Ibn Kathir, Bidaya, VI, 77-78, 281-282; Suyuti, Khasa'is, II, 324-325; Tahawi, Mushkil, II, 8 ff., IV, 388 ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Suyutt, Durr, IV, 112 (from Ibn Abi Hatim): *... kana hadha qabla an tufrada l-ṣalātu.* [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Suyuti, Durr, IV, 312, VI, 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Tabari, Tafsir, XII, 77; Suyuti, Durr, III, 351. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Suyuti, Durr, V, 352-353, (from 'Abd al-Razzaq). And see also Muqatil, II, 130 [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Suyuti, Durr, III, 14, IV, 219-220. See also Abu 'Abdallah al-Ilbiri, Mukhtasar tafsir Yahya b. Salam, MS Br. Lib. ADD. 19490, fol. 82; Muqatil, I, 117, II, 8-8. See also Ibn Sayyid al-Nas, I, 91 (from Muqatil), Fath al-bari, I, 393, Halabi, I, 266, 264. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Tabart, Tafste, XV, 93: ... 'an Abi Ja'far: "*ila ghasaqi l-layli*" qala: *ṣalāt* al-'asr. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Some connect it with the miraculous isra to Jerusalem and the introduction of the five daily prayers which is said to have taken place during that event. See Halabi, I, 264. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Ibn Khuzayma, I, 165; Bukhari, I, 145-146; Fath al-bari, II, 27 ff.; Muslim, II, 113. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 579: ...*wasatat fa-kanat bayna l-layli wa-l-nahar*. See also Suyuti, Durr, I, 301 (from 'Abd al-Razzaq). [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Suyuti, Durr, I, 301 (from Ibn 'al-Barr). See also Razi, VI, 148 ff.; Tabari, II, 262,. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Tabari, Tafsir, II, 345. See also Suyuti, Durr, I, 303; Tahawi, Sharh, I, 173. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Tabari, Tafsir, II, 343-344. In other versions, a "waw" is inserted between "al-*ṣalāt* al wusta" and "*ṣalāt* al-'asr", which is designed to imply that the two prayers are not identical. See Tabari, Tafsir, II, 348. And see further, I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, 14-15. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Suyuti, Durr, I, 294; Tahawi, Mushkil, I, 440. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Ibn Khuzayma, I, 164; Suyuti, Durr, IV, 312; Muslim, II, 114; Tabari, Tafsir, II, 351; Majma al-zawa'id, I, 318. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Bukhari, I, 150. See also Fath al-bari, II, 43-44; Muslim, II, 114. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Ibn Khuzayma, I, 172; 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 549-550. Tahawi, Sharh, I, 192; Tirmidhi, I, 271; Malik, I, 221; Abu Dawud, I, 98; Muslim, II, 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. E.g. 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 581, 582. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Ibid., I, 572. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Ibid., 1, 540, 569; Bukhari, I, 147, 148; Muslim, II, 119; Tirmidhi, I, 260-261. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 571; Tahawi, Sharh, I, 176-177, Majma al-zawa'id, I, 317-318. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. Majma al-zawa'id, I, 316. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Bukhari, I, 144;'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 549; Muslim, II, 109-110; Tahawi, Sharh, I, 190; Majma al-zawa'id, I, 307-308. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 550: ... *kana yu'akhkhiru l-'asra hatta tasfarra l-shamsu jiddan.* [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Ibid., I, 551; Majma al-zawa'id, I, 307. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 551. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. Tahawi, Sharh, I, 193. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. Tahawi, Mushkil, I, 439. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Loc. cit.: 'an Abi Qilaba: *innama summiyati l-'asra li-tu'sara*. See also idem, Sharh, I, 194. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. Tirmidhi, I, 272: *kana rasalu llahi (s) ashadda ta'jflan li-l-zuhri minkum, wa-antum ashaddu ta'jflan li-l-'asri minhu.* [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 540: *kana man qablakun ashadda ta'jflan li-l-zuhri wa-ashadda ta'khran li-l-'asri minkun*. See also Tahawi, Sharh, I, 193. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Ibn al Jawzi, 'Ilal, I, 389; Majma al-zawa'id, I, 307. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. Fath al-bari, II, 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. Ibid., II, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. ‘Abd al-Razzaq, I, 536, 570-571. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. Ibid., I, 569. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Loc. cit. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. Ibid., I, 568, 573; Majma al-zawa'id, I, 315-316; Tirmidhi, I, 262; Fath al-bari, II, 45; Tahawi, Sharh, I, 178-179 (with further variants). [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 568. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. Ibid., III, 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. Majma al-zawa'id, II, 226. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. Ibid., II, 225. And see further, Bukhari, I, 152; Fakihi, 301. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. E.g. Bukhari, I, 153; Majma al-zawa'id, II, 226, 227. And see further data, Fakihi, 301-301. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. Fakihi, 299. See also Azraqi, 266: Qira, 330. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. Majma al-zawa'id, II, 228. See further, Fakihi, 300; Qira 321. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. Fakihi, 300-301. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. E.g. Fakihi, 301: ...*fa-innahu rukhkhisa fi dhalika ha-huna ma lam yurakhkhas fi shay'in mina l-amsar*. And see also the statement of Abu l'-Darda concerning the same matter*: inna hadha l-balad laysa ka-sa'iri l-buldan* (Fakihi, 300). [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. See the detailed discussion, Fath al-bari, II, 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. Majma al-zawa'id, II, 222-223. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. Ibid., II, 223. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. Loc. cit. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. Bukhari, I, 153-154. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)