

**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 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

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.

I. *Ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā*

A. The first report to be examined was recorded on the authority of al-Wāqidi (d. 207H/823), by al-Balādhuri (d. 279H/892).³ This report was quoted from al-Balādhuri by Ibn Hajar,⁴ and it was also reproduced by al-Maqrizi,⁵ who in turn was quoted by al-Ḥalabi.⁶ The most coherent version of this report of al-Wāqidi is that of al-Maqrizi. It reads:

¹ I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. by S.M. Stern, London 1971, I, 43.

² E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, Berlin 1913, p. 10.

³ Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 113, 117.

⁴ *Iṣāba*, VIII, 25-26. Cf. also Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 42-43.

⁵ Maqrizi, *Imtā'*, I, 16-17.

⁶ Ḥalabi, I, 267.

wa-kāna ṣalla llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama yakhrūju ila l-ka'bati awwala l-nahāri fa-yuṣallī ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā. wa-kānat ṣalātan la tunkiruhā Quraysh. wa-kāna idhā ṣalla fi sa'iri l-yawmi ba'da dhālika qa'ada 'Alī aw Zayd raḍiya llāhu 'anhumā yarsūdanihi. wa-kāna ṣalla llāhu 'alayhi wa-aṣḥābuhu idhā jā'a waqtu l-'aṣrī tafarraqu fi l-shi'abi furada wa-mathnā. wa-kānu yuṣallūna l-ḍuḥā wa-l-'aṣrā. thumma nazalati l-ṣalawātu l-khamsu. wa-kānati l-ṣalātu rak'atayni qabla l-hijrati...

The Prophet used to go out to the Ka'ba at the beginning of the day and perform the *ḍuḥā* prayer. It was a prayer with which Quraysh did not find any fault. When he afterwards prayed during the rest of the day, 'Alī 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-ḍuḥahā*. 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 *layl* (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 'aṣhiyya (evening), which means that the former signifies the first part of the day, or as put in the *Tafsīr* of Muqātil: "the first hour of daylight following sunrise".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.^{7a} The term 'aṣr, which also occurs in a Quranic oath (103/1), is explained as "the last hour of day... when the sun sinks towards setting".⁸ In fact, the term 'aṣr is almost identical with the term 'aṣhiyy (evening) which occurs quite often in the Quran. The latter is explained by Muslim commentators as 'aṣr.⁹ It

⁷ Muqātil, II, 242: *wa-hiya awwalu ṣā'atin mina l-nahāri, min hīni taḥṣu l-shamsu*.

^{7a} For a further description of Muḥammad's prayer near the Ka'ba following sunrise, see Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, II, 56 (the story of 'Afīf al-Kindī). Cf. Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, I, 416; Ḥalabī, I, 270–271.

⁸ Ibid., 249: *...wa-huwa ākhiru ṣā'atin mina l-nahāri... hīna taṣūbu l-shamsu li-l-ghurūb*.

⁹ E.g. Suyūṭī, *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).

follows that *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* was an evening prayer performed shortly before sunset.^{9a}

The above passage of al-Wāqidi points to a decisive difference between *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* and *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*. The former did not arouse any objection on the part of the Quraysh, and therefore Muḥammad could practice it openly near the Kaʿba. 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 Kaʿba 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 Kaʿba. The most notable of these rites was the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Kaʿba, which included also the touching of the Black Stone. In an early verse attributed to Abū Ṭālib, 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.¹⁰ Other rituals of the Ḥajj in general also took place in the *ḍuḥā*. The ceremonies of Yawm al-Naḥr which were observed at Minā on the tenth of Dhū l-Ḥijja were focused on the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the *ḍuḥā* of that day. This act was signified by the verb *ḍahḥa*, which originally meant: to perform sacrificial slaughter in the *ḍuḥā* of Yawm al-Naḥr.¹¹ On the same day, the worshippers used to throw pebbles at the three *Jamras* in Minā. This ritual as well was performed during the *ḍuḥā*.¹² The *ifāda* from Muzdalifa to Minā was also performed in the *ḍuḥā*. It is reported that in the morning of Yawm al-Naḥr, the pilgrims used to ascend the mountain of Quzaḥ in Muzdalifa, and when they saw the first rays of the rising sun they commenced the *ifāda*.¹³

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

^{9a} It is now clear that *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* was introduced into Islamic cult much earlier than the Madinan period, contrary to Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, 11 ff.

¹⁰ Ibn Hishām, I, 292:
wa-bi-l-ḥajari l-muswaddi idh yamsaḥūnahū/
idha ktanaḥūhu bi-l-ḍuḥa wa-l-aṣaʿili.

¹¹ *Tāj*, s.v., "ḍ.ḥ.w.": wa-ḍahḥaytu bi-l-shati taḍḥiyatan — dhabaḥtuḥa fiḥā, ay fi ḍuḥa l-nahāri; hadha huwa l-aṣlu fihi...

¹² E.g. *Qirā*, 523; *Fath al-bārī*, III, 462.

¹³ E.g. Azraqī, 130.

persons who were active in Arabia already in pre-Islamic times. One of them was Abū Qays Širma b. Abī Anas who, reportedly, abandoned idolatry and led an ascetic life. One of the verses attributed to him runs as follows:¹⁴

*sabbiḥu llāha sharqa kulli ṣabāḥin/
ṭalaʿat shamsuhu wa-kulla hilālī.*
Praise Allāh 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 Muḥammad pray freely near the Kaʿba in the *ḍuḥā*. But, as a matter of fact, the Quraysh were also used to performing various rituals in the *ʿaṣr*, for instance the *ifāda* to Muzdalifa which took place when the setting sun was very close to the horizon.¹⁵ In spite of this, they did not let the Muslims pray freely in the *ʿaṣr*. 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-ʿaṣr*.

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 *ṣaḥābī* called Dhū l-Zawāʿid, or Abū l-Zawāʿid, from the tribe of Juhayna.¹⁶ Another report was recorded by ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 211H/827) on the authority of Ibn Jurayj (d. 150H/767). It reads:¹⁷

ʿAbd al-Razzāq ʿan Ibn Jurayj, qāla: akhbaranī Sulaymān ayḍan annahu samiʿa Ṭawūs yaqūl: inna awwala man ṣallāhā l-aʿrābu. idhā bāʿa aḥaduhum biḍāʿatan yaʿtī l-masjida fa-yukabbiru wa-yaṣjudu, illā anna Ṭawūs yaqūl: allāhu akbar, allāhu akbar, allāhu akbar, thumma yaṣjudu l-aʿrābi.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq from Ibn Jurayj. He said: Sulaymān also informed me that he had heard Ṭawūs 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: *allāh akbar*, and perform the *sujud* (prostration). But Ṭawūs said:

¹⁴ Ibn Hishām, II, 157.

¹⁵ E.g. Azraqī, 131.

¹⁶ *Iṣāba*, II, 413; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, II, 234; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 73.

¹⁷ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, III, 79–80.

(the Bedouin used to say:) *allāh akbar, allāh akbar, allāh akbar*, and then he would perform the *sujūd*.

‘Abd al-Razzāq has also recorded a shorter version of the same account:¹⁸

...qāla Ibn Jurayj: wa-qāla nāsun: awwalu man ṣallāhā ahlu l-bawādī, yadkhu-lūna l-masjida idhā faraghū min aswāqihim.

Ibn Jurayj said: Some people said: The first who prayed it (i.e. the *ḡuḡā* 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-ḡuḡā* 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 Ḥajj and the ‘Umra. It may even be supposed that *ṣalāt al-ḡuḡā* 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-ḡuḡā* 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 Muḡammad 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 Allāh.

Ṣalāt al-ḡuḡā as performed by the Bedouins consisted mainly in the *takbīr* and the *sujūd*. This fact is most significant; the *sujūd* 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.¹⁹ *Ṣalāt al-ḡuḡā* preserved its basic significance as a thanksgiving ritual during the first decades of Islam. There is evidence that Muḡammad used to perform it following great victories over his enemies. For instance, when Abū Jahl was killed (in Badr), Muḡammad reportedly prayed the *ḡuḡā* prayer.²⁰ Most current are

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁹ For a survey of these sources see M.J. Kister, "Some reports concerning al-Ṭā'if", *JSAI*, I, 1979, p.4.

²⁰ Bayhaqī, *Dala'il*, II, 363. See also *Fath al-bārī*, III, 45; *Zād*, 348; *Majma' al-zawa'id*, II, 238; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 60-61.

the traditions of Umm Hānī' about *ṣalāt al-duḥā* which Muḥammad prayed on the conquest of Mecca.²¹

The same prayer was performed as a token of gratitude for water and food. Once, when Muḥammad managed to provide a whole army of Muslims with water in a miraculous way, he prayed the *duḥā*.²² Another report relates that the Prophet had a special bowl (*qaṣ'a*), which was carried by four persons. The companions of the Prophet used to eat from it after having performed the *sujūd* of the *duḥā*.²³

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.²⁴ The aversion to ritual acts at sunrise or sunset²⁵ seems to date back to the days of the Prophet himself. Shortly before his death, Muḥammad made some changes in the *ifāda*, which were designed to remove all traces of sun-worship from this ritual. It is reported that during his last pilgrimage (*ḥajjāt al-wada'*), Muḥammad ordered that the *ifāda* from 'Arafa to Muzdalifa be performed after sunset and not during sunset, and that the *ifāda* from Muzdalifa to Minā be performed before sunrise and not during sunrise.²⁶

This attitude towards the hours of sunrise and sunset had direct bearings on *ṣalāt al-duḥā*; in fact, in the first decades after Muḥammad's death there were several pious Muslims who wished to suppress the *duḥā* prayer altogether, declaring it to be unlawful. This is demonstrated in the story about Mujāhid and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr who once entered the mosque of Medina and saw the people praying the *duḥā*. They asked Ibn

²¹ E.g. Ibn Hishām, IV, 53–54; Wāqidi, II, 830; Ibn Sa'd, II, 144–145; Bukhārī, II, 73; Muslim, II, 157–158; Mālik, I, 166; Abū Dāwūd, I, 297; Tirmidhī, II, 258; *Fath al-bārī*, III, 43–44; *Zad*, 332; Suyūṭī, *Hāwī*, I, 59.

²² *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 235; Suyūṭī, *Hāwī*, I, 61.

²³ Abū Dāwūd, II, 313. Cf. also Suyūṭī, *Hāwī*, I, 61.

²⁴ Ibn Sa'd, IV, 216–217, 218; Abū Dāwūd, I, 294; Muslim, II, 209; Ibn Qutayba, *Tawīl*, 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, Wensinck, *Handbook*, 192.

²⁵ E.g. *ET* s.v. "miḳāt".

²⁶ E.g. Azraqī, 131.

'Umar, who was sitting there, about it, and he said: "It is an innovation" (*bid'a*).²⁷ The same 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar is also reported to have stated: "I have never prayed the *ḍuḥā* since I embraced Islam".²⁸ He also declared that he had never seen the Prophet praying the *ḍuḥā*,²⁹ nor had he seen 'Umar and Abū Bakr doing it.³⁰ The same attitude towards the *ḍuḥā* prayer was shared by other *ṣaḥāba* as well. When Anas b. Mālik was asked about *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā*, he stated: "The prayers are (only) five".³¹ Abū 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.³² Likewise, it is related that 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd never prayed the *ḍuḥā*. Instead, he used to pray between the *zuhr* and the *ʿaṣr* prayers, apart from night vigils.³³

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 Muḥammad had never prayed the *ḍuḥā* regularly and intentionally; there were only some cases in which a prayer performed by Muḥammad 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*.³⁴ According to a tradition of 'Ā'isha, the Prophet used to pray the *ḍuḥā* prayer only upon returning to Medina from a journey; his return always took place in the *ḍuḥā*.³⁵ Al-Zuhri, too, declared that the Prophet had never prayed the *ḍuḥā* except on the conquest of Mecca, and upon returning from a journey.³⁶ As for the conquest of Mecca, Muḥammad'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.³⁷

²⁷ Bukhārī, III, 3; Muslim, IV, 61. And see further Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 73.

²⁸ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 81: *mā ṣallaytu l-ḍuḥā mundhu aslamtu*.

²⁹ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 81.

³⁰ Bukhārī, II, 73; *Zad*, 331, 343.

³¹ *Zad*, 344.

³² *Ibid.*, 343; *Fath al-barī*, III, 45–46.

³³ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 80; *Zad*, 344.

³⁴ Bukhārī, II, 73–74; *Zad* 347; *Fath al-barī*, III, 45.

³⁵ Muslim, II, 156; *Zad*, 332, 345.

³⁶ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 77.

³⁷ See *Zad*, 346 ff.; *Fath al-barī*, III, 44; Suhayli, IV, 103.

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 *ṭawāf*, and the *ḍuḥā* prayer was practiced as a part of this ritual.

The survival of *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* as a part of the *ṭawāf* is plainly attested in a tradition about 'Ā'isha who reportedly saw people performing the *ṭawāf* around the 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-sā'atu llatī tukrahu fihā l-ṣalātu*).³⁸ The custom of praying during sunrise following the *ṭawāf* 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 *ḥadīth*. The *ḥadīth* reads:³⁹

Children of 'Abd Manāf, 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 *ṭawāf*. Ibn 'Abbās is said never to have prayed the *ḍuḥā* except when he circumambulated the Ka'ba.⁴⁰ 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar as well declared: "I have never prayed the *ḍuḥā* since I became a Muslim, except when I was circumambulating the House".⁴¹

Further traditions indicate that pious Muslims did not always confine the *ḍuḥā* prayer to the *ṭawāf*. There is evidence that some of them practiced it also without the *ṭawāf*, while being careful not to perform it too frequently. Ibn 'Abbās, for instance, reportedly used to pray it once every ten days,⁴² and others as well used to perform it occasionally.⁴³

³⁸ Bukhārī, II, 190; 'Abd al-Razzāq, II, 427.

³⁹ Tirmidhī, IV, 98–99. See also *ibid.*, I, 299; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, III, 390 ff.; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 228–229; Azraqī, 265; Fakihi, fol. 300^a; *Qirā*, 320 ff.

⁴⁰ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 79.

⁴¹ *Fatḥ al-bārī*, III, 43 (from Ibn Abī Shayba): ... *mā ṣallaytu l-ḍuḥā mundhu aslamtu illā an aṭūfa bi-l-bayti*.

⁴² *Zād*, 345, 349; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 65.

⁴³ *Zād*, 345, 349.

Similarly, an irregular observance of the *ḍuḥā* prayer was attributed to the Prophet himself.⁴⁴ Some maintained that the *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* was lawful, provided that it was practiced privately at home.⁴⁵

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. 'Ā'isha, for instance, was reported to have stated that she used to perform the *ḍuḥā* prayer in spite of the fact that Muḥammad had refrained from it. She explained that Muḥammad 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.⁴⁶ 'Ā'isha also stated that she would never give up this prayer, not even in return for the resurrection of her parents.⁴⁷

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*,⁴⁸ or, that it was a good *bid'a*.⁴⁹ 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was asked about this prayer which the people had invented. He said: "Pray as much as you can because Allāh does not punish for praying".⁵⁰ Further traditions actually present the Prophet himself as prescribing the *ḍuḥā* prayer to some of his companions. Abū 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.⁵¹ The same prescription is said to have been given to Abū l-Dardā'.⁵²

In a further group of traditions *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* is presented as practiced regularly by the Prophet himself. According to one tradition, the Prophet

⁴⁴ Tirmidhi, II, 258; *Zād*, 340, 345; Suyūṭi, *Ḥawī*, I, 60.

⁴⁵ *Zād*, 346.

⁴⁶ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 78; Bukhārī, II, 73; Muslim, II, 156–157; Abū Dāwūd, I, 297; *Zād*, 331, 344; Mālik, I, 166–168.

⁴⁷ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 78; Mālik, I, 168.

⁴⁸ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 78–79: ...*wa-mā aḥdatha l-nāsu shay'an aḥabba ilayya minhā*. See also Suyūṭi, *Ḥawī*, I, 73.

⁴⁹ *Fath al-bārī*, III, 43: ...*wa-nī'mat al-bid'a*. See also *Zād*, 344.

⁵⁰ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 78.

⁵¹ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 74; Bukhārī, II, 73; Muslim, II, 158; Tirmidhi, III, 291–292; *Zād*, 336; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 55.

⁵² Muslim, II, 159; *Zād*, 336; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 56.

used to pray the *ḍuḥā* prayer defining it as "a prayer of desire and fright" (*ṣalāt raghba wa-rahba*).⁵³ 'Ā'isha is said to have stated that the Prophet used to perform the *ḍuḥā* prayer, sometimes with four *rak'as* and sometimes with more.⁵⁴ According to another statement attributed to both 'Ā'isha and Umm Salma, the Prophet used to pray the *ḍuḥā* prayer with twelve *rak'as*.⁵⁵ Mujaḥid reports that the Prophet used to perform the *ḍuḥā* prayer sometimes with two *rak'as*, sometimes with four, six or eight *rak'as*.⁵⁶ According to Jābir b. 'Abdallāh, the Prophet used to perform six *rak'as* during *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā*.⁵⁷

Such traditions about the Prophet were designed to rule out the above-mentioned traditions claiming that Muḥammad 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 Muḥammad's exclusive *khaṣā'is*. In the following tradition Muḥammad 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...".⁵⁸ 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 *farā'id* (obligatory duties), and upon you as *taṭawwu'* (voluntary act): the *witr*, the two *rak'as* before the *fajr* prayer, and the two *rak'as* of the *ḍuḥā* prayer".⁵⁹ In this manner, *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* was given a firm legal basis as a most recommended *taṭawwu'*. The Shāfi'is, in fact, considered it the best *taṭawwu'*.⁶⁰ 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 *fariḍa* with respect to Muḥammad.⁶¹

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

⁵³ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 75. Cf. *Mustadrak*, I, 314; *Zad*, 333; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 60.

⁵⁴ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 74–75. See also Muslim, II, 157; *Zad*, 334; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 60. *Zad*, 334–335.

⁵⁵ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 74; *Zad*, 333–334.

⁵⁷ *Zad*, 334. See also Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 60 (on the authority of Anas b. Mālik).

⁵⁸ Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'is*, III, 254: *umirtu bi-rak'atayī l-ḍuḥā wa-lam tu'marū bihā*... See also idem, *Ḥawī*, I, 62.

⁵⁹ Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'is*, III, 254; Ḥalabī, III, 296.

⁶⁰ Ālūsī, XXIII, 175.

⁶¹ A.J. Wensinck, s.v. "ṣalāt" *ET* (quoting Aḥmad).

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 *ṣadaqa* which is incumbent upon each knuckle of the human body.⁶² Another tradition states that he who prays two *rak'as* when the sun is opposite his face (*idhā staqbalathu l-shams*), his sins will be forgiven.⁶³ Other traditions recommend four *rak'as*. The Prophet reportedly stated that Allāh had asserted that four *rak'as* performed at the beginning of the day substitute for four *rak'as* at the end of the day.⁶⁴ "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".⁶⁵ "He who prays the *ḍuḥā* with eight *rak'as* will be written among the repentants" — says another tradition.⁶⁶ A further tradition promises a golden palace in paradise to those who perform twelve *rak'as* during *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā*.⁶⁷ A harmonizing tradition was also produced promising due reward to those performing 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, or 12 *rak'as* during the *ḍuḥā* prayer.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹

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".⁷⁰ Or, "He who prays the *ḍuḥā* constantly, interrupting it only in case of illness, I (i.e. the Prophet) and he will be in

⁶² Muslim, II, 158; Abū Dāwūd, I, 295–296; Mundhirī, *Tarḡhib*, II, 55; *Zad*, 336–337.

⁶³ Mundhirī, *Tarḡhib*, II, 58; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 236; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 66.

⁶⁴ Tirmidhī, II, 259; Abū Dāwūd, I, 296; Mundhirī, *Tarḡhib*, II, 57–58; *Zad*, 337; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 235–236.

⁶⁵ *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, III, 45.

⁶⁶ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 81.

⁶⁷ Tirmidhī, II, 257; 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 75; *Zad*, 337; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, III, 44; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 299; idem., *Ḥawī*, I, 62; Mundhirī, *Tarḡhib*, II, 56.

⁶⁸ Mundhirī, *Tarḡhib*, II, 58; *Nuzhat al-majālis*, I, 123; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, III, 44; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 299; idem., *Ḥawī*, I, 69. For the discussion of this problem see further *Zad*, 341 ff.; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, III, 43–45; *Nuzhat al-majālis*, I, 123; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 71 ff.

⁶⁹ *Nuzhat al-majālis*, I, 122. See also *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, III, 47: Neglecting this prayer causes blindness.

⁷⁰ Tirmidhī, II, 260; Mundhirī, *Tarḡhib*, II, 56; *Zad*, 337, 352; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 299; idem., *Ḥawī*, I, 70.

paradise, in a boat of light, in a sea of the light of Allāh".⁷¹ Those who persist in praying the *ḍuḥā* are promised, in another tradition, to enter paradise through a special door, named "Ḍuḥā".⁷² 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.⁷³ A special reward is promised to those who pray *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* and then remain in their places till the sun rises in order to pray the *ḍuḥā*.⁷⁴

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.⁷⁵ In other words, *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* was regarded as superior to the duty of *jihād*. 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.⁷⁶ 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 *munāfiq*.⁷⁷

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

With him we subjected the mountains to give glory at evening and sunrise
(...*bi-l-ʿashiyyi wa-l-ishrāq*).

The prayer of the penitent David and the mountains in the *ishrāq*, i.e. sunrise,⁷⁸ was identified by Ibn 'Abbās with *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā*. He is reported

⁷¹ Ibn al-Jawzī, *ʿIlal*, I, 472; *Zād*, 350.

⁷² Ibn al-Jawzī, *ʿIlal*, I, 471–472; *Zād*, 339; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 63, 70; *Nuzhat al-majālis*, I, 122; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 59; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, II, 239.

⁷³ *Zād*, 351.

⁷⁴ Abū Dāwūd, I, 296, 297; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 57, I, 234 ff.; *Nuzhat al-majālis*, I, 123; *Zād*, 337, 340–341; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 299; idem., *Ḥawī*, I, 63; Ibn Hibbān, I, 176; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, II, 235.

⁷⁵ Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 56; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, II, 235; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 65, 70.

⁷⁶ Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 58; *Zād*, 340. See further, Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 63, 67.

⁷⁷ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 405: *al-munāfiq lā yuṣallī l-ḍuḥā wa-lā yaqraʿu "qul: yā ayyuhā l-kāfirūn"*. See also idem., *Ḥawī*, I, 65.

⁷⁸ See Muqātil, *Tafsīr al-khams miʿa āya mina l-Quran*, MS Br. Lib., Or. 6333³, fol. 9^b: ...*bi-l-ʿashiyyi wa-l-ishrāq; yaʿnī wa-ḥīna tushriqu l-shamsu fī awwali l-nahār*.

to have said: "The virtue of *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* never occurred to me till I came across this verse (i.e. 38/18)".⁷⁹ In further versions it is related that upon hearing from Umm Hānī' that Muḥammad had prayed the *ḍuḥā* at her house (see above), Ibn 'Abbās stated that it was *ṣalāt al-ishraq*.⁸⁰ Muḥammad himself is sometimes said to have identified the *ḍuḥā* with *ṣalāt al-ishraq*.⁸¹ The identification of *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* with David's prayer who is labelled in the Quran as *awwāb* gave rise to a tradition of the Prophet in which the *ḍuḥā* prayer is called *ṣalāt al-awwābīn*.⁸²

The *ḍuḥā* was connected by Ibn 'Abbās with a further Quranic verse, namely 24/36, which speaks about prayers held in the mosques "in the mornings and in the evenings".⁸³ 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 *sūra* 91 (*wa-l-shamsi wa-ḍuḥāhā*), and *sūra* 93 (*wa-l-ḍuḥā*).⁸⁴ 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" (*waḥḥā*), is said to have paid it daily by means of the four *rak'as* of *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā*.⁸⁵ Moses was told by Allāh that if he wanted the high mountains to pray for him, he should not stop praying the *ḍuḥā*.⁸⁶

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 *ṣaḥābī* Abū Bashīr al-Anṣārī once saw another man (Sa'īd b. Nāfi') praying the *ḍuḥā* as soon as the sun had risen. Abū Bashīr 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".⁸⁷ The same injunction appears

⁷⁹ Loc. cit.: *qāla* Ibn 'Abbās: *mā faʿtantu bi-faḍli ṣalāti l-ḍuḥā ḥatta ataytu 'ala hadhihi l-aya...* And see also 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 79; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 298; idem, *Ḥawī*, I, 59; Qurṭubī, XV, 160.

⁸⁰ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 298–299; Ḥalabī, III, 93; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 238.

⁸¹ Qurṭubī, XV, 159–160; Rāzī, XXVI, 186.

⁸² *Mustadrak*, I, 314; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 299; idem, *Ḥawī*, I, 59, 71; Qurṭubī, XV, 160; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 59.

⁸³ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 52; idem, *Ḥawī*, I, 59; Rāzī, XXIV, 4.

⁸⁴ *Fath al-bārī*, III, 46 (from al-Ḥākim); *Nuzhat al-majalis*, I, 122; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 66.

⁸⁵ *Fath al-bārī*, III, 45; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 68.

⁸⁶ *Nuzhat al-majalis*, I, 122.

⁸⁷ *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 226: *lā tuṣalli ḥatta tartafra l-shamsu fa innahā taṭlu'u fī qarnayī l-shayṭān.*

in a further version of the tradition stating that Ibn 'Umar used to pray the *ḍuḥā* following the *ṭawāf* (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".⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ Likewise, it is reported that Ibn 'Abbās stated that *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* must be performed when the shadows disappear (i.e. at noon).⁹⁰ Al-Zuhrī as well reportedly related that the companions of the Prophet used to pray the *ḍuḥā* at the hot hours of the day (*bi-l-hawājir*).⁹¹ The Prophet himself is reported to have once seen the people of Qubā' praying the *ḍuḥā* shortly after sunrise, upon which he stated: "The prayers of the repentants must be performed when the knuckles are excessively hot".⁹² Muslim scholars stressed accordingly that *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* should not be performed as long as the rising sun is still yellow, just as the 'aṣr prayer should not be delayed till the setting sun becomes yellow.⁹³

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 Allāh, 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".⁹⁴ In view of this, one may conclude that, theoretically at least, this pre-Islamic way of worship survived almost intact till later Islamic periods.

II. *Ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* 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

⁸⁸ Bukhārī, II, 76–77.

⁸⁹ 'Abd al-Razzāq, II, 430.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 80: *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā idhā inqatʿat al-ẓilāl*. See also Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 65.

⁹¹ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 77.

⁹² Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 299: *ṣalāt al-awwabin idhā ramiḍat al-ḥiṣāl*. See also *idem*, *Ḥawī*, I, 64; *Zad*, 338; 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 69.

⁹³ Qurṭubī, XV, 160. See also *ET* s.v. "ṣalāt" (A.J. Wensinck).

⁹⁴ *Taj*, s.v. "ḍ.ḥ.w.": *wa-minhu qawl 'Umar: aḍḥu 'ibada llāhi bi-ṣalāti l-ḍuḥā — ay ṣallūha li-waḡtiha wa-lā tu'akhkhirūha ilā irtifā'i l-ḍuḥā*. See also Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 67.

the *‘aṣr*, i.e. that part of the day immediately preceding sunset. According to that report, Muḥammad was unable to pray the *‘aṣr* openly, due to the objection of the Quraysh. This means that in contrast to *ṣalāt al-duḥā*, *ṣalāt al-‘aṣr* 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 *ṭawaf* which was performed at the *duḥā* as well as in the evening (above, p. 42), and especially the *ifāda* 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-‘aṣr* by Muḥammad 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-‘aṣr* because this prayer reflected Jewish practices. The relation of *ṣalāt al-‘aṣr* to the Jewish *minḥah* is quite obvious, and already Goldziher pointed out the Jewish origin of the sacredness of the *‘aṣr* time in Islam.⁹⁵ The above report implies, therefore, that apart from authentic Arab ways of worship (*ṣalāt al-duḥā*), Muḥammad 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 *‘aṣr* on Friday. The *‘aṣr* on Friday is regarded in Islam as a most blessed hour, in which all prayers are responded to, and all oaths have special solemnity. Some traditions state that this hour coincides with the time of *ṣalāt al-‘aṣr*.⁹⁶ Other traditions say that this hour commences after *ṣalāt al-‘aṣr*,⁹⁷ or, that it lasts from *ṣalāt al-‘aṣr* till the sun disappears,⁹⁸ or, that it occurs in the last hour of daylight (*akhir sa‘at al-nahār*);⁹⁹ some traditions say that this hour starts when the sun becomes yellow and lasts till the sun disappears.¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ I. Goldziher, "Die Bedeutung der Nachmittagszeit im Islam", *Gesammelte Schriften*, V, 27 ff., 30.

⁹⁶ ‘Abd-al-Razzāq, III, 262.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 265; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, II, 349; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 217.

⁹⁸ ‘Abd al-Razzāq, III, 262.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 262. See also 265–266; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, II, 349.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Abd al-Razzāq, III, 264; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, II, 349.

¹⁰¹ See M.J. Kister and Menahem Kister, "On the Jews of Arabia — some notes", *Tarbiz*, 48, 1979, p. 247, n. 70 (in Hebrew).

Ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr seems to have retained always a special position in Islam. This is reflected in traditions dealing with the introduction of *ṣalāt al-khawf*. Mujāhid 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 *ʿaṣr*), which is dearer to them than their own selves".¹⁰² *Ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* 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-ʿaṣr*, Gabriel reportedly revealed to Muḥammad the verses about *ṣalāt al-khawf* (Quran, 4/101 ff.).

The special veneration with which *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* 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-ʿaṣr* 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.¹⁰³ In another version of the same tradition, the Prophet promises a double reward to those who pray the *ʿaṣr*.¹⁰⁴ "He who neglects the *ʿaṣr* prayer", says another tradition, "his (entire) work has failed".¹⁰⁵ Another tradition states that missing the appropriate time of *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* is like losing one's family and fortune.¹⁰⁶

The importance of this prayer is clearly reflected in some legendary traditions relating that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was once entrusted by Muḥammad with a certain task, due to which he was unable to pray the *ʿaṣr* before the setting of the sun. The Prophet, it is related, invoked Allāh to

¹⁰² ʿAbd al-Razzāq, II, 502–503. For other versions see *ibid.*, 505, 506; Waqidi, II, 582; Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, V, 164; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, II, 211, 213, 214; Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 318. And cf. also Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25.

¹⁰³ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 580. See also Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 26.

¹⁰⁴ Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, II, 351; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, I, 308; Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25–26.

¹⁰⁵ Bukhārī, II, 145: *man taraka ṣalāta l-ʿaṣr fa-qad ḥabiṭa ʿamaluhu* (cf. Quran 5/5 etc.). See also Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25.

¹⁰⁶ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 576: *alladhī tafūtuḥu ṣalātu l-ʿaṣr fa-ka-annama wutira ahlahu wa-mālahu*. See also Bukhārī, I, 145; Muslim, II, 111; Ṭahāwī, *Mushkil*, II, 12, IV, 232–233; *Fath al-bārī*, II, 24; Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, II, 351; Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25.

draw back the sun, till it shone again above the western horizon; there-upon 'Alī prayed the *ʿaṣr*, and the sun set again.¹⁰⁷

B. The fact that *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* 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-ʿaṣr*, 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-ʿaṣr*.

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

wa-sabbih bi-ḥamdi rabbika qabla tulūʿi l-shamsi wa-qabla ghurūbiha...

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,¹⁰⁸ and these prayers are said to be *ṣalāt al-fajr* and *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*.¹⁰⁹ Another Quranic verse which is also connected by Muslim exegetes with *ṣalāt al-fajr* and *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*¹¹⁰ is 11/114:

wa-aqimi l-ṣalata ʿarafay l-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 40/55,¹¹¹ 6/52,¹¹² and 17/78–79.¹¹³

The fact that *ṣalāt al-fajr* substituted for *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* as an official

¹⁰⁷ E.g. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidayā*, VI, 77–78, 281–282; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, II, 324–325; Ṭaḥāwī, *Mushkil*, II, 8 ff., IV, 388 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, 312 (from Ibn Abi Ḥatīm): *...kāna ḥādha qabla an tufrāda l-ṣalatu.*

¹⁰⁹ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, 312, VI, 110.

¹¹⁰ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XII, 77; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 351.

¹¹¹ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 352–353, (from ʿAbd al-Razzāq). And see also Muqāṭil, II, 130.

¹¹² Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 14, IV, 219–220. See also Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ilbīrī, *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr Yahya b. Salam*, MS Br. Lib., ADD 19490, fol. 82; Muqāṭil, I, 117*, II, 8*–8*. See also Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 91 (from Muqāṭil); *Fath al-bārī*, I, 393; Ḥalabī, I, 266, 264.

¹¹³ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XV, 93: *...ʿan Abi Jaʿfar: “ilā ghasaqi l-layli” qāla: ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr.*

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 *shaḥarith* indicates, once again, how early Muḥammad began to look for Jewish models of prayer which substituted for Arab pre-Islamic manners of worship (*ṣalāt al-duḥā*). The same process is discernible in the fact that at a certain stage before the *hijra*, Muḥammad stopped praying towards the Ka'ba which served as his first *qibla*, and started praying towards Jerusalem instead.¹¹⁴ After the *hijra*, however, the Ka'ba was taken up again as a *qibla*.

The sacredness of the hours of the *fajr* and the *ʿaṣr* 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 *ʿaṣr* 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 Allāh about the prayers of the worshippers.¹¹⁵ This tradition indicates that the *fajr* and the *ʿaṣr* were regarded as most appropriate hours for prayer.

The fact that the prayers of the *fajr* and the *ʿaṣr* were performed during the middle stage between night and day brought about the identification of these prayers with the Quranic phrase *al-ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā* (2/238). This phrase in itself means a prayer performed between night and day,¹¹⁶ and it seems to have been connected at first with *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* (*al-fajr*) which was performed between the darkness of the night and the brightness of the day.¹¹⁷ The application of the same Quranic phrase to *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* is ascribed to the Prophet himself. ʿAlī related that the Muslims used to think that *al-ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā* was *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, till they had heard the Prophet cursing the polytheists during the Battle of the Ditch for having detained the Muslims from praying the *ʿaṣr*. The words of the Prophet were: "*shaghalūna ʿani l-ṣalāti l-wuṣṭā ṣalāti l-ʿaṣri...*"¹¹⁸ It was even maintained that the words "*ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*" were originally written in the Quran itself, serving as a *badal* for the phrase *al-ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā*. This *qirā'a* is related on the authority of ʿĀ'isha, Ḥafṣa and Umm Salama.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Some connect it with the miraculous *isrā'* to Jerusalem and the introduction of the five daily prayers which is said to have taken place during that event. See Ḥalabī, I, 264.

¹¹⁵ Ibn Khuzayma, I, 165; Bukhārī, I, 145–146; *Fath al-barī*, II, 27 ff.; Muslim, II, 113.

¹¹⁶ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 579: *...wasaṭat fa-kānat bayna l-layli wa-l-nahar*. See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 301 (from ʿAbd al-Razzāq).

¹¹⁷ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 301 (from Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr). See also Rāzī, VI, 148 ff.; Ṭabarsī, II, 262.

¹¹⁸ Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, II, 345. See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 303; Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 173.

¹¹⁹ Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, II, 343–344. In other versions, a "*wāw*" is inserted between "*al-ṣalāt al-*

Ṣalāt al-fajr and *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* 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 *ʿaṣrānī* only. The man asked: "What are the *ʿaṣrānī*?" The Prophet said: "A prayer before sunrise and a prayer before sunset".¹²⁰ 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".¹²¹ The prayers of the *fajr* and the *ʿaṣr* were also called *al-bardānī*, i.e. the cool ones. The Prophet reportedly stated: "He who prays the *bardānī* will enter paradise".¹²²

C. The data surveyed thus far concerning *ṣalāt al-fajr* and *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* indicate that these prayers were actually performed close to sunrise and sunset. But these prayers were never condemned as *bidʿa*, 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-duḥā*, the prayers of the *fajr* and *ʿaṣr* 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 *ʿaṣr* be performed not too close to sunrise and sunset. As for *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*, those who waited till the sun became yellow in order to perform this prayer were sometimes labelled as *munāfiqūn*.¹²³ As for *ṣalāt al-fajr*, several traditions were circulated stressing that this prayer must not be extended beyond sunrise.¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵ The best time pre-

wuṣṭa" and "*ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*", which is designed to imply that the two prayers are not identical. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 348. And see further, I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, 14–15.

¹²⁰ Suyūṭī, *Durr* I, 294; Ṭahāwī, *Mushkil*, I, 440.

¹²¹ Ibn Khuzayma, I, 164; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, 312; Muslim, II, 114; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 351; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, I, 318.

¹²² Bukhārī, I, 150. See also *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, II, 43–44; Muslim, II, 114.

¹²³ Ibn Khuzayma, I, 172; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 549–550; Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 192; Tirmidhī, I, 271; Mālik, I, 221; Abū Dāwūd, I, 98; Muslim, II, 110.

¹²⁴ E.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 581, 582.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 572.

scribed for *ṣalāt al-fajr* was the *ghalas*, i.e., the last moments of darkness.¹²⁶ Sometimes it was even stressed that when this prayer was concluded, one was still unable to recognize one's own son or friend.¹²⁷ Delaying the *fajr* prayer till after the disappearance of the stars was sometimes condemned as a Christian practice.¹²⁸

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 *ʿaṣr* prayers till very close to sunrise and sunset, thus maintaining their original time. Those who used to delay the *ʿaṣr* prayer during Muḥammad's lifetime were mainly the inhabitants of Qubā', near Medina, namely the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. It is reported that they used to pray the *ʿaṣr* much later than did the people of Medina.¹²⁹ The scholar Ṭāwūs reportedly used to delay the *ʿaṣr* prayer till the sun became very yellow.¹³⁰ Ibn Masʿūd also used to delay the *ʿaṣr* prayer,¹³¹ and so did Ibn Sirīn and Abū Qilāba.¹³² Abū Hurayra reportedly postponed the *ʿaṣr* until the rays of the sun were seen only upon the summit of the highest mountain in Medina.¹³³ The name of *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* was explained as though derived from the term *ʾiṣār* in the sense of *ta'khīr*, i.e., delay.¹³⁴ Abū Qilāba reportedly stated that *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* was thus named in order to be delayed.¹³⁵

Traditions soon appeared in which those who prayed the *ʿaṣr* 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 Allāh used to pray the *ẓuhr* earlier than you do, and you pray the *ʿaṣr* earlier than he did".¹³⁶ In a similar tradition, the too early performance of the *ʿaṣr* prayer is presented as a deviation from the *sunna* of the preceding peoples:

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 540, 569; Bukhārī, I, 147, 148; Muslim, II, 119; Tirmidhi, I, 260–261.

¹²⁷ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 571; Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 176–177; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, I, 317–318.

¹²⁸ *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, I, 316.

¹²⁹ Bukhārī, I, 144; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 549; Muslim, II, 109–110; Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 190; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, I, 307–308.

¹³⁰ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 550: ...kāna yu'akhhirū l-ʿaṣra ḥattā taṣfarra l-shamsu jiddan.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, I, 551; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, I, 307.

¹³² ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 551.

¹³³ Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 193.

¹³⁴ Ṭaḥāwī, *Mushkil*, I, 439.

¹³⁵ *Loc. cit.*: ʿan Abī Qilāba: innamā summiyati l-ʿaṣra li-taʿṣara. See also idem, *Sharḥ*, I, 194.

¹³⁶ Tirmidhi, I, 272: kāna rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) ashadda taʿjilan li-l-ẓuhri minkum, wa-antum ashaddu taʿjilan li-l-ʿaṣri minhu.

"Those who were before you used to pray the *zuhr* earlier than you do, and to pray the *ʿaṣr* later than you do".¹³⁷ In fact, the Prophet himself was quoted as explicitly favouring the delayed performance (*ta'khīr*) of *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*.¹³⁸

The great scholar Abū Ḥanīfa objected to the early performance of *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*. He maintained that the appropriate time for this prayer commences only when the shadows are twice as long as the objects that cast them.¹³⁹ The followers of Abū Ḥanīfa maintained that the *ʿaṣr* prayer should be delayed till the ascension of the angels at the end of the day.¹⁴⁰

Likewise, *ṣalāt al-fajr* was not always detached from sunrise. Pious Muslims like ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 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 *sūras*.¹⁴¹ 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 Ṭawūs (*kāna yusfiru bi-ṣalāt al-ghadāt*).¹⁴² ʿAlī and Saʿīd b. Jubayr reportedly used to instruct the *mu'adhdhin* to wait with the announcement of this prayer till the day was bright (*asfir! asfir!*).¹⁴³ This injunction (*asfirū bi-ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*) was even circulated as a Prophetic *ḥadīth*.¹⁴⁴ Ibn Masʿūd 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 Masʿūd about it, and he swore to them that this was the appropriate time for this prayer. To prove it he recited *sūra* 17/78: "*aqimi l-ṣalāta li-dulūki l-shamsi ilā ghasaqi l-layl*". He said: This is the *dulūk* of the sun (i.e., the eastern horizon), and this is the *ghasaq* of the night (i.e., the western horizon).¹⁴⁵

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

¹³⁷ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 540: *kāna man qablakum ashadda taʿjīlan li-l-ṣuḥri wa-ashadda ta'khīran li-l-ʿaṣri minkum*. See also Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 193.

¹³⁸ Ibn al-Jawzī, *ʿIlal*, I, 389; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, I, 307.

¹³⁹ *Fath al-bārī*, II, 21.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 29.

¹⁴¹ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 536, 570–571.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, I, 569.

¹⁴³ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 568, 573; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, I, 315–316; Tirmidhī, I, 262; *Fath al-bārī*, II, 45; Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 178–179 (with further variants).

¹⁴⁵ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 568.

prayers of the *fajr* and the *‘aṣr*. Those who objected to prayers close to sunrise and sunset utterly forbade such voluntary supplications following *ṣalāt al-fajr* and *ṣalāt al-‘aṣr*. Their attitude is reflected in the following traditions about the Prophet. ‘Alī reportedly stated that the Prophet used to pray two *rak’as* following each compulsory prayer, except for the *fajr* and the *‘aṣr*.¹⁴⁶ Salama b. al-Akwa‘, too, stated that he had never seen the Prophet pray following the *ṣubḥ* and *‘aṣr* prayers.¹⁴⁷ The Prophet himself was reported to have interdicted in several traditions prayers following the *ṣubḥ* till sunrise, and following the *‘aṣr* till sunset.¹⁴⁸ Prayers following *ṣalāt al-‘aṣr* were especially prohibited, and several traditions of the Prophet to that effect were circulated.¹⁴⁹

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 *ṭawāf* which took place following the prayers of the *fajr* and the *‘aṣr*.

A tradition of the Prophet says that there are two kinds of *ṭawāf* which provide the believers with total forgiveness: a *ṭawāf* following *ṣalāt al-fajr* which is finished at sunrise, and a *ṭawāf* following the *‘aṣr* prayer which is finished at sunset. These are sacred hours attended by the angels.¹⁵⁰ Each of these two daily *ṭawāfs* 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 *‘aṣr* till sunset, neither following the *fajr* till sunrise, except at Mecca”.¹⁵¹ In fact, there is a whole chapter in al-Fākihī containing traditions about prominent *ṣaḥāba*, such as Ibn ‘Umar, Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and others, who prayed the voluntary *rak’as* at Mecca following the *ṭawāf* of the *ṣubḥ* and the *‘aṣr*.¹⁵²

Muslim scholars sometimes made a point of stressing that the concession relating to prayers following the *fajr* and the *‘aṣr* was exclusive to

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 67.

¹⁴⁷ *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, II, 226.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 225. And see further, Bukhārī, I, 152; Fākihī, 301^a.

¹⁴⁹ E.g. Bukhārī, I, 153; *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, II, 226, 227. And see further data, Fākihī, 301^a–301^b.

¹⁵⁰ Fākihī, 299^b. See also Azraqī, 266; *Qirā*, 330.

¹⁵¹ *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, II, 228. See further, Fākihī, 300^a, *Qirā* 321.

¹⁵² Fākihī, 300^a–301^b.

Mecca,¹⁵³ but, on the other hand, the *ṭawāf* did not always remain the only legitimate setting for practicing these extra prayers. It is reported that the *Zāhirīs* considered all traditions prohibiting additional *rak'as* following the *fajr* and the *ʿaṣr* prayers as abrogated (*mansūkha*).¹⁵⁴ 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 ʿUmar used to flog people who dared pray after the *ʿaṣr* prayer, but Tamīm al-Dārī ignored it and stated that he had seen the Prophet himself praying following *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*.¹⁵⁵ The same statement was made by Zayd b. Khālid al-Juhānī.¹⁵⁶ Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī as well related that he had seen the Prophet perform two *rak'as* following *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*.¹⁵⁷ ʿĀ'isha, too, stated that the Prophet had never given up the two *rak'as* following the *ʿaṣr* prayer.¹⁵⁸

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.

Abbreviations

ʿAbd al-Razzāq — ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿzamī, Beirut 1970.

Abū Dāwūd — Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, Cairo 1952.

Ālusī — al-Ālusī, *Rūḥ al-Maʿānī*, repr. Beirut, n.d.

Azraqī — al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, repr. Beirut n.d.

Balādhurī, *Ansāb* — al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, vol. I, ed. M. Ḥamidullāh, Cairo 1959.

Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il* — al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubbuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1969.

Bukhārī — al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1958.

¹⁵³ E.g., Fākihi, 301'...*fa-innahu rukkhkhiṣa fī dhalika hā-hunā mā lam yurakhkhaṣ fī shay'in minā l-amṣār*. And see also the statement of Abū l-Dardā' concerning the same matter: *innā hādḥā l-balad laysa ka-sa'iri l-buldan* (Fākihi, 300').

¹⁵⁴ See the detailed discussion, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, II, 48.

¹⁵⁵ *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 222–223.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 223.

¹⁵⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁸ Bukhārī, I, 153–154.

- Fākihi — al-Fākihi, *Tārīkh Makka*, MS Leiden, Or. 463.
- Faṭḥ al-bārī — Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Faṭḥ al-bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Būlāq, 1310H/1883, repr. Beirut n.d.
- Ḥalabī — al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sira al-Ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1320H/1902, repr. Beirut, n.d.
- Ibn Ḥibbān — Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-majrūḥīn*, ed. M.I. Zaʿid, Ḥalab 1396H/1976.
- Ibn Hishām — Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī (I–IV), repr. Beirut 1971.
- Ibn al-Jawzī, ʿIlal — Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-ʿIlal al-mutanāhiya fī l-aḥādith al-wāhiya*, Lahore 1969.
- Ibn Kathīr, *Bidaya* — Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidaya wa-l-nihaya*, repr. Beirut, 1974.
- Ibn Khuzayma — Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. M.M. al-Aʿzamī, Beirut, n.d.
- Ibn Qutayba, *Tawīl* — Ibn Qutayba, *Tawīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, ed. M.Z. al-Najjār, repr. Beirut 1972.
- Ibn Saʿd — Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1960.
- Ibn Sayyid al-Nās — Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyun al-athar*, repr. Beirut, n.d.
- Iṣāba — Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1971.
- Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid* — Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʿid*, repr. Beirut 1967.
- Mālik — Mālik, *al-Muwattaʿ*, in al-Suyūṭī's *Tanwīr al-ḥawālik*, Beirut 1973.
- Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ* — al-Maqrīzī, *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-asmaʿ*, Cairo 1941.
- Mundhirī, *Tarḥīb* — al-Mundhirī, *al-Tarḥīb wa-l-tarḥīb*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid, repr. Beirut 1973.
- Muqāṭil I–II — Muqāṭil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr al-Quran*, MS Saray, Ahmet III, 74/I–II.
- Muslim — Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1334H/1915.
- Mustadrak* — al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, Hyderabad 1342H/1923.
- Nuzhat al-majālis* — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣafūrī, *Nuzhat al-majālis*, Cairo, 1346H/1927, repr. Beirut n.d.
- Qirā* — Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qasid Umm al-Qura*, ed. M. al-Saqqā, Cairo 1970.
- Qurṭubī — al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Quran*, Cairo 1967.
- Rāzī — al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo n.d., repr. Tehran, n.d.
- Suhaylī — al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuṣ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raʿūf Saʿd, Cairo, 1973.
- Suyūṭī, *Durr* — al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314H/1896, repr. Beirut, n.d.
- , *Hāwī* — al-Suyūṭī, *al-Hāwī li-l-fatāwī*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid, Cairo 1959.
- , *Khaṣāʾiṣ* — al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, Cairo 1967.
- Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* — al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ l-bayān fī tafsīr al-Quran*, Būlāq, 1323H/1905, repr. Beirut 1972.
- Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* — al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa-l-mulūk*, Cairo 1939.
- Ṭabarsī — al-Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ al-bayan fī tafsīr al-Quran*, Beirut 1961.
- Ṭaḥāwī, *Mushkil* — al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Mushkil al-athar*, Hyderabad 1333H/1914.

- , *Sharḥ* — al-Ṭaḥawī, *Sharḥ maʿanī l-athar*, Cairo 1386H/1966.
Tāj — al-Zabidī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, Beirut 1966.
Tirmidhī — al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Mālikī, *ʿĀrifat al-aḥwadhī*, ed. al-Ṣāwī.
Wāqidi — al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. J.M.B. Jones, London 1966.
Wensinck, *Handbook* — A.J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, repr. Leiden 1971.
Zād — Ibn al-Qayyim, *Zād al-maʿād fī hudā khayri l-ibād*, on the margin of al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, vol. I, Cairo 1329H/1911, repr. Beirut, n.d.