

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-ʿiṣhāʾ* (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-ḍuhā

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 This report was quoted from al-Balādhurī by Ibn Hajar,⁴ and it was also reproduced by al-Maqrīzī,⁵ who in turn was quoted by al-Ḥalabī.⁶ The most coherent version of this report of al-Wāqidī is that of al-Maqrīzī. 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 Balādhurī, *Anṣab*, I, 113, 117.

⁴ *Isāba*, VIII, 25–26. Cf. also Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 42–43.

⁵ Maqrīzī, *Imdād*, I, 16–17.

⁶ Ḥalabī, I, 267.

wa-kana ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallāma yakhruju ila l-kaʿbati awwala l-nahari fa-yusallī ṣalāt al-ḍuhā. wa-kanat ṣalātan lā tunkiruha Quraysh. wa-kana idhā ṣalla fī sāʾiri l-yawmi baʿda dhalika qaʿada ʿAlī aw Zayd raḍīya llāhu ʿanhuma yarsudanīhi. wa-kana ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-ashābuhu idhā jāʾa waḡiu l-ʿaṣri tafarragu fī l-shiʿabi furada wa-mathna. wa-kana yusallāna l-ḍuhā wa-l-ʿaṣra. thumma nazalati l-ṣalawātu l-khamsu. wa-kanati l-ṣalātu rakʿatayni qabla l-hijrati...

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

This passage implies that the first times of prayer observed by the Muslims before the introduction of the five daily prayers were the *ḍuhā* and the ʿaṣr. These times deserve a special examination. The term *ḍuhā* occurs several times in the Quran, but its basic meaning is indicated in one verse only, 91/1: *wa-l-shamsi wa-ḍuḥḍā*. In this Quranic oath, *ḍuhā* means the brightness of the sun, or simply, daylight. In other cases the term *ḍuhā* appears indeed in contrast to the term *layl* (113/1; 79/29). But *ḍuhā* 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, *ḍuhā* occurs in juxtaposition with ʿaṣhiyya (evening), which means that the former signifies the first part of the day, or as put in the *Tafsīr* of Muḡatīl: "the first hour of daylight following sunrise".⁷ In view of this, it is clear that *ṣalāt al-ḍuhā* which the first Muslims reportedly practiced, was performed in the morning, shortly after sunrise.⁸ The term ʿaṣr, which also occurs in a Quranic oath (103/1), is explained as "the last hour of day... when the sun sinks towards setting".⁹ In fact, the term ʿaṣr is almost identical with the term ʿaṣhiyy (evening) which occurs quite often in the Quran. The latter is explained by Muslim commentators as ʿaṣr.⁹ It

⁷ Muḡatīl, II, 242^a: *wa-hiya awwalu ṣṭātin mina l-nahari, min hini taḥīru l-shamsu.*

⁸ For a further description of Muhammad's prayer near the Kaʿba following sunrise, see Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, II, 56 (the story of ʿAḥī al-Kindī). Cf. Bayhaqī, *Dalaʾil*, I, 416; Ḥalabī, I, 270–271.

⁹ Ibid., 249^a: *...wa-hiya akhiriya ṣṭātin mina l-nahari... hīna taḡbu l-shamsu li-l-ghurub.*

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-Wāqidī points to a decisive difference between *ṣalāt al-dhuḥā* 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 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 *dhuḥā* 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 *dhuḥā*, some of which were closely associated with the cult of the Ka'ba. The most notable of these rites was the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Ka'ba, which included also the touching of the Black Stone. In an early verse attributed to Abū Ṭalīb, it is stated that the worshippers used to touch the Black Stone and gather around it in the *dhuḥā* as well as in the evenings.¹⁰ Other rituals of the Hajj in general also took place in the *dhuḥā*. The ceremonies of Yaḥm al-Nahr which were observed at Minā on the tenth of Dhū l-Hijja were focused on the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the *dhuḥā* of that day. This act was signified by the verb *dahha*, which originally meant: to perform sacrificial slaughter in the *dhuḥā* of Yaḥm al-Nahr.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 *dhuḥā*.¹² The *ijāda* from Muzdalifa to Minā was also performed in the *dhuḥā*. It is reported that in the morning of Yaḥm al-Nahr, the pilgrims used to ascend the mountain of Quḥā in Muzdalifa, and when they saw the first rays of the rising sun they commenced the *ijāda*.¹³

The time of the *dhuḥā*, 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 Meccan period, contrary to Mitwoch, *op. cit.*, 11 ff.

¹⁰ Ibn Hishām, I, 292:

wa-bi-l-hajari l-muswaddi idh yamsahūnahū/ idha kīamafihū bi-l-dhuḥā wa-l-aṣā illi.

¹¹ *Taj*, s.v., "d.h.w.": *wa-dahhayū bi-l-shaṭi tadhiyatan — dhahayūha fihā, ay fi dhuḥā l-nahari; hadha huwa l-aṣḥā fihī...*

¹² E.g. *Qira*, 523; *Faḥ 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

sabbihū llāha sharqa kullī sabāhin/ talātā shamsuhu wa-kulla hili.

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 *dhuḥā* in pre-Islamic times could explain why the Quraysh let Muḥammad pray freely near the Ka'ba in the *dhuḥā*. But, as a matter of fact, the Quraysh were also used to performing various rituals in the 'aṣr, for instance the *ijāda* 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 'aṣr. It seems, therefore, that the reason why the Quraysh put up with *ṣalāt al-dhuḥā* 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-dhuḥā* 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-dhuḥā* was in vogue especially among the Arabs, or rather among the Bedouins. One of these reports relates that the first Muslim who prayed the *dhuḥā* prayer was a *ṣahābī* called Dhū l-Zawā'id, or Abū l-Zawā'id, from the tribe of Juhayna.¹⁶ Another report was recorded by 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211H/827) on the authority of Ibn Jurayj (d. 150H/767). It reads:¹⁷

'Abd al-Razzāq 'an Ibn Jurayj, *qāla*: *akbarani Sulaymān ayydan annahu samī'a Ṭāwūs yaqūl: inna awwala man ṣallaha l-a'rabu. idha bā'a ahaduhum biḍṭatan ya'ti l-masjida fa-yukabbiru wa-yaṣjudu, illa anna Ṭāwūs yaqūl: allahu akbar, allahu akbar, allahu akbar, thumma yaṣjudu l-a'rabi.*

'Abd al-Razzāq from Ibn Jurayj. He said: Sulaymān also informed me that he had heard Ṭāwūs saying: The first who prayed it (i.e. the *dhuḥā* prayer) were the Bedouins. When one of them sold a commodity he would come to the mosque and say: *allah akbar*, and perform the *sujūd* (prostration). But Ṭāwūs said:

¹⁴ Ibn Hishām, II, 157.

¹⁵ E.g. Azraqī, 131.

¹⁶ *Isḥāq*, II, 413; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 234; Suyūṭī, *Hawī*, I, 73.

¹⁷ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 79–80.

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

'Abd al-Razzāq has also recorded a shorter version of the same account.¹⁸

...*qala Ibn Jurayj: wa-qala nāsūn: awwalu man ṣallaha ahlu l-bawādī, yadkhuluna l-masjida idha jaraghā 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 *ṣalat 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 *ṣalat 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 *ṣalat 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 Muḥammad 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.

Ṣalat al-ḍuḥā as performed by the Bedouins consisted mainly in the *takbīr* and the *suḥūd*. This fact is most significant; the *suḥūd* 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 *Ṣalat al-ḍuḥā* preserved its basic significance as a thanksgiving ritual during the first decades of Islam. There is evidence that Muḥammad used to perform it following great victories over his enemies. For instance, when Abū Jahl was killed (in Badr), Muḥammad reportedly prayed the *ḍuḥā* 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, *Dalā'il*, II, 363. See also *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 45; *Zād*, 348; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 238; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 60–61.

the traditions of Umm Hani' about *ṣalat al-ḍuḥā* 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 *ḍuḥā*.²² Another report relates that the Prophet had a special bowl (*qaq'a*), which was carried by four persons. The companions of the Prophet used to eat from it after having performed the *suḥūd* of the *ḍuḥā*.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 (*ḥajjat al-waḍā'*), Muḥammad ordered that the *ifāda* from 'Arāfa 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 *ṣalat al-ḍuḥā*; in fact, in the first decades after Muḥammad'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 Mujāhid and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr who once entered the mosque of Medina and saw the people praying the *ḍuḥā*. They asked Ibn

²¹ E.g. Ibn Hishām, IV, 53–54; Waqidi, II, 830; Ibn Sa'd, II, 144–145; Bukhārī, II, 73; Muslim, II, 157–158; Malik, I, 166; Abū Dawūd, I, 297; Tirmidhī, II, 258; *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 43–44; *Zād*, 332; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 59.

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

²³ Abū Dawūd, II, 313. Cf. also Suyūṭī, *Ḥawī*, I, 61.

²⁴ Ibn Sa'd, IV, 216–217, 218; Abū Dawūd, I, 294; Muslim, II, 209; Ibn Qutayba, *Tawfī*, 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. "mīkāt".

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 *ṣalat 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 *zuḥr* and the ‘*asr*’ prayers, apart from night vigils.³³

Those theologians who objected to *ṣalat 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 *ṣalat al-faṭḥ*, which was performed also in later periods following the conquest (*faṭḥ*) of various places.³⁷

²⁷ Bukhari, III, 3; Muslim, IV, 61. And see further Suyūti, *Hawī*, I, 73.

²⁸ ‘Abd al-Razzāq, III, 81; *maṣāliḥ al-ḍuḥā munḍu aslamtu*.

²⁹ ‘Abd al-Razzāq, III, 81.

³⁰ Bukhari, II, 73; *Zad*, 331, 343.

³¹ *Zad*, 344.

³² *Ibid.*, 343; *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 45–46.

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

³⁴ Bukhari, II, 73–74; *Zad* 347; *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 45.

³⁵ Muslim, II, 156; *Zad*, 332, 345.

³⁶ ‘Abd al-Razzāq, III, 77.

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

But the objection of Muslim theologians to *ṣalat 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 *ṣalat 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-s‘atū llātī tukrahū 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 *ṣalat 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 Bukhari, II, 190; ‘Abd al-Razzāq, II, 427.

³⁹ Tirmidhi, IV, 98–99. See also *ibid.*, I, 299; *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 390 ff.; *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, II, 228–229; Azraqi, 265; Fakih, fol. 300^r; *Qira’a*, 320 ff.

⁴⁰ ‘Abd al-Razzāq, III, 79.

⁴¹ *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 43 (from Ibn Abi Shayba): ... *ma ṣallaytu l-ḍuḥā munḍu aslamtu illa an atūfa bi-l-bayti*.

⁴² *Zad*, 345, 349; Suyūti, *Hawī*, I, 65.

⁴³ *Zad*, 345, 349.

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

In fact, however, *ṣalāt al-duḥā* 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 *duḥā* prayer in spite of the fact that Muḥammad had refrained from it. She explained that Muḥammad had not performed the *duḥā* 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-duḥā* 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-duḥā*,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 Allah does not punish for praying."⁵⁰ Further traditions actually present the Prophet himself as prescribing the *duḥā* 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 *duḥā* prayer.⁵¹ The same prescription is said to have been given to Abū l-Dardā.⁵²

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

⁴⁴ Tirmidhi, II, 258; *Zad*, 340, 345; Suyūṭi, *Hawī*, I, 60.

⁴⁵ *Zad*, 346.

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

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

⁴⁸ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 78–79;... *wa-mā dhātha l-masū shay'an aḥabbā ilayya minhā*. See also Suyūṭi, *Hawī*, I, 73.

⁴⁹ *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 43;... *wa-nīmat al-bid'a*. See also *Zad*, 344.

⁵⁰ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 78.

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

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

used to pray the *duḥā* prayer defining it as "a prayer of desire and fright" (*ṣalāt raghiba wa-raḥba*).⁵³ 'Ā'isha is said to have stated that the Prophet used to perform the *duḥā* 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 *duḥā* prayer with twelve *rak'as*.⁵⁵ Mujāhid reports that the Prophet used to perform the *duḥā* 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-duḥā*.⁵⁷

Such traditions about the Prophet were designed to rule out the above-mentioned traditions claiming that Muḥammad had never performed the *duḥā* 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 *khawā'is*. In the following tradition Muḥammad is reported to have stated: "I was ordered to observe the two *rak'as* of the *duḥā*, but you (i.e. the Muslims) were not ordered to observe it..."⁵⁸ But the partisans of *ṣalāt al-duḥā* 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 *taḥawwuf* (voluntary act): the *witr*, the two *rak'as* before the *fajr* prayer, and the two *rak'as* of the *duḥā* prayer."⁵⁹ In this manner, *ṣalāt al-duḥā* was given a firm legal basis as a most recommended *taḥawwuf*. The Shāfi'is, in fact, considered it the best *taḥawwuf*.⁶⁰ Moreover, in a further tradition of the Prophet the *duḥā* 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-duḥā* 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. *Musnad* *raḥ*, I, 314; *Zad*, 333; Suyūṭi, *Hawī*, I, 60.

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

⁵⁵ *Zad*, 334–335.

⁵⁶ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 74; *Zad*, 333–334.

⁵⁷ *Zad*, 334. See also Suyūṭi, *Hawī*, I, 60 (on the authority of Anas b. Malik).

⁵⁸ Suyūṭi, *Khawā'is*, III, 254; *umritu bi-rak'ataj l-duḥā wa-lam tu marā bihā*... See also *idem*, *Hawī*, I, 62.

⁵⁹ Suyūṭi, *Khawā'is*, III, 254; Halabī, III, 296.

⁶⁰ Alusi, XXIII, 175.

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

recommend two *rak'as*, which seems to be the original number. According to one of these traditions, two *rak'as* of *ṣalāt al-ḡhuḡa* 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 *ḡhuḡa* prayer with four *rak'as*" — says the Prophet in another tradition — "Allāh will build a house for him in paradise".⁶⁵ "He who prays the *ḡhuḡa* 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-ḡhuḡa*.⁶⁷ A harmonizing tradition was also produced promising due reward to those performing 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, or 12 *rak'as* during the *ḡhuḡa* prayer.⁶⁸ The mere existence of this variety of traditions shows that *ṣalāt al-ḡhuḡa* 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-ḡhuḡa* 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-ḡhuḡa*, in contrast to the traditions recommending only an occasional performance of this prayer. "He who keeps performing the *ḡhuḡa* prayer, his sins will be forgiven even if they were as plentiful as the foam of the sea".⁷⁰ Or, "He who prays the *ḡhuḡa* 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 Allāh".⁷¹ Those who persist in praying the *ḡhuḡa* are promised, in another tradition, to enter paradise through a special door, named "Duḡa".⁷² Another tradition says that he who sticks to the *ḡhuḡa* 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-ḡubḡ* and then remain in their places till the sun rises in order to pray the *ḡhuḡa*.⁷⁴

The importance attributed in early Islam to *ṣalāt al-ḡhuḡa* 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 *ḡhuḡa* had accomplished a more successful raid and gained more booty.⁷⁵ In other words, *ṣalāt al-ḡhuḡa* 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-ḡhuḡa* shall have the reward of him who performs the 'Umra.⁷⁶ In fact, the *ḡhuḡa* 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-ḡhuḡa 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-'ashiyi wa-l-ishraqi*).

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

⁷¹ Ibn al-Jawzi, *'ilal*, I, 472; *Zad*, 350.

⁷² Ibn al-Jawzi, *'ilal*, I, 471–472; *Zad*, 339; Suyūṭi, *Ḥawī*, I, 63, 70; *Nuzhat al-majālīs*, I, 122; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 59; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 239.

⁷³ *Zad*, 351.

⁷⁴ Abu Dawūd, I, 296, 297; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 57, I, 234 ff.; *Nuzhat al-majālīs*, I, 123; *Zad*, 337, 340–341; Suyūṭi, *Durr*, V, 299; idem, *Ḥawī*, I, 63; Ibn Hibbān, I, 176; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 235.

⁷⁵ Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 56; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 235; Suyūṭi, *Ḥawī*, I, 65, 70.

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

⁷⁷ Suyūṭi, *Durr*, VI, 405; *al-munāfiq la yusallī l-ḡhuḡa wa-lā yaqra'u 'qul: ya ayyuha l-kāfirin*. See also idem, *Ḥawī*, I, 65.

⁷⁸ See Mugaṭīl, *Tafsīr al-khams mi'a dya mina l-Quran*, MS Br. Lib., Or. 6333; fol. 9^v; ... *bi-l-'ashiyi wa-l-ishraq: yārit wa-hina tushriqu l-shamsu fi awwal l-nahar*.

⁶² Muslim, II, 158; Abu Dawūd, I, 295–296; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 55; *Zad*, 336–337.

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

⁶⁴ Tirmidhi, II, 259; Abu Dawūd, I, 296; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 57–58; *Zad*, 337; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 235–236.

⁶⁵ *Faḡh al-barī*, III, 45.

⁶⁶ 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 81.

⁶⁷ Tirmidhi, II, 257; 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 75; *Zad*, 337; *Faḡh al-barī*, III, 44; Suyūṭi, *Durr*, V, 299; idem, *Ḥawī*, I, 62; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 56.

⁶⁸ Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 58; *Nuzhat al-majālīs*, I, 123; *Faḡh al-barī*, III, 44; Suyūṭi, *Durr*, V, 299; idem, *Ḥawī*, I, 69. For the discussion of this problem see further *Zad*, 341 ff.; *Faḡh al-barī*, III, 43–45; *Nuzhat al-majālīs*, I, 123; Suyūṭi, *Ḥawī*, I, 71 ff.

⁶⁹ *Nuzhat al-majālīs*, I, 122. See also *Faḡh al-barī*, III, 47. Neglecting this prayer causes blindness.

⁷⁰ Tirmidhi, II, 260; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 56; *Zad*, 337, 352; Suyūṭi, *Durr*, V, 299; idem, *Ḥawī*, I, 70.

to have said: "The virtue of *ṣalat al-dhuḥā* 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 *dhuḥā* at her house (see above), Ibn 'Abbās stated that it was *ṣalat al-ishraq*.⁸⁰ Muḥammad himself is sometimes said to have identified the *dhuḥā* with *ṣalat al-ishraq*.⁸¹ The identification of *ṣalat al-dhuḥā* with David's prayer who is labelled in the Quran as *awwāb* gave rise to a tradition of the Prophet in which the *dhuḥā* prayer is called *ṣalat al-awwābīn*.⁸²

The *dhuḥā* 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 *ṣalat al-dhuḥā* 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-dhuḥā*), and *sūra* 93 (*wa-l-dhuḥā*).⁸⁴ David was not the only Quranic prophet with whom *ṣalat al-dhuḥā* was connected. Abraham who, according to Quran 53/37 "paid his debt in full" (*waḡḡa*), is said to have paid it daily by means of the four *rak'as* of *ṣalat al-dhuḥā*.⁸⁵ Moses was told by Allāh that if he wanted the high mountains to pray for him, he should not stop praying the *dhuḥā*.⁸⁶

Such was the way in which *ṣalat al-dhuḥā* 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 *ṣahābī* Abū Bashīr al-Anṣārī once saw another man (Sa'īd b. Nāfī) praying the *dhuḥā* 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

in a further version of the tradition stating that Ibn 'Umar used to pray the *dhuḥā* 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 *ṣalat al-dhuḥā* must be performed when the shadows disappear (i.e. at noon).⁹⁰ Al-Zuhri as well reportedly related that the companions of the Prophet used to pray the *dhuḥā* 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 *dhuḥā* 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 *ṣalat al-dhuḥā* 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 *ṣalat al-dhuḥā*, i.e. closer to the original one. 'Umar is reported to have stated: "Servants of Allāh, perform the *dhuḥā* prayer in the *dhuḥā*, i.e. pray it in its proper time, and do not delay it till the time of the *dhuḥā* 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. Ṣalat al-'aṣr and Ṣalat 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 *dhuḥā*, was

⁷⁹ Loc. cit.: *qala Ibn 'Abbās: ma faʿalanī bi-ḥadīṭi ṣalati l-dhuḥā ḥattā alayya ʿalā ḥadīthi l-ʿayy...* And see also 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 79; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 298; idem, *Hawī*, I, 59; Qurtubī, XV, 160.

⁸⁰ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 298–299; Halabī, III, 93; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, II, 238.

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

⁸² *Musaddrak*, I, 314; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 299; idem, *Hawī*, I, 59, 71; Qurtubī, XV, 160; Mundhirī, *Targhib*, II, 59.

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

⁸⁴ *Faṭḥ al-barī*, III, 46 (from al-Ḥākim); *Nuzḥat al-majālis*, I, 122; Suyūṭī, *Hawī*, I, 66.

⁸⁵ *Faṭḥ al-barī*, III, 45; Suyūṭī, *Hawī*, I, 68.

⁸⁶ *Nuzḥat al-majālis*, I, 122.

⁸⁷ *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, II, 226; *la tuṣalli ḥattā tartafʿa l-shamsu fa innahā taṭliru fī qarnayī l-shayṭān*.

⁸⁸ Bukhārī, II, 76–77.

⁸⁹ 'Abd al-Razzāq, II, 430.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 80: *ṣalat al-dhuḥā idhā inqatʿat al-zilāl*. See also Suyūṭī, *Hawī*, I, 65.

⁹¹ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 77.

⁹² Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 299: *ṣalat al-awwābīn idhā ramīdai al-fajr*. See also idem, *Hawī*, I, 64; *Zād*, 338; 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 69.

⁹³ Qurtubī, XV, 160. See also *EF* s.v. "ṣalat" (A.J. Wensinck).

⁹⁴ *Taj*, s.v. "d.h.w."; *wa-minhu qawī 'Umar: adhā ʿibāda llāhi bi-ṣalati l-dhuḥā — ay yallihā li-waḡḡiha wa-lā tu ʾakḥriḥā illā irḡiḡi l-dhuḥā*. See also Suyūṭī, *Hawī*, I, 67.

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 *ṣalat al-ḡhuḡa*, *ṣalat 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 *tawḡ*, which was performed at the *ḡhuḡa* as well as in the evening (above, p. 42), and especially the *ijāda* 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 *ṣalat 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 *ṣalat al-'asr* because this prayer reflected Jewish practices. The relation of *ṣalat al-'asr* to the Jewish *minḡa* is quite obvious, and already Goldziher pointed out the Jewish origin of the sacredness of the 'asr time in Islam.⁹⁵ The above report implies, therefore, that apart from authentic Arab ways of worship (*ṣalat al-ḡhuḡa*), 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 are responded to, and all oaths have special solemnity. Some traditions state that this hour coincides with the time of *ṣalat al-'asr*.⁹⁶ Other traditions say that this hour commences after *ṣalat al-'asr*,⁹⁷ or, that it lasts from *ṣalat al-'asr* till the sun disappears,⁹⁸ or, that it occurs in the last hour of daylight (*ākhir s'at al-nahar*);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

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

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

The importance of this prayer is clearly reflected in some legendary traditions relating that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib 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

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

⁹⁶ 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 262.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 265; *Faḡh al-barī*, II, 349; Suyūṭi, *Durr*, VI, 217.

⁹⁸ 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 262.

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

¹⁰⁰ 'Abd al-Razzaq, III, 264; *Faḡh al-barī*, 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).

¹⁰² 'Abd al-Razzaq, II, 502–503. For other versions see *ibid.*, 505, 506; Waḡidī, II, 582; Tabarī, *Taḡṣīr*, V, 164; Suyūṭi, *Durr*, II, 211, 213, 214; Ṭahāwī, *Sharḡ*, I, 318. And cf. also Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25.

¹⁰³ 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 580. See also Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 26.

¹⁰⁴ Tabarī, *Taḡṣīr*, II, 351; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, I, 308; Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25–26.

¹⁰⁵ Bukharī, II, 145; *man taraka ṣalata l-'asr fa-qad ḡabita 'amalahu* (cf. Quran 5/5 etc.). See also Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25.

¹⁰⁶ 'Abd al-Razzaq, I, 576; *allāḡhi taḡṣīṭuhu ṣalatu l-'asr fa-ka-annama wuṭira aḡlahu wa-malahu*. See also Bukharī, I, 145; Muslim, II, 111; Ṭahāwī, *Mushḡil*, II, 12, IV, 232–233; *Faḡh al-barī*, II, 24; Tabarī, *Taḡṣīr*, II, 351; Goldziher, "Nachmittagszeit", 25.

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

B. The fact that *ṣalat al-ʿasr* 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 *ṣalat al-ʿasr*, is not *ṣalat al-duḥā*, but rather another prayer — *ṣalat al-fajr* which is performed before sunrise. This fact means that already before the introduction of the five daily prayers, *ṣalat al-fajr* replaced *ṣalat al-duḥā* as an official morning prayer, performed together with *ṣalat al-ʿasr*.

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 tulūʿi l-shamsi wa-qabla ghurubihā...

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

According to al-Suddī, this verse refers to the first two daily prayers, which preceded the five constitutional ones,¹⁰⁸ and these prayers are said to be *ṣalat al-fajr* and *ṣalat al-ʿasr*.¹⁰⁹ Another Quranic verse which is also connected by Muslim exegetes with *ṣalat al-fajr* and *ṣalat al-ʿasr*¹¹⁰ is 11/114:

wa-ʿaqimi l-ṣalata tarāfay l-nahari wa-zulfaṇ 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 *ṣalat al-fajr* substituted for *ṣalat al-duḥā* as an official

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

¹⁰⁸ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, 312 (from Ibn Abī Ḥātim): ...*kāna ḥadha qabla an tufrada l-ṣalata*.

¹⁰⁹ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, 312, VI, 110.

¹¹⁰ Ṭabawī, *Tajfīr*, XII, 77; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 351.

¹¹¹ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, V, 352–353, (from 'Abd al-Razzāq). And see also Muḡatīl, II, 130f.

¹¹² Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 14, IV, 219–220. See also Abū 'Abdallāh al-Iḥṭī, *Mukhtaṣar taḡfīr Yaḥyā b. Salām*, MS Br. Lib., ADD 19490, fol. 82v; Muḡatīl, I, 117f., II, 8–8v. See also Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 91 (from Muḡatīl); *Faḥ al-bārī*, I, 393; Ḥalabī, I, 266, 264.

¹¹³ Ṭabawī, *Tajfīr*, XV, 93; ...*an Abī Jafar: "lā ghasaq l-laylī" qalā: ṣalat al-ʿasr*.

morning prayer already before the number of prayers was extended to five is most significant. The obvious similarity between *ṣalat al-fajr* and the Jewish *shaharith* indicates, once again, how early Muḥammad began to look for Jewish models of prayer which substituted for Arab pre-Islamic manners of worship (*ṣalat 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 '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 Allāh about the prayers of the worshippers.¹¹⁵ 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-ṣalat 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 *ṣalat 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 *ṣalat al-ʿasr* is ascribed to the Prophet himself. 'Alī related that the Muslims used to think that *al-ṣalat al-wuṣṭā* was *ṣalat 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 'asr. The words of the Prophet were: "*shaghhalana 'ani l-ṣalati l-wuṣṭā ṣalati l-ʿasri*..."¹¹⁸ It was even maintained that the words "*ṣalat al-ʿasr*" were originally written in the Quran itself, serving as a *badal* for the phrase *al-ṣalat al-wuṣṭā*. This *qir'ā* is related on the authority of 'Ā'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; *Faḥ al-bārī*, II, 27 ff.; Muslim, II, 113.

¹¹⁶ 'Abd al-Razzāq, I, 579: ...*wasalat jā-kanaḥ bayna l-layli wa-l-nahar*. See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 301 (from 'Abd al-Razzāq).

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

¹¹⁸ Ṭabawī, *Tajfīr*, II, 345. See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 303; Ṭabawī, *Sharḥ*, I, 173.

¹¹⁹ Ṭabawī, *Tajfīr*, II, 343–344. In other versions, a "*waḥ*" is inserted between "*al-ṣalat al-*

Ṣalat 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 *ʿaṣrāni* only. The man asked: “What are the *ʿaṣrāni*?” 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-bardāni*, i.e. the cool ones. The Prophet reportedly stated: “He who prays the *bardāni* 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-dhuḥā*, 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 *munaḍḡun*.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-

scribed for *ṣalāt al-fajr* was the *ghalās*, 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 Tāwus 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 *fīṣṣar* in the sense of *la'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 *zuhr* 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; Tirmidhī, I, 260–261.

¹²⁷ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 571; Ṭahāwī, *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; Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 190; *Majmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, I, 307–308.

¹³⁰ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 550: “...*kāna yu'akhkhiru l-ʿaṣra hatta taṣfara l-shamsu jiddan*.”

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

¹³² ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 551.

¹³³ Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 193.

¹³⁴ Ṭahāwī, *Musḥkil*, I, 439.

¹³⁵ *Loc. cit.*: “*an Abī Qilāba: innama summiyat l-ʿaṣra li-tuṣṣara*. See also *idem*, *Sharḥ*, I, 194.

¹³⁶ Tirmidhī, I, 272: “*kāna rasūlu llāhi (s) aṣhadda taṣṭīlan li-l-zuhri min kum, wa-antum aṣhaddu taṣṭīlan li-l-ʿaṣri minhu*.”

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

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

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

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

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

¹²⁴ E.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I, 581, 582.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 572.

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

The great scholar Abū Ḥanifa objected to the early performance of *ṣalat 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.¹³⁹ The followers of Abū Ḥanifa maintained that the 'asr prayer should be delayed till the ascension of the angels at the end of the day.¹⁴⁰

Likewise, *ṣalat al-fajr* was not always detached from sunrise. Pious Muslims like 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, although recommending that *ṣalat 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-ṣalat al-ghadaṭ*).¹⁴² 'Alī and Sa'īd 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 (*asfiru bi-ṣalat al-ṣubḥ*) was even circulated as a Prophetic *ḥadīth*.¹⁴⁴ Ibn Mas'ūd 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'ūd 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-ṣalata li-dulūki l-shamsi ila 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 'Abd al-Razzāq, I, 540: *kāna man qablaikum ashadda taḥīlan li-l-zuhri wa-ashadda ta'khiran li-l-'asri minikum*. See also Ṭabāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 193.

¹³⁸ Ibn al-Jawzī, *'Ilāl*, I, 389; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, I, 307.

¹³⁹ *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, II, 21.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 29.

¹⁴¹ 'Abd al-Razzāq, I, 536, 570–571.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, I, 569.

¹⁴³ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 568, 573; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, I, 315–316; Tirmidhi, I, 262; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, II, 45; Ṭabāwī, *Sharḥ*, I, 178–179 (with further variants).

¹⁴⁵ 'Abd al-Razzāq, I, 568.

prayers of the *fajr* and the 'asr. Those who objected to prayers close to sunrise and sunset utterly forbade such voluntary supplications following *ṣalat al-fajr* and *ṣalat al-'asr*. 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 'asr.¹⁴⁶ Salama b. al-Akwa', too, stated that he had never seen the Prophet pray following the *ṣubḥ* and 'asr prayers.¹⁴⁷ The Prophet himself was reported to have interdicted in several traditions prayers following the *ṣubḥ* till sunrise, and following the 'asr till sunset.¹⁴⁸ Prayers following *ṣalat al-'asr* 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 *ṣalat al-fajr* and *ṣalat al-'asr* 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 *tawāf* which took place following the prayers of the *fajr* and the 'asr.

A tradition of the Prophet says that there are two kinds of *tawāf* which provide the believers with total forgiveness: a *tawāf* following *ṣalat al-fajr* which is finished at sunrise, and a *tawāf* following the 'asr prayer which is finished at sunset. These are sacred hours attended by the angels.¹⁵⁰ Each of these two daily *tawāf*s 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".¹⁵¹ In fact, there is a whole chapter in al-Fakihī containing traditions about prominent *ṣahāba*, such as Ibn 'Umar, Ibn 'Abbās, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and others, who prayed the voluntary *rak'as* at Mecca following the *tawāf* of the *ṣubḥ* and the 'asr.¹⁵²

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

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 67.

¹⁴⁷ *Majma' al-zawā'id*, II, 226.

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

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

¹⁵⁰ Fakihī, 299^a. See also Azraqī, 266; *Qirā*, 330.

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

¹⁵² Fakihī, 300^a–301^a.

Mecca,¹⁵³ but, on the other hand, the *ṭawqf* 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 *ṣajr* and the *ʿaṣr* prayers as abrogated (*mansūkhā*).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. Khalīd 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 ʿĀisha, 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-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1970.
 Abū Dāwūd — Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, Cairo 1952.
 Ḍiṣṭī — al-Ḍiṣṭī, *Raḥ al-Maʿānī*, repr. Beirut, n.d.
 Azraqī — al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, repr. Beirut n.d.
 Balādhurī, *Anṣab* — al-Balādhurī, *Anṣab al-aṣhrf*, vol. I, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959.
 Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil* — al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUḥmān, Cairo 1969.
 Bukhārī — al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1958.

¹⁵³ E.g., Fakihī, 301¹, *fa-innahū rukkhisa fī dhālika ha-huna mā lam yurakkhas fī shayʿin minā l-amṣar*. And see also the statement of Abū l-Dardā concerning the same matter: *innā hadha l-baḍal layṣa ka-sāʾir l-buḍal* (Fakihī, 300⁹).

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

¹⁵⁵ *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, II, 222–223.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 223.

¹⁵⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁸ Bukhārī, I, 153–154.

- Fakihī — al-Fakihī, *Tarikh Makka*, MS Leiden, Or. 463.
 Faḥ al-bārī — Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Faḥ al-bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Bulāq, 1310H/1883, repr. Beirut n.d.
 Ḥalabī — al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sira al-Ḥalabīyya*, Cairo 1320H/1902, repr. Beirut, n.d.
 Ibn Hibbān — Ibn Hibbān, *Kitāb al-majrūḥīn*, ed. M. I. Zāʾid, Ḥalab 1396H/1976.
 Ibn Hishām — Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawīyya*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabi (I–IV), repr. Beirut 1971.
 Ibn al-Jawzī, *ʿIlal* — Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-ʿIlal al-muʾandhiya fī l-aḥādith al-waḥīya*, Lahore 1969.
 Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* — Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, repr. Beirut, 1974.
 Ibn Khuzayma — Ibn Khuzayma, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. M. M. al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut, n.d.
 Ibn Qutayba, *Tawīl* — Ibn Qutayba, *Tawīl mukhtalif al-ḥadith*, ed. M. Z. al-Najjar, repr. Beirut 1972.
 Ibn Saʿd — Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqat al-kubrā*, Beirut 1960.
 Ibn Sayyid al-Nās — Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyun al-aḥar*, repr. Beirut, n.d.
 Iṣāba — Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1971.
 Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid — Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥaythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa-manbaʿ al-jawāʾid*, repr. Beirut 1967.
 Mālik — Mālik, *al-Muwattaʿa*, in al-Suyūṭī's *Tanwīr al-ḥawālik*, Beirut 1973.
 Maqrīzī, *Imṭāʿ* — al-Maqrīzī, *al-Imṭāʿ wa-l-asmaʿ*, Cairo 1941.
 Mundhirī, *Targhib* — al-Mundhirī, *al-Targhib wa-l-tarḥīb*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, repr. Beirut 1973.
 Muḡatīl I–II — Muḡatīl b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr al-Quran*, MS Saray, Ahmet III, 74/I–II.
 Muslim — Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1334H/1915.
 Mustadrak — al-Ḥakīm al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ʿala l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, Hyderabad 1342H/1923.
 Nuzḥat al-majālīs — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Safūrī, *Nuzḥat al-majālīs*, Cairo, 1346H/1927, repr. Beirut n.d.
 Qirāʾ — Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirāʾ li-qasīd Umm al-Qurʾ*, ed. M. al-Saqqā, Cairo 1970.
 Qurṭubī — al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jamīʿ 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-unuf*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Saʿd, Cairo, 1973.
 Suyūṭī, *Durr* — al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314H/1896, repr. Beirut, n.d.
 —, *Ḥawī* — al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥawī li-l-faḥawī*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1959.
 —, *Khāṣāʾ is* — al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khāṣāʾ is al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, Cairo 1967.
 Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* — al-Ṭabarī, *Jamīʿ l-bayān fī tafsīr al-Quran*, Bulāq, 1323H/1905, repr. Beirut 1972.
 Ṭabarī, *Tarikh* — al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh al-umam wa-l-mulūk*, Cairo 1939.
 Ṭabarsī — al-Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Quran*, Beirut 1961.
 Ṭabāwī, *Mushkil* — al-Ṭabāwī, *Mushkil al-aḥar*, Hyderabad 1333H/1914.

- , *Sharḥ* — al-Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ maʿāni l-aḥḥar*, Cairo 1386H/1966.
Ṭaj — al-Zabīdī, *Ṭaj al-ʿarās*, Beirut 1966.
 Tirmidhi — al-Tirmidhi, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Malikī, *ʿĀrīdai al-ahwadhī*, ed. al-Sāwī.
 Wāqidi — al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghazī*, ed. J.M.B. Jones, London 1966.
 Wensinck, *Handbook* — A.J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, repr. Leiden 1971.
 Zad — Ibn al-Qayyim, *Zad al-maʿād fī ḥudda khayrī l-ʿibād*, on the margin of al-Zurgānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāḥib al-laduniyya*, vol. I, Cairo 1329H/1911, repr. Beirut, n.d.

THE MEDINAN OPPOSITION TO THE PROPHET

Moshe Gil

To M.J. Kister

On the occasion of his seventieth birthday

Introduction

It may be argued that the *hijra* was in itself an act of preparation for war. Upon his arrival in Medina, the Prophet lost no time in making military preparations, by organizing the new *umma*, establishing its local institutions, mobilizing the necessary funds for the equipment of the new army, and setting in motion the first raids against Quraysh. According to the plans made in conjunction with his new allies, the *ansār*, the targets were Mecca and the Qurashites, and the destruction of polytheism in the Arabian peninsula. One of the first steps to be taken was the abrogation of the treaties between the local tribes and the Medinan Jews, to be followed finally by the expulsion and annihilation of the Jewish population.¹ At the same time there was a struggle with the *munaḍfiqūn*, those elements among the *ansār* who did not fully support the Prophet's campaigns,

* The preparation of this essay was made possible thanks to grants from the Faculty of Humanities, Tel Aviv University, and the Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies.

¹ In a paper published a few years ago I discussed the so-called *kitāb al-umma*, as a document dealing with the basic principles on which the first Muslim community was founded. While showing that the document in the version known to us is genuine, I also pointed out the real meaning of the decisions relating to the Medinan Jews; see "The Constitution of Medina", *Israel Oriental Studies*, 4:44, 1974 and references there to other studies on this topic. In the meantime, an additional paper on the document was published by R.B. Seignat, "The Sunnah jāmi'ah...", *BSOAS* 41:1, 1978. In note 32 he complains that I do not share his view that this tiny document is a compilation of eight (!) independent sources. The reasons for my divergent view are given in the *IOS* article noted, which Seignat does not seem to have read, though he mentions it (without the details of its publication). In her paper, published after my present paper went to the publishers, H. Rahman also writes about "the documents of the *ahd*", while referring to my *IOS* article in an undignified way, misspelling my name and giving the other details of the reference in an incorrect manner. See her "The Conflict", etc., *Der Islam*, 62: 260, 1985, p. 277 and n. 66.