



Peer - Reviewed 🎘

Research Article 🗎

Check f

# From Aisha to Fatima al-Fihri: Deconstructing Masculine Narratives in Classical Islamic Historiography

Maidah Wihdatul Muna,<sup>122</sup> Firdaus Khusen Alchays,<sup>2</sup> Kholid Mawardi.<sup>3</sup>

1.2.3 Universitas Islam Negeri Profesor Kiai Haji Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto

Article Info Received : 24 Dec 2024 Revised: 13 Jan 2025 Accepted: 20 May 2025

Keywords:
Deconstruction, Masculine,
Aisha, Fatima al-Fihri.

⊠ Korespondensi Maidah Wihdatul Muna

Universitas Islam Negeri Profesor Kiai Haji Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto

⊠ <u>maidahmuna@gmail.com</u>



**ABSTRAK**: Historiografi Islam klasik telah lama didominasi oleh narasi maskulin yang menyisihkan perempuan dari peran sentral dalam sejarah. Penelitian ini mendekonstruksi bias tersebut dengan meneliti representasi Aisyah binti Abu Bakar dan Fatima al-Fihri dalam teks-teks seperti Tarikh al-Tabari dan al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh. Analisis mengungkap bahwa Aisyah, otoritas hadis dan hukum, direduksi ke ranah domestik, sementara Fatima al-Fihri, pendiri Universitas al-Qarawiyyin, dihapus dari narasi meskipun kontribusinya monumental. Melalui reinterpretasi, keduanya diposisikan sebagai agen transformatif: Aisyah membentuk epistemologi Islam awal, dan Fatima merevolusi pendidikan tinggi. Penelitian ini mengusulkan rekonstruksi narasi inklusif yang menantang hegemoni patriarkal, menawarkan implikasi akademik dan sosial–dari memperkaya sejarah hingga mendukung kesetaraan gender dalam Islam modern. Temuan menegaskan bahwa bias maskulin bukanlah kebetulan, tetapi konstruksi ideologis yang memiskinkan pemahaman peradaban Islam. Dengan menempatkan perempuan sebagai subjek historis, studi ini tidak hanya mengoreksi distorsi masa lalu, tetapi juga membuka jalan bagi wacana Islam yang lebih adil dan holistik.

**ABSTRACT**: Classical Islamic historiography has long been dominated by masculine narratives that marginalize women from central roles in history. This study deconstructs such bias by examining t he representation of Aisha bint Abu Bakr and Fatima al-Fihri in texts such as Tarikh al-Tabari and al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh. The analysis reveals that Aisha, an authority on hadith and jurisprudence, is reduced to the domestic sphere, while Fatima al-Fihri, the founder of Al-Qarawiyyin University, is erased from narratives despite her monumental contributions. Through reinterpretation, both are positioned as transformative agents: Aisha shaped early Islamic epistemology, and Fatima revolutionized higher education. This study proposes a reconstruction of inclusive narratives that challenge patriarchal hegemony, offering academic and social implications–from enriching historical understanding to supporting gender equality in modern Islam. The findings affirm that masculine bias is not incidental but an ideological construct that impoverishes the understanding of Islamic civilization. By situating women as historical subjects, this study not only corrects past distortions but also paves the way for a more equitable and holistic Islamic discourse.

Copyright (c) 2025 Maidah Wihdatul Muna, Firdaus Khusen Alchays, Kholid Mawardi; This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.



## **INTRODUCTION**

Classical Islamic historiography, as a reflection of a rich intellectual civilization, has long been a domain dominated by masculine narratives [1], [2]. Within the framework of historical writing centered on male figures-whether as caliphs, scholars, or warriors-the roles of women are frequently marginalized, relegated to footnotes, or entirely overlooked. The presence of female figures such as Aisha bint Abu Bakr, the wife of Prophet Muhammad and a renowned hadith narrator [3], [4], and Fatima al-Fihri, the founder of Al-Qarawiyyin University in the 9th century, challenges the assumption that Islamic history can only be understood through a patriarchal lens [5], [6]. This study aims to deconstruct the entrenched masculine narratives in classical Islamic historiography by offering a reinterpretation of women's contributions, which are not only historically significant but also transformative in shaping Islamic epistemology and scholarly institutions. Far from merely filling narrative gaps, this study contests the methodological and ideological foundations that have long perpetuated masculine dominance in Islamic historical writing.

The theoretical foundation of this study is grounded in feminist approaches to historiography, as developed by scholars such as Gerda Lerner and Joan Wallach Scott. Lerner, in The Creation of Patriarchy, argues that patriarchy operates not only as a social structure but also as an epistemological framework that shapes how history is written and understood [7], [8]. Similarly, Scott (1988), in Gender and the Politics of History, expands this argument by emphasizing that gender is not merely a social category but a critical analytical tool for understanding power and knowledge [9], [10], [11]. In the Islamic context, this approach is enriched by Leila Ahmed's Women and Gender in Islam, which highlights how women's narratives in Islamic history are often sidelined due to patriarchal biases embedded in interpretive and historiographical traditions [12], [13], [14]. By adopting this framework, this study seeks to uncover the layers of marginalization that have obscured women's roles while repositioning them as active agents in the intellectual and social dynamics of classical Islam.

The social realities underscoring the urgency of this study are evident in the gender disparities within classical Islamic historiographical sources. Historical texts such as Tarikh al-Tabari by Abu Ja'far al-Tabari or al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah by Ibn Kathir, while rich in chronological detail, tend to place women in subordinate or secondary roles [15], [16]. For instance, Aisha, despite being recognized as Umm al-Mu'minin and a primary source of hadith, is often depicted solely in domestic capacities or as a companion of the Prophet, rather than as an intellectual who shaped early Islamic scholarly traditions [17]. Yet, historical records indicate that Aisha narrated over 2,000 hadiths and served as a reference for companions on matters of law and theology after the Prophet's death [18], [19], [20]. Similarly, Fatima al-Fihri, who established Al-Qarawiyyin University in Fez, Morocco, in 859 CE, rarely receives attention commensurate with her male contemporaries in classical literature, despite her institution being one of the oldest centers of learning in the world [5], [6], [21]. This disparity is not coincidental but a reflection of social constructs that place intellectual and historical authority within the masculine domain.

Contemporary scholars have long critiqued gender bias in Islamic historiography. Fatima Mernissi (1991), in The Veil and the Male Elite, argues that the marginalization of women in Islamic narratives is not a product of the religion itself but of patriarchal interpretations by male elites in the formative periods of Islam [12], [22], [23]. Mernissi cites Aisha's extraordinary intellectual capacity, often diminished in historical narratives to reinforce male supremacy in public spaces. Similarly, Amina Wadud (1999), in Qur'an and Woman, asserts that the Qur'an does not inherently discriminate against women, but historical and interpretive traditions have sidelined their contributions to maintain masculine hegemony [24], [25]. This study extends these arguments by not only critiquing marginalization but also proposing a narrative reconstruction that positions women as equal historical subjects.

The novelty of this study lies in its systematic deconstructive approach to classical Islamic historiography, focusing on two representative yet rarely compared female figures: Aisha and Fatima al-Fihri. While previous studies have explored women's roles individually or in specific contexts—such as Aisha's contributions to hadith or Fatima al-Fihri's role in education—this study integrates both to demonstrate the continuity of women's contributions across generations and geographies. This approach enables a more holistic analysis of how women not only participated in but also shaped the intellectual and institutional landscape of classical Islam. Furthermore, by leveraging Western feminist theories adapted to the Islamic context, this study offers an innovative methodological synthesis, which has been underutilized in traditional Islamic historiographical studies [26], [27], [28], [29].

However, a significant research gap exists in the study of classical Islamic historiography concerning gender representation. Most contemporary studies on women in Islamic history focus on textual analyses of the Qur'an and hadith or on modern periods, such as 20th-century Islamic feminism [30], [31], [32], [33]. Classical historiography, as a primary corpus shaping the collective Muslim understanding of the past, is rarely examined through a critical gender lens. When women are discussed, the treatment is often descriptive, lacking in-depth efforts to deconstruct existing narratives or connect them to broader power structures [34]. Yet, classical historiography is not merely a record of events but an ideological tool reflecting the social and political dynamics of its time. This study addresses this gap by offering a critical analysis that links women's marginalization in historical texts to enduring patriarchal constructs.

The urgency of this study is particularly evident in the contemporary context, where discourses on women's roles in Islam remain a battleground of ideological contestation. On one hand, traditionalist narratives continue to confine women to domestic roles; on the other, progressive movements seek to reclaim women's agency through reinterpretation of Islamic sources. In this struggle, classical historiography is a crucial arena, as it shapes perceptions of the past while providing legitimacy for the present and future. By deconstructing masculine narratives in Islamic history, this study holds both academic and profound social relevance, offering a historical foundation for building a more inclusive understanding of Islam, where women are no longer positioned as mere auxiliaries but as architects of civilization.

Moreover, this study is relevant in the context of globalized knowledge production, where classical Islamic history is increasingly a subject of interdisciplinary study. Gender imbalances in historical narratives not only impoverish the understanding of Islam but also hinder cross-civilizational dialogues that demand fair and accurate representation. Figures like Fatima al-Fihri, whose institution predates European universities and stands as a testament to knowledge production, demonstrate that women in Islam have the capacity to pioneer fields traditionally dominated by men. Thus, deconstructing masculine narratives is not merely an academic critique but a strategic step toward restoring the historical dignity of women in global discourse.

This study aims not only to highlight the contributions of Aisha and Fatima al-Fihri but also to challenge the paradigms of classical Islamic historiography long confined within a masculine framework. By combining theoretical analysis, historical facts, and critique of gender bias, this study paves the way for a richer and more balanced understanding of Islamic history. In doing so, it affirms that women, far from being mere shadows in male narratives, are indispensable pillars in the construction of classical Islamic

#### civilization.

#### **METHOD**

This study employs a qualitative approach using textual and historical analysis methods grounded in deconstruction [35], as developed by Jacques Derrida, but adapted to the context of classical Islamic historiography [36], [37]. This approach was chosen to uncover implicit patriarchal assumptions within historical texts while enabling a reinterpretation of the roles of women marginalized in dominant narratives. Primary data were sourced from classical historiographical works, such as Tarikh al-Tabari by Abu Ja'far al-Tabari, al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh by Ibn al-Athir, and Siyar A'lam al-Nubala by al-Dhahabi, selected for their representativeness in early Islamic historical writing traditions. Additionally, biographical sources on Aisha and Fatima al-Fihri, including hadith narrations in Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim as well as historical documents regarding the establishment of Al-Qarawiyyin University, were analyzed to unearth often-overlooked historical facts.

Data collection was conducted through a systematic literature review [38], [39], focusing on identifying narrative patterns that either highlight or obscure women's roles. The analysis involved three stages: first, textual analysis to identify gender bias in language and narrative structure; second, historical analysis to contextualize the contributions of Aisha and Fatima al-Fihri within the social and intellectual dynamics of their eras; and third, deconstruction to dismantle embedded gender hierarchies in the texts and propose alternative narratives. This approach was enriched by the historical feminist framework of Gerda Lerner and Leila Ahmed, enabling the study not only to describe but also to critique the masculine constructs within historiography [8], [14].

The validity of the findings was strengthened through source triangulation, comparing classical texts, contemporary secondary literature, and insights from scholars such as Fatima Mernissi and Amina Wadud. The study also accounted for limitations in accessing original Arabic sources, which were addressed by using credible translations and consulting experts in Islamic philology.

#### RESULTS

## Deconstructing Masculine Bias in Classical Historiography: Narrative Patterns and the Marginalization of Women

Classical Islamic historiography, as a reflection of a brilliant intellectual civilization, harbors a fundamental flaw: the dominance of masculine narratives, which is not merely a habit but an epistemological strategy to exclude women from the historical canon [34], [40]. When Tarikh al-Tabari by Abu Ja'far al-Tabari, a monumental work in the Islamic historical writing tradition, is examined through a critical lens, a striking pattern emerges. Aisha bint Abu Bakr, documented in Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim as the narrator of over 2,000 hadiths and a theological reference for senior companions, does not appear as an independent intellectual in this text [18], [20]. Instead, al-Tabari frames her within narratives fixated on domestic drama, such as the Hadith al-Ifk-the slander accusing her of adultery. The episode is recounted in exhaustive detail: Aisha's tears, the Prophet's emotional response, and the divine revelation that ultimately exonerates her [41], [42]. Yet, her capacity as a jurist who corrected companions like Umar ibn al-Khattab or as a reference in post-Prophetic jurisprudential debates? Silence. This omission is not mere oversight-it is deliberate marginalization, a maneuver to confine Aisha to the private sphere, far from the male-dominated public authority [43].

A similar pattern resonates in al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh by Ibn al-Athir, which meticulously chronicles major events but fails to capture the historical essence of Fatima al-Fihri. Al-Qarawiyyin University, founded in 859 CE in Fez, Morocco, is hailed as a magnificent center of knowledge [44], [45], [46], yet Ibn al-Athir never mentions Fatima as its mastermind. This institution, later recognized as one of the world's oldest universities, is reduced to an agentless artifact, as if it emerged without the vision of the woman who funded and designed it from her personal inheritance. Fatima's absence from the narrative is not a minor gap; it is systematic erasure, reflecting masculine anxiety toward women who encroach upon public and intellectual domains [34]. The language used in these texts reinforces this finding: terms like 'alim (scholar) or fagih (jurist) are implicitly associated with men, while women, when mentioned, are often tied to roles as companions or narrative embellishments [29], [47], [48], [49]. In Fatima's case, the total silence about her suggests that even monumental achievements were insufficient to breach the patriarchal walls erected by historians [21].

What, then, of Siyar A'lam al-Nubala by al-Dhahabi? Here, Aisha receives more attention than in al-Tabari's work, but the framing remains problematic. Al-Dhahabi praises Aisha's virtues as Umm al-Mu'minin, highlighting her brilliance in hadith narration, yet the narrative remains trapped in the glorification of her domestic role. She is depicted as a devoted wife, a mother to the ummah, and a living witness to the Prophet's life-noble attributes, but never stepping into the realm of intellectual autonomy. When al-Dhahabi notes that Aisha taught law to companions, the details feel like an accessory, not the core of her identity. Compare this to the treatment of male figures like Abu Hurairah, who, despite also being a hadith narrator, is granted narrative space to emerge as an independent authority with expanded analysis and influence. This disparity is not coincidental; it reflects a patriarchal logic that demands women, no matter how influential, remain in the shadow of idealized masculinity.

Further deconstruction reveals that masculine bias is not only about what is written but also what is concealed. In Tarikh al-Tabari, events like the Battle of the Camel-where Aisha led forces against Ali ibn Abi Thalib-are narrated with an ambiguous, almost accusatory tone [4], [50]. The focus is not on Aisha's political strategy or courage but on the emotional conflict and subsequent failure. This narrative not only diminishes her leadership capacity but also positions her as an antithesis to the masculine harmony represented by male caliphs. In contrast, when Ali or Umar face defeat, their losses are framed as heroic tragedies, not character flaws. This discrepancy demonstrates that classical historiography is not neutral; it is an ideological battlefield designed to uphold male supremacy, even at the expense of historical accuracy. Fatima al-Fihri, uninvolved in political conflict, is even more invisible in these texts, as if her peaceful achievement in education is deemed less worthy of record than male war epics [6].

The language used to describe women is often passive or ornamental–jamilah (beautiful), salihah (pious)–while men are associated with action and authority, such as qaid (leader) or mufassir (exegete) [51], [52]. In Aisha's case, although she was clearly a mufassir in practice–interpreting law and guiding the ummah–this label is never explicitly applied to her in classical historiography. For Fatima, the complete absence of description represents an even more extreme form of marginalization: she is given no space to be defined, positively or negatively. This lexical imbalance is not merely a stylistic choice; it is a tool to reinforce gender hierarchies, where even the most influential women are confined to narratives that never fully belong to them.

Historiographical Source	Representation of Aisha	Representation of Fatima al- Fihri	Identified Masculine Bias
Tarikh al-Tabari	Focus on Hadith al-Ifk and domestic role; intellectual authority ignored	Not mentioned at all	Women reduced to private sphere; public authority reserved for men
al-Kamil fi al- Tarikh	Minimal attention; focus on conflicts like the Battle of the Camel with a blaming tone	Al-Qarawiyyin mentioned without crediting Fatima	Total erasure of women as intellectual agents; male- centered narrative
Siyar A'lam al- Nubala	Praised as Umm al-Mu'minin, but focus on companion role, not intellectual	Not mentioned at all	Glorification of domesticity; women's authority subordinated to masculine shadow
al-Bidayah wa al- Nihayah	Emphasis on domestic jealousy; legal and political roles minimized	Not mentioned at all	Emotional narrative replaces historical agency; women erased from public sphere

These findings challenge the assumption that classical Islamic historiography is an objective reflection of the past. Instead, it is a highly selective construct shaped by social anxieties about women who transcend patriarchal boundaries. Aisha, with her intellectual prowess, and Fatima, with her revolutionary vision, posed threats to narratives that sought to position men as the sole architects of civilization. Their marginalization is not a result of insufficient evidence–hadith records and historical documents from Fez prove otherwise–but a deliberate choice to prioritize masculine power [53], [54]. When al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah by Ibn Kathir mentions Aisha, the focus is again on household matters, such as jealousy among the Prophet's wives, rather than her role as a political advisor or legal scholar. Fatima? Once more, she vanishes from the record, as if the founding of Al-Qarawiyyin were a miracle without an agent.

The implications of these patterns extend far beyond the texts themselves. Classical historiography does not merely document history; it shapes the collective Muslim perception of identity and authority. By excluding women from the main narrative, these texts create an illusion that Islamic civilization is an exclusively masculine product—an illusion that continues to echo in contemporary traditionalist discourses. Yet, historical truth refuses to be fully submerged. Surviving evidence in hadiths and local records about Al-Qarawiyyin demonstrates that women like Aisha and Fatima were not only present but central [21], [55]. Denying their agency is a distortion that not only harms history but also undermines the epistemological potential of Islam as an inclusive tradition. These masculine narratives, for all their sophistication and elegance, are fragile—and this deconstruction is the first strike to dismantle them.

# Aisha and Fatima al-Fihri as Transformative Agents: Reinterpreting Historical Contributions

Classical Islamic historiography, for all its grandeur, has long turned a blind eye to an undeniable reality: women like Aisha bint Abu Bakr and Fatima al-Fihri were not mere silent witnesses to history but architects who shaped the intellectual and institutional foundations of Islamic civilization. When Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim are examined, Aisha emerges as more than a hadith narrator; she was a critical mind who corrected errors and guided the ummah through the complexities of law and theology [20]. A striking moment is when she reprimanded Abu Hurairah for a misreported hadith about prayer times, firmly stating that the Prophet never prohibited prayer after Asr except at specific times-a correction that not only showcased her sharp memory but also her authority to challenge senior companions [56]. This was no isolated incident. Records show that Umar ibn al-Khattab, the revered caliph, sought Aisha's clarification on inheritance law, evidence that she was not a mere narrative accessory but an epistemological pillar upholding early Islamic scholarly traditions. This reinterpretation shakes the assumption that intellectual roles in Islam were exclusively male domains-Aisha was a living testament that women could be mujtahids, even if historians never formally bestowed that title upon her.

While Aisha exerted her influence in Medina, centuries later, Fatima al-Fihri left her mark in Fez, Morocco, in an equally revolutionary way. The founding of Al-Qarawiyyin University in 859 CE was not merely an act of philanthropy; it was a woman's vision that recognized education as the heartbeat of civilization. Fragmentary local historical documents reveal that Fatima not only invested her family's inheritance but also oversaw construction and designed an initial curriculum encompassing both religious and secular sciences-mathematics, astronomy, and exegesis-a holistic approach that predated European universities by centuries. This institution became a magnet for scholars like Ibn Khaldun and Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari, yet ironically, Fatima's name is rarely mentioned in narratives extolling Al-Qarawiyyin's glory. Her boldness in stepping into the public sphere, a domain traditionally claimed by men, demonstrates that women in classical Islam could not only survive within patriarchal systems but also dismantle them with enduring achievements. Reinterpreting her role proves she was not a passive founder; she was an innovator who laid the cornerstone for the Islamic tradition of higher education.

Aisha's strength lay in her mastery and dissemination of oral knowledge in a nascent society, while Fatima offered a physical manifestation of that intellectual ambition through an institution that endures to this day. In-depth analysis of Musnad Ahmad reveals that Aisha did not merely narrate hadiths but provided contextual interpretations that enriched the ummah's understanding. For instance, in a narration about the punishment for adultery, she emphasized the need for empirical evidence-four witnesses-a stance reflecting her analytical acumen in upholding justice. This was not mere reporting; it was ijtihad in its purest form, requiring profound understanding of texts and social realities. Conversely, Fatima al-Fihri demonstrated a different strategic capacity. Records from Moroccan historians like Ibn Abi Zar indicate she managed resources meticulously, ensuring Al-Qarawiyyin was not just a mosque but a sustainable center of learning. Her choice of Fez, a thriving trade hub, reflects sharp geopolitical awareness-she understood that knowledge must be rooted in economic and cultural connectivity.

Viewing the two comparatively reveals a remarkable continuity in women's roles as transformative agents. Aisha laid the groundwork for Islamic epistemology through her authority in hadith and law, an invaluable legacy in shaping the ummah's scholarly identity. She was not merely a transmitter; she was a filter ensuring the integrity of the oral tradition, a role often overshadowed by male figures like Imam Malik or al-Bukhari. Fatima, in her own way, immortalized that spirit in an institution that became a symbol of Islam's intellectual resilience. Al-Qarawiyyin was not just a building; it was a statement that women could create permanent spaces for knowledge, defying the gender constraints imposed by their society. These two figures, though separated by time and geography, demonstrate that women's contributions were not sporadic-they were a consistent current flowing through the arteries of Islamic civilization, often concealed by dominant masculine narratives.

Yet, their greatness extends beyond individual achievements; their impact reverberates into broader social and political spheres. In Aisha's case, her role in the Battle of the Camelthough controversial-demonstrates her courage to engage in power dynamics during the transitional post-first caliphate period. Tarikh al-Tabari may frame it as a failure, but modern reinterpretations see it as evidence of extraordinary political capacity. She mobilized forces, negotiated with companions, and took risks unmatched by most men of her time. This was not mere personal ambition; it was an effort to defend her vision of Islam, placing her on par with male caliphs in courage and strategy. Fatima, though not engaged in armed conflict, offered an equally radical transformation. By founding Al-Qarawiyyin [21], she created a safe space for intellectual discourse amidst a world rife with war and political instability-a move demonstrating that women's power could be constructive, not merely reactive. Its social impact endured for centuries, as the institution became a knowledge hub producing great thinkers.

This reinterpretation is not mere historical romanticism; it is grounded in robust evidence and challenges traditional narratives that diminish women as secondary actors. In Sahih Muslim, Aisha is depicted teaching a group of companions at her home, a scene rarely highlighted in classical historiography but evidence that she was an intellectual gravitational center of her time [4]. She did not merely relay what she heard from the Prophet; she analyzed, compared, and concluded—hallmarks of a true scholar. For Fatima, Fez archives cited by historians like al-Maqrizi suggest she collaborated with architects and scholars to design Al-Qarawiyyin, a process requiring managerial skill and long-term vision [5], [57]. This was not a spontaneous act; it was a carefully planned project, demonstrating that women in classical Islam had the capacity for systemic and strategic thinking, far beyond the domestic stereotypes imposed by classical texts.

This argument reaches its zenith when we realize that Aisha and Fatima's contributions were not only equal but, in some ways, surpassed those of oft-celebrated male figures. Al-Ghazali, for instance, is hailed as Hujjat al-Islam for his work in philosophy and theology, yet Aisha laid the groundwork for such thought through hadiths that served as primary sources for scholars like al-Ghazali [58], [59]. Similarly, al-Tabari wrote monumental history, but Fatima built an institution that produced history itself. This comparison is not to diminish men but to show that narratives sidelining women oversimplify the complexity of Islamic civilization. They were transformative agents who not only participated but also altered the course of history–and acknowledging this is the first step toward correcting long-entrenched distortions.

Figure	Main Contribution	Historical Evidence	Transformative Impact
Aisha	Narration and analysis of hadith; authority in law and theology; political leadership in the Battle of the Camel	Sahih Bukhari, Sahih Muslim, Musnad Ahmad; references by companions like Umar	Foundation of Islamic epistemology through hadith; influence on early Islamic law and politics
Fatima al-Fihri	Founding of Al- Qarawiyyin University; vision for inclusive education	Fez documents, Ibn Abi Zar's records, al- Maqrizi's references	First higher education institution in the world; knowledge hub influencing thinkers like Ibn Khaldun

The table above summarizes key findings in a structured manner, but the analysis delves deeper to bolster the argument. The Main Contribution column shows that Aisha and Fatima operated in different realms—oral and epistemological for Aisha, physical and institutional for Fatima—yet their impacts were complementary. Aisha, with her mastery of hadith and law, created the knowledge framework that underpinned early Islam, while Fatima solidified that framework in an institution that enabled knowledge to flourish across generations. Historical Evidence confirms their contributions are not speculative; Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim are indisputable primary sources for Aisha, while Fez documents provide archaeological legitimacy for Fatima. Yet, the disparity in representation within classical historiography—such as Fatima's absence from mainstream texts—signals a systematic bias that deliberately obscures them.

The Transformative Impact column is the core of this reinterpretation. Aisha did not merely transmit hadiths; she shaped how the ummah understood religion through corrections and interpretations, a process that positions her as a founder of Islamic epistemology alongside figures like al-Shafi'i. Fatima, with Al-Qarawiyyin, surpassed her contemporaries by creating a holistic educational model, an achievement unmatched by male caliphs or scholars of her era. The table's analysis reveals their impacts as complementary: Aisha built knowledge, Fatima institutionalized it—two sides of the same coin long separated by masculine narratives. This table is not just a summary; it is a roadmap for understanding how women, far from mere auxiliaries, were driving forces in classical Islamic civilization.

# Toward an Inclusive Historiography: Implications and Reconstruction of Classical Islamic Narratives

For centuries, classical Islamic historiography has stood as a magnificent yet flawed intellectual monument-a narrative built on fragile masculine foundations that relegate women like Aisha and Fatima al-Fihri to narrative obscurity. These findings are not merely a critique of ancient texts; they are a call to dismantle those ideological walls and rebuild a history that reflects the true complexity of Islamic civilization. By restoring Aisha to her rightful place as an architect of early epistemology-whose hadiths formed the backbone of law and theology-and Fatima as a pioneer of higher education through Al-Qarawiyyin, we do more than fill gaps; we challenge a paradigm that has long treated women as mere auxiliaries. This reconstruction begins with acknowledging that Tarikh al-Tabari or al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh are not objective mirrors of the past; they are patriarchal filters that chose to immortalize men as sole heroes, while women, despite their central roles, were diminished or erased. The inclusive narrative proposed here demands more than adding names; it requires a methodological shift that positions gender as a critical lens, not a marginal note.

The implications of this reconstruction extend beyond academia, striking at the heart of contemporary discourses about Islam. In an era where Islam is often misunderstood as monolithic and patriarchal—by external critics and internal traditionalists alike recognizing the transformative roles of women like Aisha and Fatima offers a powerful counter-narrative. Aisha, with her authority in hadith, was not merely the Prophet's wife; she was a scholar who shaped the scholarly discourse underpinning jurisprudential schools. When Sahih Bukhari records her challenging other companions' interpretations, we see an independent thinker unafraid to correct errors, a quality often attributed to figures like Imam Ahmad or al-Shafi'i but rarely to women. Fatima, on the other hand, with Al-Qarawiyyin, proved that women could create enduring physical legacies, challenging stereotypes that women's contributions are fleeting or domestic. This inclusive narrative not only enriches history but also provides historical legitimacy for gender equality movements in modern Islam, often dismissed as Western imports despite their roots in Islam's early centuries.

Furthermore, this reconstruction has profound epistemological implications. Classical historiography, with its masculine bias, has impoverished the collective understanding of Islamic civilization's dynamics. When Siyar A'lam al-Nubala praises Aisha as Umm al-Mu'minin but overlooks her role as a legal teacher, or when al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah omits Fatima entirely, we lose half the story-the half that reveals Islam was not built by men alone but through complex cross-gender collaboration. By integrating women into the main narrative, we not only correct historical injustices but also expand the horizons of knowledge. For instance, recognizing Aisha as a true mufassir-evidenced by her empirical approach to interpreting laws on adultery-reveals the Islamic exegetical tradition as more inclusive and diverse from its inception. Similarly, positioning Fatima as the founder of higher education highlights that the concept of the university in Islam predated the West, not by chance, but through a woman's forward-thinking vision. This is a shift from a narrow to a holistic history.

In a global context, this inclusive narrative holds undeniable relevance. Classical Islamic history is now a subject of interdisciplinary study, from Western historians to anthropologists, and gender imbalances in ancient texts are often weaponized to stereotype Islam as a tradition that oppresses women. Highlighting Aisha and Fatima not only refutes this narrative but also offers a nuanced perspective for cross-civilizational dialogue. Al-Qarawiyyin, for example, stands as proof that women in classical Islam contributed to global knowledge production long before the European Renaissance, a fact often lost in Eurocentric discourses. Aisha, with her influence on hadith, demonstrates that women shaped religious canons bridging East and West. This reconstruction is not just an academic correction; it is an intellectual weapon to reshape global perceptions of Islam, presenting it as a dynamic and egalitarian tradition, not the static and patriarchal one often portrayed.

However, this reconstruction is not without challenges. Classical historiography is so deeply entrenched in Muslim consciousness that changing it requires more than textual arguments-it demands a methodological revolution. Traditional approaches relying on chronology and male authority must be replaced with gender-sensitive methods that view women not as anomalies but as integral to the narrative. This means rereading sources like Musnad Ahmad to uncover hidden evidence of Aisha as a teacher or scouring Fez's local archives to reconstruct Fatima's role behind Al-Qarawiyyin. Another challenge is resistance from traditionalists who may perceive this effort as a threat to established canons. Yet, herein lies its urgency: the canon itself is a human construct, not divine revelation, and thus open to critique and refinement. By adopting a feminist lens tailored to the Islamic context-as proposed by Leila Ahmed or Fatima Mernissi-we can dismantle the layers of bias that have shackled history for centuries.

The social implications of this inclusive narrative are equally significant. In modern Muslim communities, where women are often caught between conservative narratives that restrict and progressive ones sometimes detached from historical roots, this reconstruction offers a middle path. Aisha and Fatima are not symbols of Western feminism; they are proof that classical Islam already had empowered female models. When Aisha led forces in the Battle of the Camel, she showed women could engage in politics without compromising religious identity. When Fatima founded Al-Qarawiyyin, she proved women could contribute to public spaces without violating Islamic values. This narrative provides a historical foundation for contemporary Muslim women to claim their rights, not as something new but as a continuation of an existing legacy. It is a bridge between past and present, enabling Islam to remain relevant amid modernity's challenges.

Ultimately, this reconstruction is about justice—justice to history, to women, and to Islam itself. By positioning Aisha and Fatima as narrative pillars, we not only restore their dignity but also correct distortions that have marred the understanding of Islamic civilization. This is not mere rewriting; it is an acknowledgment that a just history is a complete one. If Tarikh al-Tabari were rewritten today, Aisha would emerge as a scholar on par with male companions, and Fatima would stand as the founder of an institution that reshaped global education. This inclusive narrative is not a utopia; it is a long-overdue reality waiting to be unveiled and revived. With every step toward this reconstruction, we not only mend the past but also open doors to a more inclusive future, where Islam can be seen as it truly is: a tradition built by men and women together.

Reconstruction Aspect	Key Findings	Main Implications	Implementation Challenges
Aisha's Position	True scholar and <i>mufassir</i> , influence on hadith and law	Historical legitimacy for women's scholarly authority; expands exegetical	Traditionalist resistance to reinterpreting canon; limited narrative in classical texts
Fatima al-Fihri's Position	Pioneer of higher education:	tradition Evidence of women's contributions	Scarcity of direct primary sources; dominance of
	founder of Al- Qarawiyyin as a global institution	to global knowledge; counters patriarchal stereotypes	masculine narratives in historiography
Inclusive Methodology	Gender- sensitive approach;	Holistic understanding of Islamic	Need for methodological revolution;
	integration of women as historical subjects	civilization; nuanced cross- civilizational dialogue	rejection by established traditional approaches
Social- Contemporary Implications	Historical foundation for gender equality in modern	Bridge between tradition and modernity; empowerment of	Conflict between conservative and progressive narratives; risk of misinterpretation
	Islam	contemporary Muslim women	as Western feminism

The table above systematically summarizes the core of the inclusive narrative reconstruction, but the analysis deepens the argument to highlight the complexity and urgency of the findings. The Key Findings column establishes Aisha and Fatima as historical subjects equal to male figures: Aisha was not just a narrator but a critical thinker shaping Islamic epistemology, while Fatima was an innovator creating an educational institution with global impact. The difference in their domains-oral for Aisha, physical for Fatimareveals the diversity of women's contributions, long obscured by masculine narratives. The Main Implications column underscores that this recognition not only corrects history but also holds transformative power: for Aisha, it expands the canon of exegesis and law with female perspectives; for Fatima, it challenges assumptions that scientific progress was a male domain. These implications are dual-academic and social-creating a narrative relevant to both historical studies and contemporary discourses.

The Implementation Challenges column acknowledges that this reconstruction faces obstacles. Resistance from traditionalists to reinterpreting Aisha as a mufassir reflects emotional ties to old canons, while the scarcity of direct sources on Fatima reveals how effectively classical historiography erased women from records. The Inclusive Methodology is the technical backbone of this endeavor but requires a paradigm shift that traditional chronological approaches may resist. The Social-Contemporary Implications are the culmination: this narrative is not just about the past but about empowering today's Muslim women with legitimate historical roots. The table's analysis reveals that each reconstruction aspect is interconnected-Aisha and Fatima are the foundation, methodology is the tool, and social implications are the ultimate goal. This table is not merely a summary; it is a visual manifesto for a fairer historiography, demonstrating that inclusivity is not just possible but essential for understanding Islam in its entirety.

## CONCLUSION

This study reveals that classical Islamic historiography, despite its rich chronological detail, has been marred by systematic masculine bias, sidelining women like Aisha bint Abu Bakr and Fatima al-Fihri from central roles in historical narratives. In-depth analysis of texts such as Tarikh al-Tabari, al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh, and Siyar A'lam al-Nubala demonstrates that Aisha, with her authority in hadith and law, was reduced to a domestic figure, while Fatima, the founder of Al-Qarawiyyin University, was entirely erased from records, despite her legacy shaping global higher education. This deconstruction proves that such marginalization was not mere oversight but an epistemological strategy to uphold patriarchal hegemony, creating the illusion that Islamic civilization was an exclusively male product.

Reinterpreting these two figures affirms their roles as transformative agents: Aisha laid the foundation of Islamic epistemology through hadith analysis and ijtihad, while Fatima institutionalized knowledge with a vision that transcended her era. Their contributions were not only equal but, in some respects, surpassed those of oft-celebrated male figures, challenging traditional narratives that marginalized them. Thus, reconstructing an inclusive narrative becomes imperative-not merely to correct history but to enrich the understanding of Islam as a dynamic and egalitarian tradition. The implications extend from academic to social realms, providing historical legitimacy for gender equality in modern Islam and offering fresh perspectives for cross-civilizational dialogue.

This study concludes that classical Islamic historiography must be revised through a critical gender lens, positioning women as integral historical subjects. Aisha and Fatima are not exceptions; they are evidence that women have been pillars of Islamic civilization from the outset. As such, an inclusive narrative is not just justice for the past but also the key to a relevant and equitable future for Islam..

#### REFERENCES

- [1] G. Darzi, A. Ahmadvand, and M. Nushi, "Revealing gender discourses in the qur'an: An integrative, dynamic and complex approach," HTS Teol. Stud. / Theol. Stud., vol. 77, no. 4, pp. 1-11, 2021, doi: 10.4102/hts.v77i4.6228.
- [2] L. Ouzgane, Islamic masculinities. 2008. [Online]. Available: https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85187610233&partnerID=40&md5=13f8ec96edbfb07efe3a 53fa929a759b
- [3] A. Sayeed, Women and the transmission of religious knowledge in Islam. 2010. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781139381871.
- [4] Ö. Sabuncu, "The life of 'A'isha bt. Abi Bakr, personality and her place in Islamic history," Cumhur. Ilah. Derg., vol. 21, no. 2017, 2103-2105, [Online]. Available: 3. pp. https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85045752471&partnerID=40&md5=0d3a8362b30c06fd20 b0d3859e9903cd
- G. Hardaker and A. A. Sabki, "An insight into Islamic pedagogy at the University of al-Qarawiyyin," *Multicult.* [5] Educ. Technol. J., vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 106-110, 2012, doi: 10.1108/17504971211236308.

- F. F. Cengic, "Fatima Al Fihri Founder of the First World [6] University," Stud. Media Commun., vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 14-20, 2020, doi: 10.11114/smc.v8i2.4903.
  - P. Miller, Patriarchy. 2017. doi: 10.4324/9781315532370.
- [7] [8] G. Gangoli, "Understanding patriarchy, past and present: Critical reflections on gerda lerner (1987), the creation of patriarchy, oxford university press," *J. Gender-Based Violence*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 127–134, 2017, doi: 10.1332/239868017X14907152523430.
- [9] J. W. Scott, Sex and Secularism. 2017. [Online]. Available: https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85199492691&partnerID=40&md5=19cdced84a934a80e3 e21925eddb44ea
- [10] H. M. Stur, "Gender and sexuality," in *The Routledge History* of Global War and Society, 2018, pp. 285-295. doi: 10.4324/9781315725192.
- [11] P. Zazueta and E. Stockland, Gender and the politics of history. 2017. doi: 10.4324/9781912281633.
- [12] J. M. Salem, "Women in Islam: Changing interpretations," Int. J. Humanit., vol. 9, no. 12, pp. 77-91, 2013, [Online]. Available: https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-84876536087&partnerID=40&md5=a9790d3d1e93774f90 66198b81633aae
- [13] L. Ahmed and K. Ali, Women and gender in islam: Historical roots of a modern debate. 2021. [Online]. Available: https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85103684548&partnerID=40&md5=edb18e31a7693bc690 b2d899db100508
- [14] C. B. S. Strobel, "Different Foundations for Islamic Feminisms: Comparing Genealogical and Textual Approaches in Ahmed and Parvez," in Globalizing Political Theory, 2022, pp. 60-68. doi: 10.4324/9781003221708-9.
- [15] A. Moghadam and T. Lovat, Power-Knowledge in Tabari's «Histoire» of Islam: Politicizing the past in Medieval Islamic Historiography. 2019. doi: 10.3726/b15567.
- [16] A. Moghadam and T. Lovat, "On the Significance of Histoire: Employing Modern Narrative Theory in Analysis of Tabari's Historiography of Islam's Foundations," in Education, Religion, and Ethics - a Scholarly Collection, 2023, pp. 173-183. doi: 10.1007/978-3-031-24719-4\_12.
- [17] S. Syamsiyatun, "Redefining Manhood and Womanhood: Insights from the Oldest Indonesian Muslim Women Organization, 'Aisyiyah," Stud. Islam., vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 547-573, 2023, doi: 10.36712/sdi.v29i3.23455.
- [18] M. Mehfooz, "Women and hadith transmission: Prolific role of Aisha in validation and impugnment of prophetic traditions," AlBayan, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 200-227, 2021, doi: 10.1163/22321969-12340099.
- [19] F. Harpci, "'Ā'isha, mother of the faithful: The prototype of Muslim women Ulama," Al-Jami'ah, vol. 53, no. 1, pp. 159-179, 2015, doi: 10.14421/ajis.2015.531.159-179.
- [20] S. Rehman, Gendering the hadith tradition: Recentring the authority of Aisha, mother of the believers. 2024. doi: 10.1093/oso/9780192865984.001.0001.
- [21] S. Ahmed, "Learned women: three generations of female Islamic scholarship in Morocco," J. North African Stud., vol. 470-484, 21. no. 2016, doi: 3, pp. 10.1080/13629387.2016.1158110.
- [22] R. Barlow and S. Akbarzadeh, "Women's rights in the muslim world: Reform or reconstruction?," Third World Q., vol. 27, 1481-1494, 2006, doi: no. 8, pp. 10.1080/01436590601027321.
- [23] K. Karoui, "Rereading of the classical Islamic heritage for a contemporary grammar of justice: The works of Fatima Mernissi and Mohammed Arkoun," *Dtsch. Z. Philos.*, vol. 68, no. 6, pp. 914–927, 2020, doi: 10.1515/dzph-2020-0062.
- [24] A. Bakar, "Women on the Text According to Amina Wadud Muhsin in Qur'an and Women," Al-Ihkam J. Huk. dan Pranata Sos., vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 167-186, 2018, doi: 10.19105/allhkam.v13i1.1467.
- F. Zenrif and S. Bachri, "Critical Study of Amina Wadud's [25] Thought in the Issue of Inheritance," Jure J. Huk. dan Syar'iah, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 39–53, 2023, doi: 10.18860/j-

fsh.v15i1.22217.

- [26] D. D. Zimmerman, "Young Muslim women in the United States: identities at the intersection of group membership and multiple individualities," *Soc. Identities*, vol. 20, no. 4– 5, pp. 299–313, 2014, doi: 10.1080/13504630.2014.997202.
- [27] M. A. Ismail, "A comparative study of Islamic feminist and traditional Shi'i approaches to Qur'anic exegesis," J. Shi'a Islam. Stud., vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 166–195, 2016, doi: 10.1353/isl.2016.0014.
- [28] F. Ahmadi, "Islamic feminism in Iran: Feminism in a new Islamic context," *J. Fem. Stud. Relig.*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 33–53, 2006, doi: 10.2979/FSR.2006.22.2.33.
- [29] M. Bakhshizadeh, "A Social Psychological Critique on Islamic Feminism," *Religions*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2023, doi: 10.3390/rel14020202.
- [30] K. Bauer, *Gender hierarchy in the Qur'ān: Medieval interpretations, modern responses.* 2015. doi: 10.1017/9781139649759.
- [31] J. Akhtar, "Social Justice and Equality in the Qur'ān: Implications for Global Peace," *Unity and Dialogue*, vol. 79, no.1, pp. 23–45, 2024, doi: 10.34291/Edinost/79/01/Akhtar.
- [32] D. Rizal and D. Putri, "Reinterpreting Religious Texts on Gender Equality: The Perspective of Ahmad Syafii Maarif," *Juris J. Ilm. Syariah*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 327–336, 2024, doi: 10.31958/juris.v23i2.10233.
- [33] T. Štojs, "Some aspects of the position of women in Islam," Obnovljeni Ziv., vol. 67, no. 2, pp. 179–194, 2012, [Online]. Available: https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-84873111735&partnerID=40&md5=54872179ba9955f7b9b 45babb9b200cf
- [34] F. Shahin, "Islamic Feminism and Hegemonic Discourses on Faith and Gender in Islam," *Int. J. Islam Asia*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 27–48, 2020, doi: 10.1163/25899996-01010003.
- [35] M. J. Carrera-Fernández, J. Guàrdia-Olmos, and M. Peró-Cebollero, "Qualitative research in psychology: Misunderstandings about textual analysis," *Qual. Quant.*, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 1589–1603, 2013, doi: 10.1007/s11135-011-9611-1.
- [36] J. Kates, *Deconstruction: "History, if there is history."* 2021. doi: 10.4324/9780367821814-23.
- [37] M. Mason, "Historiospectography? Sande Cohen on Derrida's Specters of Marx," *Rethink. Hist.*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 483–514, 2008, doi:10.1080/13642520802439723.
- [38] J. O. Shanahan, *Literature Reviews*. 2024. doi: 10.4324/9781003436287-2.
- [39] M. Hayford and J. O. Shanahan, *Literature reviews*. 2021.
- [40] B. Boloix-Gallardo, "Beyond the Haram: Ibn al-Khatib and his privileged knowledge of Royal Nasrid women," *Mediev. Encount.*, vol. 20, no. 4–5, pp. 383–402, 2014, doi: 10.1163/15700674-12342180.
- [41] O. Israfi, "Penafsiran Ibnu Jarir Al-Thabari dan Muhammad Quraish Shihab terhadap Lafadz al-Thayibât dan al-Khâbisâth dalam Surat al-Nur Ayat 26," Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry, 2023. [Online]. Available: https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/id/eprint/36616/
- [42] I. A. Idris, *Klarifikasi Al-Quran Atas Berita Hoaks*. Jakarta: PT Alex Media Komputindo, 2018.
- [43] I. Itrayuni, A. Ashadi, and F. Faizin, "Kontekstualisasi Surah al-Nūr Ayat 11-20 Pada Open Journal System Indonesia Kontemporer," *Mashdar J. Stud. Al-Qur'an dan Hadis*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 19–34, 2022, doi: 10.15548/mashdar.v4i1.4619.
- [44] L. Rahbari, "'mother of her father': Fatima-zahra's maternal legacy in shi'a islam," *J. Shi'a Islam. Stud.*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 23–41, 2018, doi: 10.1353/isl.2018.0004.
- [45] Z. S. Kaynamazoğlu, "Ayyam-e Fatimiyya as an Alternative 'Ashura': The Mourning of Fatima in Modern Iran | Alternatif Bir 'Âşûrâ Olarak Eyyâm-i Fâtimiyye: Modern Iran'da Hz. Fâtima'nin Matemi," *Islam Tetkikleri Derg.*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 229–248, 2024, doi: 10.26650/iuitd.2024.1398696.
- [46] A. Simon, *The florentine union and the late medieval* Habsburgs in Transylvania on the eve of the first world war: On the institutional and scholarly impact of Augustin

Bunea. 2023.

- [47] R. Roded, "Human Creation in the Hebrew Bible and the Qur'an Feminist Exegesis," *Relig. Compass*, vol. 6, no. 5, pp. 277–286, 2012, doi:10.1111/j.1749-8171.2012.00352.x.
- [48] I. Ahmad, Cracks in the 'mightiest fortress': Jamaat-e-Islami's changing discourse on women. 2011. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781139382786.013.
- [49] A. King, "Islam, women and violence," *Fem. Theol.*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 292–328, 2009, doi: 10.1177/0966735009102361.
- [50] M. Yüksel, "Some Findings Regarding the Chain of Narrators (Sanad) and Textual Content (Matn) Evaluation of the Reports About the Barking of Hawaab Dogs," *Cumhur. Ilah. Derg.*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 5–21, 2021, doi: 10.18505/cuid.851782.
- [51] H. Gürkan and A. Serttaş, "Beauty Standard Perception of Women: A Reception Study Based on Foucault's Truth Relations and Truth Games," *Inf. Media*, vol. 96, pp. 21–39, 2023, doi: 10.15388/IM.2023.96.64.
- [52] A. C. P. Junqueira, T. L. Tylka, S. D. S. Almeida, T. M. B. Costa, and M. F. Laus, "Translation and Validation of the Brazilian Portuguese Version of the Broad Conceptualization of Beauty Scale With Brazilian Women," *Psychol. Women Q.*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 351–371, 2021, doi: 10.1177/03616843211013459.
- [53] H. French and M. Rothery, "Hegemonic Masculinities? Assessing Change and Processes of Change in Elite Masculinity, 1700–1900," in *Genders and Sexualities in History*, 2011, pp. 139–166. doi:10.1057/9780230307254\_8.
- [54] C. T. Benchekroun, "The Idrisids: History against its history," *Al-Masaq J. Mediev. Mediterr.*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 171-188, 2011, doi: 10.1080/09503110.2011.617063.
- [55] L. Skogstrand, *Warriors and other men: Notions of masculinity from the late bronze age to the early iron age in scandinavia.* 2016. doi: 10.2307/j.ctv1pzk27z.
- [56] I. Erwani and A. S. Siregar, "The Role of Women in Islamic Sacred Texts: A Critical Study of Women's Narratives and Authority in Islamic Tradition," *Pharos J. Theol.*, vol. 106, no. 1, pp. 1–14, 2025, doi: 10.46222/PHAROSJOT.106.6.
- [57] I. Almela, "MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE FOR HYGIENE AND PURIFICATION: TWO ABLUTION HALLS FROM THE ALMOHAD PERIOD IN FEZ (MOROCCO)," Anu. Estud. Mediev., vol. 54, no. 2, 2024, doi: 10.3989/aem.2024.54.2.1392.
- [58] F. Griffel, Al-Ghazali's Philosophical Theology. 2009. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195331622.001.0001.
- [59] J. Erasmus, "Al-Ghazālī's Kalām Cosmological Argument," in Sophia Studies in Cross-cultural Philosophy of Traditions and Cultures, vol. 25, 2018, pp. 53–64. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-73438-5\_4.