

GAZİANTEP UNIVERSITY JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Journal homepage: <http://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/jss>



Araştırma Makalesi • Research Article

DOI: 10.21547/jss.1609581

A Contextual Analysis of the Ḥadīth “The Most Virtuous Place of Worship for a Woman is the Most Secluded Corner of Her Home.”

“Kadının En Hayırlı Mescidi Evinin En Ücra Köşesidir.” Hadisi Üzerine Bağlamsal Bir Analiz

Ayşegül TOPRAK ŞAHİN^{a*}

a Arş. Gör. Dr., Artvin Çoruh Üniversitesi, Temel İslam Bilimleri, Hadis, Artvin / TÜRKİYE
ORCID: 0000-0002-5569-7779

ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received: December 29, 2024

Accepted: June 9, 2025

Key Words:

Ḥadīth,
Woman,
Masdjid,
Socio-Cultural,
Fitnah.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the narrations transmitted in classical ḥadīth sources regarding women’s participation in congregational prayers at mosques, assesses their soundness, and contextually analyzes their socio-cultural reflections. It focuses particularly on the ḥadīth, “The most virtuous place of worship for a woman is the most secluded corner of her home.” An initial authenticity analysis of this ḥadīth and related narrations was conducted. Following this, the study delves into how women participated in mosques during the Prophet Muḥammad’s time, the era of the companions, and subsequent centuries, comparing and analyzing these periods in the matter will be addressed considering the approaches of classical Islamic scholars as well as researchers from the Turkish, Arab, and Western worlds. Using qualitative methods such as content analysis and document examination, the research evaluates the perspectives of classical Islamic scholars and contemporary researchers on narrations that either promote or restrict women’s mosque participation. The findings reveal that rulings on women’s visits to mosques have varied across different periods. During the Prophet Muḥammad’s time, women were encouraged to attend mosques without restrictions. However, during the companions’ era, their visits were limited due to inappropriate behavior exhibited by some women. Later, these restrictions were formalized as religious requirements by the jurisprudence schools. In conclusion, it can be stated that prohibiting women from mosques is not aligned with the Prophet Muḥammad’s tradition and such restrictions arose from socio-cultural factors rather than religious necessity. This research emphasizes how social conditions can shape the understanding and application of ḥadīth. Additionally, it offers a valuable comparison of contemporary and historical approaches to women’s mosque participation, providing insights for future research on this subject.

MAKALE BİLGİSİ

Makale Geçmişi:

Başvuru tarihi: 29 Aralık 2024

Kabul tarihi: 9 Haziran 2025

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Hadis,
Kadın,
Mescit,
Sosyokültürel,
Fitne.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, kadınların mescitlerde cemaate katılımı konusunda klasik hadis kaynaklarından aktarılan rivayetleri ele alarak bunların sıhhatini tespit etmekte ve sosyokültürel yansımalarını bağlamsal olarak incelemektedir. İlgili doğrultuda “Kadının en hayırlı mescidi evinin en ücra köşesidir.” hadisi merkeze alınarak öncelikle söz konusu hadise ve konuyla bağlantılı diğer hadis gruplarına yönelik sıhhat analizi yapılmış; ardından Hz. Peygamber dönemi, sahabe dönemi ve sonraki asırlarda kadınların mescitlere katılımının ne şekilde gerçekleştirildiği hususu klasik dönem İslam âlimleri ile Türk, Arap ve Batı dünyasından araştırmacıların yaklaşımları doğrultusunda karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiş ve tartışılmıştır. Nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden içerik analizi ve doküman incelemesi tekniklerinin kullandığı bu çalışmada, kadınların mescitlere katılımını destekleyen ve engelleyen rivayetler üzerine klasik dönem İslam âlimleri ve çağdaş araştırmacıların açıklamaları doğrultusunda değerlendirmeler yapılmıştır. Araştırmada elde edilen veriler ve değerlendirmeler sonucunda kadınların mescitleri ziyaretleriyle ilgili olarak farklı hükümlerin uygulandığı dönemlerin bulunduğu tespit edilmiştir. Hz. Peygamber döneminde kadınların mescitlere gitmesinin teşvik edildiği ve buna engel olunmadığı görülürken sahabe döneminde bazı kadınların uygunsuz davranışları nedeniyle kadınların mescitleri ziyaretlerinin sınırlandırıldığı; daha sonraki dönemlerde ise bu sınırlandırmaların mezhep imamı tarafından dinî bir gereklilik haline getirildiği müşahade edilmiştir. Sonuç olarak Hz. Peygamber’in sünnetine olan sadakat gereği kadınların mescitlerden menedilmemesi gerektiği ve bu yasakların dinî gereklilikten ziyade sosyokültürel nedenlerle uygulandığını söylemek mümkündür. Bu araştırma, toplumsal koşulların, hadis rivayetlerinin algılanış ve uygulanış biçimini nasıl etkileyebileceğini gösteren önemli bir sonucu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ayrıca kadınların mescitlere katılımına ilişkin çağdaş yaklaşımlar ve tarihsel süreçlerin bir karşılaştırmasını sunarak bu konuda gelecekteki araştırmalara da ışık tutmaktadır.

* Sorumlu yazar/Corresponding author.

e-posta: aysegultoprak@artvin.edu.tr

Introduction

The narrations suggesting that women should be distanced from mosques on the grounds that praying at home is more virtuous have been a focal point of debates and criticisms from the classical period to the present day. This study's focus is on these narrations. Along with an analysis of the authenticity of these narrations, the study aims to determine whether the exclusionary actions mentioned in these reports reflect the core principles of the religion, how connected these actions are to the societal and cultural context and under what conditions such actions were practiced during the time of the Prophet Muḥammad and in later periods. It is crucial to uncover the facts surrounding these narrations, which claim that women cannot freely visit mosques, as mosques play a significant role in nurturing the faith of Muslims, fostering connections with fellow Muslims, and contributing to societal welfare.

The studies related to the subject of this research can be categorized into three groups: Those referenced in the text, those that could not be referenced, and sources that are not fully accessible. The references made within the text represent a large portion of the existing works on the topic. Studies that directly address the issue of women's collective worship in mosques considering hadīth transmissions fall under this category. Within this scope, there are four articles by Karacabey (2000), Kahraman (2004), Yeşil (2004), Bakan (2008), Gözelceoğlu (Gözelceoğlu, 2023) and a monograph authored by Katz (2014). Karacabey's article emphasizes the importance of matn criticism alongside isnād analysis and evaluates relevant hadīths by referencing the Prophet's actual practice (fi' lī Sunnah). But the present study focuses on how a specific hadīth has evolved through various isnāds, interpretive layers and socio-religious applications, while also incorporating modern scholarly perspectives, resulting in a multi-dimensional contribution. Kahraman's work critically examines how the discourse of "fitnah" became a central justification in classical fiqh literature for restricting women's participation in mosque worship. The present study explores how this discourse was constructed around a specific hadīth, showing how the narration was detached from its original context and reinterpreted as a restrictive norm. Moreover, this study applies chain of transmission (isnād) analysis, offering a distinct methodological approach. Yeşil's study examines hadīths concerning women's participation in Eid, Friday, and funeral prayers, analyzing them alongside the practices of the Companions while this study conducts a detailed isnād and textual analysis of a specific hadīth, revealing its socio-cultural transformation over time. Recep Gözelceoğlu's study evaluates the narrations that restrict women's participation in mosques mainly through their sociological background; it does not focus on a specific hadīth and does not include technical hadīth analysis. In contrast, the present study offers a comparative evaluation of both similar and contradictory narrations, demonstrating how the central narration has transformed over the course of history. Gözelceoğlu's work does not include such comparisons and does not establish a systematic relationship between different narrations. Additionally, the present study analyzes both classical and contemporary sources (such as Karacabey, Katz, Auda, and Kahraman) through an interdisciplinary approach, whereas Gözelceoğlu's text primarily emphasizes classical period interpretations. On the other hand, Katz's book explores historical and legal developments regarding women's mosque participation across Islamic legal schools and social contexts. While Katz provides a macro-level overview of legal schools and social dynamics, the present study delivers a micro-level investigation of a single hadīth, tracing its transformation through classical and modern interpretations, and contributes a text-critical perspective that complements Katz's broader historical narrative. In summary this study centers on the hadīth, "The most virtuous place of worship for a woman is the most secluded corner of her home." and conducts a detailed analysis of its isnād and content. Unlike most studies that touch upon this narration in general debates, this work uniquely brings it to the foreground and systematically compares it with similar and

contradictory narrations. The study distinguishes between three historical periods the Prophetic era, the era of the Companions, and the era of the madhhab imāms and analyzes women's mosque attendance and related rulings within these distinct socio-religious contexts. It integrates views of classical Islamic scholars with those of modern researchers from Turkish, Arab, and Western backgrounds, enriching both the depth and diversity of the analysis. The study shows how a prophetic saying that originally served a social function gradually evolved into a perceived religious prohibition under the influence of shifting societal norms and discourses of *fitnah* (social disorder).

However, there are other important studies that, although not directly referenced, can be divided into three categories. The first category consists of works that compile and summarize previous studies, which are significant efforts. Two master's theses (Koçyiğit, 2019; Sütçü, 2021) and two research articles (Tırabzon, 2015; Yeşil, 2004) fall under this category. These theses provide a general historical overview of women's mosque participation and legal perspectives. The current study conducts an in-depth textual and contextual analysis of a specific ḥadīth using ḥadīth methodology and sociological critique. The relevant articles offer broader assessments of women's religious participation but do not analyze isnāds or textual variants. This work includes detailed isnād diagrams and critically evaluates narrations in light of classical ḥadīth sciences. The second category of unreferenced sources includes works that address the reflection of narrations regarding the exclusion of women from mosques in different cultural contexts (Utaberta et al., 2018; Woodlock, 2010). The reflections of these narratives on different cultures have not been referenced as they form the subject of another research study. This study, by contrast, focuses on the contextual and historical analysis of a specific ḥadīth related to women's mosque attendance and prioritizes ḥadīth chains, textual content, and socio-historical commentary.

Another group of sources that could not be referenced pertains to what modern mosques promise to women in terms of their structural features. Two articles can be referred in this group (Dışlı, 2015; Nas, 2022). Researchers interested in these topics can consult these sources for their studies. Additionally, although not fully accessible, two books reviewed can also be referred (Auda, 2017; Salam, 2019).

This study, employing qualitative research methods such as document analysis and content analysis techniques, is structured around three titles. The first title focuses on the ḥadīth at the center of criticism: "The most virtuous place of worship for a woman is the most secluded corner of her home." The second title examines ḥadīth with similar meanings, while the third addresses ḥadīth with opposing meanings, analyzing their isnāds and contents. Each title first delves into the various versions of the related ḥadīths and their isnāds analyses. Subsequently, evaluations of their content are conducted with insights from classical Islamic scholars and contemporary researchers.

The Isnād and Content Analysis of the Ḥadīth: "The Most Virtuous Place of Prayer for a Woman is the Most Secluded Corner of Her Home."

In this title, the various variants of the narration "The most virtuous place of prayer for a woman is the most secluded corner of her home." will be first examined. Following this, in the title of "Content Analysis", the approaches of classical Islamic scholars and contemporary researchers from the Turkish, Arab, and Western worlds toward this ḥadīth will be discussed comparatively.

Various Variants of the Ḥadīth

Under this title, the isnād evaluation of three variants of the narration “The most virtuous place of prayer for a woman is the most secluded corner of her home.” transmitted from Abū al-Aḥwaş, al-Sā’ib ibn ‘Abdillāh and Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī, will be conducted.

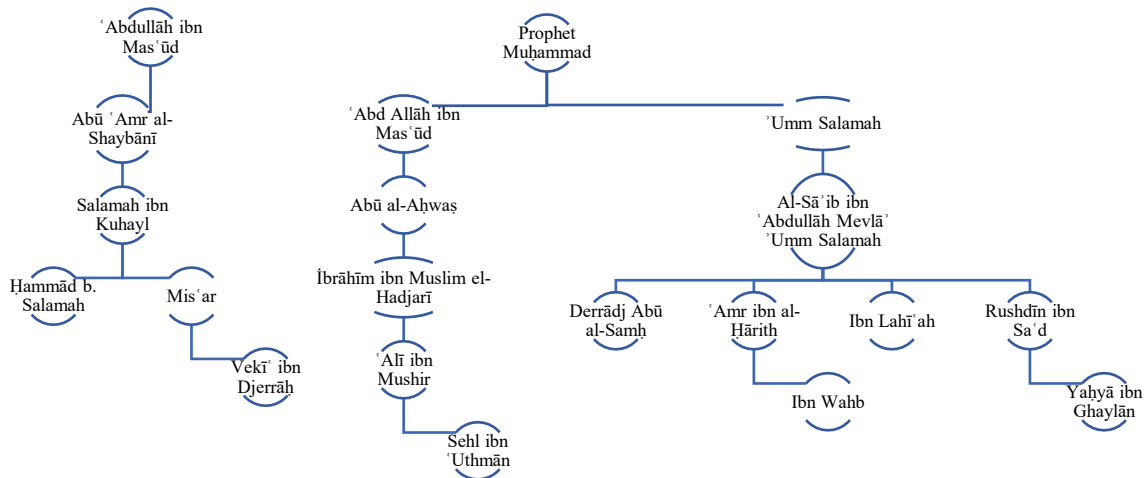


Figure 1. The Isnād diagram of the narration “The most virtuous place of worship for a woman is the most secluded corner of her home.”

Variant of Abū al-Aḥwaş

The evaluation of the isnād of narration “A woman has not performed a prayer closer to Allāh than the one she offers in the most secluded corner of her home (Bayhaqī, 1993, Volume 3, p. 131).” is as follows: The chain of narration transmitted by Abū al-Aḥwaş from ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd is considered weak due to the weakness of Ibrāhīm ibn Muslim al-Hadjarī. Ibn Ḥadjar highlighted that al-Hadjarī was *layyin al-ḥadīth*¹ and noted that he often narrated *mawqūf*² ḥadīths as if they were *marfū*³. In fact, this chain itself may be among those narrations attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad despite being *mawqūf* (Albānī, 1981, Volume 9, p. 444). Because Dja‘far ibn ‘Awn has transmitted this narration from ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd as *mawqūf* (Bayhaqī, 1993, Volume 3, p. 131). Although there is a *marfū* version of the narration transmitted with similar wording from Abū Hurayrah, Ibn Khuzaymah stated that this version also has weaknesses. This is because the chain includes ‘Abdullāh ibn Dja‘far, who is the father of ‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī. ‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī deemed him as weak. According to Albānī, this assessment by ‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī is significant in highlighting the degree of weakness in this ḥadīth. Furthermore, al-Nasā’ī referred to ‘Abdullāh ibn Dja‘far as *matruk al-ḥadīth*⁴ (Albānī, n.d., Volume 9, p. 444). Therefore, the ḥadīth transmitted via Abū Hurayrah does not possess sufficient strength to support its authenticity. According to Albānī, the most appropriate assessment of the ḥadīth would be to attribute it to ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd. When attributed to ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd and evaluated with its chains of transmission, the ḥadīth could potentially

¹ According to the classification of criticism terms ranging from mild to severe, this is one of the mildest and closest to ta’dīl expressions in the first degree, and according to Dāraqutnī, it signifies a criticism that is not severe enough to negate the narrator’s ‘adālah and thus does not necessitate the rejection of the narration (Aşikkutlu, 2003).

² This term is given to the narrations concerning the words, actions, and tacit approvals of the Companions (Aydın, 2004b).

³ The term “ḥadīth” in the sense of words and reports attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (Aydın, 2004a).

⁴ The ḥadīth term used to refer to a narrator accused of lying or the narration transmitted by them (Efendioğlu, 2004).

be elevated to the status of *ḥasan li-ghayrihī*⁵. This is because the only issue with this chain is its attribution to the Prophet Muḥammad (Albānī, n.d., Volume 9, p. 444). As will be explained below, the chain of transmission coming from ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd as *mawqūf* through Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī, which is considered sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*)⁶, can also be regarded as a supporting element for this assessment.

Variant of al-Sā’ib ibn ‘Abdillāh

The evaluation of the isnad of narration “The most virtuous masjid for a woman is the most secluded corner of her home (Abū Ya‘lā, 1989, Volume 12, p. 454; Ibn Khuzaymah, 1970, Volume 3, p.92; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, 1995, Volume 44, p. 164; Ṭabarānī, 1983, Volume 23, p. 313; Bayhaqī, 1993, Volume 3, p. 131).” is as follows: The narration transmitted by Rushdīn ibn Sa‘d and Ibn Lahī‘ah from Derrādj Abū al-Samḥ is considered weak by ḥadīth critics. However, this narration is supported both mutually and through different chains, which may elevate the two weak chains to the level of *ḥasan li-ghayrihī*. On the other hand, the fact that Derrādj Abū al-Samḥ, although a *ṣadūq*⁷ narrator, is only considered *reliable* (*thiqa*)⁸ by Ibn Ḥibbān and not by other scholars, is another aspect pointing to the weakness of the chain. As for Yaḥyā ibn Ghaylān in the isnād, he is a reliable narrator whose narrations are relied upon by Bukhārī and Muslim (Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, 1995, Volume 44, p. 164)⁹. Therefore, the chain of transmission through al-Sā’ib ibn ‘Abdillāh should be considered weak due to the presence of unreliable narrators within it.

Variant of Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī

The evaluation of the isnad of narration “A woman’s prayer in her home is better for her than any other prayer, except for prayers performed in the Masjid al-Ḥarām or the Masjid al-Nabawī and this excludes elderly women (Ibn Abī Shaybah, 2006, Volume 5, p. 201; Ṭabarānī, 1983, Volume 9, p. 293; Bayhaqī, 1993, Volume 3, p. 131).” is as follows: The chain of transmission in the Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī variant, passing through Ḥammād ibn Salamah > Salamah ibn Kuhayl, meets the criteria set by Muslim. Therefore, according to the principles of ḥadīth methodology, this chain is considered sound. Additionally, the isnād in the Miṣ‘ar variant has also been demonstrated by Albānī to meet the criteria of both Bukhārī and Muslim (Albānī, n.d., Volume 24, p. 462).

In conclusion, the weakness in the chains of transmission attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad suggests that the statements in the ḥadīth do not originate from the Prophet Muḥammad himself but rather from ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd.

Content Analysis

Narrations advising women to pray in private spaces away from foreign men aim not to keep women out of sight but to ensure their prayers are not observed by others, as Kahraman explains. These reports do not conclusively establish that a woman’s prayer at home is

⁵ A ḥadīth that is actually weak due to the presence of a narrator whose competence in transmitting the ḥadīth is not fully known, but its weakness is mitigated by being narrated through other chains of transmission, is also referred to as *ḥasan li-ghayrihī* (Uğur, 1997).

⁶ Sound, free from defect or blemish, is the name given to (a) a tradition whose chain of transmitters is unassailable; and (b) the collections which contain nothing but ṣaḥīḥ traditions, namely those compiled by al-Bukhārī and Muslim b. al-Ḥajjīdāj (Guillaume, 2012).

⁷ The term used to express that the narrator is generally trustworthy (Yücel, 2008).

⁸ Qualification used in the science of ḥadīth to describe a transmitter as trustworthy, reliable (Juynboll, 2012).

⁹ Footnote number 1.

inherently more virtuous than one in the mosque, as the merit of prayer can vary by individual and timing. Similarly, interpreting these narrations as absolute proof that women should distance themselves from men and always pray at home cannot be reconciled with the Prophet Muḥammad's permissions for women to engage in mosque-based practices such as i'tikāf, funeral prayers, solar eclipse prayers, voluntary pilgrimage, Eid prayers and participation in scholarly assemblies. The presence of women alongside non-maḥram men during these acts of worship is no less significant than their participation in congregational prayers (Kahraman, 2004, p. 65).

Kahraman highlights that during the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, examples of women's participation in places of worship and social life were not rare and did not emerge out of necessity; instead, they occurred naturally within the flow of daily life. He further notes that in later centuries, scholars attempted to justify rulings restricting women's sociability based on the belief that the Prophet Muḥammad's era was free from fitnah (social disorder), whereas their own times were plagued by increased fitnah. Based on such arguments, he emphasizes that hindering women's participation in worship and social life is not an appropriate approach (Kahraman, 2004, p. 75).

As is evident from the isnād of the narrations being discussed above, an exception was made for old women from the general rule that women fare better praying in their homes, ascribed to 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd through a *mawqūf*. The attitude of 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32^{AH}/652-53^{CE}) seems to have been a candidate for preference at least through the chain of the tradition he initiated,¹⁰ reaching to Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150^{AH}/767^{CE}), based on which the Ḥanafī teaching forbids young women. Right after this, there is a discussion between Abū Ḥanīfah and his student Shaybānī (d. 189^{AH}/805^{CE}), from which Abū Ḥanīfah tries to explain the fact that even Abū Ḥanīfah had difficulty with the freedom that the Prophet Muḥammad had given in this regard, on the other hand Abū Ḥanīfah sees as valid no longer, as a temporary practice bound to the time of the Prophet Muḥammad (Holmes Katz, 2014, pp. 82–83). When they asked him whether they should go out to perform the two Eid prayers, Abū Ḥanīfah says the following: “A dispensation was given to them. However, I believe that it will not be correct to grant them this dispensation today.” The same answer is also given when he is asked whether they should perform the Friday prayer and the other obligatory prayers with a congregation, and that incredibly old woman. Melchert argues the basic logic in this permissibility is that at such times there is less likelihood of seeing women. On the other hand, Katz claims in both these narratives basic distinctions found in early Mālikī texts are discernable. In other words, a distinction is made between the daytime prayers and those prayed either completely or partially in the dark and between younger and older women. It points to the fact that this distinction undertaken by Katz is taken more strictly than the distinction among Mālikīs. In Ḥanafī discussions, the most emphasized concept is age. The phrase “al-‘adjūz al-kabīra” stresses too much the advanced age of the woman, which is against the first Mālikī mature but still dynamic understanding. It is known, on the other hand, that Abū Ḥanīfah has categorically rejected even the softening of the restrictions, such as the case for the authorities in Kūfah on the elderly women (Holmes Katz, 2014, pp. 83–84).

On being asked about the participation of women in the two Eid prayers, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241^{AH}/855^{CE}) said, “A woman -unless she is very advanced in age, it will distract people's sense of understanding.” As per Katz, the remark of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal cannot be placed in a direct relationship with the question of women going to the mosque but does reveal

¹⁰ See for a similar evaluation (Kahraman, 2004, p. 68).

that there was at least an early and clear interest in the question of fitnah. Furthermore, the restrictions on collective worship by women, in the case of Ḥanbalī, would be taken as a new form taken by fitnah (Holmes Katz, 2014, pp. 100–101). Another opinion, going in the same direction, is expressed by Kahraman: According to Kahraman, acts that are assumed to lead to unlawful relationships are labeled as fitnah. This perspective brought the imāms of the four major schools of thought closer to the view that young women praying in congregation is reprehensible. Such approaches, according to Kahraman, were barriers preventing women from experiencing the atmosphere of the mosque. Over time, with the argument of the discourse of fitnah, partial bans and religious restrictions on women's prayers in mosques were introduced. Moreover, no designated prayer spaces for women were incorporated into mosque architecture (Kahraman, 2013, p. 50).

As the above explanation makes clear, the central issue in the legal debate about women's access to mosques is the distinction between older and younger women. Even though the ḥadīth texts provide minimal support for such a distinction, it is attributed to the founders of the four Sunnī schools of thought. According to Katz, the ruling disallowing young women from attending mosques was repeatedly described as an inter-madhhab consensus, while these schools generally adopted a more favorable stance toward older women attending mosques. By later centuries, according to Katz, this distinction was interpreted in terms of sexual attractiveness rather than age. Notably, this distinction between older and younger women was also challenged by Ḥanbalī and Shāfi'ī scholars, who, under various conditions, allowed women of all ages into mosques, and later by many Ḥanafī scholars who voiced objections to the differentiation (Holmes Katz, 2014, p. 114).

According to Sayed, the consensual mindset that prioritized women praying at home over praying in mosques -dominant among major Sunnī and Shī'a schools from the second century anno hegira to the modern era- aligns significantly with other shari'a rules restricting women's travel. However, this consensus contradicts numerous ḥadīths that document women attending mosques during the Prophet Muḥammad's time without being discouraged. Sayed highlights this apparent tension between the Prophet Muḥammad's practices and later shari'a rulings, attributing it to the emergence of the discourse of fitnah after the Prophet Muḥammad's death (Sayed, 2001, p. 1).

This fitnah discourse heavily influenced early legal debates on women's participation in congregational worship. While fear of social order shaped many legal discussions about women's mobility in public spaces, it becomes particularly significant concerning women's presence in mosques. Sayed points out those ḥadīths strongly favoring women's attendance at mosques were often overlooked by jurists aiming to preserve a sense of social order. However, in more recent legal discourses, these ḥadīths have gained renewed significance as a basis for reclaiming women's rights to attend mosques. Sayed observes that ḥadīth, at times, were co-opted by jurists to support a temporarily defined sense of social order and public welfare. Interestingly, the same ḥadīth could be employed to either encourage or discourage women's mosque attendance, depending on the prevailing legal and social narratives (Sayed, 2001, p. 1).

Hibri, women's participation in mosques and congregational activities is analyzed through a sociological lens. According to Hibri, early Muslim women were actively involved in all aspects of the emerging Islamic society, serving as businesspeople, poets, jurists, religious leaders, and even warriors. The Prophet Muḥammad and the first Muslims embraced an egalitarian ethic that supported this inclusive and active role for women. However, over time, patriarchal law and its implementation reduced women to "inactive and immature dependent beings (Hibri, 1997, p. 5)." Based on these explanations, Hibri asserts that in the early Islamic period, there was no prohibition on women attending mosques and participating in congregational prayers. However, he acknowledges that such prohibitions emerged in later

centuries due to changing social conditions and the impositions of a male-dominated society. Similarly, Reda emphasizes that by the end of the first quarter of the Tenth century AH, the situation of women in mosques had become starkly opposed to what it was during the Prophet Muḥammad's time. This is evident because the arrangements for worship in mosques and relevant Qur'ānic verses explicitly indicate full access and participation for women in mosques (Reda, 2004, p. 95).

Safi describes mosques as places where Muslims from diverse cultural and ideological backgrounds meet and interact. He highlights the tension arising from the diversity of interpretations of Islamic sources and practices, particularly in Islamic centers where rigid interpretations about the proper place and role of Muslim women in mosques and congregational settings are often imposed. According to Safi, an increasing number of young Muslim women express dissatisfaction with restrictive regulations and practices that hinder their full participation in educational and social programs. Today, many mosques limit the main worship areas to men and allocate secluded sections for women. As a result, women are left questioning whether these arrangements reflect Islam's true vision for their place or if they are the product of cultural traditions being imposed upon them (Safi, 2006, p. 136).

The main point of morality in Islam is brought to the fore in the Qur'ān, where both men and women should purify themselves to fulfill the social responsibilities that have been set in it and to seek spiritual growth and development. Safi points out that the mosques have been and are today centers of moral and spiritual learning par excellence. This argues that mosques have been a public forum where issues concerning the people are discussed and responses given toward problems faced by the society. In the early years of Islam, women actively participated in social life and public services, sharing the main hall of the Prophet Muḥammad's Mosque. This shared worship space allowed women to fully engage in public discussions and play an active role in shaping decisions that influenced society (Safi, 2006, p. 137). However, unlike the early period, allocating women a separate and secluded space, according to Safi, contradicts the rulings of the Qur'ān and the practices and directives of the Prophet Muḥammad. Safi argues that this approach not only harms women's spiritual and moral development but also impedes the progress of society (Safi, 2006, p. 140).

Based on the perspectives of the various scholars discussed, it can be said the narrations advising women to pray at home for the sake of modesty initially aimed to preserve social order, yet over time, this reasoning transformed into a cultural and social constraint. In the time of Prophet Muhammad, women's participation in public worship and social life was a natural part of society, but in later centuries, the discourse around "fitnah" and patriarchal laws shifted the focus to restricting women's public presence. This limitation was not based on religious doctrine, but rather on cultural and societal norms that evolved over time.

The Islamic tradition in its early years provided a more inclusive approach, which allowed women to participate in public religious practices such as attending the mosque. Over time, however, the fear of social disruption led to a gradual exclusion of women from certain public spaces, including mosques. This shift contradicts the original egalitarian principles of Islam, where men and women were seen as equally responsible for spiritual growth and moral development. The exclusion of women from mosques, especially when they were once actively engaged in religious and social life, indicates a misunderstanding of the core message of Islam.

Today, the continued restrictions on women's mosque attendance reflect not the true spirit of Islam but the influence of later patriarchal interpretations. In order to return to the Prophet Muhammad's practices, it is essential to allow women full participation in mosque activities and reclaim their rights within religious spaces. This would align more closely with the original principles of equality in Islam, fostering spiritual and societal growth.

Narration Groups with Similar Meanings

In this title, two narration groups with similar meanings will be examined with respect to their isnāds and their content. First the various variants of the narration “The prayer a woman performs in her living room is more virtuous than the one she performs in her bedroom; the prayer in her bedroom is more virtuous than the one in a private room where her belongings are kept; and the prayer in her private room is better than the one she performs in the mosque.” will be investigated. After this, the narration “If the Prophet Muḥammad had known what would happen to women after his time, he would have prohibited them from going to the mosque, just as Banū ‘Isrā’īl did.” will be investigated.

First Narration Group with Similar Meaning

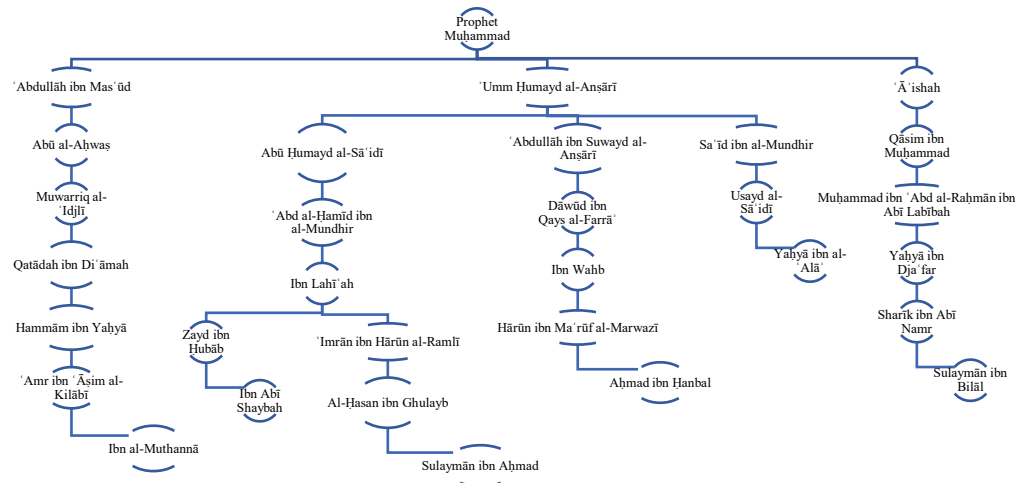


Figure 2. The Isnād diagram of the narration “The prayer a woman performs in her living room is more virtuous than the one she performs in her bedroom; the prayer in her bedroom is more virtuous than the one in a private room where her belongings are kept; and the prayer in her private room is better than the one she performs in the mosque.”

Under this title, the various variants of the ḥadīth “The prayer a woman performs in her living room is more virtuous than the one she performs in her bedroom; the prayer in her bedroom is more virtuous than the one in a private room where her belongings are kept; and the prayer in her private room is better than the one she performs in the mosque.” will be utilized. And then, in the title of “Content analysis”, the approaches of classical Islamic scholars and contemporary researchers from the Turkish, Arab, and Western worlds toward this ḥadīth will be discussed comparatively.

Various variants of the ḥadīth

Under this title, the isnād evaluation of three variants of the narration above transmitted from ʿUmm Ḥumayd al-Anṣārī, ʿĀʾishah and ʿAbdullāh ibn Masʿūd, will be utilized.

Variant of ʿUmm Ḥumayd al-Anṣārī

The evaluation of the isnād (Ibn Abī Shaybah, 2006, Volume 2, pp. 384-385; Ibn Khuzaymah, 1970, Volume 3, p. 95; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, 1995, Volume 45, p. 37; Ibn Ḥibbān, 1993, Volume 5, p. 595; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī, 1992, Volume 4, p. 446; Ibn Abī ʿĀsim, 1990, Volume 3, p. 380; Bayhaqī, 1993, Volume 3, p. 132) is as follows: The Successor transmitter in the chain of the narration, ʿAbdullāh ibn Suwayd, conveys this narration from his aunt, ʿUmm Ḥumayd al-Anṣārī. While Ibn Ḥibbān considered ʿAbdullāh ibn Suwayd to be a reliable transmitter, Dāwud ibn Qays has deviated in his narration from ʿAbdullāh ibn Suwayd. However, as seen in the isnād schema of the relevant narration, this chain is supported by other Successor transmitters, such as Abū Ḥumayd al-Sāʾidī and Saʾīd ibn al-Mundhir. Apart from

Dāwud ibn Qays, the other transmitters in the isnād are common narrators cited as authoritative evidence (iḥtidjādjan) by Bukhārī and Muslim in their *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections. Only Muslim cites Dāwud ibn Qays as authoritative evidence in his collections, while Bukhārī only transmits ḥadīths from him through supporting narrations (shawāhid)¹¹. Additionally, in the chain of narration coming from Abū Ḥumayd al-Sā'idī, Ibn Lahī'a, who is often criticized for doing tadrīs, is included (Karahān, 2020, pp. 86–89). The use of the word “عن” by Ibn Lahī'a in this chain of narration can be considered a factor that potentially jeopardizes the reliability of the isnād. However, considering that narrations from Ibn Mas'ūd and 'Ā'ishah, which come in a similar direction, are included in the isnād diagram and serve as supporting evidence (shāhid), it can be understood that the relevant narration is considered valid according to the classical criteria of ḥadīth criticism. Then Ibn Ḥadjar (d. 852^{AH}/1449^{CE}) (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, 2000, Volume 2, p. 350) and Shu'ayb al-Arna'ut (Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, 1995, Volume 45, p. 37)¹² consider the narration from 'Umm Ḥumayd al-Anṣārī as *ḥasan*, while Albānī gives it the ruling of *ḥasan li-ghayrihī*, this indicates that although the narration itself may not meet the highest standards of authenticity, it is still considered acceptable because it is supported by other narrations (Albānī, n.d., Volume 1, p. 82).

Variant of 'Ā'ishah

The evaluation of the isnād (Bukhārī, n.d., Volume 3, p. 132) is as follows: All the narrators in the narration from 'Ā'ishah, except for Yaḥyā ibn Dja'far, are considered sound by ḥadīth critics. Bukhārī mentions the narration in the chapter heading (tardjamah)¹³ without making any remarks of criticism or modification regarding Yaḥyā ibn Dja'far. However, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, who states that Yaḥyā ibn Dja'far transmitted from his brother Ismā'il ibn Dja'far, mentions that Ismā'il ibn Dja'far was prone to *wahm* (Albānī, 1994, Volume 5, p. 41). Moreover, it is known that there is a supporting *marfū'* narration of the relevant ḥadīth transmitted from 'Umm Salamah (Ṭabarānī, 1995, Volume 1, p. 24). Ṭabarānī describes this narration as the only narration transmitted from 'Umm Salamah with the mentioned isnād, while al-Mundhirī (d. 656^{AH}/1258^{CE}) (Mundhirī, 2003, Volume 1, p. 135) notes that the chain of this is a sound narration. As a result of the support provided by the narration from 'Umm Salamah and the chain from 'Umm Ḥumayd, it can be said that the narration reaches the level of *ḥasan*. This is also the ruling of Albānī regarding the relevant narration (Albānī, 1994, Volume 5, p. 41).

Variant of 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd

The evaluation of the isnād (Ibn Khuzaymah, 1970, Volume 3, p. 93; Bezzār, 2008, Volume 5, p. 428; Ṭabarānī, 1983, Volume 9, p. 295; Abū Dāwud, n.d., p. “Salāh”, 54; Nīsābūrī, 1993, Volume 4, p. 230; Bayhaqī, 1993, Volume 3, p. 188) is as follows: Al-Nawawī (d. 676^{AH}/1277^{CE}) notes that the chain of narration from 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd meets the authenticity criteria of Muslim, while al-Ḥākim (d. 405^{AH}/1014^{CE}) and al-Dhahabī (d. 748^{AH}/1348^{CE}) state that it conforms to the conditions of both Bukhārī and Muslim (Albānī, 2004, p. Volume 3, p. 108). This indicates that the narration is considered highly authentic according to the rigorous standards of these two major ḥadīth collections. Therefore, according to the principles of ḥadīth methodology, it can be stated that the chain of narration from 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd in the relevant ḥadīth is also sound.

¹¹ A ḥadīth term used to refer to the narration of a rare or solitary ḥadīth that is reported with a different chain of transmission (Polat, 2010).

¹² Footnote number 3.

¹³ A ḥadīth term used in the context of chapter titles, biographies, chains of transmission, etc (Ahatlı, 2011).

It has been observed that there are no significant flaws in terms of authenticity in the three different chains of narration regarding the ḥadīth stating that the prayer of women in their homes is better than their prayer in the mosque. Although the wordings of the texts in the three different chains may vary, the meanings in all three are consistent. Additionally, the acceptance of two of the chains as *ḥasan* and the other as sound demonstrates that the narration is considered reliable and valid by ḥadīth scholars.

Content analysis

The relevant ḥadīth has been the subject of much scholarly discussion, with a variety of interpretations arising over time. A critical reading of the positions held by scholars such as Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn al-‘Arabī, Kahraman and others offers a nuanced understanding of this narrative.

Unlike most followers of other Sunnī legal schools, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456^{AH}/1064^{CE}) mentions explicitly and emphatically that the aḥādīth demonstrating that prayer in congregation is more virtuous applies to women, as well. According to Ibn Ḥazm, if it were better for women to pray at home, the Prophet Muḥammad would have imposed on women a burden that increases neither in their ṣawābs. Going to the mosque requires effort, especially when faced with adverse conditions such as bad weather. If praying in the mosque does not bring women additional reward, their effort to go there would be meaningless and unnecessary; it is unthinkable that the Prophet Muḥammad would allow the female Companions to waste their energy in such a manner. Therefore, any act that effectively diminishes the virtue of prayer must undoubtedly be deemed forbidden. Moreover, Islamic scholars unanimously agree that neither the Prophet Muḥammad during his lifetime nor the Rāshidūn Caliphs after him ever prohibited women from praying with the congregation in the mosque. In this context, Ibn Ḥazm vehemently rejects the claim that women’s congregational prayers during the Prophet Muḥammad’s time were merely a temporary or strategic exemption (Ibn Ḥazm, 2003, p. 2:174).

Katz demonstrates that one of the strongest and most enduring responses to the sectarian teachings regarding women going to the mosque is a product of Zāhirī thought. Characterized by the rejection of sectarian authority and direct reference to the texts of the Qur’ān and Ḥadīth, Zāhirism was most prominently represented in Andalus by Ibn Ḥazm. Within the Andalusian context, where the Mālikī school overwhelmingly dominated, Zāhirism was not merely a neutral legal methodology but also an “Effective means of rejecting the dominance of Mālikī jurists.” According to Katz, Ibn Ḥazm’s discussion on women going to the mosque, like many other legal issues, is not solely the result of independent interpretive activity but also a sharp critique of his jurist contemporaries for their disloyalty to the example of the Prophet Muḥammad. Moreover, while Ibn Ḥazm’s textual formalism had the potential to render his legal readings static or detach him from the evolving needs of society, it did not subject the rules established by the Prophet. According to Katz, Ibn Ḥazm’s discussion on women going to the mosque, like many other legal issues, is not solely the result of independent interpretive activity but also a sharp critique of his jurist contemporaries for their disloyalty to the example of the Prophet Muḥammad to manipulation under the guise of changing social conditions. In other words, for Ibn Ḥazm, the uncorrupted model of the Prophet Muḥammad’s era remained perpetually valid (Holmes Katz, 2014, p. 47). In contrast, later Mālikī scholars advocated for further restricting women’s access to mosques in response to the changing needs of the time, whereas Ibn Ḥazm, relying on the timelessness of the Prophetic example, radically argued for expanding it. Ibn Ḥazm presents the conclusions he reaches on this issue as the inevitable outcome of the textual content, summarizing his stance as follows: “If the Prophet Muḥammad had prohibited women from going to the mosque, we would also prohibit it; but since he did not, we do not either (Holmes Katz, 2014, pp. 47–48).” Additionally, Ibn Ḥazm, who considers most of the narrations suggesting that it is better for women to pray at home to be weak or fabricated -with a few exceptions- states that none of these narrations are found in credible

ḥadīth sources. On the contrary, the ḥadīths that permit women to go to mosques and join congregational prayers are more *ṣaḥīḥ* and are included in reliable ḥadīth collections (Ibn Ḥazm, 2018, p. 5). Ibn Ḥazm's interpretation stands out for its directness and strength in defending the participation of women in mosque prayers. Ibn Ḥazm asserts that if it were truly more virtuous for women to pray at home, the Prophet Muhammad would not have permitted women to make the considerable effort to attend the mosque. He highlights that such effort would only be meaningful if it led to a greater reward, and therefore, he argues, the Prophet's allowance for women's mosque attendance must be seen as a permanent and valid practice, not a temporary exemption. This argument, grounded in textual literalism, challenges the more restrictive stances of other legal schools that later sought to limit women's public roles based on the changing social context.

Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638^{AH}/1240^{CE}), perceiving men's resistance to the divine ruling that permits women to go to mosques as an example of jealousy, argues that personal hostilities can lead people to envy even the decrees of Allāh. According to him, such feelings of discontent toward Allāh's rulings can only be prevented by fully establishing the authority of reason and faith. Katz notes that Ibn al-ʿArabī is implicitly challenging the discourse of *fitnah* here. In this view, a man who prohibits his wife from going to the mosque not only fails to prevent other men from being captivated by her charm but also succumbs to a sense of sexual possessiveness. Thus, according to Katz, Ibn al-ʿArabī combines a literal adherence to the word of ḥadīth with a Sūfī interest in analyzing the subtle, ego-driven barriers to aligning with Allāh's will (Holmes Katz, 2014, p. 50). Ibn al-ʿArabī take a more socio-cultural approach, interpreting the resistance to women's mosque attendance as stemming from jealousy and personal possessiveness. According to Ibn al-ʿArabī, such attitudes toward women's participation reflect ego-driven barriers that obscure alignment with divine will. This view introduces a psychological dimension to the discussion, suggesting that the resistance to women's involvement in public worship is not solely a religious argument but also a product of personal insecurities.

During the time of Prophet Muḥammad, there were no restrictions on women participating in congregational prayers. However, as understood from the mentioned ḥadīth, the Prophet Muḥammad emphasized that it would be preferable for women to perform their prayers at home. It remains uncertain whether this advice was intended for all women or specifically addressed to a particular woman due to unique circumstances. Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that after the Prophet Muḥammad's passing, some individuals from among the Companions and subsequent generations cited these recommendations to support their own views against women attending mosques. When examining the era of the Companions, it becomes apparent that their general preference leaned toward women praying at home. According to Bakan, narrations suggesting that praying at home is more virtuous, despite being weaker in authenticity compared to those permitting mosque attendance, gained more widespread recognition. This suggests that cultural or situational interpretations played a role in these narratives gaining prominence (Bakan, 2008, p. 64). Additionally, it has been argued that the reports emphasizing the greater virtue of praying at home should be interpreted within their context. These narrations are understood not to apply universally to all women in society but rather to those with specific circumstances.

Kahraman pointed out that, in addition to personal jealousy, the fact that some women of that period violated the standards set by Prophet Muḥammad also influenced the Companions' stance on women not attending the mosque regularly. According to Kahraman, these negative circumstances led to a greater emphasis on traditions suggesting that the most virtuous place for a woman to perform her prayers is her home (Kahraman, 2013, pp. 50–51). Kahraman also stated that the cautious approach of the Companions later evolved into a more

prohibitive stance in the understanding of Islamic jurists, considering the conditions of their respective times (Kahraman, 2013, p. 51).

Kahraman emphasizes that if it were indeed more virtuous for women to pray at home rather than in the mosque, many prominent women among the Companions would not have wanted to miss out on this virtue by praying at the mosque. On the contrary, he notes that many female Companions came to the mosque and participated in congregational prayers (Kahraman, 2004, p. 65). Additionally, he states that the reasoning put forth by the Companions who argued that it is more virtuous for women to pray at home was based not on religious grounds but on social and subjective moral considerations. In other words, according to Kahraman, the Companions' stance on this matter stemmed from their personal attitudes rather than any religious obligation (Kahraman, 2004, p. 76). Kahraman offers an insightful analysis by pointing out that the arguments favoring women's private prayers at home were not rooted in religious mandates but rather in personal and social attitudes that emerged during the time of the Companions. He notes that, contrary to the popular belief that praying at home is inherently more virtuous, many of the Prophet's female Companions continued to attend the mosque, suggesting that the cultural and social pressures faced by women were likely the driving force behind this view. For Kahraman, this interpretation emphasizes that the restrictive stance on women's mosque attendance was shaped by the prevailing social dynamics of the time rather than any direct religious' injunction from the Prophet Muhammad.

According to Auda, it is a contradictory situation that, despite the Prophet Muḥammad granting women freedom regarding mosques and acting with an egalitarian approach on this matter, he explicitly stated in another narration that it is more virtuous for women to pray at home. To resolve this apparent contradiction, Auda convincingly summarizes all the related reports transmitted from the Prophet Muḥammad, concluding that the specific narration in question pertains to a unique context. In other words, the Prophet Muḥammad did not intend to change the general rule of granting women freedom to visit mosques with this statement. The advice regarding the greater virtue of praying at home was specific to the situation of 'Umm Ḥumayd, who is mentioned in the narration. According to the narration, 'Umm Ḥumayd wished to pray with the Prophet Muḥammad, but her husband, being a jealous individual, did not want her to attend congregational prayers. To mediate the disagreement between 'Umm Ḥumayd and her husband, the Prophet Muḥammad emphasized that praying at home would be more virtuous for her (Auda, 2017; as cited in Wani, 2018, pp. 116–177). Auda's contribution to this discussion highlights a key tension between the Prophet's generally permissive stance on women's mosque attendance and the specific instance involving 'Umm Ḥumayd. Auda convincingly argues that the Prophet Muhammad's advice for 'Umm Ḥumayd to pray at home was not a universal ruling but rather a context-specific response to her circumstances. This interpretation resolves the apparent contradiction between the Prophet's broader allowance for women to participate in mosque prayers and the specific recommendation in this case.

Karacabey interprets the ḥadīth of 'Umm Ḥumayd as evidence that excessive control and pressure over women by Arab men has existed historically, to the extent that it even extended to regulating their ability to go out for acts of worship. Similarly, Kahraman argues that the restrictive attitudes of the Companions also existed during the Prophet Muḥammad's time but that these could not be fully implemented due to the rulings introduced by the Prophet Muḥammad. This understanding, Kahraman suggests, is evident in the ḥadīth of 'Umm Ḥumayd (Kahraman, 2004, p. 70). For Karacabey, the Prophet Muḥammad's advice to women can be understood because of his consideration for the fact that social and cultural changes take time. He sought to teach the truth while avoiding new conflicts within families, aiming to educate people without causing additional problems. Furthermore, Karacabey argues that the authenticity of the ḥadīth in question is debatable and that it contradicts sound ḥadīths and the

practices of the Prophet Muḥammad that advocate otherwise. Therefore, he suggests that this narration does not even warrant discussion (Karacabey, 2000, p. 10). Because ḥadīth authorities such as Bukhārī and Muslim did not include these narrations in their *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections, Karacabey suggests that the following interpretation could be made regarding the Prophet Muḥammad's response to women who expressed their inability to attend the mosque without their husbands' permission: The Prophet Muḥammad's reassurance that prayers performed at home with sincere faith would also be accepted can be understood as a compassionate approach to accommodate their circumstances rather than a prescriptive ruling:

The idea of absolute dominance over women, carried over from the pre-Islamic ignorance of the Arabs, continued in some form among Muslims as well. It is not possible to change social and cultural structures overnight. Considering this reality, the Prophet Muḥammad assured women that their prayers performed at home would be just as acceptable as those performed in the mosque with the congregation. At the same time, he advised men not to restrict their wives' freedoms, thereby addressing the issue without turning it into a source of conflict within the family (Karacabey, 2000, pp. 13–14).

Similarly, Karacabey states that the conversation between 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar and his son is sufficient to shed light on the issue. He argues that this conversation clearly reflects the differing perspectives of the Prophet Muḥammad, as the proclaimer of the religion, and the Companions on the matter. According to the narration, when 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar quoted the ḥadīth, "Do not foreclose women from attending the mosques." his son Bilal responded, "We will most certainly foreclose them." 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, angered by this, responded with harsh and insulting words. For Karacabey, this incident helps explain how, in later periods, people relied on weak and fabricated ḥadīths to justify preventing women from attending mosques for prayer (Karacabey, 2000, p. 14). In summary Karacabey takes a more critical view of the ḥadīth narrations that emphasize the greater virtue of praying at home, arguing that they may have been manipulated or fabricated to justify the exclusion of women from the mosque. He stresses that the Prophet Muhammad's allowance for women to attend the mosque was rooted in a pragmatic understanding of the cultural context, where social norms regarding women's roles were still evolving. Karacabey interprets the Prophet's actions as efforts to balance spiritual and social needs, avoiding conflict within families while encouraging religious participation.

Considering these scholarly perspectives, the ḥadīth revolves around the understanding that the apparent contradiction between the virtue of praying at home and the Prophet Muhammad's allowance for women's mosque attendance is not necessarily irreconcilable. The ḥadīth concerning the "most virtuous mosque" should be understood within its specific context, addressing particular social situations and not as a blanket directive for all women. While some scholars may argue for a more restrictive view based on social conditions, it is important to consider that the Prophet Muhammad's example allowed flexibility, emphasizing that religious practices should accommodate the realities of individuals' lives. The restriction on women's mosque attendance, as seen in later interpretations, reflects a broader shift in cultural attitudes rather than a definitive religious mandate. Thus, the debate on the subject reveals an ongoing tension between preserving the egalitarian spirit of early Islam and adapting to changing societal norms.

Second Narration Group with Similar Meaning

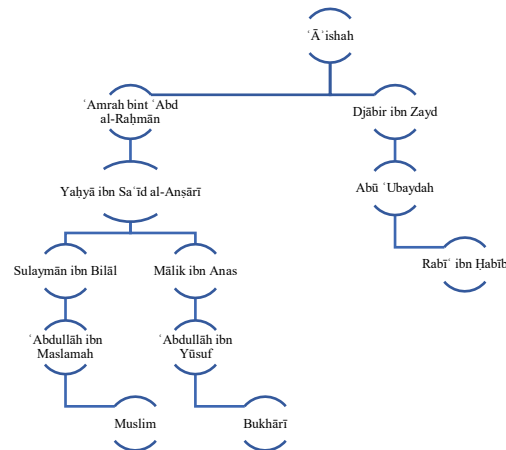


Figure 3. The Isnād diagram of the narration “If the Prophet Muḥammad had known what would happen to women after his time, he would have prohibited them from going to the mosque, just as Banū 'Isrā'īl did.”

Under this title, the isnād evaluation of the narration. “If the Prophet Muḥammad had known what would happen to women after his time, he would have prohibited them from going to the mosque, just as Banū 'Isrā'īl did (Rabi' ibn Ḥabīb, 1994, p. 109; Imām Mālik, n.d., “Qiblah”, 468; Bukhārī, “Mawāqīt”, 162; Muslim, “Ṣalāḥ”, 445; Abū Dāwūd, “Ṣalāḥ”, 54; Ṭabarānī, 1995, Volume 7, p. 48; Bayhaqī, 1993, Volume 3, p. 133).” transmitted from 'Ā'ishah will be utilized. And then, in the title of “Content analysis”, the approaches of classical Islamic scholars and contemporary researchers from the Turkish, Arab, and Western worlds toward this ḥadīth will be discussed comparatively.

The Evaluation of the isnād

This narration attributed to 'Ā'ishah, transmitted through 'Amra bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān, as shown in the isnād diagram above, has been recorded by both Bukhārī and Muslim as evidence. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that this narration is considered sound according to classical ḥadīth methodology criteria. However, there is no information in ḥadīth sources regarding the disparaging (*djarḥ*) or declaring trustworthy (*ta'dīl*) of Djābir ibn Zayd, who is singularly (*infirād*)¹⁴ present in the isnād of this narration. On the other hand, as it is supported through the transmission of 'Amrah bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān, it is possible for this variant to be elevated to the level of *ḥasan li-ghayrihī*.

Content analysis

As clearly understood from the content of the narration, women were not prohibited from attending the mosque during the time of the Prophet Muḥammad. However, it appears that 'Ā'ishah regarded this practice as a mistake in her later period. The ḥadīth “If the Prophet Muḥammad had known what would happen to women after his time, he would have prohibited them from going to the mosque, just as Banū 'Isrā'īl did.” has been a subject of intense scholarly debate, with various interpretations regarding its implications for women's mosque attendance. In reflecting on this narration, it is essential to consider the context and evolving interpretations offered by scholars such as Ibn Ḥazm, Katz, Auda, Karacabey and Yılmaz who each provide nuanced perspectives on the issue.

¹⁴ The term used for a ḥadīth where the number of narrators in its chain of transmission is reduced to one at some point is “single narrator ḥadīth” or “individual chain ḥadīth” (Polat, 1995).

Ibn Ḥazm argues that ‘Ā’ishah’s narration is not legally valid for several reasons. First, the Prophet Muḥammad did not see women falling into *bid‘ah* and thus did not prohibit them. For someone else to impose such a prohibition after him constitutes *bid‘ah* and error. According to Ibn Ḥazm, it is unacceptable to use a condition contrary to reality as a basis for a legal ruling. Second, even if the Prophet Muḥammad did not witness women engaging in *bid‘ah*, Allāh undoubtedly knew of all such actions; denying this would amount to disbelief. Yet, despite this, Allāh did not reveal to the Prophet Muḥammad that women should be prohibited from attending the mosque for this reason. Third, women did not invent anything during the time of the Prophet Muḥammad that they later invented in subsequent generations. It is evident that nothing as disgraceful as women inventing fornication exists. The Prophet Muḥammad stoned and flogged women for fornication but did not prohibit them from going to the mosque (Ibn Ḥazm, 2018, pp. 6–7). Furthermore, sexual immorality is also prohibited for men; if this immorality is a reason to prohibit only women from mosques, why should the same justification not apply to men? Ibn Ḥazm’s fourth argument is as follows: *Bid‘ah* was committed by some women, but not by others. Preventing a woman who has not engaged in *bid‘ah* from practicing a correct act due to the sin of another woman is an unacceptable action. Indeed, Allāh explicitly states the opposite: “No soul shall bear the burden of another (Q, 6/164).” As his fifth argument, Ibn Ḥazm states that if the *bid‘ahs* committed by women were considered a valid reason to prohibit them from attending mosques, it would also necessitate barring women from marketplaces and public roads due to those same *bid‘ahs*. However, opponents have disregarded these other public spaces and focused solely on preventing women from entering mosques. Ibn Ḥazm’s sixth argument is that ‘Ā’ishah herself continued to attend mosques until her death and did not explicitly prohibit women from going to mosques (Holmes Katz, 2014, pp. 49–50). In fact, it can be said that Ibn Ḥazm interprets this statement not as a legal judgment but rather as a reflection of ‘Ā’ishah’s disappointment in the face of a spreading evil. Undoubtedly, what exactly was meant by this “new situation” will never be fully known. However, at the very least, the available sources provide evidence that ‘Ā’ishah never prohibited any woman from entering the mosque during her lifetime for any specific reason. In such a context, understanding reports that advocate barring women from mosques becomes even more challenging (Ibn Ḥazm, 2018, pp. 6–7). On the other hand, the narration attributed to ‘Ā’ishah, which is likely to become the most frequently cited authoritative statement for condemning women’s attendance at mosques after the Prophet Muḥammad’s time, is interpreted by Katz as an acknowledgment of the rapidly deteriorating moral standards of women in the community. Katz suggests that this deterioration was used as a justification for abandoning the practice of granting women freedom to attend mosques. Katz further notes that restrictive statements attributed to figures discussing women’s mosque freedom after the Prophet Muḥammad’s death consistently approach this freedom in a way that seeks to render it effectively null and void (Holmes Katz, 2014, p. 26). Ibn Ḥazm stands firmly against using ‘Ā’ishah’s statement as a basis for legal rulings. He argues that the Prophet Muḥammad did not prohibit women from attending the mosque, and if it were truly an issue, he would have explicitly done so. According to Ibn Ḥazm, to impose such a prohibition after the Prophet’s time would be a form of innovation (*bid‘ah*), which is religiously unacceptable. Furthermore, Ibn Ḥazm points out that if the Prophet had believed women attending the mosque would lead to negative consequences, it would have been revealed to him by Allāh, as nothing escapes divine knowledge. His stance emphasizes that the behavior of women during the Prophet’s time was not a cause for such a prohibition, and therefore, any attempts to restrict women’s attendance at mosques based on later moral concerns are unjustified. Moreover, Ibn Ḥazm critiques the selective interpretation of ‘Ā’ishah’s statement, which he believes was a reaction to specific negative behaviors and should not be generalized as a religious ruling.

Auda, in alignment with Katz's thoughts, notes that the act of foreclosing women from attending mosques is often based on the above-mentioned narration, attributed to 'Ā'ishah, which she reportedly stated in a specific context after observing certain women's inappropriate behavior. Auda believes that 'Ā'ishah's statement was essentially a commentary on specific circumstances, suggesting that if the Prophet Muḥammad had witnessed these situations, he might have prohibited women from visiting mosque. However, it can be argued that 'Ā'ishah's statement has been excessively generalized beyond its original context. Additionally, during 'Ā'ishah's time, no Madīnan jurist interpreted her statement as abrogation (*naskh*) the presumed rule allowing women to visit mosques. According to Auda's research, when Mālik was asked about this issue, he firmly stated that women's attendance at mosques should never be prohibited. Although some jurists supported restricting women's mosque attendance based on the principle of *sadd al-dharā'i'*, Auda argues that the prevailing circumstances call for applying the alternative principle of *fath al-dharā'i'*. In Auda's view, ensuring that women reclaim their right to attend mosques also serves noble purposes, such as remembering Allāh, acquiring knowledge, and fostering connections with other women who attend mosques (Auda, 2017; as cited in Wani, 2018, pp. 116–117). Unlike the opinion of Ibn Ḥazm, Katz and Auda note that 'Ā'ishah's statement must be understood within the context in which it was made. Katz argues that the deterioration of moral standards among women during the later generations led to a justification for restricting their mosque attendance. Auda concurs with this interpretation, highlighting that 'Ā'ishah's comment was a response to specific circumstances, not a universal ruling. Auda further critiques the overgeneralization of this statement and its application beyond the context in which it was made. Auda also points out that no Madīnan jurist, including Mālik, regarded 'Ā'ishah's statement as abrogating the general rule that women were allowed to attend mosques.

Karacabey highlights that 'Ā'ishah's statement, made in response to certain negative behaviors she observed during her time, served as a warning for women to correct their conduct. However, in subsequent centuries, this warning was transformed into a definitive ruling that women should no longer be allowed to enter mosques. Karacabey, further emphasizes that in making this transformation, not only was the original meaning of 'Ā'ishah's statement disregarded, but also the fact that her views cannot take precedence over the Prophet Muḥammad's ḥadīth in determining religious rulings was overlooked (Karacabey, 2000, p. 14).

According to Yılmaz, it is evident that basing a new ruling on an emotional statement likely made by 'Ā'ishah in response to a situation she encountered, while the actual practices during the Prophet Muḥammad's time are clearly documented, would not be appropriate. Moreover, opening the door to fundamental changes in religious rulings based on interpretations of every new situation eventually leads to the erosion of Islamic values. The preservation of certain traditions that contradict the practices from the early days of Islam in the name of religion is a result of such degeneration (Yılmaz, 2007, pp. 118–119).

In the light of all these views and evaluations it can be said that 'Ā'ishah's statement, while significant in its historical context, should not be used as a legal precedent to restrict women's mosque attendance. The practices during the Prophet Muḥammad's time were clear in their support for women attending the mosque, and the statements attributed to 'Ā'ishah should be viewed as specific to the situation she was witnessing, not as a universally applicable ruling. The argument that later generations misused her words to justify restrictive practices overlooks the broader principle of gender equality in early Islamic practices. It is essential to differentiate between a situational commentary and a legal judgment that applies to all women in all contexts. Consequently, the historical context of 'Ā'ishah's statement must be carefully considered, and contemporary legal frameworks should be grounded in the broader principles of Islam, which allow for women's participation in communal worship and public life.

Group of Contradictory Narrations

In the titles above, the isnād and content of narrations suggesting that prayers performed by women at home are more virtuous than those performed in mosques were analyzed. However, there are also narrations transmitted from the Prophet Muḥammad that convey an opposing meaning to such narrations. Since these two groups of narrations contradict each other, it is necessary to discuss the nature of these opposing narrations in this study. Therefore, in this section, the narrations in question will be examined in terms of their isnād. And following this, in the title of “Content Analysis”, the approaches of classical Islamic scholars and contemporary researchers from the Turkish, Arab, and Western worlds toward this ḥadīth will be discussed comparatively.

There are three groups of narrations that contradict the idea that it is more virtuous for women to pray at home:

- “If your women seek permission to go to the mosque, do not prevent them.”
- “Do not stop your women from going to the mosques at night.”
- “Do not foreclose the female servants of Allāh from going to the mosques.”

Below, isnād diagrams and content evaluations related to these narrations will be provided to assess their soundness and contextual implications.

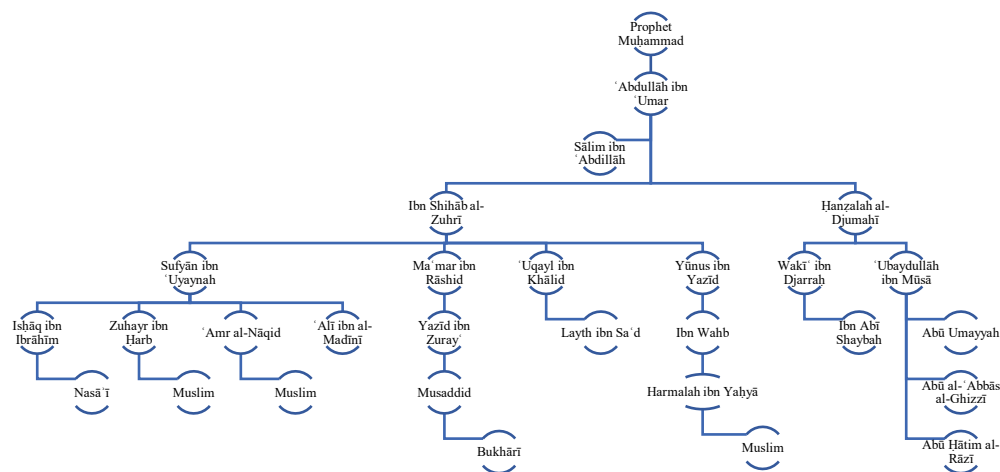


Figure 4. The Isnād diagram of the narration “If your women seek permission to go to the mosque, do not prevent them.”

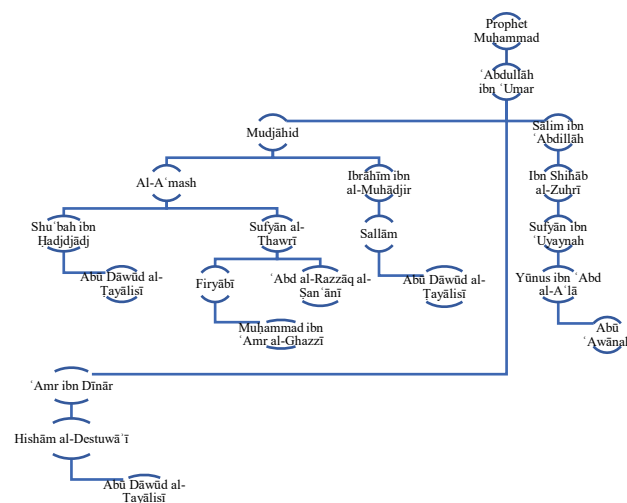


Figure 5. The Isnād diagram of the narration “Do not stop your women from going to the mosques at night.”

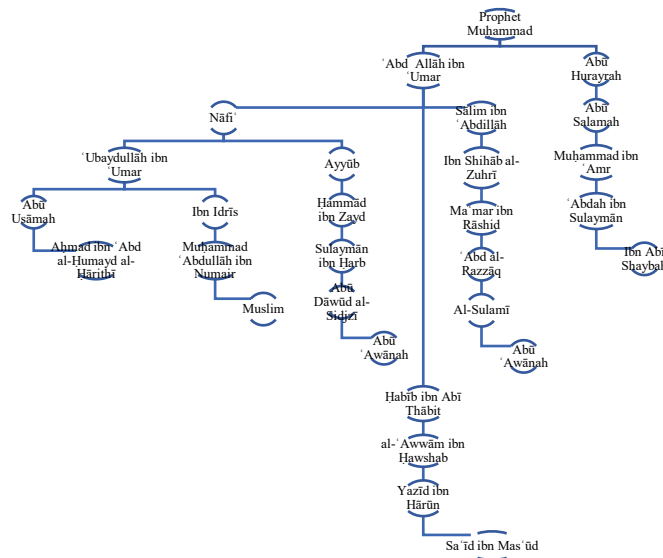


Figure 6. The Isnād diagram of the narration “Do not foreclose the female servants of Allāh from going to the mosques.”

The Evaluation of the Isnād

As understood from the isnād diagrams above, the group of narrations indicating that the Prophet Muḥammad commanded that women should not be kept away from mosques consists of sound ḥadīths (Bukhārī, “Adhān” 166; Muslim, “Ṣalāḥ”, 134-135) transmitted by narrators approved by Bukhārī and Muslim. Only the narration including the addition of “at night” is not found in *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections of Bukhārī and Muslim. However, its isnād does not include any narrator accused of being unreliable. This indicates that the additional phrase does not originate from a weak chain of transmission.

Content Analysis

The ḥadīth “If your women seek permission to go to the mosque, do not prevent them.” has sparked significant debate regarding its legal implications, especially considering various interpretations over time. This narration, which emphasizes the right of women to attend mosques, presents a foundational argument for their participation in communal prayers. However, scholars such as Shāfi‘ī and researchers as Katz, Karacabey and others have examined the complexities surrounding this text, highlighting the evolving understanding of women’s mosque attendance.

Due to the contradictions among narrations regarding women attending mosques and participating in congregational prayers, Shāfi‘ī (d. 204^{AH}/820^{CE}) begins by exploring the legal implications of the ḥadīth, “Do not prevent the female servants of Allāh from going to the mosques.” It is known that when the Prophet Muḥammad prohibits an action, it implies prohibition (*tahrīm*). However, for this prohibition to be definitive, explicit evidence from the Prophet Muḥammad clarifying that it is indeed forbidden is required. Furthermore, the narration broadly refers to “the mosques of Allāh”; on the other hand, if opponents of this view were to consistently apply Shāfi‘ī’s methodology to this text, they would have to accept that a woman’s right to visit any mosque could never be denied. According to Shāfi‘ī, such a standoff would lead to a conclusion that neither side could accept. Nonetheless, Shāfi‘ī asserts unequivocally that the ḥadīth in question is specific in nature; in other words, it applies to certain cases of women whose circumstances are not fully detailed. To support his argument, he cites the ḥadīth: “It is not permissible for a woman who believes in Allāh and the Hereafter Day to undertake a journey of a day and night without a male relative (maḥram) accompanying her (Shāfi‘ī, n.d., p. 5/513-515).” Katz observes that through this discussion, Shāfi‘ī references the act of

obligatory pilgrimage (Hadjj), deliberately choosing an extreme example to illustrate his point. In other words, an example where a woman's right to visit a mosque would require a long and costly journey (Holmes Katz, 2014, p. 51)... In this context, Shāfi'ī argues that many scholars agree that men can indeed prevent their wives from going to mosques, and that the meaning of the Prophet Muḥammad's statement opposing this is limited to specific circumstances. According to Shāfi'ī, the ḥadīth does not imply that men must always allow their wives to visit all mosques. Instead, it suggests that men should permit their wives to visit the al-Masjd al-Ḥarām for the obligatory pilgrimage at least once in their lifetime. Katz points out that, despite Shāfi'ī's numerous objections to the idea that a man must allow his wife or a guardian must permit a woman to perform obligatory pilgrimage without a male relative, he seemingly sets aside all difficulties when it comes to the issue of women attending mosques (Holmes Katz, 2014, p. 52).

Shāfi'ī's approach to this ḥadīth is particularly interesting, as he seeks to balance the freedom for women to attend mosques with certain practical limitations. While he acknowledges that the Prophet Muḥammad's statement implies a permissive stance toward women attending mosques, Shāfi'ī also argues that the ḥadīth is context-specific, applying primarily to circumstances. For instance, he draws a parallel to the prohibition of women traveling alone without a maḥram, noting that the Prophet's guidance was not intended to always grant unrestricted access to all mosques. Shāfi'ī's stance thus reflects a nuanced understanding that the right to attend mosques is not absolute and should be considered considering individual circumstances, such as the distance of travel or the conditions of the time.

In the variant of the ḥadīth narrated by Abū Usāmah, it is mentioned that 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb, although displeased with his wife 'Atika bint Zayd attending the mosque, did not prevent her due to the Prophet Muḥammad's instruction, "Do not prevent them from going to the mosques." According to Katz, this anecdote not only presumes that women participated in congregational prayers during the time of the Companions but also illustrates that 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb reluctantly refrained from imposing such a restriction.

Katz suggests that this reluctance implicitly reflects 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb's desire to introduce a prohibition on the matter at a later stage. As previously noted, Katz believes that restrictive statements like this, concerning women's freedom to attend mosques after the Prophet Muḥammad's time, were attempts to render this freedom effectively null and void (Holmes Katz, 2014, p. 26). Regarding this claim, it is essential to note that the anecdote in question is transmitted through the isnād of Abū Usāmah, meaning it is not included in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections of Bukhari and Muslim. In other words, the account involving 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb and 'Atika bint Zayd does not hold the same level of authenticity as the narration stating, "Do not prevent the female servants of Allāh from going to the mosques." Additionally, 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb's reluctance in this matter appears to be closely linked to his naturally jealous disposition. This suggests that 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb's attitude, potentially specific to his personal circumstances, was not intended -at least by him- to create a broader societal precedent for future generations. Classical Islamic sources affirm that women were able to attend mosques freely during the time of the Companions. A similar perspective is also highlighted by Karacabey. He emphasizes that, despite the Prophet Muḥammad's clear instructions, there was a resurgence of pre-Islamic attitudes shortly after his death, leading to tendencies to restrict women's freedoms. Karacabey evaluates the discussion between 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar and his son in this context. In this well-known narration, when 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar mentioned the Prophet Muḥammad's instruction, "Do not prevent women from attending the mosques," his son Bilāl opposed it. In response, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar became angry and said, "I am narrating a ḥadīth from the Prophet Muḥammad to you!" Karacabey also

expresses concern about how such attitudes, which began to emerge even close to the time of the Prophet Muḥammad's passing, might evolve when the faith's foundational principles are increasingly disregarded (Karacabey, 2000, p. 11).

Karacabey points out that even the narration, "Permit women to go to the mosque at night." which has a clear meaning, has been misinterpreted. According to him, people often exploit every possible means to impose restrictions on certain actions. For instance, some have derived the ruling that women may only attend night prayers, arguing that they should not go to the mosque for other prayers because they might be seen and recognized by others. Karacabey emphasize that those who hold this view ignore both other chains of the ḥadīth and the fact that the Prophet Muḥammad explicitly encouraged everyone, including women, to attend daytime prayers, such as Eid prayers. In fact, another isnād of the same ḥadīth contains no such restriction and simply states, "If your women seek permission to go to the mosque, grant them permission." Karacabey further notes that some have even interpreted the phrase "grant them permission" in this ḥadīth to imply that, since women are asking for permission and their husbands' consent is involved, granting or withholding permission becomes a matter of choice. This, he argues, reflects a failure to engage with the ḥadīth's true intent (Karacabey, 2000, p. 10).

Melchert puts forward a claim regarding the narration that highlights 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb's submission to the freedom established by the Prophet Muḥammad. According to Melchert, this narration, along with others of similar meaning attributed to 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, was specifically crafted by his son to refute reports that 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb had attacked women and driven them out of the mosque. Attempting to use narrations to demonstrate that medieval Muslim scholars excluded women from mosques, Melchert argues that the Prophet Muḥammad himself displayed a tendency to restrict women's freedom of movement, both in public life and in private settings (Melchert, 2006, p. 60). While Melchert's claim regarding the report mentioned might appear consistent within the framework of his perspective on the emergence of ḥadīth, it must be noted that, from a historical standpoint, it is a forced and insufficiently substantiated argument. This is because, although the principle of not preventing women from attending mosques was upheld during the Prophet Muḥammad's time, it is evident that this freedom was gradually disregarded and even deemed inappropriate during the era of the Companions. In such a context, it would have been unnecessary for 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar to bring forth a group of narrations conveying the exact opposite meaning. Melchert while acknowledging the freedoms granted to women during the Prophet's time, suggests that the narrative around women's freedom to attend mosques shifted after the Prophet's death, influenced by growing conservative attitudes among some Companions. He points out that, over time, these attitudes led to a broader societal shift that increasingly restricted women's public roles, including their participation in religious life. According to Melchert, while these shifts may have been motivated by a desire to preserve social order, they nonetheless marked a departure from the egalitarian principles set during the Prophet Muhammad's time.

It seems clear that the principle of not preventing women from attending mosques, as expressed in the ḥadīth, should be understood as a general guideline, grounded in the early Islamic ethos of inclusion and participation in communal worship. The restrictions that emerged in later generations were not based on any direct prohibition from the Prophet Muhammad but rather on cultural and social changes that redefined women's roles in the public sphere. While it is essential to account for specific circumstances, such as safety and travel, the broader spirit of the Prophet's teachings should guide contemporary interpretations. The right of women to attend mosques, rooted in the Prophet Muhammad's clear directive, should not be undermined by later attempts to restrict this freedom based on evolving social attitudes. In this context,

ensuring that women retain their right to participate in communal worship remains consistent with the foundational principles of Islam, promoting a more inclusive and equitable religious practice for all.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The primary aim of this study was to determine the authenticity of the ḥadīth, “The most virtuous place of worship for a woman is the most secluded corner of her home.” as well as to examine how the guidance contained in this narration was applied during the Prophet Muḥammad’s time and subsequent periods, to what extent it reflected the objectives of religion, and whether it was manipulated by changing social and cultural structures over time. In line with these objectives, it was determined that there are issues regarding the attribution of this narration to the Prophet Muḥammad. However, it is possible to say that other narrations of a similar nature were reliably transmitted from the Prophet Muḥammad. Additionally, it must be acknowledged that the perception of this narration and other similar reports varied according to the context of different periods. In this regard, three distinct periods can be identified:

- The Era of the Prophet Muḥammad: A period when there were no restrictive religious sanctions applied to women attending mosques.
- The Era of the Companions: A period with certain restrictive guidance concerning women attending mosques, though no blanket prohibition was enforced for all women.
- The Era of the madhhab imāms: A period when women attending mosques and participating in congregational prayers began to be considered disliked (*makrūh*).

Based on the study, it can be concluded that the saying attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad regarding the virtue of women praying at home applied specifically to some female Companions with special circumstances. Thus, it can be said that this guidance served a social purpose rather than being a strict religious directive.

Regarding restrictive statements by the Companions, the narrations attributed to ‘Ā’ishah and ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd appear to play an important role. ‘Ā’ishah’s statements stemmed from her concerns about the negative behaviors of women in her time, while ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd generally displayed a prohibitive attitude, with certain exceptions. This restrictive approach, influenced by similar *fitnah* discourses from some Companions, evolved during the era of the madhhab imāms into a practice treated as a religious necessity.

This study has demonstrated that the ḥadīth “The most virtuous place of worship for a woman is the most secluded corner of her home” cannot be interpreted in isolation from the socio-historical transformations that followed the Prophet Muḥammad’s era. Through extensive isnād analysis, it has been shown that most narrations conveying this message are not sound when attributed directly to the Prophet. Rather, they are often mawqūf and reflect the personal reasoning of companions such as ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd. Nevertheless, despite their limited reliability, these narrations came to shape later legal rulings under the influence of cultural anxieties and moral discourses centered on *fitnah*.

Moreover, the study illustrates how jurists of various madhhabs adopted these narrations in differing ways, with some, like Abū Ḥanīfah and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, applying contextual restrictions, while others, like Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn al-‘Arabī, rejected any deviation from the Prophet’s inclusive practice. Particularly, Ibn Ḥazm’s critique offers a forceful textual counterweight to later restrictive doctrines by re-centering prophetic precedent as a timeless legal model rather than a time-bound exception.

Ultimately, the findings reaffirm that the exclusion of women from mosques cannot be grounded in authentic Prophetic teachings but is instead a product of socio-cultural shifts that

prioritized public order over prophetic inclusivity. A nuanced reading of the narrations -one that considers both isnād reliability and evolving historical conditions -reveals that the recommendations for women to pray at home were often situational, not prescriptive. Therefore, faithfulness to the Prophet's sunnah necessitates rejecting blanket prohibitions on women's mosque participation and reviving a more balanced, egalitarian vision of communal worship. According to the findings of this study, faithfulness to the Prophet Muḥammad's sunnah requires that women should not be barred from mosques. The restrictions in this regard were predominantly introduced based on narratives centered on specific individuals and were imposed by departing from the Prophet Muḥammad's broader practices.

The study serves as a useful resource for examining not only the classical period's understanding of these narrations but also for reflecting on the views of contemporary researchers from Turkish, Western and Arab contexts. However, it should be noted that the full content of *Women in masjid: A quest for justice* and parts of *Reclaiming the mosque: The Role of women in Islam's house of worship* were not accessible. If these sources are obtained, the findings may change.

This article discussed the nature of narrations recommending the exclusion of women from mosques and whether such exclusion had a religious basis. It is of great importance to investigate how the perception of these narrations sociologically affects contemporary Turkish society, with concrete examples. Researchers interested in this topic can utilize the findings of this study to further explore the subject. Moreover, this article approaches the issue of women's place in spaces of worship not merely as a matter of Islamic jurisprudence, but as a multifaceted subject that must be analyzed through the lenses of textual continuity, contextual rupture, and the dynamics of social structure. Future research may deepen the discussion by examining how these narrations have influenced mosque architecture, gender roles, and opportunities for spiritual representation.

References

- Abū Dāʿūd, I. I. al-Sijistānī. (n.d.). *Sunan Abī Dāʿūd* (Vols. 1–4). Bairut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī.
- Abū Ya‘lā, A. ibn ‘Alī. (1989). *Musnad Abī Ya‘la* (A. Hussain Salim, Ed.; Vol. 13). Damascus: Dār al-Ma‘mūn li al-Turāth.
- Ahatlı, E. (2011). Terceme. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 40, pp. 483–484). Ankara: TDV Yayınları.
- Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, A. ‘Abdillāh. (1995). *Musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* (S. Arna’ut et al., Ed.; Vol. 50). Bairut: Maktabah al-Risālah.
- Albānī, A. ‘Abd al-R. M. N. al-Dīn. (2002). *Şaḥīḥ Sunan Abī Dāʿūd* (Vols. 1–8). Kuwait: Mu’assasah Ghuras.
- Albānī, A. ‘Abd al-R. M. N. al-Dīn. (n.d.). *Silsilah al-ḍa‘īfah*. Riyadh: Maktabah al-Ma‘ārif.
- Albānī, A. ‘Abd al-R. M. N. al-Dīn. (1981). *Silsilah al-aḥādīth al-ḍa‘īfah wa al-mawḍū‘ah wa āthāruhā al-sayyi‘ fī al-‘ummah* (Vols. 1–14). Riyadh: Maktabah al-Ma‘ārif.
- Albānī, A. ‘Abd al-R. M. N. al-Dīn. (1994). *Silsilah al-ṣaḥīḥah* (Vols. 1–9). Riyadh: Maktabah al-Ma‘ārif.
- Aşıkkutlu, E. (2003). Leyyin. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 27, pp. 168–169). Ankara: TDV Yayınları.
- Auda, J. (2017). *Reclaiming the mosque: the role of women in islam's house of worship*. Swansea: Claritas Books.
- Aydınlı, A. (2004a). Merfū. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 29, pp. 180–181). Ankara: TDV Yayınları.
- Aydınlı, A. (2004b). Mevkuf. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 29, pp. 437–438). Ankara: TDV Yayınları.

- Bakan, T. (2008). Sünnete göre kadınların toplu ibadeti ya da cemaat namazı. *Atatürk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 30, 41–83.
- Bayhaqī, A. B. A. (1993). *Al-Sunan al-kubrā* ('Abd al-Qadir 'Aṭā' Muḥammad, Ed.; Vols. 1–10). Mecca: Maktabāh al-Dār al-Bāz.
- Bezzār, A. B. A. (2008). *Musnad al-Bezzār* ('Ādil Ibn Şa'd, Ed.; Vols. 1–18). Madinah: Maktabah al-'Ulūm wa al-Ḥikam.
- Bukhārī, A. 'Abdillāh M. (n.d.). *Al-Tā'rīkh al-kabīr* (M. 'Abd al-Ma'id Khān, Ed.; Vols. 1–8). Hyderabad: Dā'irāt al-Ma'ārif al-Othmāniyah.
- Bukhārī, A. 'Abdillāh M. (2001). *Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (M. Zuhayr ibn Nāşir, Ed.; Vols. 1–9). Bairut: Dār al-Tawk al-Najāt.
- Dışlı, G. (2015). Women's prayer space in the case studies of the historic mosques in three Balkan countries. *Prostor*, 23(2), 196–207.
- Efendioğlu, M. (2004). Metrūk. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 29, pp. 415–416). Ankara: TDV Yayınları.
- Gözelceoğlu, R. (2023). Kadınların mescide gelmelerini yasaklayan rivayetlerin sosyolojik arka planı. *Diyanet İlmi Dergi*, 59, 551–578.
- Guillaume, A. (2012). Şaḥīḥ. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam First Edition Online*. Leiden, London: Brill.
- Hibri, A. (1997). Islam, law and custom: redefining Muslim women's rights. *American University Journal of International Law and Policy*, 12, 1–44.
- Holmes Katz, M. (2014). *Women in the mosque - A history of legal thought and social practice*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.
- Ibn Abī Shaybah, A. B. 'Abdullāh. (2006). *Al-Muşannaḥ* (M. 'Awwāmah, Ed.; Vol. 21). Jeddah: Dār al-Qiblah.
- Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, A. al-F. S. al-Dīn. (2000). *Fath al-bārī sharkh Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (M. F. 'Abd al-Bāqī, Ed.; Vols. 1–15). Damascus: Dār al-Fayḥā.
- Ibn Ḥazm, 'Alī ibn Aḥmad. (2003). *Al-Muḥallā bi al-āthār* ('Abd al Ghaffār Suleymān al-Bundārī, Ed.). Bairut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Ibn Ḥazm, 'Alī ibn Aḥmad. (2018). *Ibn Hazm on the lawfulness of women attending prayers in the mosque* (M. A. Nadwi, Ed.; 2nd ed.). Oxford: Interface Publications.
- Ibn Khuzaymah, A. B. M. (1970). *Şaḥīḥ Ibn Khuzaymah* (M. M. A'zamī, Ed.; Vols. 1–4). Bairut: al-Maktabah al-Islāmī.
- Imām Mālik, A. 'Abdillāh al-Aşbaḥī. (2004). *Muwaṭṭa' Imām Mālik* (Vols. 1–2). Abu Dhabi: Mu'assasah Zayd ibn Şultān.
- Juynboll, G. H. A. (2012). *Thika*. In P. J. Bearman (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition Online (EI-2 English)*. Leiden, London: Brill.
- Kahraman, A. (2004). Klâsik fıkıh literatüründe kadının cemaatle ibadeti konusundaki yaklaşımlarda fitne söyleminin rolü -eleştirel bir bakış-. *Marife*, 4(2), 59–80.
- Kahraman, A. (2013). Cami iklimini solumak ve cemaate devam konusunda kadınlara getirilen yasağın gerekçesi. In *YECDER/Cami Merkezli Hayat* (Vol. 3). İstanbul: Pelikan Basım.
- Karacabey, S. (2000). Hadislerin metin tenkidinde fiilî sünnete müracaatın önemi bağlamında kadınların ve çocukların camiye gitmeleri ile ilgili hadislerin değerlendirilmesi. *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 9(9), 1–16.
- Karahan, A. (2020). Tartışılan bir râvi: İbn Lehî'a. *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 30(1), 79–104.
- Koçyiğit, K. (2019). *Rivayetler bağlamında kadının camideki konumu* [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. Sivas: Sivas Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi.
- Melchert, C. (2006). Whether to keep women out of the mosque: a survey of medieval Islamic law. In B. Michalak-Pikulska & A. Pikulski (Eds.), *Authority, privacy and public order in Islam* (pp. 59–69). Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies.

- Mundhirī, A. M. D. al-D. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm. (2003). *Al-Targhīb wa al-tarhīb* (I. Shams al-Dīn, Ed.; Vols. 1–4). Bairut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah.
- Muslim, I. al-Hajjāj. (1915). *Şahīḥ Muslim* (Vol. 8). Bairut: Dār al-Jīl.
- Nas, A. (2022). Women in mosques: mapping the gendered religious space through online activism. *Feminist Media Studies*, 22(5), 1163–1178.
- Nīsābūrī, A. B. M. I. al-Mundhir. (1993). *Al-Awṣaṭ fī al-Sunan wa al-‘ijmā‘ wa al-ikhtilāf* (A. ibn M. Ḥanīf, Ed.; Vols. 1–11). Riyadh: Dār al-Ṭayba.
- Polat, S. (1995). Ferd. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 12, pp. 368–369). Ankara: TDV Yayınları.
- Polat, S. (2010). Şāhid. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 38, p. 273). Ankara: TDV Yayınları.
- Rabī‘ ibn Ḥabīb, I. ‘Umar al-Azdī. (1994). *Al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ Musnad al-Imām al-Rabī‘ ibn Ḥabīb*. Bairut: Dār al-Ḥikmah.
- Reda, N. (2004). *Women in the mosque: historical perspectives on segregation*. 21(2), 77–97.
- Safi, L. (2006). Woman and the maṣjid between two extremes (Forum). *American Journal of Islam and Society*, 23(1), 136–141.
- Salam, Z. (2019). *Women in maṣjid: a quest for justice*. New Delhi: Bloomsbury.
- Sayed, A. (2001). Early Sunni discourse on women’s mosque attendance. *ISIM Newsletter*, 7(1), 10–10.
- Shāfi‘ī, M. ibn I. (n.d.). *Al-‘Umm*. Bairut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa.
- Sütçü, K. (2021). *Hadisler bağlamında kadınların camide cemaatle namaza katılımı meselesi* [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. Eskişehir: Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi.
- Ṭabarānī, A. al-Q. S. (1983). *Al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*. Madinah: Maktabah al-‘Ulūm wa al-Hikam.
- Ṭabarānī, A. al-Q. S. (1995). *Al-Mu‘jam al-awṣaṭ* (T. ibn ‘Abdillāh Abū Mu‘ādh & A. al-Faḍl ‘Abd al-Muhsin ibn Ibrāhīm, Eds.; Vols. 1–10). Cairo: Dār al-Ḥaramayn.
- Tırabzon, A. (2015). Kadınların cemaatle kılınan namazlara iştiraki ve namazlarının edası. *İstanbul Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 33, 179–204.
- Uğur, M. (1997). Hasen. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 16, pp. 374–375). Ankara: TDV Yayınları.
- Utaberta, N., Omi, F. S., Roslan, S. B., & Ariffin, F. M. (2018). An analysis of women’s access and participation in the mosques in the contemporary world. *IOP Conf. Series: Materials Science and Engineering*, 401, 1–12. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1088/1757-899X/401/1/012032>
- Wani, G. Q. (2018). Reclaiming the mosque: the role of women in İslam’s house of worship by Jasser Auda (UK/USA: Claritas Books with Maqasid Institute, 2017. 135 pages.). *American Journal of Islam and Society*, 35(1), 114–117.
- Woodlock, R. (2010). The Maṣjid is for men: competing voices in the debate about australian Muslim women’s access to mosques. *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 21(1), 51–60. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1080/09596410903481853>
- Yeşil, M. (2004). Kadınların cemaate iştiraki ile ilgili hadisler üzerine bir inceleme. *Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 17(17), 47–62.
- Yılmaz, H. (2007). Hz. Peygamber döneminden günümüze kadınlar ve cami eğitimi. *Değerler Eğitimi Dergisi*, 5(14), 107–130.
- Yücel, A. (2008). Sadûk. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 35, p. 431). Ankara: TDV Yayınları.