Mashāhid as a Spatial Analysis Term in Sīra Literature: The Journey of a Pre-Modern Concept

Siyer Literatüründe Bir Mekânsal Analiz Terimi olarak Meşâhid: Modern Öncesi Bir Kavramın Serüveni

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Abstract: Sīra writing, an essential subfield of Islamic historiography, focuses on the detailed narration of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. Within this literature, the terms sīra and maghāzī are among the most commonly employed. In addition, the concept of mashāhid, which frequently appears in early sīra sources but has been largely forgotten over time, refers to the specific locations where the Prophet was present during battles and other significant events. This study investigates the conceptual relationship between mashāhid, sīra, and maghāzī, and traces the historical trajectory of the term from its early usage to its marginalization in later periods. The origins and development of the term mashāhid are analyzed within the contexts of both the Eastern Islamic world and the Maghrib-al-Andalus region. The term was notably used in early sources such as the works of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, where it appears under the expression "Mashāhid al-Nabī." In the Maghrib and al-Andalus, mashāhid was adopted extensively by early Andalusian scholars. Notably, biographical scholars like Ibn al-Faraḍī and al-Khushanī preferred mashāhid over sīra or maghāzī in their accounts. In the modern era, although Maher Jarrar has drawn attention to the concept, mashāhid has still not been sufficiently addressed in contemporary scholarship. In conclusion, despite its early significance, the concept of mashāhid requires renewed academic attention. Sole reliance on sīra and maghāzī fails to capture the full scope of the Prophet's life. Reintegrating mashāhid into sīra studies would enrich the spatial and historical analysis. At the same time, this research also contributes a new theoretical framework, terminology, and historical perspective for future scholarship in sīra and spatial historiography.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Islamic History, Sīra Writing, Sīra and Maghāzī, Mashāhid, Eastern Islamic Lands, Maghreb and al-Andalus.

Öz: İslam tarihinin önemli bir dalı olan siyer yazıcılığı, Hz. Muhammed'in hayatını (s.a.v.) detaylı şekilde ele alan bir alan olup, siyer ve megâzî kavramları en yaygın kullanılan terimlerdir. Bunun yanı sıra erken dönemde sıkça karşılaşılan ancak zamanla unutulan "meşâhid" kavramı da Hz. Peygamber'in katıldığı savaşlar ve önemli olayların gerçekleştiği yerleri tanımlayan bir kavram olarak siyer literatüründe yer almıştır. Bu çalışmada, meşâhid kavramının siyer ve megâzî ile ilişkisi incelenmiş, kavramın erken dönemdeki kullanımından günümüze kadar siyer literatüründeki konumunu incelenmiş ve bu kavramın zamanla neden unutulduğunu araştırılmıştır. Meşâhid kavramının kökeni ve gelişimi, Doğu İslam dünyası ile Mağrib-Endülüs bölgesi bağlamında incelenmiştir. Meşâhid kavramının erken dönem siyer kaynaklarında sıklıkla geçtiği, özellikle İbn Şihâb ez-Zührî'nin eserinde "Meşâhidü'n-Nebî" şeklinde anıldığı görülmektedir. Endülüs ve Mağrib bölgesinde ise meşâhid kavramı, erken dönem Endülüs âlimleri tarafından yoğun bir şekilde kullanılmıştır. Endülüslü tabakât âlimlerinden İbnü'l-Faradî ve el-Huşenî, siyer literatürüne ilişkin anlatılarında sadece meşâhid kavramını tercih etmişlerdir. Modern dönemde ise Maher Jarrar'ın meşâhid kavramına dikkat çekmesine rağmen, kavram hala yeterince ele alınmamıştır. Sonuç olarak, siyer literatüründe önemli bir yer tutmasına rağmen zamanla unutulan meşâhid kavramının, yeniden değerlendirilmesi gerektiği görülmektedir. Siyer çalışmalarında yalnızca siyer ve megâzî kavramlarına odaklanmak, Hz. Peygamber'in hayatının tüm yönlerini tam anlamıyla yansıtamamaktadır. Meşâhid kavramının tekrar ele alınması, siyer kaynaklarında yer alan mekânsal ve tarihsel verilerin daha bütüncül bir şekilde değerlendirilmesine katkı sağlayacaktır. Ayrıca siyer literatürüne yeni bir teorik çerçeve, terminoloji ve tarihsel bağlam sunan bu çalışma, gelecekte siyer ve mekânsal analiz üzerine yapılacak araştırmalara örnek teşkil edecek metodolojik ve analitik bir temel sunmaktadır.

Keywords: İslam Tarihi, Siyer Yazıcılığı, Siyer ve Megâzî, Meşâhid, Doğu İslam Dünyası, Mağrib ve Endülüs.

Introduction

The importance given to the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and his role as an exemplar is a significant issue for Muslims. For this reason, it made it possible to learn his biography from early times. Additionally, knowing Allāh/ al-Maʿrifah al-Allāh is equated with knowing the Prophet Muḥammad/ al-Maʿrifah al-Nabī. Knowing the Prophet Muḥammad is also deemed equivalent with knowing Allāh. Thus, the prophecy is used in the same sense as knowledge of Allāh.[1] This situation has been reflected in the works studied in terms of Islamic sciences, both practically and theoretically. Scholars interested in both areas have thus benefited from the Sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad. Therefore, the Sīra has not only remained in the field of studying Islamic history but has also become an important source of narration for theoretical disciplines.

The enduring interest in the Prophet Muḥammad's life and religious authority has ensured the continuous development of sīra literature over the centuries. Therefore, the terminology used to describe his life has been a topic of discussion since early times. In modern Sīra studies, these concepts remain a focal point of scholarly interest. To gain a better understanding of the concept of mashāhid and to make a comprehensive evaluation of the terms sīra and maghāzī, it is appropriate to revisit the existing literature here.

The first of the views and approaches that emerged about the concepts of sīra and maghāzī was made by Horovitz, and the discussion took place through him. The term sīra has various meanings, but for the purposes of this introductory section, we will focus on its discussion through Horovitz and exclude other specific meanings.[2]

> "It would be appropriate to point out that the term maghāzī, derived from the word al-ghazwāt, refers to the battles in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated. However, over time, the meaning of the term maghāzī has changed and expanded to encompass the entirety of the Prophet's life. I prefer the view that the original broad meaning of the word maghāzī only included the Prophet's life in Medina, because the Medina period was the time when the wars for the establishment of the Islamic state were fought. This period of the Messenger of Allāh's (PBUH) life was filled with battles and various activities against the Quraysh, Arab tribes, Jews, and later against those who settled around Syria and lived under Byzantine rule. Therefore, naming this period as the 'period of wars' does not take us away from the meaning. Later, the meaning of the word expanded to encompass the entire life of the Prophet. Because if the Medina period was a period of jihad with the sword, then the Mecca period was undoubtedly a period of jihad without war, first in secret and then openly, for the sake of spreading the call. In this way, the meaning of the word maghāzī expanded to mean 'the entire life of the Prophet Muḥammad'."[3]

Horovitz presents a different approach to the term maghāzī than what is known today. He suggests that maghāzī initially referred to the Prophet's battles, but it underwent a semantic shift over time. However, later researchers have found these statements inappropriate. The following statements are worth remembering in response to Horovitz's views:

> "When we look at the reports narrated by Mūsā, we see that he does not merely mention the narratives regarding the Prophet's battles. Therefore, his *al-Maghāzī* and the relevant section of Al-Wāqidī's work should be separated from each other. While Al-Wāqidī only gives news of war and military expeditions under the title of *al-Maghāzī*, Mūsā's understanding of maghāzī is nothing but the life of the Messenger of Allāh. This conceptual difference between the two authors also points to a difference in understanding in sīra writing. This fact also refutes the thesis that maghāzī initially only dealt with the battles of the Prophet but was later extended to his entire life. Based on this, we

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1 ‏"وفي ترتيب إثبات النُّبوة على إثبات التوحيد دليلٌ على أنَّ الرسولَ يُعْرَفُ مِن قِبَل الله تعالى، وأنَّ وجوب معرفة الله مقدم على وجوب معرفة الرسول"‏ ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, *Daraj al-Durar fī tafsīr al-āy wa-al-suwar*, Critical ed. Walīd b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Husayn- Iyād ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Qaysī (England: Majallat al-Ḥikmah, 1429/2008), 1/123.

2 The following studies may be referenced for this information; G. G. Wilson, "Grotius: Law of War and Peace", *The American Journal of International Law* 35/2 (1941), 205-226; M. A. Boisard, "The Conduct of Hostilities and the Protection of the Victims of Armed Conflicts in Islam", *Hamdard Islamicus* 1/2 (1978), 3-17; M. Hinds, "al-Maghāzī", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* New Edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 5/1161-1164.

3 Josef Horovitz, *Al-Maghāzī al-Ūlā wa-Muʾallifūhā*, Translated from: Ḥusayn Naṣṣār (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2001), 9-10.

can say that the words maghāzī and sīra were initially used interchangeably. However, over time,
there was a semantic shift, and it was limited to only his battles."[4]

It should be noted that the foregoing statements by Şaban Öz are widely accepted by scholarly circles. However, it is possible to make some assumptions here, even if they do not support Horovitz's views. The fact that the work of Mūsā b. ʿUqbah has not fully reached our day, or that his work was created based on narrations obtained from various sources, prevents us from reaching a definite conclusion.[5] Those who mention the work of Mūsā b. ʿUqbah refer to it as *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. However, it is uncertain whether Mūsā referred to his work as *Maghāzī* or *Sīra*. As explained below, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's work was titled *al-Maghāzī*, *al-Sīra*, and *al-Mashāhid*. Despite this ambiguity, it can be inferred that the terms sīra-maghāzī were initially interchangeable but diverged over time. The earliest sīra-maghāzī works were mostly referred to as maghāzī, which was more commonly used. However, the terms sīra-maghāzī began to diverge with the writing of a work by al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823) about battles in the third century AH. Sīra became a concept that encompasses the life of the Prophet Muḥammad in a more general sense, while maghāzī remained a concept that dealt with battles.

In light of this information, "sīra can be defined as a science that examines the life and character of the Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) from his birth to his death, based on the Qur'an, Islamic narrations, and remaining traces, in terms of determination and confirmation."[6] The term maghāzī can be defined as "the events that occurred as a result of the Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) personally leading or sending an army to fight against the infidels." It has been stated that the phrase "events that occurred" in the definition of the term maghāzī does not only refer to battles but also carries a meaning that includes matters related to war, the law of peace, and the exemplary life of the Prophet Muḥammad.[7]

The definitions that Kasım Şulul provides for sīra-maghāzī literature have been clearly observed in the works composed within the sīra tradition. After the third hijrī century, scholars tried to abide by this distinction while denominating their works. For example, scholars who wanted to authored a maghāzī took al-Wāqidī as an example and classified the content of their work accordingly. Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nīsābūrī (d. 468/1076), known as al-Wāḥidī, authored his work *al-Maghāzī* using this method.[8] Similarly, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1071), observing the difference between the concepts of sīra and maghāzī, named his work *ad-Durar fi'htisāri'l-maghāzī wa's-siyar*. Later sīra scholars, on the other hand, included topics such as al-shamā'il[9] and al-dalā'il[10] related to the life of the Prophet Muḥammad in their works, accepting that these topics were part of sīra and they also seem to have preferred designating the title of their works as al-shamā'il and al-dalā'il. One of these works is *'Uyūnu'l-athar fi funûni'l-maghāzī wa'sh-shamā'il wa's-siyar* by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334). Again, Yemeni scholar Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-ʿĀmirī (d. 893/1488), seemingly paying attention to the nomenclature in question, named his work *Bahjatu'l-mahāfil*. Andalusian scholar al-Kalāʿī (d. 634/1237), despite not paying attention to the difference between the terms sīra and maghāzī, named his work *al-Iktifā'*. However, it covers the Meccan and Medinan periods of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. With this exception, after the third century AH, sīra scholars authored their works by observing other concepts besides the sīra-maghāzī distinction.

Unfortunately, the concept of mashāhid has been neglected due to the lack of mention of the numerous studies conducted on the terms sīra and maghāzī. It is important to note that *mashāhid* is not well-known and is often not mentioned alongside sīra and maghāzī. Maher Jarrar is the researcher who

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4 Şaban Öz, *İlk Siyer Kaynakları ve Müellifleri* (Istanbul: Siyer Okulu Yayınları, 2023), 278.
5 His book in 3 volumes was published in 2023, edited by Muḥammad al-Ṭabarānī, based on a unique Damascene manuscript. This work was published as maghāzī. For details, see. Mūsā b. 'Uqbah, *al-Maghāzī*, Critical ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarānī (Kuwait, QSA, 2023).
6 Additionally, Şulul clarifies the expressions used in the definition of the term siyer to make the definition more comprehensible. For details, see. Kasım Şulul, *Siyer Usûlü* (İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2019), 22-26.
7 Şulul, *Siyer Usûlü*, 29.
8 Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Wāḥidī, *al-Maghāzī* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Collection, 804), 1a-351b.
9 A term encapsulating the physical and moral qualities of the Prophet Muhammad, as well as the collective title given to scholarly works exploring these attributes.
10 It denotes the corpus of literature aimed at establishing the prophetic mission of the Prophet Muhammad.

introduced the concept of mashāhid along with sīra and maghāzī in modern research and provided some information, although he did not subject it to a detailed study. Prior to Jarrar, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī quoted the following statements from Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) in a study:

> "Al-Sakhāwī mentions that Yunus ibn Yazid (d. 159/ 775) transmitted from al-Zuhri the mashāhid al-Nabī, or the events the Prophet witnessed prior to Islam, such as the rebuilding of the Kaʿba and the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl. Al-Zuhrī rejects the claim that Muḥammad participated in the war of al-Fijār, and this account in essence confirms the testimony of al-Sakhāwī."[11]

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī used these statements to emphasize that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's work involves the pre-Islamic period. However, as Maher Jarrar also pointed out, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī expanded the concept of mashāhid to include events witnessed in the pre-Islamic period. It was these statements by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī that influenced Maher Jarrar's approach to the information about mashāhid. Maher Jarrar argued that "mashāhid", as interpreted by al-Dūrī, are not the events that the Prophet Muḥammad witnessed in the pre-Islamic period, such as the rebuilding of the Kaʿba and the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl. Instead, he asserted that mashāhid are "the places where important events took place." Maher Jarrar included wars and other events that occurred in the Islamic period in this definition.[12] For this reason, according to him, pre-Islamic events cannot be explained with the concept of mashāhid. Maher Jarrar's explanations about mashāhid go on to draw attention to a few uses in al-Andalus.

In another work on the development of sīra and maghāzī in al-Andalus, Maher Jarrar includes the concept of mashāhid. Jarrar first discusses the development of sīra and maghāzī in the East[13] before delving into its development in al-Andalus. In the section where he provides information about sīra and maghāzī, he mentions *mashāhid* alongside these two terms. He notes that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's work was named *Mashāhid al-Nabī* and was also referred to as *al-Sīra*. Jarrar then proceeds to state the following:

> "The term mashāhid is mentioned in early Islamic poetry, with Hassān b. Thābit and other poets of the daʿwa. It was also used in maghāzī texts and on a papyrus fragment, where it continued to be used to refer to the battles and wars (martyrdoms) in which the Messenger of Allāh participated personally, as well as the places where the daʿwa took place (the scene). The work entitled Sīra, narrated by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's student Yūnus al-ʿAylī (d. 159/775) under the name "al-mashāhid", reached al-Andalus and was used by Suhaylī (d. 581/1185) under the name "sīra" and quoted from it in five places in his work *al-Rawḍ aʾl-unuf*."[14]

As stated by Maher Jarrar, mashāhid is mentioned in the sources and is connected to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. Jarrar also notes that mashāhid and maghāzī emerged at a similar time and were later collected by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and given the name *al-Sīra*.[15] Jarrar introduced the term mashāhid and provided some explanations, although not in detail. Jarrar was the first to present the initial information about mashāhid. However, he did not explore the processes that this concept underwent in East and al-Andalus, nor did he provide a detailed examination of it.

Modern scholars have made several claims regarding the use of the term mashāhid by Andalusian scholars. According to a Tunisian researcher, the term maghāzī was widely used in the East. However, it is argued that the term mashāhid was preferred in the Maghreb and al-Andalus.[16] It should be noted

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11 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, *The Rise of Historical Writing Amang The Arabs*, trans. Lawrence I. Conrad (America: Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1983), 101.

12 I would like to thank my esteemed friend Bahattin Akyol for facilitating access to this study and his support. Maher Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie im islamischen Spanien: ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungs- und Redaktionsgeschichte* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1989), 30-32.

13 In this study, the term east is used to refer to the central Islamic lands. The term west is used to refer to al-Andalus.

14 I extend my thanks to Dr. Maher Jarrar for sending his work and dedicating his valuable time to me. Maher Jarrar, "al-Maghāzī wa al-siyar fī al-Andalus: dirāsah fī Taṭawwur Mafhūm al-jihād", *From Baghdad to Beirut: Arab and Islamic Studies in Honor of John J. Donohue S.j*, ed. Leslie Tramontini - Chibli Mallat (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg In Kommission, 2007), 32-33.

15 For Jarrar's other works where he discusses the concept of mashāhid and makes references, please see. Maher Jarrar, "Sira", *Muhammad in History, Thought, and Culture: An Encyclopedia of the Prophet of God*, ed. Coeli Fitzpatrick- Adam Hani Walker (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2014), 2/568-573; Maher Jarrar, "Maghazi", *Muhammad in History, Thought, and Culture: An Encyclopedia of the Prophet of God*, ed. Coeli Fitzpatrick- Adam Hani Walker (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2014), 1/350.

16 Yasri Ibrahim, "نحو تحديد منهجي لعلم السيرة النبوية الكاملة", *Almahajja* (29 May 2022), Issue: 434.

that this observation was not made after a detailed examination. The term mashāhid appears not only in the Maghreb and al-Andalus but also in classical works from the East.

This study examines ṭabaqāt and sīra literature produced in both the Eastern Islamic lands and al-Andalus. Through this examination, it seeks to reveal the differences between the two regions and offer a comparative analysis. The works have been analyzed in chronological order. Additionally, the introduction makes extensive use of modern scholarship, particularly concerning the concepts of sīra and maghāzī.

Although there have been numerous studies on sīra and maghāzī, which are concepts related to the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, there has been insufficient research on mashāhid. Therefore, this study aims to examine the emergence and development of mashāhid in detail and emphasizes its neglected status as a sīra concept.

1. The Emergence and Development of the Term Mashāhid in the Eastern Islamic Lands

Mashāhid, the plural of mashhad, is derived from the word (شَهِدَ). Lexicographical evidence shows that sh-h-d means to testify, to see, to witness, to bear witness, to attend an assembly, to be a witness, to testify, and to be present. Mashhad (مشهد) is used to mean a place where people gather and are present.[17] Again, the word (مَوْطِن) was used together with the word mashhad and connotating "the place where the war was witnessed."[18] Based on this referent, Ibn Saʿd narrated the following: "They ask me about the mashāhid and places of the Prophet."[19] It is understood from this narration that mashāhid was preferred instead of maghāzī and was also clarified with the expression (مَوْطِن). In this case, based on the meaning of the place where it was witnessed, mashāhid is used as the plural of mashhad to mean the places where events imprinted on the memories took place. Moreover, as demonstrated in the examples provided below, the term mashāhid has also been used in the sense of battlefields and war narratives. This usage shows that it has the same lexicographical referent as the word maghzāt, which means "battlefield, war, and war stories." Based on the abovementioned matter, it should be noted that mashhad has another meaning. According to this meaning, mashhad is explained as the burial place or the place of martyrdom of a person. In Shiism, this has been used in the sense of martyrdom, and the expression mashhad has been preferred to express the places where people like ʿAlī and al-Ḥusayn were buried. Examples of this usage include Persian expressions such as *Mashhad-i ʿAlī* and *Mashhad-i al-Ḥusayn*.[20]

In Islamic historical sources, the battles of the Prophet Muḥammad and the ghazawāt and al-sarāyā in which the companions participated are referred to not only as sīra and maghāzī, but also as mashhad and mashāhid. These two concepts were commonly used in tabaqāt genre and were narrated in the sections where the biographies of the companions were told. To demonstrate that "mashhad" and "mashāhid" are synonymous with the term "maghāzī", this text will explain the relevant passages in the sources and provide the terminological meaning of mashāhid.

The first scholar to use the concepts of mashhad and mashāhid in sīra writing was Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/768). While he did not use the concept of mashāhid in the sense of war, he used the expression mashhad in the sense of war in the following passage, where he narrates how Salmān al-Fārisī (d. 36/656 [?]) converted to Islam:

"During my slavery, I was unable to participate in the battles of Badr and Uhud with the Prophet Muḥammad. However, I later gained my freedom and participated in the Battle of the Trench. After that, I did not miss any of the mashāhid that the Prophet participated in."[21]

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17 Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn ʿalá- Abū al-Faḍl Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1414/1993), 3/238-243.

18 "والمَوْطِنُ: المَشْهَدُ مِنْ مَشَاهِدِ الْحَرْبِ". Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 13/451.

19 "وَمَوَاطِنِهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَشَاهِد النَّبِيّ عَن سَلوى". See. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, Critical ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1421/2001), 3/409.

20 Mustafa Öz, "Meşhed", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Access 19 Janurary 2023).

21 "وَكَان الرق قد حبسني حتى فاتني مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بدر وأحد، ثم عتقت فشهدت الخندق، ثم لم يفتني معه مشهد". see. Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Yasār al-Muṭṭalibī, *Kitāb al-Sīrah and Maghāzī*, Critical ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1398/1978), 91.

In this incident narrated from Salmān al-Fārisī himself, Ibn Isḥāq uses the concept of mashhad to refer to the ghazawāt.

The scholar who used the term mashāhid extensively in his works and who set an example for the later tabaqāt works is Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819). Ibn al-Kalbī used the concept of mashāhid to refer to the ghazawāt of the Prophet Muḥammad, as well as to the wars of other periods. Ibn al-Kalbī described the wars that took place during the periods of ʿAlī ibn Abū Ṭālib, Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān and Khālid ibn al-Walīd with the expression mashāhid and mentioned the participants in the war in this way. It is possible to give the following examples in his work: "He participated in the wars with ʿAlī ibn Abū Ṭālib… He was one of ʿAlī's companions and participated in the wars with him… He participated in the war with Muʿāwiyah … He participated in the war with Khālid ibn al-Walīd."[22] Ibn al-Kalbī also mentioned the wars that took place during the lifespan of Prophet Muḥammad with the term mashāhid: "ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir participated in all the wars with the Prophet Muḥammad… He participated in Badr and other wars… He participated in all the wars after Badr."[23] When we look at Ibn al-Kalbī's use of the concept of mashāhid for the Prophet Muḥammad and after, it is understood that he used it in the sense of war.

Some questions arise regarding Ibn al-Kalbī's use of the concept of mashāhid. To illustrate, while the term maghāzī is a concept that only deals with the ghazawāt of the Prophet Muḥammad, was this also the case for mashāhid? After Ibn al-Kalbī used both terms for mashāhid, it is important to see how later muslim historians used them. When the basic referent of the term is probed into, it becomes apparent that later Islamic historians also used the concept of mashāhid to refer to other wars, as did Ibn al-Kalbī. For example, al-Ṭabarī also narrated other wars with the concept of mashāhid: "He participated in all the wars until the Battle of al-Yamāmah with Khālid ibn al-Walīd."[24] World history writers such as ʿIz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), Abū al-Fidāʾ Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256) also used the concept of mashāhid to refer to wars in a similar way.[25]

Ibn al-Kalbī's use of the concept of mashāhid led to the use of the same concept in *tabaqāt* and especially the biographies of the companions (ṭabaḳāt al-ṣaḥaba) written in later periods. Scholars such as Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), al-Baghawī (d. 317/929), Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965), Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namirī (d. 463/1071), Ibn al-Athīr and al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) used the concept of mashāhid extensively in their works. The scholars of the mentioned ṭabaqāt works applied mashāhid to narrate the wars in which the companions participated, especially in the sections where they gave information about the companions. In a recent study, attention was drawn to this point, and it was stated that it was used because the events were those in which the companions participated directly.[26] However, the concept of mashāhid was also used in the sense of war, beyond the meaning of the companions' direct participation.

The usage of mashāhid in the ṭabaqāt works is eligible for getting appreciated more properly with further examples. The same kind of narrations reported from Ibn al-Kalbī above are also found in these works. In the sections where the biography of Sabābe is given, there are expressions such as "he participated in all the wars/mashhad", "his first mashhad is this", "he participated in this mashhad", "they ask about the Mashāhid al-Nabī", "he participated in all the wars/mashhad with the Prophet Muḥammad", "he fought with the Prophet Muḥammad", "he participated in some wars with the Prophet

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22 "وقد شهدَ مع خالد بن الوليد مشاهده...شَهدَ المشاهد كلُّها...وقَد شهدَ معَ مُعاويَةَ مَشاهدَه...شَهدَ المشاهد مع عَليّ بن أبي طَالب...كان من أصحاب علي، وشَهدَ مَشاهده...شَهدَ المشاهد مع عَليّ". For examples, see. Abū al-Mundhir Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿd wa-al-Yaman al-kabīr*, Critical ed. al-Duktūr Nājī Ḥasan (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub- Maktabat al-Naḥdah al-ʿArabīyah, 1408/1988), 1/272, 333, 347, 359, 427, 431, 2/451, 519, 583, 727.

23 "شَهدَ عمّار المشاهد كُلّها مع النبيّ...شَهدَ بَدراً والمشاهد...شَهدَ المشاهد كلها بعد بَدرْ". For examples, see. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿd*, 1/338, 416, 428.

24 Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd ibn Kathīr ibn Ghālib al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-mulūk [The History of al-Ṭabarī]* (Beirut: Dār al-Turāth, 1387/1967), 3/275.

25 For examples, see. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Abī al-karam Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, Critical ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī 1417/1997), 6/582, 10/442; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān fī tawārīkh al-aʿyān*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Barakāt, et al. (Dimashq: Dār-Risālah al-ʿĀlamīyah, 1434/2013), 15/5, 19/8; Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar ibn Kathīr al-Qurashī, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah*, Critical ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Dâru Hicr, 1418/1997), 13/598, 17/723.

26 Mehmet Mahfuz Söylemez, "İslam Tarih Usulü", *İslam Tarih Usulü ve Kaynakları*, ed. M. Mahfuz Söylemez (Ankara: Anakara Okulu Yayınları, 2023), 1/45.

Muḥammad", "he participated in the Battle of al-Khandaq and the rest of the wars", "his first mashhad is Mureysi'". Imam al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), although he wrote a ṭabaqāt of the Shafi'i school, also used the concept of mashāhid in the information he gave about wars in his work.[27]

From the given examples, it is understood that mashāhid was widely used in the ṭabaqāt works of the East. However, it is seen that it was not used to refer to a scientific discipline such as sīra and maghāzī. The only exception to this is the work of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, known as *Maghāzī*, which is transmitted as *Mashāhid*. al-Sakhāwī, in his work *al-Iʿlān bi-l-tawbīḫ*, which he wrote to emphasize the importance and conditions of history and historiography, mentioned sīra and maghāzī in the section where he gave information about them. He stated that Yūnus b. Yazīd[28] (d. 159/775) narrated the work entitled *Mashāhid al-Nabī* from Ibn Shihāb al- Zuhrī.[29] This narration, which is mentioned in Al-Sakhāwī, continued to be transmitted in the same way in later periods. In the third section of his work, where Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid listed the works written on sīra literature, he opened a heading related to mashāhid after the heading of maghāzī. In the relevant heading, he mentioned the work entitled *Mashāhid al-Nabī*, which is attributed to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, using the information from Al-Sakhāwī. [30] Again, Nāṣiruddīn Asad used the following expressions in his work, attributing them to Al-Sakhāwī:

> "Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī asked him to write a work on sīra. Ibn Shihāb replied that he had the sīra of 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib... Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī had a work called Kitāb al-Mashāhid al-Nabī, which was narrated from him by Yūnus b. Yazīd. I do not know if the mentioned work is the one that was sent to Khalid al-Qasri in response or another work."[31]

Apart from this information, Fuat Sezgin also referred to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's work as *Mashāhid*, using the information from al-Sakhāwī. [32] As a result, the term mashāhid was widely used in Islamic historical sources in the East. However, it was generally preferred in the sense of battlefield and war stories. It is understood that, as a branch of knowledge and a literary genre, the term was first used to refer to al-Zuhrī's work.[33]

2. The Emergence and Development of the Concept Mashāhid in al-Andalus
The concept of mashāhid was more widely used in al-Andalus than in the central Islamic lands. Ibn al-Faradī (d. 403/1013), an Andalusian ṭabaqāt scholar, was a pioneer in this regard. He became famous for his work entitled *Tārīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, in which he wrote about the biographies of Andalusian scholars. In this work, he did not use the terms sīra or maghāzī. Instead, he only preferred the concept of mashāhid.[34]

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27 Since there are numerous examples in the ṭabaqāt works, some examples will be provided here. For details, please refer to. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 2/325, 3/45-46, 49, 50, 80, 86-89, 91, 93, 97, 106, 119, 132, 141; Abū-al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn almarzūbān ibn sābwr ibn Shāhinshāh al-Baghawī, *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥābah*, Critical ed. Muḥammad ʿAwaḍ al-Manqūsh - Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl al-Qāḍī (Kuwait: Mabarrat al-Āl wa-al-Aṣḥāb, 1432/2011), 1/161, 164, 329, 2/178, 260, 305, 377, 479, 3/20, 393, 412; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār wa-aʿlām fuqahāʾ al-aqṭār*, Critical ed. Marzūq ʿAlī Ibrāhīm (al-Manṣūrah: Dār al-Wafāʾ lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 1411/1991), 29-34, 38-39, 42-47, 50-51, 151; Abū Noʿaym al-Eṣfahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, Critical ed. ʿĀdil ibn Yūsuf al'zāzy (al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-waṭan lil-Nashr, 1419/1998), 1/104, 130, 156, 373, 380, 384, 2/1041, 1136, 1141, 1184, 1244; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namirī, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, Critical ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ-ʿĀdil ʿAbd al-Mawjūd (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1415/1994), 1/131, 178, 185, 197, 206, 207, 212, 237, 252, 258, 263, 274; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, Critical ed. ʿĀdil Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī 1996), 1/12, 51, 88, 120, 143, 212, 217, 220; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa-al-lughāt*, Critical ed. Maktab al-Buḥūth wa-al-Dirāsāt (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996), 1/51, 107, 121, 138, 141, 144, 146; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* (Cairo: Dār alḥdyth, 1427/2006), 1/179, 365, 468, 2/90, 176, 391, 424, 447.
28 Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī was a mawla of Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān and the most prominent student of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. He remained with al-Zuhrī for 12 or 14 years and narrated from him. Although there are some negative opinions about his reliability, he is generally regarded as a trustworthy transmitter. For his biography, see. al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 6/390-393.
29 "وَرَوَى يُونُسُ بْنُ يَزِيدَ مَشَاهِدَ النَّبِيّ –صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ– عَنِ الزُّهْرِيّ". Shams al-Din Abu al-Khayr Muhammad ibn Abdurrahman ibn Muhammad al-Sakhawī, *Iʿlān bi-al-tawbīkh li-man Dhamm al-tārīkh*, Critical ed. Franz Rosenthal, Translated from Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, n.d.), 159.
30 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Muʿjam ma-ullifa hawl Rasul Allah salla Allahu ʿalayhi wa-sallam* (Beirut: Dârü'l-Kitâbi'l-Cedîd, 1982), 89, 139.
31 Nāṣiruddīn Asad, *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-Jāhilī* (Beirut: Dār al-Cīl, 1955), 150.
32 Fuat Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-ʿArabī [Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums (GAS)]*, Translated from: Maḥmūd Fahmī Ḥijāzī (al-Riyāḍ: Jāmiʿatay al-Imām Muḥammad wa-al-malik Saʿūd, 1991), 1/2, 79.
33 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, "İbn Şihâb Ez-Zührî ve İslâm Tarih Yazıcılığının Başlamasındaki Rolü", trans. Casim Avcı, *Sakarya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 4/6 (2002), 61.
34 For more information, please see the following work: Yakup Akyürek, *Siyer Edebiyatı: Endülüs* (Istanbul: Siyer Yayınları, 2023), 101-102.

The concept of mashāhid appears in 13 different places in Ibn al-Faradī's work. In all these passages, the author uses the concept of mashāhid based on the meaning of sīra and maghāzī. Ibn al-Faradī's use of mashāhid can be evaluated in 3 different categories:

- He accepts Ibn Hishām as the author of a mashāhid work.
- He mentions scholars who are interested in the life of the Prophet and who know his life by heart with the concept of mashāhid.
- He mentions some scholars who have read and narrated a work called Mashāhid from a teacher.

It is necessary to clarify the issue in order to elaborate on the usage of mashāhid in Ibn al-Faradī's work. In the section where he provides information about Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn (d. 249/864), Ibn al-Faradī states that he traveled to the East and met Ibn Hishām during this journey. Here he refers to Ibn Hishām as "ṣāḥibu'l-mashāhid" and uses mashāhid in the sense of maghāzī.[35] Similarly, in the section where information is given about Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn's cousin Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Khālid (d. 256/870), it is reported that he also heard the book *Mashāhid* from Ibn Hishām.[36]

Ibn al-Faradī used the concept mashāhid to describe people who are interested in learning the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, who know it by heart, and who are scholars on the subject. The common point of the scholars evaluated in this category is that they are interested in the life of the Prophet Muḥammad based on their personal skills. In this regard, Ibn al-Faraḍī records six narrations, although there is no mention of them having studied under any particular teacher. One of these narrations is particularly noteworthy. In the section where Ibn al-Faradī provides information about Abū'l-Hazm 'Ufayr b. Masʿūd (d. 317/929), he states that he was a memorizer of "mashāhid al-Nabī".[37]

The last point regarding Ibn al-Faradī's use of the concept of mashāhid concerns scholars who read a book called *Mashāhid* from a teacher and then narrated it. There are a total of 5 narrations in the work on this subject. It seems that in four of these narrations, Ibn al-Faradī uses the concept of mashāhid to refer to Ibn Hishām's work. In these narrations, he explicitly refers to Ibn Hishām's work as mashāhid. He also mentions that the scholars who narrated from the Egyptian scholars and narrators of Ibn Hishām's work, the brothers Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Barqī and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Barqī, read the book called Mashāhid.[38] In one narration, the plural form is preferred and it is reported that Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Rufāʿī (d. 344/956) narrated the books of mashāhid.[39] The information that Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Rufāʿī, about whom we do not find information in the ṭabaqāt books, "narrated the books of mashāhid" needs to be confirmed. Ibn al-Faradī does not provide any information about Muḥammad b. Yazīd's travels. In this case, it is understood that Muḥammad b. Yazīd read the books of mashāhid from Andalusian scholars. During the period when Muḥammad b. Yazīd lived, the sīra-maghāzī works of scholars such as Mūsā b. ʿUqbah, Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī had reached al-Andalus.[40] He probably read and narrated these works. Therefore, it is understood that Ibn al-Faradī named these works as mashāhid.

There are other Andalusian ṭabaqāt scholars besides Ibn al-Faradī. The ṭabaqāt scholar Muḥammad ibn Ḥārith al-Khushanī (d. 361/971), who was his contemporary, included the term mashāhid in his work *Aḫbāru'l-fuḳahāʾ wa'l-muḥaddiṣīn*. Al-Khushanī uses the term mashāhid in two passages. The first of these is Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn, who is also mentioned in Ibn al-Faradī. Al-Khushanī reports that he

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35 "وله رحلةٌ إلى المشرق: لقيَ فيها عليَّ بن سعيدٍ، وعبدَ الملك بن هشام :صاحبَ المشاهد". Abū al-Walīd ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Naṣr Ibn al-Faradī, *Tārīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus [a biographical dictionary about religious scholars from al-Andalus]*, Critical ed. Ruqayyah bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suwayfī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2011), 16.

36 "وَسَمِع مِنْ عبّد الملك بن هشام :المشاهد". Ibn al-Faradī, *Tārīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, 175.

37 "كان :حافظاً للغَة، وأخيَار العرَب، وَوَقائعها وأيّامها، ومشَاهد النبيّ". For this narration and others, please see. Ibn al-Faradī, *Tārīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, 170, 195, 271, 329, 347, 407.

38 For these narrations, see. Ibn al-Faradī, *Tārīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, 181, 206, 304, 442.

39 "وروى بقُرْطُبَة كتب المشاهد". Ibn al-Faradī, *Tārīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, 343.

40 Akyürek, *Siyer Edebiyatı [Sīra Literature]*, 89-96.

traveled to the East and received his book *Mashāhid* from Ibn Hishām during this period.[41] He also transmits the information about ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (d. 301/914) found in Ibn al-Faradī. According to this narration, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad traveled and received the book *Mashāhid* from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al- Barqī.[42] When Al-Khushanī says "he narrated the mashāhid from him," he most likely meant Ibn Hishām's work.

While Ibn al-Faradī never uses the term maghāzī, al-Khushanī uses the concept of maghāzī in two distinct passages. However, it should be noted that al-Khushanī does not refer to the life or battles of the Prophet Muḥammad with his use of the term maghāzī. al-Khushanī used the term maghāzī in the sense of war, but he preferred it for Andalusian caliphs and rulers. In the section where he provides information about ʿAbbās b. Nāṣiḥ, he states that he had good relations with the Caliph Ḥakam, that he was usually with the caliph, and that he participated in the wars with him. He reported the wars that took place during the Caliph Ḥakam's period with the term maghāzī.[43] In another narration, al-Khushanī again mentions Ḥasan al-Anṣārī's going to war with the term maghāzī.[44] Thus, al-Khushanī generally used the term mashāhid to refer to the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and to indicate the works written in this field. He used the term maghāzī to refer to the wars of other people and did not establish a relationship with the Prophet Muḥammad.

Ibn al-Faradī and al-Khushanī's contemporary Andalusian scholar of al-Ṭabaqāt, Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989) also used the term mashāhid in his work *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyīn wa al-lughawīyīn*. Regarding 'Ufayr b. Masʿūd, about whom Ibn al-Faradī also provides information, al-Zubaydī states that he was knowledgeable in the field of "مشاهد النبوة" (mashāhidu'n-nubuwwah).[45] Al-Zubaydī also refers to the term maghāzī in one place, using it to refer to the work of al-Wāqidī. In the section where Al-Zubaydī provides information about Abu'l- Walīd Abd al- Mālik b. Qatan al-Mahri (Mihrī), he mentions that he had a work called *Tafsīru Maghāzī al-Wāqidī*,[46] which explained the work of al-Wāqidī.[47] Therefore, it can be understood that al-Zubaydī used the terms mashāhid and maghāzī interchangeably.

Another Andalusian scholar of ṭabaqāt, Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260), also included the concept of mashāhid in his work. In one piece of information from his work, it is stated that Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. al-Maʿāfirī (d. 490/1097 [?]) met with Abu al-Qāsim Shuʿayb b. Sabʿūna al-ʿAbdarī al-Ṭurṭūshī in Alexandria in 469/1077. It is reported that he received the work entitled *Mashāhid Ibn Isḥāq* from him during this meeting.[48]

Another scholar who uses the term "mashāhid" in the same sense as "sīra and maghāzī" is al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149). Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ states in one of his works that he met Abū Baḥr Sufyān ibn al-ʿĀṣī (d. 520/1126) in Cordoba and obtained from him the work entitled *Kitāb al-mashāhid wa-sīrat Rasūl Allāh* by Ibn Hishām. He states that this work is an abridgement of Ibn Hishām's work on Ibn Isḥāq's work. Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ refers to Ibn Hishām's work by the name of *Mashāhid* and mentions the two different versions that have reached him.[49] Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ also refers to Ibn Hishām's work in his other works and mentions it as *Mashāhid*.[50]

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41 "فأخذ عن عبد الملك بن هشام المشاهد" see. Muḥammad ibn Ḥārith al-Khushanī, *Aḫbāru'l-fuḳahāʾ wa'l-muḥaddiṣîn*, Critical ed. Salim Mustafā Badrī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1420/1999), 5.

42 "ولقي محمد بن سحنون وأحمد بن عبد الرحيم البرقي وروى عنه المشاهد". see. al-Khushanī, *Aḫbāru'l-fuḳahāʾ*, 165.

43 "و كان عباس أثيرا عند الخليفة الحكم رضي الله عنه يكثر مواكبته والأنس به في المغازي و يعجب بفصاحة". see. al-Khushanī, *Aḫbārü'l-fuḳahāʾ*, 217.

44 "خرج يوما حسن الانصاري صاحب سرقسطة في بعض مغازيه فجاز على منزله". see. al-Khushanī, *Aḫbārü'l-fuḳahāʾ*, 226.

45 "وكان من أهل العلم باللغة، وأخبار العرب، ووقائعها وأيامها، ومشاهد النبوة". see. Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyīn wa al-lughawīyīn*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1954), 275.

46 "تفسير مغازي الواقدي".

47 "وله كتب كثيرة ألفها، من ذلك :كتاب في تفسير مغازي الواقدي". see. al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyīn*, 229.

48 "لقي بالإسكندرية أبا القاسم شعيب بن سبعون العبدري الطرطوشي في سنة تسع وستّين فسمع منْهُ بَما مشاهد بن إسحاق". see. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr al-Quḍāʿī al-Balansī Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmilah li-kitāb al-ṣilah*, Critical ed. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Harrās (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr lil-Ṭibāʿah, 1405/1995), 1/327.

49 "لقيته بقرطبة وقرأت عليه كتاب المشاهد وسيرة رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، لأبي محمد عبد الملك بن هشام اختصاره لكتاب محمد بن إسحاق". see. Abū al-Faḍl ʿIyāḍ ibn al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Ghanīyah fī shuyūkh al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ*, Critical ed. Māhir Zuhayr Jarrār (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1402/1982), 206.

50 Abū al-Faḍl ʿIyāḍ ibn al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik*, Critical ed. Ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī et. al. (al-Maghrib: Maṭbaʿat Faḍālah-al-Muḥammadīyah, 1385/1965), 6/108; Abū al-Faḍl ʿIyāḍ ibn al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Mashāriq al-anwār ʿalá ṣiḥāḥ al-Āthār* (Tunisia: al-Maktabah al-ʿatīqah wa-Dār al-Turāth, 1398/1978), 1/353.

al-Qaḍī ʿIyāḍ and other Andalusian and Maghrebi scholars used the term mashāhid as a field of study, preferring it in the sense of sīra and maghāzī. They also used the term mashāhid to refer to the works of Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Hishām. However, it seems that in later periods, the work of the Andalusian scholar Ibn al-Waqqashī was also called as mashāhid. This is evident from the fact that Ibn al-Waqqashī's commentary (al-Sharḥ) on al-Mubarrad's (d. 286/900) al-Kāmil, published together with the commentary (al-Sharḥ) of Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 521/1127), mentions Ibn al-Waqqashī's work entitled Mashāhid.[51]

> "The second part of Ibn al-Waqqashī's works consists of his works whose originals have been lost, but some of which have survived to this day. It is possible to estimate the value of the work and its position in that field based on these excerpts. In this regard, we were able to identify only one work: the Sharḥ al-sīra al-Nabawīyah, which was written on the work of Ibn Hishām. This work is probably the book known as Mashāhid Ibn Hishām, which was mentioned by al-Qaḍī ʿIyāḍ and was in his possession."[52]

As the phrases clearly show, the work written by Ibn al-Waqqashī is referred to as a commentary (al-Sharḥ) and is mentioned under the name of "Mashāhid". In another work, Ibn al-Waqqashī's work is given as Tanbîhâtün ʿalá Mashāhid Ibn Hishām.[53] Therefore, it seems from this information that Ibn Hishām's work is named "Mashāhid". Ibn al-Waqqashī's work, on the other hand, is a commentary (al-Sharḥ) on Ibn Hishām's work. In later periods, al-Suhaylī and al-Khushanī, who wrote sīra commentaries in al-Andalus, benefited from Ibn al-Waqqashī's commentary (al-Sharḥ).

In the later period of Andalusian sīra writing, the most prominent figures are al-Suhaylī and Abū Dharr al-Hushenī. Al-Suhaylī uses the term mashāhid twenty-one times in his work. An examination of these narrations reveals that his usage of mashāhid is identical to that of Ibn al-Kalbī, as discussed above. He employs the term in the sense of battles and war narratives. Therefore, it can be concluded that al-Suhaylī does not make a direct or significant contribution to the conceptual development of mashāhid. Despite having authored a sīra commentary (sharḥ) work, he does not explain the term mashāhid. Like other scholars of the later Andalusian period, al-Suhaylī does not attribute a particular meaning to the term, nor does he provide any clarification regarding its use.[54] Furthermore, this particular aspect has not been highlighted in any of the existing scholarly works on al-Suhaylī.

Notwithstanding these considerations, it is noteworthy that al-Suhaylī makes use of the term mashāhid in his work and on certain occasions, employs it as a synonym for ghazwa.[55] Nevertheless, the prevalence of the terms sīra and maghāzī in the established literary tradition appears to have influenced al-Suhaylī's preference for these terms in his writings. His usage of mashāhid remains limited to the meaning of ghazwa, reflecting a restricted application. Thus, mashāhid is not treated by al-Suhaylī as a separate literary category or genre.

As for Abū Dharr al-Hushenī, he does not use the term mashāhid at all in his work. Furthermore, prominent Fahrasa authors of this period, such as Ibn Khayr and Ibn ʿAṭiyya, likewise do not employ the term mashāhid in their writings.[56]

In conclusion, while early Andalusian scholars used the term mashāhid as synonymous with maghāzī, this usage did not continue in later periods. Notably, although al-Suhaylī includes the term mashāhid within his transmitted narrations, he does not assign it any special meaning.

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51 Ibn Saʿd al-Khayr, al-Qaraṭ ʿalá al-kāmil, wa-hiya alṭırar wa-al-ḥawāshī ʿala al-kāmil lil-mubarrad (Riyāḍ: Markazūʾt-Turās li-l-Barmajiyyāt, 2013), 14-16.

52 "أما القسم الثاني من مؤلفاته .وهو ما يشمل الكتب التي فقدت أصولها، وقد بقيت بعض اقتباساتها يمكن من خلالها أن نقدر قيمة الكتاب ومكنته بين مؤلفات الفن .وقد وجدنا كتابا واحدا من هذا القسم، وهو شرح السيرة النبوية لابن هشام، ولعله هو المراد بمشاهد ابن هشام عند القاضي عياض رحمة الله." please see. Ibn Saʿd al-Khayr, al-Qaraṭ ʿalá al-kāmil, 16.

53 Ibn al-Waqqashī, al-Taʿlīq ʿalá al-Muwaṭṭaʾ fī tafsīr lughātihi wa-ghawāmiḍ iʿrābihi wa-maʿānīh, Critical ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulaymān al-ʿUthaymīn (Riyad: Maktabat al-ʿAbīykān, 1421/2001), 55; For a review of the historical significance of Ibn al- Waqqashī's work, see. Akyürek, Siyer Edebiyatı, 203-207.

54 Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Suhaylī, al-Rawḍ al-Unuf fī Sharḥ al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah li-Ibn Hishām, Critical ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Salāmī (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1421/2000), 4/49, 89, 90-91, 96, 117, 136, 159, 184.

55 al-Suhaylī, al-Rawḍ al-Unuf, 7/70, 230.

56 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Khalīfa al-Lamtūnī al-Umawī al-Ishbīlī Ibn Khayr, Fahrasat Ibn Khayr, Critical ed. Muḥammad Fawwād Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1419/1998); Ibn ʿAṭiyya, Al-Fahrasah, Critical ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Ajfān and Muḥammad al-Zāhī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1983).

3. The Decline and Neglect of Mashāhid in Later Scholarship

At the beginning of sīra writing, the terms sīra and maghāzī were the dominant conceptual frameworks used to study the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. Over time, maghāzī evolved into a more specialised term referring primarily to the Prophet's military expeditions, while sīra became the more widely accepted and comprehensive term encompassing the entire biography of the Prophet. The term mashāhid appears sporadically in early classical texts from the eastern Islamic world. Although there are recorded instances of its use, it never gained widespread acceptance.

Later Islamic historians increasingly equated mashāhid with maghāzī, which eventually led to the loss of its conceptual independence. As the term maghāzī was universally adopted by sīra scholars, the use of mashāhid gradually diminished. This shift resulted in the complete disappearance of mashāhid as an independent category within sīra literature in the Eastern Islamic world, leaving sīra and maghāzī as the dominant terminologies.

In the Andalusian context, sīra and maghāzī were known from the early periods of Islamic historiography. However, early ṭabaqāt scholars, particularly Ibn al-Faradī and al-Khushanī, deliberately chose to use the term mashāhid in their works. The reasons for their preference for this terminology remain unclear, as there is no direct explanation in the sources. Nevertheless, their exclusion of sīra and maghāzī from their works suggests a deliberate regional adaptation of mashāhid. Despite their efforts, this terminological tradition did not persist in Andalusian historiography.

Subsequent Andalusian scholars were increasingly influenced by the scholarly traditions of the Eastern Islamic world, particularly through riḥla.[57] The growing importance of sīra and maghāzī in the East was mirrored in the Andalusian region. A key figure in this transition was al-Suhaylī, whose work became one of the most authoritative contributions to sīra studies. His limited use of mashāhid contributed significantly to the decline of the term in al-Andalus. As later Andalusian and Maghrebian scholars predominantly used sīra and maghāzī, the term mashāhid eventually faded into obscurity, mirroring its disappearance in the Eastern Islamic world.

In modern times, Maher Jarrar has revived interest in mashāhid, but the term has not been extensively explored as an independent field of study in contemporary academic literature. As a result, research on mashāhid remains limited. Modern sīra scholars, as highlighted in the introduction to this study, have focused primarily on the historical development and interrelationship between sīra and maghāzī, largely overlooking mashāhid.

The neglect of mashāhid has had several significant implications for sīra studies:

1. **Conceptual gaps in sīra studies**: While mashāhid has historically been used alongside sīra and maghāzī, its neglect has led to a conceptual deficit in sīra studies.
2. **The narrowing of Islamic historiography**: While the distinction between sīra and maghāzī has become clearer over time, the neglect of mashāhid has contributed to a restrictive framework within Islamic historiography.
3. **Loss of original meaning**: In early sīra sources, mashāhid sometimes referred to events personally witnessed by the Prophet. Over time, this nuanced meaning was lost.
4. **Decline of regional historiographical diversity**: In early Andalusian historiography, the mashāhid was an established category. However, its gradual abandonment by later Andalusian scholars led to the loss of regional historiographical diversity.

Although mashāhid has resurfaced in modern discussions, it remains an underexplored concept in Islamic historiography. Given its historical significance, future studies should reconsider mashāhid as a relevant category within sīra literature. Incorporating mashāhid into contemporary scholarship could

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57 For some studies conducted on al-Andalus and *riḥla*, see: Luis Molina, "Lugares de destino de los viajes andalusíes en el Ta'rij de Ibn al-Faradi", *In Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus 1,* ed. Manuela Marin (Madrid: Departamento De Estudies Arabes, 1988); Maria Luisa Ávila, "The Search for Knowledge: Andalusi Scholars And Their Travels To The Islamic East", *Medieval People* 23 (2002); Manuela Marín, "Nomina de Sabios de al-Andalus", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus I,* ed. Manuela Marín (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988).

provide a more nuanced understanding of the geographical and experiential dimensions of the Prophet's life, ultimately enriching sīra studies as a whole.

Conclusion

Following the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH), interest in his biography began to increase due to his significant role in Islam. He was not only a messenger and teacher of Islamic teachings, but also a role model for Muslims. As a result, his life has been studied from various perspectives by different societies and individuals throughout history.

The concepts of sīra and maghāzī have been prominent in the study of the Prophet Muḥammad's life since the early period. Both sīra and maghāzī have been extensively examined in classical works from the early period and modern research, and a definitive conclusion has been reached regarding their definitions. However, the term mashāhid was also widely used in classical sources alongside the concepts of sīra and maghāzī. However, the concept of mashāhid has been overlooked in modern research. Jarrar was the first researcher to identify and highlight the concept of mashāhid. Nevertheless, he only drew attention to this concept without exploring its historical development.

The term mashāhid was initially used in the East to describe significant events and battles. It was particularly preferred to provide information about the ghazawāt (Military campaigns of the Prophet) in which the Companions participated. Although both mashāhid and maghāzī were used to refer to battles during this period, maghāzī was used to denote a field of study. The genre known as mashāhid was first mentioned by Yūnus b. Yazīd when he transmitted Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's work, the *Maghāzī*, as the *Mashāhid*. Therefore, Yūnus b. Yazīd is credited with identifying mashāhid as a genre and introducing it into literature.

The term mashāhid was later adopted in al-Andalus. Classical works from the East were brought to al-Andalus through the riḥlas (journeys) undertaken from al-Andalus to the central Islamic lands. The term mashāhid was widely used in al-Andalus to denote these works that reached al-Andalus, to describe those interested in the science of maghāzī (the study of the Prophet's military expeditions), and to express the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. Andalusian scholars used the concept of mashāhid directly and synonymously with the term maghāzī, in contrast to the East. The tabaqāt (biographical) books were the most important works in identifying the use of mashāhid in al-Andalus. This study examines the use of the concept of mashāhid by Andalusian tabaqāt scholars chronologically.

As a result of the examination, it was determined that the tabaqāt scholar Ibn al-Faradī used the term mashāhid merely to denote the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and to explain this field of knowledge. Other Andalusian tabaqāt scholars also used the term mashāhid in a similar manner. Apart from Ibn al-Faradī, scholars such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ used both the terms "mashāhid" and "maghāzī". In al-Andalus, the term Mashāhid was preferred to denote the works of Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Hishām. In addition, the commentary (al-Sharḥ) written by Ibn al-Waqqashī on the work of Ibn Hishām was also referred to by the name "mashāhid". In the light of all this information, researchers have stated that the terms "sīra" and "maghāzī" are more common in the East to denote the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, while the term mashāhid is more common in al-Andalus and the Maghreb. However, it is not correct to state this definitively. Although Andalusian scholars used the term mashāhid extensively in the early period, they used both "mashāhid" and "maghāzī" in later periods.

In conclusion, the sources also used the concept of mashāhid to describe the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, alongside sīra and maghāzī. Initially, the term mashāhid was used for the battles and significant events in which the Prophet himself participated, emerging together with the concept of maghāzī. Later, the term mashāhid began to be used in al-Andalus as well. Andalusian scholars used the concept of mashāhid directly and synonymously with the term maghāzī, which differed from the usage in the East. However, over time, mashāhid was neglected and forgotten. Therefore, only the terms sīra and maghāzī were used to describe the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. In this study, it has been identified that, in addition to the terms sīra and maghāzī, the term mashāhid was also used to describe

the life of the Prophet Muhammad. In this way, the study offers a new theoretical framework, conceptual terminology, and historical context to the field of sīra studies. The methods and findings presented here highlight the need for further comprehensive research on sīra literature and *spatial analysis.*

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