

Sarakhsī's Contribution To Islamic History

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Özet

Serahsī, Nişabur ve Merv arasında yer alan ve İpek Yolu'nun önemli merkezlerinden biri olan Sarahs'tandır. XI. yüzyılda yaşayan Serahsī'nin bu makalemizde değerlendirdiğimiz eserleri İmam Muhammed eş-Şeybānī'nin kitaplarının şerhleridir. eş-Şeybānī'nin eserlerinden Siyeri Kebir'in yanı sıra önceden aynı konuda yazılmış Ebû Hanife ve el-Evzâi gibi din bilginlerinin eserlerinin günümüze ulaşmamış olması, Serahsī'nin şerhlerinin değerini bir kat daha artırmaktadır.

Serahsī'nin eserleri İslam Hukuku alanında olması nedeniyle diğer bilim dalları arasında kanaatimizce hak ettiği rağbeti görememektedir. Oysa onun eserlerinde söz ve davranışları İslam hukukunun kaynakları arasında sayılan Hazreti Muhammed'in (s.a.s.) hayatı hakkında pek çok bilgi bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca Hz. Ebû Bekir, Ömer gibi halifelerin yönetimde bulundukları sırada yaptıkları uygulamalar hukukî değerlendirmelerde dikkate alınmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra İslam tarihinin çeşitli dönemlerinde askerî teşkilat gibi kurumlar tarihine ilişkin konular, İslam dünyasında kullanılan ev eşyaları, sanat eserleri hakkında bilgilere de Serahsī'nin eserlerinde sıkça rastlanılmaktadır. Bu bilgilerin varlığı söz konusu eserlerin hukukun yanı sıra İslam tarihinin aydınlatılmasına da büyük katkıda

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bulunabileceğini göstermektedir. Ancak tarihi bilgilerin kitabın konularına göre eserin muhtelif yerlerinde dağınık olarak ele alınıp değerlendirilmesi, kronolojik çalışma yapmayı planlayan araştırmacıların eserleri bütün olarak ele alıp incelemesini zorunlu kılmaktadır. Bununla birlikte eserlerde Zimmîler, Haricîler gibi başlı başına birer bölüm olarak ele alınan ve tarihçilerin göz ardı etmemesi gereken yekpare konular da bulunmaktadır. Kısacası söz konusu eserleri, Hz. Peygamber döneminden itibaren Sarakhsî'nin yaşadığı zamana kadar İslam tarihinin siyasî, sosyal, kültürel, dinî, ekonomik ve sanat tarihi gibi alanları için araştırmacıların ihmal etmemesi gerektiği görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Siyerî Kebîr, Siyerî Sağîr, Mebsut, Hz. Muhammed (s.a.s.), Hz. Ebû Bekir, Hz. Ömer, Karmatîler, Haricîler, zimmîler, Yahudiler, Şemmaslar, seleb, ribat, matmûra, mubâreze, Bedir, Uhud, Hendek, Mekke, Medine.

Key Words:

al-Siyar al-Kabîr, al-Siyar al-Saghîr, al-Mabsût, Prophet Muhammad, The Caliph Abû Bakr, The Caliph Umar, Qarmatians, Khârîjîtes, Zimmîs, Jews, Shammâs, salab, ribat, matmûra, mubâraza, Badr, Uhud, Khandaq, Makka, Madîna.

INTRODUCTORY

Abû Bakr Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Sahl was briefly called as "Sarakhsî" for he was from Sarakhs, a city between Nishapur and Marw, and an important center of well known Silk Road. Sarakhsî, born in 400/1009-1010 according to Laknawî, was well-known as the student of Shams al-Aimma Abd al-Azîz al-Hulvânî (d. 448/1056-1057) in Bukhârâ. Shams al-Aimma nickname was transferred Sarakhsî after his death. He came to be regarded as the most perspicacious scholar of his generation, and in his turn was the teacher of the Imam Abû Bakr Muhammad b. Ibrahîm al-Hasîrî (d. 500/1106-1107), of Burhân al-Aimma Abd al-Azîz b. Umar b. Mâze (d. early quarter of XIIth century), the founder of that famous scholarly dynasty of the Banû Mâze or Âl Burhân who were the factual masters of Bukhârâ for many years, of Abû Hafs Umar b. Habîb, the maternal grandfather of Marghînânî (d. 593/1197), the

author of al-Hidāya, and of Mahmud b. Abd al-Azīz al-Uzjandī, the grandfather of Kādīhan. He stands therefore in the main stream of Hanafid Scholarly tradition in Central Asia which, at that time, was the main centre of Hanafid School.¹³⁵

Muhammad b. Hasan al-Shaibānī, taking the books of Imam Abū Hanīfa and al-Awzaī as model, firstly had written a concise book entitled "Kitāb al-Siyar al-Saghīr". But since al-Awzaī is said to have denigrated him and his book, al-Shaybānī wrote more a comprehensive book entitled "al-Siyar al-Kabīr" on the same subject for proving his ability as an author. Sarakhsī commented both of these books.¹³⁶ While putting the commentary of Kitāb al-Siyar al-Saghīr as a chapter in his book al-Mabsūt, he edited the commentary of al-Siyar al-Kabīr as a detached book. Neither this latter book of al-Shaibānī nor the books of Imam Abū Hanīfa and al-Awzaī on the same subject are unfortunately at our disposal. Therefore the al-Shaibānī's commentary on al-Siyar al-Kabīr has gained more importance compared to the past.

While Sarakhsī was sentenced to about fifteen years in prison,¹³⁷ he commented the entire of Kitāb al-Siyar al-Saghīr¹³⁸ and an important part of al-Siyar al-Kabīr¹³⁹ with the assistance of his students. Since he couldn't utilize from sources¹⁴⁰, some questions arose as to whether his narrations were reliable or not. But it is to be noted that Sarakhsī's books in question are commentaries. As Schacht said, at the very least, his disciples must have read out to him not only the text of al-Shaibānī's books in question on which he commented, a normal procedure when "dictating", but other texts as well.¹⁴¹ So only the reliability of the narrations which Sarakhsī related in these books may be disputed. But it mustn't be forgotten that committing all narrations to memory was very important both in

¹³⁵ Schacht, Joseph, "Notes on Sarakhsī's Life and Works", 900. *Ölüm Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle Büyük İslām Hukukçusu Şemsu'l-Eimme es-Serahsī Armağanı*, Ankara, 1965, 1.

¹³⁶ M. Hamidullah, "Serahsī'nin Devletler Umumi Hukukundaki Hissesi", trans. Salih Tuğ, 900. *Ölüm Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle Büyük İslām Hukukçusu Şemsu'l-Eimme es-Serahsī Armağanı*, Ankara, 1965, 17.

¹³⁷ al-Kurashī, *al-Jawāhiru al-Mudhiyya*, Haidarabad-Daqqan, undated, II, 29; Ibn Kutlubogha, *Tācu al-Tarājim*, Dimashk, 1992, 38.

¹³⁸ Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūt*, Istanbul, 1983, X, 144.

¹³⁹ Salih Tuğ, "Eserlerinde Raslanan İfadelerine Göre İmam Sarahsī'nin Hapis Hayatı", 900. *Ölüm Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle Büyük İslām Hukukçusu Şemsu'l-Eimme es-Serahsī Armağanı*, Ankara, 1965, 49.

¹⁴⁰ *al-Mabsūt*, XII, 108.

¹⁴¹ Schacht, 5.

his time and before. Hence the works of well-known scholars were being memorized. In Bukhārā, for example, there were many scholars reciting the words of the Prophet Muhammad (Hadīth). Most of them were also the scholars of Islamic law, fuqahā. According to a narration, Bukhārī, when (d. 256/870) he was sixteen years old, had memorized the books of Ibn al-Mubārak and al-Wakī, and learned their opinions.¹⁴² Besides, Bukhārī said that he recited the words of The Prophet Muhammad in his book "al-Jāmi al-Sahīh".¹⁴³ It was also said that Bukhārī and al-Balāzūrī (d. 279/892) drank a juice of fruit called "balāzūr" to strengthen their memories, but this drink caused the death of al-Balāzūrī.¹⁴⁴

We may assume that Sarakhsī solved the problem of his being in the distance from the sources by memorizing to a large extent. Schacht also said that he compared the text of the Kitāb al-Hiyal in al-Mabsūt with Mukhtasar of al-Hakīm al-Shahīd and with the original of al-Shaibānī, and he found out that Sarakhsī's text was the result of a combination of several literary sources.¹⁴⁵ Meanwhile Sarakhsī emphasized in many chapters of al-Mabsūt that his narrations were suitable for the method of narrating and were recounted from literary sources.¹⁴⁶ However, he explained that he preferred clarity and shortness in narration.¹⁴⁷ Therefore he commented the narrations in al-Shaibānī's works without giving references only by saying that Muhammad narrated from a man in his book...¹⁴⁸

The books of Sarakhsī in question were composed about the international laws, so that he had an influence on the decisions of Muslim rulers¹⁴⁹ and offered them solutions to the religious, military, social and political problems that Muslim rulers encountered. For these solutions, he made use of the Qur'anic verses, the words of The Prophet Muhammad and his companions (sahāba) and their practices. It seems that these books, if their narrations are

¹⁴² See. al-Zahabī, *Siyar*, Beirut, 1984, XII, 393; Ibn Hajar, *Hadyu al-Sārī*, Egypt, h.1347, II, 193.

¹⁴³ See al-Zahabī, *Siyar*, XII, 402-403.

¹⁴⁴ See al-Zahabī, *Siyar*, XII, 406; al-Balāzūrī, *Futūh al-Buldān*, trans. Mustafa Fayda, Ankara, 1987, XII.

¹⁴⁵ Schacht, 5.

¹⁴⁶ *al-Mabsūt*, VII, 59; X, 144; XII, 108.

¹⁴⁷ *al-Mabsūt*, IV, 192.

¹⁴⁸ Sarakhsī, *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, Cairo, 1971, I, 61.

¹⁴⁹ Hamidullah, "Serahsī'nin Devletler Umumî Hukukundaki Hissesi", trans. Salih Tuğ, 900. *Ölüm Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle Büyük İslâm Hukukçusu Şemsu'l-Eimme es-Serahsî Armağanı*, Ankara, 1965, 18-19.

examined, weren't only the literary sources for the history of Islamic law, but also for religious, cultural, social, military and economic history. The examples given from historical events for Muslim canonical jurisprudence and information including cultural values, ways of life and living conditions make contributions to the enlightenment of Islamic history.

When considered that our historical literary sources included political topics in general, the value of Sarakhsi's books and suchlike sources more increase. Muhammad Hamidullah emphasizes that Sarakhsi's books must also be regarded and examined as the historical sources.¹⁵⁰ But it seems that we must be careful about the reliability of historical narrations in his books. For example, it was narrated in his books that when Duraid b. Simma, who had put Muslim soldiers into much trouble by his military plans during the battle of Hunain, was killed there; he was 160 years old.¹⁵¹ It seems unlikely that this information of his age was true, if not written mistakenly. In this article, we examined historical narrations in Sarakhsi's books and their contribution to Islamic history.

Sarakhsi narrated historical events in his books as an evident to solve the problems regarding Muslim canonical jurisprudence. Therefore many chapters of his books contain narrations concerning same historical occurrence. These narrations sometimes give the same or similar information to each other and sometimes explain a certain aspect of same event. Consequently, since the historical narrations were scattered in the chapters, the students on history need a thoroughgoing study on them.

1. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD'S PERIOD

However being in need of thoroughgoing study, we find out many historical narrations to enlighten us about the Prophet Muhammad's period in Sarakhsi's books, since the practices of The Prophet Muhammad was the legalization source for Islamic law. Therefore these narrations make possible to do both chronological studies in classical form and social, cultural, jurisprudence history studies.

In these books there exists some information on the various phases of migration to Abyssinia (Habashistān). For example, it is said that when Abdallah b. al-Masūd who migrated to Abyssinia was

¹⁵⁰ Hamidullah, 24.

¹⁵¹ *al-Mabsūt*, X, 137; *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 116-117.

put in prison there, he was released after paying two dīnars as bribe.¹⁵² The Muslims who migrated to Abyssinia fought alongside the army of Abyssinia's ruler, al-Najāshī, against his enemies.¹⁵³ Also when Jafar b. Abū Tālib returned from Abyssinia to Makka, he said that al-Najāshī converted to Islam.¹⁵⁴

The various positions of Battle of Badr are mentioned in the books. In accordance with this, three men from each side fought each other one to one at the beginning of the war. The Makkan idolaters provoked the Muslim rivals from Quraish Tribe for fighting one to one, al-Mubārāza. Therefore Hamza b. Abd al-Muttalib, Ali b. Abū Tālib and Ubaida b. al-Hāris defied against them by order of The Prophet Muhammad, and killed them. And in connection of this event, the nineteenth verse of the sūra "Haj" is mentioned.¹⁵⁵ The three Muslims in question took swords and similar things of the idolater enemies whom they killed in this al-Mubārāza. But Ubaida b. al-Hāris soon died since he was wounded in the al-Mubārāza. Although the Muslims in the Battle of Badr sometimes disputed for taking special things of idolaters whom they killed as they did after Abū Jahl being killed, these problems were solved by the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁵⁶ When Makkan idolaters were defeated, Muslims was separated into three groups. The first group was on guard of the Prophet Muhammad, the second one pursued the defeated idolaters, and the third one gathered the war booties. The Prophet Muhammad was permitted in the first verse of sūra "Anfāl" to divide and distribute the war booties in shares among Muslims.¹⁵⁷ There were many narrations about the Battle of Badr in Sarakhsi's books.¹⁵⁸ Also there were many interesting narrations about the battles of Uhud¹⁵⁹ and Handak¹⁶⁰, and Hudaibiya pact¹⁶¹.

¹⁵² *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 2034.

¹⁵³ *al-Mabsūt*, X, 98; *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1423-1424.

¹⁵⁴ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 2201.

¹⁵⁵ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 173-174.

¹⁵⁶ Also see *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, II, 598-601.

¹⁵⁷ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, II, 593.

¹⁵⁸ See *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, II, 612, 617; III, 1008-1011, 1028-1030, 1032-1033.; IV, 1418-1419, 1590-1592; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 17 vd., 19, 23 vd., 25, 48 vd., 138 vd.

¹⁵⁹ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 127; II, 530, 789; III, 918; IV, 1422-1423.; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 24.

¹⁶⁰ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 120-122, 128, 201; IV, 1413; V, 1693-1695; 2015; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 22, 87-88.

¹⁶¹ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 298; IV, 1548, 1595; V, 1780 vd.; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 86

It seems that Sarakhsi explained some historical events differently from that of historians, which contributed to the better understanding of them. Muhammad Hamidullah¹⁶² emphasizes that Sarakhsi had intelligence to the extent that he would understand the background and secrets of political decisions. He gives as an example of Sarakhsi's intelligence his explanation about Hudaibiya pact. According to Sarakhsi, this pact signed in the sixth year of Hijra by the Prophet Muhammad had in appearance derogatory articles opposed to Muslims. Therefore Umar b. al-Khattab raised an objection against to signature of this pact. However, the Prophet Muhammad signed it, though Muslims hadn't been damaged by Makkan idolaters. The Prophet Muhammad signed intentionally this pact, because there was another pact between Makkan idolaters and Khaibar Jews. According to the latter, if the Prophet Muhammad started a war against one of them, both of them would help each other. In that case, the Muslims would be caught between two fires in Madīna. In this way, the Prophet Muhammad blocked this sly plan by signing Hudaibiya Pact.¹⁶³

We learn from Sarakhsi's books that the Prophet Muhammad established humane relations with Makkan idolaters even before the conquest of Makka. He permitted Muslims to aid Makkans for food and medicine at their troubled times.¹⁶⁴ Also the Prophet Muhammad gave Abū Sufyān date as a gift and also sent him and Safwān b. Umaiyya 500 dinars to distribute the poor. But Safwān, accepting this aid unpleasantly, suggested that the Prophet Muhammad sent it to get the sympathy of the Makkan young.¹⁶⁵

In the Sarakhsi's books, the conquest of Makka was narrated in detail. It was examined whether Makka was conquered by force or signing a pact. Some narrations in the books are as follows: The Prophet Muhammad headquartered at Marr al-Zahrān, Makka nearby and diplomatically related with Abū Sufyān, the Makkan leader. Makka was captured after Makkan idolaters were warned not to go for weapons. Although some Makkan non-Muslims skirmished during the capture, the Prophet Muhammad forgave all Makkan non-Muslims. Sarakhsi showed all events as an evidence for that Makka was conquered by force.¹⁶⁶ It seems that Sarakhsi did not only narrate the historical occurrences but also he interpreted them.

¹⁶² Hamidullah, 24-25.

¹⁶³ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 298.

¹⁶⁴ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1408-1409.

¹⁶⁵ *al-Mabsūt*, X, 92; *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 96-97.

¹⁶⁶ *al-Mabsūt*, X, 37-40.

Furthermore, the narrations on the conquest of Makka are found in the other chapters of the books.¹⁶⁷

The chapter of *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir* concerning war preparation was illustrated by the narrations of events during the battle of Hunain. According to the narrations in this chapter, Mālik b. Awf emplaced his non-Muslim militias by the plan of Duraïd b. Simma in Hunain region against the army of the Prophet Muhammad. In the light of the narrations, it was examined in detail how the army of the Prophet Muhammad was troubled by the militias of Mālik b. Awf.¹⁶⁸ The narrations about the battle of Hunain were also touched upon in the other chapters of Sarakhsi's books.¹⁶⁹ In the same way, Tāif¹⁷⁰ and Banū Mustalik¹⁷¹ campaigns were mentioned in these books.

The relations of Muslims with Jews were often the subject of Sarakhsi's works, and the political, social, religious and military sides of these relations were referred to. The relations after Hijra were narrated by Muhammad b. Ka'b, a Jew from Qurfaiza Tribe. The information about Jews which was narrated from a Jew increased the importance of the books. According to Muhammad b. Ka'b, the relations of Muslims with Jews began to go to troubled after the Battle of Badr. The Prophet Muhammad signed a pact with Jews on condition that they should pay tax to Muslims.¹⁷² The right to decide on the booties which were taken during the military campaign against Banū Nadir Tribe of Jews belonged to the Prophet Muhammad, since neither cavalry nor troops mounted on camels were employed in the siege of this tribe. The enemy surrendered at the first onset. The sixth verse of sūra "Hashr" pointed at this subject.¹⁷³ The Prophet Muhammad distributed the booties among people who had migrated from Makka called "Muhācir", and Sahl b. Hunaif and Sammāk b. Harasha, the two poor of Madina. The Madinan Muslims who helped Muhācirs called "Ansār" accepted the

¹⁶⁷ See. *al-Mabsūt*, X, 5, 52-53, 69-70, 89; *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, 167, 254-255, 260, 303, 305-306.; II, 504; IV, 1420, 1594, 1674; V, 2040-2041.

¹⁶⁸ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, 116-118.

¹⁶⁹ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, 200; II, 594-595, 601-602; III, 899, 1009-1010, 1031-1032; IV, 1422; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 17-19, 26, 29, 47, 137.

¹⁷⁰ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, 44, 93; IV, 1422, 1468; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 26, 32, 65.

¹⁷¹ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, 80; III, 1013-1014, IV, 1592-1593; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 19, 31.

¹⁷² *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, V, 1690.

¹⁷³ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, II, 597.

decision of the Prophet Muhammad because Muhācirs were living in the houses of Ansār and in need of their aids. This problem of poverty also was solved by distributing of these booties.¹⁷⁴

Many other events of Banū Nadīr campaign were narrated in the Sarakhsī's books.¹⁷⁵ In the chapter entitled "The Decision of Enemies Accepting a Muslim as Referee", the siege of Banū Quraiza was examined in detail. The different narrations related to the appointment of Sa'd b. Mu'āz as a referee were discussed; and his decision and how it was put into practice were explained.¹⁷⁶ The relations with Banū Quraiza were also narrated in the related chapters.¹⁷⁷ The siege of Jews in Khaibar and their exile, and the punishment of Kināna b. Abū al-Huqaiq for he concealed some goods which he must have surrendered to Muslims according to the pact between Jews and them were narrated in the books. It was narrated in detail that the Prophet Muhammad got married to Safiyya, the daughter of Huyay b. Ahtab, one of Jewish leaders.¹⁷⁸ The killing of Ka'b b. Ashraf, one of Jewish leaders, by the order of the Prophet Muhammad was explained, in detail, depending on different sources. Psychological effect of his murder on Jews was emphasized in Sarakhsī's works.¹⁷⁹

The relations with Christians were also narrated in Sarakhsī's works. According to these narrations, since the Christian Najranians wanted to be under sovereignty of Muslims without changing their religion, the Prophet Muhammad accepted their suggestion and signed a pact with them. In accordance with this pact the Najranians would give 2000 or 1200 garments as yearly tax.¹⁸⁰ Najranians were settled in Damascus in the period of Caliph Umar b. al-Khattab.¹⁸¹ Some events concerned with the battle of Mu'ta against Christians were narrated in the Sarakhsī's works. As to narrations, the Prophet

¹⁷⁴ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, II, 608-611.

¹⁷⁵ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 52-54; V, 1806; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 31-32.

¹⁷⁶ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, II, 587-592.

¹⁷⁷ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, III, 1025, 1029; IV, 1420, 1422; V, 2041; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 23, 27, 66, 86.

¹⁷⁸ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 278-282. See also about Khaibar Jews. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, II, 613; III, 1007-1008, 1011, 1015, 1018-1019, 1022, 1039; IV, 1414, 1420-1422, 1438-1439, 1468, 1530; V, 1792, 2287-2288, 2293-2295.; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 10-12, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 31-32, 40-41, 45-46.

¹⁷⁹ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 270-277.

¹⁸⁰ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1530.

¹⁸¹ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1541. See also about Najranians. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 1708, 2192; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 41.

Muhammad appointed Zayd b. Hārisa, Ca'far b. Abū Tālib and Abdallah b. Rawāha in turn as commanders because of the fact that he thought this war would be much bloody.¹⁸² When Ca'far b. Abū Tālib felt that he would be killed by the enemies in the war, he killed his camel.¹⁸³ The Prophet Muhammad performed the abridged namaz during the Tabūk campaign.¹⁸⁴

Consequently we find out all narrations above that Sarakhsi's books in question are also the historical literary sources containing the subjects of Siyar and Magazī scattered in the chapters related to Islamic jurisprudence.

Sarakhsi's books may have a contribution to the social, cultural and suchlike history studies. Their chapters facilitate the studies of this sort in respect of their contents. Historical narrations, written in any chapter had similar or complementary contents extracted from different occurrences. For example, it was mentioned in the chapter entitled "Amān"¹⁸⁵ the principles that Umar b. al-Khattab ordered Muslim soldiers to obey in order to protect life and goods during the conquest of Iraq. After being stated that the Prophet Muhammad was much sensitive on conforming to guaranties of pacts, and Hudaibiya pact was given as example for this. It was emphasized that unless the enemies confirm to the pact, the guaranties would end; and in this sense, the events causing the conquest of Makka was given as example for this.¹⁸⁶

2. A CONTRIBUTION TO ENLIGHTENMENT OF POST-PERIOD OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

In Sarakhsi's books, the performances of the first four caliphates' period were examined, since they were considered as the sources to solve the problems relating to Islamic law. Therefore it is possible to find out historical narrations about this period, even if they were less than that of the Prophet Muhammad's period. In the chapter "the wills of Abū Bakr", the caliphate of Abū Bakr was mentioned in detail. According to these narrations, Abū Bakr ordered the Muslim army to fight against the Chrisitan group called "Shammās" because of the fact that they were leaders of Christian warriors planning war tactics against Muslims. The status of Shammās among Christian groups was like the status of Alids.

¹⁸² *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, II, 685; V, 2111.

¹⁸³ *al-Mabsūt*, X, 28-29.

¹⁸⁴ *al-Mabsūt*, X, 75.

¹⁸⁵ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 283-307.

¹⁸⁶ *al-Mabsūt*, X, 52.

among Muslim groups. It seems that the group meant by "Alids" was warriors against Umayyad and Abbāsid caliphates. In accordance with some people, Shammās was accepted from the generation of the Prophet Aaron. They cut their hair as circular. Also Abū Bakr sent an army to the region of Banū Shurahbil in Damascus and gave some recommendations to the commanders. He encouraged the soldiers to fight emphasizing that many wild animals lived there and people weren't hungry owing to fertile lands of Damascus. He also warned the soldiers not to behave unjustly. Besides, in the books, the stages of fight, military tactics and victories against Byzantine soldiers were referred to.¹⁸⁷

Some narrations in various chapters of Sarakhṣī's books contributed to the enlightenment of the caliphate period of Umar b. al-Khattab. The campaign of Damascus¹⁸⁸, the conquests of Iraq¹⁸⁹ and Alexandria¹⁹⁰ were examined from the points of political, social, religious and cultural perspectives. In the various chapters, the relations with the non-Muslims, called "Zimmī", in the Islamic State were explained. In accordance with these explanations, profit tax called "Ushr" was paid by zimmīs in discount of fifty percent compared to other non-Muslims.¹⁹¹ Destruction of zimmī temples built before the sovereignty of Muslims there was banned.¹⁹² Zimmīs weren't obstructed to ring a gong inside of their churches in cities built by Muslims, and outside of them in cities built by non-Muslims¹⁹³, and to live at Muslim cities.¹⁹⁴ In Sarakhṣī's books, the practices relating to "Ushr"¹⁹⁵, the conquest of Africa¹⁹⁶, the obligation to execute the punishments only within the boundaries of Islamic state¹⁹⁷ and the adoption of Muslim calendar¹⁹⁸ in the caliphate of Umar were also referred to. Contradictory decisions about the people converting from Islam in the caliphate of Umar and

¹⁸⁷ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 40-55; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 4, 6, 31, 137.

¹⁸⁸ See. *al-Mabsūt*, X, 25, 55; *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 185.

¹⁸⁹ See. *al-Mabsūt*, X, 15-16, 22-23, 34, 70, 79; *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 148; II, 645-646; III, 1006 vd., 1018, 1026, 1039-1040, 1091; V, 2138.

¹⁹⁰ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1468.

¹⁹¹ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, III, 1041.

¹⁹² *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1529.

¹⁹³ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1533.

¹⁹⁴ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1536.

¹⁹⁵ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, III, 1041; V, 1790, 2133-2136, 2141, 2153.

¹⁹⁶ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 2137.

¹⁹⁷ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 1851-1852.

¹⁹⁸ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 1784.

Ali were narrated.¹⁹⁹ The biography of the Caliph Ali²⁰⁰, the conflict of Jamal²⁰¹, and his treatment to rebels²⁰² were examined.

Sarakhsi's books also contributed to Islamic history for enlightening the period of Umayyads and afterwards. A hostage problem was referred to, which appeared in the caliphate of Mu'awiya b. Abū Sufyān. With respect to the narration, although enemies killed the Muslim hostage, the Muslims weren't permitted to kill their hostage in revenge for the murder of Muslim hostage.²⁰³ Such a problem also appeared in the period of Abbāsīd Caliph Abū Ja'far Mansūr al-Dawāniqī. In the same way, a non-Muslim hostage wasn't killed owing to the adoption of opinion of Imām Abū Hanīfa relating to this problem, however much it was discussed.²⁰⁴ The death of Abū Ayyūb al-Ansārī and his burial were referred to during the siege of Constantinople in the Caliphate of Mu'awiya b. Abū Sufyān.²⁰⁵ According to a narration, bribery was very prevalent during the viceroyalty of Irāq and Khurāsān of Hajjāj b. Yūsuf in the period of Umayyads.²⁰⁶ Besides, the appointment of Umar b. Abd al-Azīz as heir apparent to the Umayyad Caliphate²⁰⁷ and settlement of a merchant group of Byzantine into Damascus in his caliphate were narrated.²⁰⁸ The treatment of Umar b. Abd al-Azīz to captives was referred by a narration. According to it, he forgave all captives except for one of them who harmed Muslims, and executed him.²⁰⁹ It was narrated that Turks who didn't yet embrace Islam conquered Rahj and Zābulistān cities of Sijistān; and afterwards the people of these cities converted to Islam alongside Turks.²¹⁰

In Sarakhsi's books, some rebellions were referred to. Even a special chapter was assigned to the Khārījite rebellions in al-Mabsūt.²¹¹ In respect of the narrations in the chapter, although the Caliph Ali b. Abū Tālib learned the plan to be murdered by some

¹⁹⁹ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, II, 532; V, 1917, 1942; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 109 vd., 111, 118.

²⁰⁰ See. *al-Mabsūt*, X, 121.

²⁰¹ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1446.

²⁰² See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 2194.

²⁰³ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 1753.

²⁰⁴ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1664-1465.

²⁰⁵ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 235.

²⁰⁶ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 2035.

²⁰⁷ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 2111-2112.

²⁰⁸ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 2062.

²⁰⁹ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 2187.

²¹⁰ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, V, 2061.

²¹¹ See. *al-Mabsūt*, X, 124-136.

Khārijites, he didn't punish them for it. Since Khārijites were only seen as rebels in Sarakhsī's books, it was emphasized through historical examples that their lives, properties and relatives should not be harmed except in case of indispensability. In other chapters, Khārijites was also referred to.²¹² It was narrated that Qarmatians used the pages of Qur'an as toilet papers and therefore zimmīs were also banned to buy Qur'an copies.²¹³

3. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF HISTORY OF ISLAMIC INSTITUTIONS

We see that there are many narrations for researchers to study on the history of Islamic institutions. Nevertheless, unfortunately these narrations are sometimes undated. Therefore we need additional information to date and find out their places. The information of Military institution takes an important place in many chapters in the Sarakhsī's books. In this connection, the information is given about the age of recruitment by the time of Prophet Muhammad. According to a narration, when Abdallah b. Umar was thirteen years old, he wanted to be recruited for fighting in the Battle of Uhud but the Prophet Muhammad rejected his suggestion. When Abdallah b. Umar was fifteen years old, he was allowed to participate in Handaq War. However, Sarakhsī narrated that according to Imam Abū Hanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and Muhammad b. Hasan al-Shaibānī, the age of recruitment, in respect of a narration, was eighteen years old and, in respect of another one, nineteen years old.²¹⁴

In Sarakhsī's books, the war rulers the Prophet Muhammad ordered were referred to, e.g. the children of captives mustn't be separated from their families²¹⁵, and the soldiers mustn't frighten by directing arms towards each other.²¹⁶ Arms²¹⁷, war tactics²¹⁸, military terms²¹⁹ as "sariyya", "maslaha", "sāka" were explained. Besides flags, sanjaks and watchwords were examined as a special chapter.²²⁰ As for frontier military stations called "ribat", they

²¹² See. *al-Mabsūt*, X, 16; *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, V, 2194.

²¹³ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, 206.

²¹⁴ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, II, 592; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 17.

²¹⁵ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, V, 2072 vd.; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 4, 109.

²¹⁶ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, 20-21, 31-32

²¹⁷ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, IV, 1468 vd., 1473, 1803.

²¹⁸ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, IV, 1467-1469, 1472, 1475.

²¹⁹ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, 33, 35 vd., 67 vd., 70, 214-220, 266.

²²⁰ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, 71-74.

constitute the first chapter of *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*.²²¹ The booty and salab, a certain booty that Muslim soldier captured from the enemy soldier he killed during mubārāza, were explained referring to the related historical events.²²² The packsaddles and skins of war mounts were covered with tallow or oil.²²³

In Sarakhsi's books, diplomacy was referred to by giving some related historical examples. According to a narration the Prophet Muhammad didn't punish a man, because he was an envoy, although he was very angry at his words.²²⁴ It was narrated that the Caliph Umar b. al-Khattab warned Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī about that the envoys mustn't be appointed from non-Muslims.²²⁵

We also find out information concerning the city history in Sarakhsi's books. The information given about the basic components, of a city put forth the city planning perception of Muslims for consideration. In this connection, we learn that non-Muslims could live in Muslim villages, and could trade alcoholic beverages and pork, and could build temples like church. Besides, we learn that there were congregational mosques where Friday and Bairam prayers were performed and law court and execution of a judicial sentence in cities.²²⁶ It was mentioned that alcoholic beverages and pork mustn't have traded there.²²⁷ We also have knowledge about cities as Hīra, Ahwāz and Kūfa.²²⁸ The region from Uzaib to Makka, and from Adan to Mahra in Yaman was defined Arab land.²²⁹

Underground buildings called "matmūra", where were used for grain warehouses and prison, were described. We understand that the matmūras were used as houses or shelters since the mercy asked for by the enemies in matmūras were mentioned in these books. Information given about them indicates that the matmūras were the separate buildings attached to each other as well as ones with crossing gates. These buildings sometimes had many rooms and entrances, and were so great that they were regarded as a town.²³⁰

²²¹ See. *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 6-37.

²²² See. *al-Mabsūt*, X, 9, 47, 49; *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, II, 594-596, 598-599, 602-604; IV, 1438-1439.

²²³ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1201.

²²⁴ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 296; *al-Mabsūt*, X, 92.

²²⁵ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, II, 472.

²²⁶ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1534.

²²⁷ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1542.

²²⁸ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 58, 359; IV, 1533, 1536; V, 1807.

²²⁹ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, IV, 1542.

²³⁰ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, III, 844-846, 862; IV, 1235.

From Sarakhsi's books, we indirectly learn about the effects used at homes. In respect of Sarakhsi, not only the iron pots, copper and lead pitchers were used but also gold and silver pitchers.²³¹ It seems that as cleaning materials, while the soapwort whose roots and branches also foam the water, and soap were used in washing hands and laundries, the marshmallow (*althaea officinalis*) whose some species are also used in medicine and a special soil in washing heads.²³² The walls of houses were covered with felt in winter for protection from cold and with horsecloth in summer for protection from hot.²³³

We see that in the first period of Islam, while the farming was scorned, the military profession was preferred instead. It was emphasized that this preference, as long as the military profession wasn't neglected, was false by narrating that the Prophet Muhammad encouraged Muslim people to be busy with farming in Jurf, a village next to Madina. It was also given an example that Ibn Mas'ud, Hasan b. Ali and Abū Huraira, companions (*sahāba*) of the Prophet Muhammad had lands in Sawād al-Iraq, and hence they paid taxes.²³⁴

Consequently, the aforesaid historical examples prove that Sarakhsi's books made invaluable contributions to Islamic history. Hence they are unavoidable sources for the students to study political, social, cultural, religious and economic sides of Islamic history, and the arts. Some undated information enlightening economic and cultural history in these books can be also used as secondary sources. However, we must be careful about the reliability of the narrations in these books.

²³¹ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, III, 842. IV, 1179-1180, 1193.

²³² *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, IV, 1193, 1199.

²³³ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, IV, 1464.

²³⁴ *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabir*, I, 15, 19-20.