Reception of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* and Its Impact on Post-Classical *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* Literature

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Abstract

This study meticulously examines the historical trajectory of post-classical *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature, unravelling the enduring legacy of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) seminal work, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Authored by the distinguished Shāfiʿī jurist and historian in the 8th/14th century, this treatise has transcended temporal boundaries, evolving into a cornerstone of Islamic legal education worldwide. Using Bloom's Taxonomy, this research analyses Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ's role in the uṣūl al-fiqh tradition. It illustrates how the work, through its conciseness and comprehensiveness, quickly gained recognition as a foundational textbook, sparking a surge of commentaries from scholars across multiple juristic schools. This investigation explores the key factors that contributed to its initial reception, establishment as a core textbook, and its profound impact on subsequent uṣūl al-fiqh scholarship. Drawing on biobibliographical sources, the study illuminates the enduring influence of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* in shaping the discipline, emphasizing the interplay between base texts (*matn*) and their commentaries in evolving *uṣūl al-fiqh* scholarship. The finding challenge assumptions about the originality of commentary literature, encouraging further research into the intricate developments of this intellectual tradition and reinvigorating interest in its interpretive legacies

Introduction

The compilation of treatises by classical Muslim scholars served a fundamental pedagogical purpose: to facilitate students' learning by consolidating key propositions and central concepts—such as sources of Islamic law, methods of interpretations, objectives of sharīʿah, and principles of ijtihad—within a single work, enabling easy study and memorization. This endeavor was often driven by students expressed need for comprehensive materials, and exceptional scholarly work frequently supplanted existing ones in academic curricula, leading to a historical progression of influential texts that shaped the syllabi of various Islamic disciplines. This progression from foundational knowledge texts to extensive compendia promoting higher-order critical thinking align closely with Bloom's Taxonomy, a predominant educational framework that organizes learning objectives into cognitive levels—from basic recall to higher-order critical thinking.

In the domain of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (Islamic legal theory), this trend commenced with al-Shāfiʿī's (d. 204/820) *al-Risālah* and reached its zenith by the 8th/14th century with Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-

Wahhāb al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370)[1] *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Widely accepted as a textbook for *uṣūl al-fiqh*, it served as a base text (*matn*) for subsequent scholarship in the field. Over time, various works gained prominence as authoritative sources for the discipline, only to be superseded by newer contributions as demonstrated in the following discussion. The structure, language, argumentative style, and length of these compendia were continuously refined to meet evolving educational needs.

This trajectory of *uṣūlī* compendia follows a path aligned with Bloom's Taxonomy: beginning with *al-Risālah*, a modest-sized treatise with accessible language aimed at foundational understanding, progressing to voluminous works of intricate argumentation for deeper analysis, and eventually culminating in highly condensed *matn* works like *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, which promote advanced synthesis and mastery. In the post-classical era (approximately 6th-13th/12th-19th centuries), scholars primarily focused on interpreting authoritative base texts (*mutūn*) across discipline. This trend gave rise to a genre of multi-layered commentaries, resulting in an extensive body of literature including *shurūḥ* (commentaries), *ḥawāshī* (glosses), *muktaṣarāt* (abridgements) among others.[2]

The Islamic commentary tradition was long dismissed as merely reiterating established ideas, serving to clarify base texts without offering innovation. Orientalists often cited it as evidence of intellectual stagnation.[3] However, recent studies on post-classical scholarship's intellectual history challenge this view, increasingly recognizing the commentary tradition as a dynamic and evolving intellectual endeavor.[4] Unlike other Islamic disciplines,[5] studies on *matn-sharḥ* genre in *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature remains notably sparse, likely due to the linguistic nuances and stylistic methods. Operating in the transitional period between the classical and post-classical eras and representing the *mutakallimūn* school, al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* occupies a pivotal position. This text, a seminal original *matn* work, significantly influenced the subsequent development of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Widely studied, memorized, and referenced to, it spurred over a

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[1] Al-Subkī, born in 727/1327 in Cairo, belonged to an esteemed scholarly lineage. His father, Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, imparted comprehensive early education to him and facilitated his advanced studies under the tutelage of renowned scholars. In 739/1338, he relocated to Damascus with his father, who assumed the office of *qāḍī al-quḍāt* (chief judge). Eventually he succeeded his father in the prestigious role in 756/1355. Among his notable professors were al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341), Ibn al-Naqīb (d. 745/1344), Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1344), and al-Dhahabī (d. 747/1346). Al-Subkī's intellectual pursuits spanned various disciplines, including Islamic law, jurisprudence, Arabic grammar, biography, and theology. For a more comprehensive exploration of his life and contributions, see Mohamed Jabir Ali Hudawi, '*al-Subkī's Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ: a conceptual critical analysis of its significance, methodology and terminology* (Master's Diss., International Islamic University Malaysia, 2013), 25–50.

[2] On the typology of commentary literature see L.W.C. (Eric) Van Lit, 'Commentary and Commentary Tradition', *MIDÉO* 32 (2017), 3–26.

[3] Asad Q. Ahmed, 'Post-Classical Philosophical Commentaries/Glosses: Innovation in the Margins', *Oriens* 41. 3/4 (January 2013), 317–18, https://doi.org/10.1163/18778372-13413405.

[4] See Matthew B. Ingalls, 'Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī and the Study of Muslim Commentaries from the Later Islamic Middle Period', *Religion Compass*, 10. 5 (2016), 118–30, https://doi.org/10.1111/rec3.12198.

[5] See for example, Ahmed El Shamsy, 'The Ḥāshiya in Islamic Law: A Sketch of the Shāfiʿī Literature', *Oriens* 41. 3/4 (January 2013), 289-315, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/18778372-13413404; Matthew Ingalls, *The Anonymity of a Commentator* (State University of New York Press, 2021); Walid A. Saleh, 'The Gloss as Intellectual History: The *Ḥāshiyah* on *al-Kashshāf*', *Oriens* 41. 3/4 (January 2013), 217–59, https://doi.org/10.1163/18778372-13413402; Aaron Spevack, The Archetypal Sunnī Scholar: Law, Theology, and Mysticism in the Synthesis of al-Bājūrī (Albany: State University of New York, 2014).

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hundred commentaries. Recent scholarly efforts have culminated in the verification and publication of several of these commentaries, providing succinct insights into commentary tradition of the text.[6] A comprehensive list of these commentaries has been recorded by Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Ḥasanāt,[7] and Ṣāliḥ al-Zankī,[8] without further exploring their impact. This study builds on their findings, offering a comprehensive analysis of *Jamʿ al-al-jawāmiʿ*'s reception as a textbook, its various commentaries, and its enduring impact on the subsequent development of *uṣūl al-fiqh* scholarship.

Method

This qualitative study employs a descriptive textual analysis to explore the historical significance and impact of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* within *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature. Textual analysis, a core method in the study of Islamic intellectual history, involves examining primary and secondary sources to uncover the reception, and influence of this seminal work. The research primarily focuses on an in-depth examination of *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* itself, along with key commentaries, super-commentaries, and related works that engage with the text. It also reviews the inclusion of *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* in traditional curricula and its influence on subsequent scholarship. A comparative analysis with preceding and contemporaneous works identifies distinctive features contributing to its prominence.

Result and Discussion

1. The trajectory of *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* literature

The genesis of *uṣūl al-fiqh* postdates the 1st/7th century, as the immediate successors to Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him, saw no necessity to engage deeply with its discourse, having directly received the Islamic sources. Moreover, the principles articulated in *uṣūl al-fiqh* trace their origin to the methodologies employed by the Companions in deriving legal rulings from these sources.[9] As the temporal and contextual gap widened from the era of revelation, there arose a need for new methodologies to authenticate sources and deduce laws applicable to novel cases and evolving circumstances. This quest led to the establishment of *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a distinct discipline, initiated by the pioneering efforts of al-Shāfiʿī, whose work, *al-Risālah*, constituted the inaugural systematic exploration of basic legal principles, providing a foundational level of knowledge in the field. Despite recent studies questioning the immediate impact of *al-Risālah* on the development of *uṣūl al-fiqh*,[10] it is widely acknowledged as a pivotal turning point in the

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[6] See for example, Saʿīd ibn ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ḥumayrī, *Dirāsah ḥawla al-muʾallif wa al-kitāb*', in Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Manʿ al-Mawāniʿ ʿan Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 1999), 43-59; Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Muntaṣir Muḥammad, '*Muqaddimat al-taḥqīq*', in Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-Sāṭiʿ fī Naẓm Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 2006), 1: 193–231; ʿAqīlah Ḥusayn, '*Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ fī ʿIlm Uṣūl al-Fiqh li ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAlī Tāj al-Dīn ibn al-Subkī: Dirāsah wa Taḥqīq*' (Ph.D diss., University of Algiers, al-Jazāʾir, 2005-2006).

[7] Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Ḥasan al-Ḥasanāt, *Al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī wa Manhajuhu fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (Master diss., University of Jordan, 2002).

[8] Ṣāliḥ al-Zankī, *Maʿālim al-Turāthī al-Uṣūlī: Kitāb Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ li al-Imām Ibn al-Subkī Namūdhajan* (Kuala Lumpur: Dār al-Tajdīd, 2007).

[9] Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, ed. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī, 3rd edn (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1979), 3:1061.

[10] The contribution of al-Shāfiʿī and his seminal work, *al-Risālah*, to the evolution of *uṣūl al-fiqh* is well acknowledged. Referring to him as the 'founding father' of this discipline signifies his role in elaborating on its principles and initiating systematic writing, rather than implying that he created these principles, which were already employed by the earlier generations. Drawing a parallel, it is akin to August Comte's

evolution of the genre.[11]

During the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, *uṣūlī* works either expanded upon or commented on *al-Risālah* or presented counterarguments and refutation to it (see Table.1).[12] Scholarly disagreements within Islamic law, theology, and related disciplines influenced the *uṣūlī* literature, giving rise to two major approaches to *uṣūlī* writings: *ṭarīqat*[13] *al-mutakallimīn* (the style of theologians) and *ṭarīqat al-fuqahāʾ* (the path of jurists).[14] Using Bloom's *understanding* stage, we can interpret this division as responses to different intellectual needs: the former, which was adopted by the majority,[15] focused on logical and objective analysis, while the latter adhered closely to Ḥanafī legal practices.[16] At the *applying* stage, we see how each method was practically used: the former aimed for broad applicability, while the latter served Ḥanafī needs.

By the end of the 5th/11th century, as Ibn Khaldūn noted, four works emerged as authoritative texts in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, especially among the *mutakallimūn*. Two of these were by Ashʿarīes: *al-Burhān* by Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) and *al-Mustaṣfā* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111). The other two were Muʿtazilī contributions: *al-ʿUmad* by al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1024) and its commentary, *al-Muʿtamad* by Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044).[17] Applying Bloom's fourth stage, *analyzing*, reveals each work's unique contributions and impact. Reflecting their author's theological backgrounds—Ashʿarī or Muʿtazilī— these texts shaped distinctive approaches in *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Each set key precedents in balancing rational and

recognition as the founding father of Sociology, despite discussions on sociological issues predating him. Despite this acknowledgment, some contemporary scholars have raised questions about the conventional perception of al-Shāfiʿī as the unequivocal founding father of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. See Wael B. Hallaq, *A history of Islamic legal theories: an introduction to sunnī uṣūl al-fiqh* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 21–35; Hallaq, 'Was al-Shāfiʿī the master architect of Islamic jurisprudence?' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 25.4 (1993), 587–605.

[11] On the development of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, see Shaʿbān Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, *Uṣūl al-fiqh: Tārīkhuhu wa rijāluhu* (Riyad: Dār al-Mirrīkh, 1981); ʿAbd al-Salām Blājī, *Taṭawwur ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh wa tajadduduhu* (Egypt: Dār al-Wafāʾ, 2007); Hallaq, *A history of Islamic legal theories*.

[12] Ṭāha Jābir al-ʿAlwānī, 'ʿIlm uṣūl al-fiqh, nashʾatuhu wa-tārīquhu wa-tadwīnuhu,' *al-Muslim al-Muʿāṣir* 15 (1978), 37–45.

[13] The suffix *ṭarīqah* (style) is commonly used to denote these writing styles. However, some scholars use other similar terms such as *manhaj* (method) and *madrasah* (school).

[14] Many contemporary scholars have provided detailed explanations of these writing methods in *uṣūl al-fiqh*. For example, see Muḥammad al-Khuḍrī Bayk, *Uṣūl al-fiqh* (Egypt: al-Maktabah al-Tijāriyyah al-Kubrā, 1969), 8-11; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, *Uṣūl al-fiqh* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1997), 19-24; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Khallāf, *ʿIlm uṣūl al-fiqh* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2003), 18–19; Ahmad Hasan, *The principles of Islamic jurisprudence: The command of Sharīʿāh and juridical norm* (New Delhi: Adam Publishers & Distributors, 1993), 18–20; Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic jurisprudence*, 2nd edn (Malaysia: Ilmiyah Publishers, 2000), 7-9.

[15] This approach is profoundly shaped by the methodology of theological discourses, with prominent writers often associated with scholastic theology, encompassing both Ashʿarites and Muʿtazilites. The adoption of this method is prevalent among scholars from Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, and Ḥanbalī schools. However, it is the Shāfiʿites who have made substantial contributions, leading to its identification as the method of Shāfiʿites (*ṭarīqat al-Shāfiʿiyyah*). See Masʿūd ibn Mūsā Falūsī, *Madrasat al-mutakallimīn wa manhajuhā fī dirāsat uṣūl al-fiqh* (Riyad: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2004).

[16] For the historical development of *uṣūlī* thought within Ḥanafī School, see Haytham Khaznah, *Taṭawwur al-fikr al-uṣūlī al-Ḥanafī* (Jordan: Dār al-Rāzī, 2007).

[17] Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 3:1062.

textual evidence, ultimately becoming foundational references for later scholars.

Thereafter, *uṣūlī* discourse largely centred around critically examining the earlier works and evaluating the validity of different opinions through an argumentative process, aligning with Bloom's fifth stage, *evaluating.* By the close of 6th/12th century, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) ground-breaking *al-Maḥṣūl fī -ʿilm al-uṣūl* and Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī's (d. 631/1233) monumental *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* both recapitulated the earlier four texts while introducing their own distinctive arrangements and arguments. This period marked the predominance of Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī scholars within the *mutakallimūn* circle. Despite shared theological background, their manuals diverged in structure, reasoning, and preferred opinions.[18]

However, the voluminous nature of these works, representing the pinnacle of extended *uṣūlī* literature (*muṭawwalāt*), posed challenges for readers. In response, scholars produced abridged versions of *al-Maḥṣūl and al-Iḥkām* adopting their style and opinions. This gave rise to two distinct approaches within the *mutakallimūn* tradition: *Madrasat* (School of) *al-Rāzī* and *Madrasat al-Āmidī*. As students increasingly favoured concise (*mukhtaṣar*) texts, scholars competed to produce succinct *matn* works that encapsulated the epitome of earlier treatises. Notable abridgements of *al-Maḥṣūl* included *al-Ḥāṣil min al-Maḥṣūl* by Tāj al-Dīn al-Armawī (d. 653/1258) and *al-Taḥṣīl* by Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 682/1283). Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī (d. 719/1319) further condensed these works into *al-Minhāj*, widely accepted with over forty commentaries.[19] Similarly, Ibn al-Ḥājib's (d. 646/1249) *Mukhtaṣar*, an auto-abridgement of his larger compendia *al-Muntahā*, a synopsis of Āmidī's *al-Iḥkām*,[20] also became a favoured textbook and base-text.

Period	Key Texts	Author	Significance
2nd/8th C	*Al-Risālah*	Al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820)	The first systematic work on *uṣūl al-fiqh*; foundational text introducing legal methodology.
3rd-4th/9th-10th C	*Sharḥ al-Risālah, Uṣūl al-Karkhī*	Ibn Surayj (d. 306/918), *al-Karkhī* (d. 340/952)	Expansion upon *al-Risālah*; or refutation of al-Risālah (establishment of juristic approach)
5th/11th C	*Al-ʿUmad, al-Muʿtamad*	Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Al-Baṣrī	Contributions from Muʿtazilī scholars, incorporate rational theology.
	Al-Burhān, al-Mustaṣfā	Al-Juwaynī, Al-Ghazālī	Consolidated the *mutakallimūn* approach, integrating theology with legal theory, from Ashʿarī perspective.
6th/12th C	*Al-Maḥṣūl, al-Iḥkām*	Al-Rāzī, al-Āmidī	Pinnacle of extended works (*muṭawwalāt*) in *uṣūl*; synthesized earlier foundational texts.
7th/13th C	*Mukhtaṣar, al-Minhāj*	Ibn al-Ḥājib, al-Bayḍāwī	Era of concise texts (*mukhtaṣarāt*); school of al-Rāzī and al-Āmidī among *mutakallimūn*
8th/14th C	*Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*	Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370)	Integrated and refined previous approaches; established as a comprehensive *matn* for *uṣūl*.

Table 1. Milestones in the development of *uṣūl al-fiqh* texts, from foundational treatises to concise compendiums like *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*.

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[18] Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 3:1062.

[19] Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn*, 83.

[20] ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ, and ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd, '*Muqaddimat al-taḥqīq*', in Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Rafʿ al-ḥājib ʿan Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib* (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1999), 1:191–225.

By the time of al-Subkī, *Minhāj* and *Mukhtaṣar* had become preferred choices for studying, teaching, and writing on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Al-Subkī himself studied both works and compiled commentaries on them. In 752/1351, he completed his commentary on *Minhāj*, titled *al-Ibhāj fī sharḥ al-Minhāj*, marking his initial foray into *uṣūl al-fiqh* scholarship before the age of 25.[21] By 759/1358, he finished *Rafʿ al-ḥājib ʿan Mukhtaṣār Ibn al-Ḥājib*,[22] a concise commentary on *Mukhtaṣar*, distinct from his earlier extensive work, *al-Taʿlīqah*.[23] This dual exposure acquainted him with the methods of both schools, enabling him to develop an independent *uṣūlī* perspective free from allegiance to any single scholar. In alignment with Bloom's final stage, *creating*, al-Subkī produced his *magnum opus*, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, which synthesized and innovated upon prior *uṣūl al-fiqh* scholarship. This work introduced a novel style and methodology, blending earlier approaches with his own insights.

2. Significance of *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* in *Usul al-Fiqh* Literature

Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ marked a paradigm shift in *uṣūlī* literature, moving beyond the prevailing focus on the works of al-Rāzī and al-Āmidī. It gained acceptance in scholarly circles as both a curriculum textbook and a foundational reference for *uṣūl al-fiqh* writings. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī skillfully integrated the distinct approaches of al-Rāzī's and al-Āmidī's schools creating a concise yet comprehensive *matn* that addressed all major topics in *uṣūl al-fiqh* presented in intricate, abstract language. Al-Subkī himself described his work as follows:

> *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* brings forth clear maxims (*al-qawāʿid al-qawāṭiʿ*) from both foundational sciences,[24] attaining the level of those endowed with profound diligence and readiness in comprehending the two foundational disciplines. It originates from nearly a hundred compositions, as a fountain that quenches [the thirst] and quells [the hunger], encompassing the quintessence of my two commentaries on *al-Mukhtaṣar* and *al-Minhāj*,[25] enriched with numerous additions.[26]

Al-Subkī's access to an extensive array of manuscripts, facilitated by his scholarly lineage and the rich libraries of Egypt and Syria, enabled him to incorporate a wide range of scholarly

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[21] He completed it on Friday morning, Sixteenth of Ṣafar, 752 from his father's office at Madrasah al-ʿĀdiliyyah, Damascus. Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, and Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī*, al-Ibhāj fī Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, ed. Maḥmūd Amīn al-Sayyid (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2004), 3:233.

[22] He completed the entire work in less than two years, as he started it from the beginning of 758/1357 and completed it on Wednesday evening, 23 *Rabīʿ al-Ākhir*, 759/1358. Al-Subkī, *Rafʿ al-ḥājib*, 4:647.

[23] This is considered among his extinct works. However, there are many references to it in his other works. For example, see al-Subkī, *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ*, 163; *Rafʿ al-ḥājib*, 4:70, 167, 192, and 209.

[24] Two fields of *uṣūl* are the *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-dīn*. Even though *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* discusses both areas, its major portion covers the principles of *fiqh*, while analysis of the issues related to *uṣū al-din* is mainly in the prefatorial discussions and at the end of the final chapter *ijtihād*. See M. Jabir Ali Hudawi, and Hikmatullah, 'Al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*: a critical appraisal of its structure and contents', *The Journal of Rotterdam Islamic and Social Sciences*, 5.1 (2014), 59–79 <https://www.jriss.nl/index.php/JRISS/article/view/43>

[25] They are *Rafʿ al-ḥājib* and *al-Ibhāj* respectively*.

[26] Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khalīl Ibrāhīm (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2003), 11.

opinions on each topic, verified against the original source,[27] many of which are extinct today. He also integrated the views of his teachers, notably his father Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), whose twenty-five distinct opinions are preserved in *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*.[28] Moreover, al-Subkī presented his preferred opinions on various discussions, albeit without providing justifications, consistent with the inherent constraints of a *matn* work. Consequently, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* represents a comprehensive synthesis of *uṣūl al-fiqh* discourse from its inception to the author's time, standing as an original and perhaps the culmination of the *matn* work of its genre.
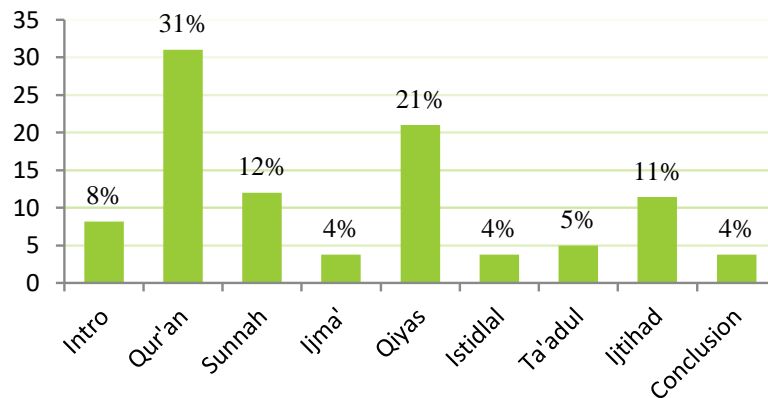

Figure 1. Chapter-wise division of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*

The structure of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* encompasses an introduction, followed by seven chapters (see Figure 1): al-Qurʾān (the Book), Sunnah, *ijmāʿ* (consensus), *qiyās* (analogy), *al-istidlāl* (inference), *al-taʿādul wa al-tarājih* (equilibrium and preponderance), and *ijthād.* The final chapter briefly discusses major theological themes (*uṣūl al-dīn)*. Notably, the conclusion offers insights into *taṣawwuf* and the author's methodology. The text thus provides readers with the essence of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in a concise, memorizable format.[29]

Al-Subkī's confidence in the work's perfection is evident from his caution against hasty rejection or attempts at abridgment, asserting that every aspect of the work is meticulously crafted.[30] He emphasizes the potency of its language, suggesting that "even the deaf can hear and the blind can pay attention to it," and urged his readers "to memorize its sentences, especially those that deviate from others."[31] The enduring relevance of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* in the *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature is underscored by its inclusion as the sole *matn* representing the *uṣūl al-fiqh* genre in *Majmūʿ muhimmāt al-mutūn,* a collection of the most significant *matns* across various Islamic

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[27] In *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ* (p. 84), he recounts the considerable time, labour, and dedication invested in the completion of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. His house was inundated with multiple draft copies of the manuscript, reflecting the meticulous and continuous review process he undertook.

[28] Jabir Ali Hudawi*, 'al-Subkī's Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ,'* 90.

[29] Jabir Ali Hudawi, and Hikmatullah, 'Al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*'. On methodology and terminology employed by al-Subkī in the text, see Mohamed Jabir Ali al-Hudawi, and Hikmatullah Babu Sahib, 'Methodology of classical *uṣūlī* texts: a critical appraisal of Tāj al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Literature and Muslim Society*, 8.2 (2023), 24–49 <https://doi.org/10.22515/islimus.v8i1.4440>; Mohamed Jabir Ali al-Hudawi, 'Terminologies of classical *uṣūlī* texts: a study of al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*', *Islamic Insight Journal of Islamic Studies* (*IIJIS*), 5.1 (2022), 11–38 <https://www.islamicinsight.in/index.php/islamicinsight/article/view/19>.

[30] Al-Subkī, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, 132.

[31] *Ibid*., 133.

disciplines.[32]

3. Early Reception of the Work

Al-Subkī completed the writing of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, as documented in some editions, on the night of the 11th Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 760/1358, from his residence in Damascus,[33] at the age of 33. Serving the demand of his time for a succinct epitome, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* emerged as the preferred choice for students, teachers, and scholars alike. Its acceptance as a text for *uṣūl al-fiqh* studies began during the author's lifetime, facilitated by the teacher-oriented and text-based educational system prevalent at the time. As a professor in well-known *madrasahs* in Syria and Egypt, al-Subkī imparted teaching the work to his *uṣūlī* students. Biographical dictionaries record a few individuals who studied it directly from the author, such as Burhān al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad (d. 819/1416).[34]

In Islamic history, receiving knowledge directly from its source with an *ijazah* (license) was considered a privilege. One of the early recipients of such permission from al-Subkī was ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad Abū al-Ḥasan al-Adamī (d. 813/1410), who obtained *ijāzah* to teach *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*.[35] Al-Sakhāwī records him as the first to receive such an *ijāzah* after meticulous (*taḥqīqan*) reading of the text from the author. ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad also studied a significant portion of author's auto-commentary *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ*, making him a potential reference for early commentators seeking to understand the author's intention. Another example is Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Silmī (789/1388), known as Ibn Abī al-ʿAshāʾir, who was granted *ijāzah* in 767/1365 at Damascus, recognizing his mastery of the work.[36]

Given his esteemed reputation and fame, it was not only the author and his students who relied on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Many of his colleagues and prominent figures of his time were interested in reading, teaching, and even writing commentaries on it. The renowned historian and pioneer writer Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), a student of his father Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, copied the entire text and engaged in discussions during the author's *ḥalqah*.[37] Notably, al-Ṣafadī, who was twice the age of the author, passed away within four years of the release of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, demonstrating the immediate reception of the text. He also records that the author's appeal to "memorize its sentences" found resonances, as Taqī al-Dīn Abū Ḥatim (d. 764/1363), al-Subkī's

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[32] Majmūʿatun min al-Muʾallifīn, *Majmūʿ muhimmāt al-mutūn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1994).

[33] Al-Subkī, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, 133; Carl Brockelmann, *Tārīkh al-adab al-ʿArabī*, trans. Maḥmūd Fahmī Ḥijāzī (Egypt: al-Hayʾat al-Miṣriyyah al-ʿĀmmah li al-Kitāb, 1995), 6: 354; David W. Myhrman, 'Introduction and notes" in Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam wa mubīd al-niqam* (London: Luzac &Co., 1978), 26.

[34] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ li ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ* (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt), 12:52.

[35] Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, 5:164.

[36] Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1997), 4:54; Myhrman, 34; See also, Abū al-Fidāʿ Murtaḍā ʿAlī, 'Qism al-dirāsah', in Jalāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Maḥallī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ fī ḥall Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah Nāshirūn, 2005), 1:42.

[37] Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah al-kubrā*, ed. by Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī, and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah, 1992), 10:6.

brother, memorized the entire text in Egypt.[38]

The wider acceptance of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* naturally attracted critiques and queries. Scholars sought his clarification on various issues, quotes, opinions, sentence structure, and even word choices within the text. For instance, Muḥammad al-Zubayrī al-Asadī (d. 808/1405), three years older than al-Subkī, studied the text from the author and later presented a list of questions and objections titled *al-Burūq al-lawāmiʿ*. The author praises the work as a best seller, stating that its benefits reached everyone, and students gravitated towards it over other epitomes, with *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* shining like a moon among stars.[39] Al-Subkī responded with a detailed explanation[40] in 762/1361, just two years after the publication of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*.[41] Additionally, al-Asadī authored a commentary, *Tashnīf al-masāmiʿ fī sharḥ Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*.[42] Similarly, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf Jamāl al-Dīn al-Khurāsanī also presented a few queries upon his visit from Ḥalab.[43]

Al-Subkī proudly asserted that his work received acclaim to the extent that there was no gathering without discussion about it.[44] Motivated by this, he authored an auto-commentary, *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ*, solely addressing these questions and providing clarification for objections raised from various quarters, including his students.[45] Surprisingly, these scholarly engagements unfolded within a few years of the release of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, with the final updates to *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ* completed in Shaʿbān, 767/1366.[46]

4. A Standard Textbook for Study of *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*

By the ninth century, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* had firmly established itself as a seminal textbook, partially supplanting prior popular works in the field. This transition marked a turning point, drawing scholars from diverse geographical and *madhhab* backgrounds. An examination of *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, a biographical dictionary of 9th/15th-century Islamic scholars by Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), exposes numerous scholars who not only studied but also memorized and taught *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Figures such as Aḥamad ibn Muḥammad Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Shughrī (d. 885/1480),[47] Jaʿfar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sanhūrī (b. 810/1407),[48] Ibn Rajab Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (b.

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[38] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr*, ed. by ʿAlī Abū Zayd (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1998), 4:279.

[39] Al-Subkī, *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ*, 73.

[40] These questions and answers are the first part of *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ* (pp. 73–279).

[41] These questions and answers are the first part of *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ* (pp. 73–279).

[42] Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, 9:21.

[43] Al-Subkī answered these questions through a replay accepting some and debating others, which he summarised in the second part of *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ* (pp. 280–292).

[44] Al-Subkī *al-mawāniʿ* (pp. 280–292).

[45] Various queries asked by students during his lecturing on the text with his replies is the third part of *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ* (p. 293–551).

[46] Ibid., 551.

[47] Al-Sakhāwī notes his commentary on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* and indicates that he typically relies on it in his *uṣūlī* writings, as if he has memorized it, al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, 2:190.

[48] al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ* 3:68.

847/1443),[49] and Muḥammad ibn Uthmān Dimyāthī (b. 852/1448)[50] are illustrative examples of 9th/15th-centuary scholars who engaged with *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. The practice of memorizing the text was common, as evidenced by the experiences of Muḥammad ibn Khalīl Abū Ḥamid al-Balbisī (b. 817/1414),[51] Khalīl ibn ʿAbdillāh (b. 825/1422),[52] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Amīn al-Dīn al-Abbāsī (b. 838/1434),[53] and Muḥammad ibn Aḥamad ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 873/1468).[54]

This widespread acceptance of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* among students and educators prompted many to compose commentaries on it. Most of the commentators have studied *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* and later given lectures on it together with their commentaries. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459),[55] for instance, has been teaching *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, with students like Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdillāh (b. 831/1428) studying both the text and al-Maḥallī's commentary.[56] Interestingly, al-Maḥallī's teachers such as al-Walī al-ʿIrāqī, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, and ʿIzz ibn Jamāʿah, who was a student of al-Subkī, all engaged in studying, teaching, and writing commentaries on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Subsequently, al-Maḥallī's commentary became a primary text for approaching the *matn*, as seen in the case of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), who studied both from Zayn al-Dīn al-Maḥallī.[57]

The 10th/16th century witnessed a broader acceptance of the text. Renowned polymath Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) studied portions of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* from al-ʿIzz Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kinānī, a Ḥanbalī *qāḍī al-quḍāt*.[58] Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Ḥalabī (d. 921/1515),[59] Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (d. 937/1530),[60] are few to name who memorized the entire text. Scholars in various regions issued *ijāzah* or certificates upon completing the study of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, exemplified by Zakariyyah al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520) granting *ijāzah* to Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Riḍā to teach the text.[61]

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49 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ* 2:121.

50 He has additionally studied with al-Kamāl ibn Abī Sharīf, his commentary on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, See ibid., 8:145.

51 Ibid., 7:234.

52 Ibid., 3:198.

53 Ibid., 9:25.

54 Ibid., 6:284.

55 He is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, bestowed with the title of *al-Shāriḥ al-muḥaqqiq* (the verifying commentator) for his significant contributions to the commentary on major works, including *al-Waraqāt* in *uṣūl*, *al-Minhāj* in *fiqh* and half of *al-Jalālayn* in *tafsīr*. Born in 791/1389 in Cairo, he pursued his studies under al-Jalāl al-Bulqīnī and other distinguished scholars of his era such as al-Jalāl al-Bulqīnī, al-Walī al-ʿIrāqī, Ibn Ḥajar and ʿIzz ibn Jamāʿah. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ bi maḥāsin man baʿda al-qarn al-sābiʿ*, ed. by Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1998), 2:42; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ*, 7:40.

56 See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ*, 8:95.

57 Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾirah bi aʿyān al-miʾah al-ʿāshirah.* ed. by Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1997), 3:158.

58 Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib* 1:228.

59 Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib* 1:69–70; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1998), 8:113–14.

60 Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 2:22.

61 Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 2:244.

Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ maintained its distinct position for centuries. Notably, al-Ghazzī acknowledged his study of the text under Ḥasan ibn Iskandar (d. 950/1543).[62] Abū al-Mawāhib,[63] a Ḥanbalī scholar in the 12/18ᵗʰ century, attended lectures on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* by al-Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī at al-Madrasah al-Shāmiyyah in Damascus. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (d. 1255/1839), a prominent Yemeni scholar of the 13/19ᵗʰ century, considered a *mujtahid*, studied portions of the texts from Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Aḥmad (d. 1207/1792)[64] and later delivered lectures with its commentaries and supercommentaries.[65] Al-Shawkānī lists *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* among the works crucial for *ijtihad* in *uṣūlī al-fiqh*.[66] 19ᵗʰ century Indian reformist Siddīq Ḥasan Khān (d. 1307/1890) advises those who study *uṣūl* to learn the text by heart and recommends its commentaries for further mastery of the subject.[67]

Beyond its relevance to *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* was referred to for subjects such as theology and *taṣawwuf*. This led to the production of works specifically analysing its theological content.[68] Similarly, some *ṣūfī* shaykhs incorporated the conclusion of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* into their teaching of *taṣawwuf*, evidenced by the practice of ʿAlī ibn ʿAṭiyyah al-Ḥamawī (d. 936/1529), who granted *ijāzah* on the *taṣawwuf* portion to his followers like ʿAlī ibn Maymūn.[69]

It is worth mentioning that the popularity of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* transcended geographic and madhhab boundaries. As a Shāfiʿī work, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* served as a primary textbook for higher studies in *uṣūl al-fiqh* among Shāfiʿites globally,[70] including regions such as Egypt, Palestine, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Malaysia, Singapore, Somalia, Syria, Thailand, Yemen, and beyond. *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* not only found a place in traditional educational settings such as *masjid*-based classes, *madāris*, and *khanqāh* but also secured a position within the formal curricula of renowned Islamic universities.

Al-Azhar University, one of the oldest and most respected institutions in the Muslim world, prescribed *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* as the textbook for *uṣūl al-fiqh* for centuries.[71] This text was traditionally taught alongside *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*, while additional glosses recommended for further reading.[72] This inspired al-Azhar scholars like al-Bannānī, al-ʿAṭṭār and al-Shirbīnī to compose super commentaries and marginalia on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* and al-Maḥallī's commentary. Despite its

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[62] Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 2:135.

[63] Abū al-Mawāhib ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir, born in 1044, was the Ḥanbalī *mufti* in Damascus. Muḥammad Ḥalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar*, ed. by Akram Ḥasan al-ʿUlabī (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 2002), 1:79–81.

[64] Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 1:253.

[65] Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 1:318.

[66] Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 2:22.

[67] Siddīq ibn Ḥasan al-Qannawjī, *Abjad al-ʿulūm* (Lahore: al-Maktabah al-Quddūsiyyah, 1983), 1:368.

[68] For example, ʿAbd Allāh Bākathīr al-Ḥāḍramī versified the theological portion. See, Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn,* 140.

[69] Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 2:205.

[70] Ṭāhā Jābir al-ʿAlwānī, *Uṣūl al-fiqh al-Islāmī manhaj baḥth wa maʿrifah*, 2ⁿᵈ edn (Riyad: al-Dār al-ʿIlmiyyah li al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1995), 68.

[71] ʿAqīlah, 'Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ', 11.

[72] See the comments of ʿAbd Allāh Drāz in "*Muqaddimah*" to al-Shāṭibī, Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā, *al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-sharīʿah* ed. by ʿAbd Allāh Darrāz (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2005), 1:9.

removal from the official curriculum, the text continued to attract interest among professors and students of al-Azhar. One notable example is Muḥammad Ḥasnayn Makhlūf (d. 1355/1936), a Mālikī scholar and key reformer at al-Azhar, who spent nearly four decades lecturing on the text for self-interested students,[73] and produced two-volume *ḥāshiyah* as well as treatise on the text.[74]

As a leading institution, al-Azhar University set standard for other Islamic institutions across the world. Al-Zaytūnah University also designated *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* as the *uṣūlī* text for extended periods.[75] Zaytūnah professors like Ḥasan al-Saynāwī[76] contributed further commentaries on the work.[77] However, educational paradigms have gradually shifted, with modern Islamic universities moving from a text-based approach to subject-based learning, focusing on broader topics rather than relying solely on specific classical texts like *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*.

Nonetheless, some contemporary religious institutions, such as Darul Huda Islamic University in Kerala, India,[78] and Zaytuna College in Berkeley, California, continue to endorse *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* as the main *uṣūlī* textbook. Zaytuna College, for instance, not only prescribes *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* but also incorporates one of its latest commentaries, *al-Sharḥ al-jadīd*[79] by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Dabbān (d. 1413/1993), alongside additional aids like *al-Ghayth al-hāmiʿ*, a commentary by Walī al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī, and various marginal-glosses.[80]

At Darul Huda, the text, along with *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* are essential components of the curriculum for Shāfiʿī students, studied over three years starting in the second year of the degree programme and extending through the first year of the master's programme. The instruction follows a traditional method, emphasizing textual reading, with explanations in local language

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[73] See *Tarjamat al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasnayn Makhlūf al-ʿAdwī* in Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā al-Shāṭibī, *al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-sharīʿah*, ed. by Abū ʿUbaydah Mashhūr ibn Ḥasan (Saudi Arabia: Dār Ibn ʿAffān, 1997), 7:70; ʿAbd Allāh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Ṭabaqāt al-Uṣūliyyīn*, 2nd edn (Beirut: Muḥammad Amīn Damj, 1974), 3:190.

[74] See his work on some linguistic discussions of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, *al-Muṭlaq wa al-muqayyad ʿinda al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī fī kitabihi Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* which is edited by Aḥmad al-Faylālī and published from Oman, and another work on the introduction, *al-Qawl al-Jāmiʿ fī al-Kashfi ʿan Sharḥ Muqaddimat Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*.

[75] ʿAqīlah, '*Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*,' 11.

[76] Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥāj ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Saynāwī was a senior lecturer of Qurʾanic recitation in the Zaytunah University.

[77] It was written on 22, Dhū al-Ḥajj, 1347/January 1928, and received the endorsement of the academic body of Zaytunah University, including Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn ʿĀshūr. The work has been published in three volumes. Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥāj ʿUmar al-Saynāwī, *al-Aṣl al-jāmiʿ li īḍāḥ al-durar al-manẓūmah fī salk Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* (Tunisia: Maṭbaʿat al-Nahḍah, 1928).

[78] Darul Huda, founded in 1986 as an Islamic Academy, adopted a reformative approach to religious education by introducing 'integrated curricula' that encompass both religious and contemporary sciences. In 2009, it attained the status of a private Islamic university and became a member of international organizations such as The Federation of the Universities of the Islamic World in Morocco and the League of Islamic Universities in Cairo. With its central campus in Malappuram, DH has 27 affiliated colleges and 6 campuses across different states of India. It embarks education on approximately ten thousand students, offering full scholarships. For details, refer to www.dhiu.in.

[79] ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Ḥumādī al-Dabān, *al-Sharḥ al-jadīd ʿalā Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, ed. by Salāḥ Sāyir Farḥān al-ʿUbaydī (Iraq: Dār Ibn Ḥazam, 2016).

[80] 'Master Degree Curriculum: General Courses', Zaytuna College, accessed October 21, 2023 <https://zaytuna.edu/academics/masters-degree/ma-courses>

(Malayalam). Recent curriculum reforms have refixed the curricula of *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* to five semesters at the degree level. Notably, the focus has shifted from conventional textual analysis, criticized for focussing on sentence structure (*ʿibārah*), to a more thematic approach. Now, *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* is covered in the second semester, followed by a deeper focus on thematic discussions in the *matn*, linking it to contemporary issues with references to modern textbooks.[81]

Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ remains highly regarded in the traditional Islamic education system. Its widespread study is evident in various regions, such as Iraq, where it is studied in *masjid*-based study circles *(ḥalqah)*, particularly in the Kurdistan area.[82] In some locations, an abridged version, *Lubb al-uṣūl* by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī is preferred.[83] Indonesia, with its *pesantren* (the traditional *masjid*-based *madrasah*) education, integrates *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a compulsory subject, wherein *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* is a pivotal text, studied alongside the *Sharḥ of al-Maḥallī*, marginalia by al-Bannānī, and glosses by al-Shirbīnī. [84]

Kerala, a South Indian state predominantly following the Shāfiʿī school, showcases the enduring popularity of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Widely used in traditional *Pallidars* (*masjid*-based *madrasah*),[85] it is taught at the third stage of religious education.[86] As a prerequisite, students typically complete a foundational text like *al-Waraqāt* by Imām al-Ḥaramayn. Additionally, it is part of the curriculum in Sharīʿah colleges like Jāmiʿah al-Nūriyyah, Pattikkad, and its junior colleges.[87] Despite Muslims constituting only 26% of the total population, the widespread use of the text, along with *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī,* is evident from the consistent high demand in the local book market.[88]

Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ has transcended its Shāfiʿī origins, gaining recognition among followers of

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[81] *Uṣūl* studies in Darul Huda also begin with *al-Waraqāt* by Imām al-Ḥaramayn at its senior secondary course, followed by a contemporary text before studying *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. See Jāmiah Dār al-Hudā al-Islāmiyyah, Kerala, *al-Manhaj al-Dirāsī 2022-2023, marḥalat al-dirāsāt al-āliyah*, 65-69.

[82] Ḥasan Khālid Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd, *Naqd uslūb al-Zalmī wa naqḍu iʿtirāḍātihi* (Irbil-Iraq, 2010), 32.

[83] Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī's Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, 164; Zubair K, 'Religious higher education in Kerala and Java province of Indonesia: a comparative study,' (PhD thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2010), 167.

[84] Zubair, 'Religious higher education,' 138–78.

[85] See on *Pallidars* system of education in Kerala, Zubair, 'Religious Higher Education', 179–242.

[86] Muslims in Kerala maintain a well-organized system of religious education, encompassing thousands of madrasas for universal primary religious education, numerous *pallidars*—masjid-based institutions providing traditional higher religious education—and hundreds of institutions offering integrated religious higher education. While focusing on religious education, students in these institutions are also exposed to modern education, either through reformed curricula that incorporate modern subjects or by attending the regular secular schools. See Mohammed Salih T. 'Integrated Education Models: Modernisation, Community Empowerment and Sunni Islamic Social Mobilisation in Kerala, South India' (PhD diss., Pondicherry University, 2022).

[87] Shafeeq Hussain V. 'A proposed framework for the curriculum of Islamic education: Implications on the curricula of Islamic religious higher education institutions of Kerala, India' (PhD thesis, International Islamic University Malaysia, 2011), 278.

[88] According to Zainuddeen VP Maloor, the General Manager of BOOK PLUS publishers, over one thousand copies are sold exclusively through the BOOK PLUS outlet, inaugurated recently, and distributes to a limited number of religious institutions. Numerous other publishers print and distribute the text across Kerala. Most editions include the *Sharḥ* of al-Maḥallī, marginalia by al-Bannānī and glosses by al-Shirbīnī. Interview with author on 26, July 2022.

diverse juristic schools, notably the Mālikites. Shaykh Ḥammād ibn Muaḥmmad (d. 1418/1997), a great *muḥaddis* from Mali, reminisces about studying *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* due to the scarcity of Mālikites texts, memorizing it and versifying its intricate portions. He describes it as the final work that should be studied after *al-Waraqāt* and *Irshād al-fuḥūl* and recommends memorizing *al-Kawkab al-sāṭiʿ*, its versification by al-Suyūṭī.[89] The work continues to be popular in Mali's traditional religious education system known as Majliss or Mayss.[90]

Mauritania, with its unique *maḥāḍir* (sing. *maḥḍarah*) system,[91] incorporates *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* in the final year of three-stage traditional education,[92] after studying *al-Waraqāt* and *Marāqī al-saʿūd* by Sayyidī ʿAbd Allāh al-Shanqīṭī.[93] In Algeria, scholars like Muḥammad ibn Mālik al-Fulanī studied and produced a commentary,[94] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tanlānī (d. 1231/1816) read the text with *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* from Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Mayārah al-Fāsī while cross-referring to its various commentary works.[95] It's acceptance among Tunisia scholars is evident in the biography of Muḥammad ibn ʿIqāb (d. 851/1447), Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Faḍl Kharūf (d. 966/1558),[96] and Muḥammad Ṭāhir (d. 1284/1868), grandfather of great *maqāṣid* scholar Ibn ʿĀshūr.[97] A survey of Mālikī biographical dictionaries such as *Shajarat al-nūr al-zakiyyah* demonstrates the popularity of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* among Mālikī scholars, especially African countries.[98]

Despite coming from Turkiye, a predominantly Ḥanafī state, the great luminary Bediuzzaman Said Nursi (d. 1960) memorized *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* in just one week.[99] The Hanbalī-Salafī scholar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan (d. 1285/1869), grandson of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, also studied the text with *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* from Ḥasan al-Quwaysinī receiving *ijāzah* during his stay in Egypt.[100] Muḥammad Amīn ibn Abdillāh (d. 1441/2019), an influential Shāfiʿī-

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[89] ʿAbd al-Awwal ibn Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, *al-Majmūʿ fī tarjamat al-ʿAllāmah al-Muḥaddis al-Shaykh Ḥammād ibn Muaḥmmad al-Anṣārī*, Maktabah al-Shāmilah, 1:264, 563, 401.

[90] Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī's Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, 165.

[91] For more details on the *maḥḍarah* educational institution of Mauritania see Al-Khalīl al-Naḥwī, *Bilād Shanqīt al-Manārah wa-al-Rabāṭ* (Tunisia: al-Munaẓẓamah al-ʿArabiyyah liʾl-Tarbiyah waʾl-Thaqāfah waʾl-ʿUlūm, 1987), 47.

[92] Introduction, *Irshād al-Muqallidīn*, 39–40.

[93] Al-Khalīl al-Naḥwī, *Bilād Shanqīt,* 213–17.

[94] Muḥammad Bay Balālam, *Irshād al-ḥāʾir ʿilā maʿrifat qabīlat Fulān fī janūb al-Jazāʾir* (al-Maktabah al-Shāmilah), 88, 79.

[95] Muḥammad Bay Balālam, *al-Ghusn al-dānī fī tarjamat al-Shaykh al-Tanlānī* (al-Maktabah al-Shāmilah), 1:11.

[96] Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ, *Tarājum al-muʾallifīn al-Tūnisiyyīn*, 2nd edn (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islām, 1994), 3:408, 2:193.

[97] Maḥfūẓ, *Tarājum*, 3:300.

[98] See Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar Makhlūf, *Shajarat al-nūr al-zakiyyah fī ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyyah* (Lebanon, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2003), 1:594, 1:624.

[99] Dr Hasan Izral, 'Bediuzzaman Said Nursi and his project for educational reform,' in *AL-NUR Academic Studies on Thought and Civilization* 3.3 (2011), 153–66.

[100] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Āl al-Shaykh, *Mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ Najd* (Riyad: Dār al-Yamāmah, 1972), 60, 66.

salafī scholar from Ethiopia, not only studied but also penned a *taqrīrāt*.[101] The existence of hundreds of manuscripts of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* and its various known and unknown commentaries worldwide affirms its global reputation.[102]

Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ maintains its contemporary relevance through online classes on platforms like YouTube and Facebook, spanning multiple languages. A noteworthy example is Shaykh Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Bukhārī's weekly lectures from Masjid al-Ḥaram, Makkah.[103] Recently, he supervised the publication of a comprehensive academic study (*al-ḥaqībah al-taʿlīmiyyah*) of the text in four volumes from Saudi Arabia. Along with the *matn*, the edition includes corresponding lines from *al-Kawkab al-sāṭiʿ,* diagrams (*tashjīr*) summarizing concepts and activities, and a QR code for audio of the lectures.[104] It reflects a contemporary trend of rendering classical texts pertinent to current learning methods by adapting to modern educational contexts. This underscores the initiative to bridge classical wisdom with modern learning approaches, affirming the enduring significance of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* in today's educational landscape.

5. The Commentary (*Sharḥ*) Works on *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*

The recognition of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* as a textbook for *uṣūlī* studies has spurred numerous commentaries over the centuries. As previously mentioned, the author supplemented it with an auto-commentary, and his students and colleagues contributed notes, queries, and commentaries. In the same century of its release, additional works emerged, with the notable *Tashnīf al-masāmiʿ bi-Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*[105] by Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392). Al-Zarkashī's choice to comment on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* is particularly significant, given his prolific contributions to various Islamic disciplines, including the multi-faceted *uṣūlī* encyclopaedia, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*. Al-Zarkashī justifies his choice by highlighting the text's unique quotes, insightful issues, precise definitions, and comprehensive content presented in a concise manner.[106] His disciple, the renowned *ḥadīth*

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[101] Majmūʿatun min al-Muʾallifīn, *al-Muʿjam al-jāmiʿ fī tarājum al-ʿulamāʾ wa-ṭalabat al-ʿilm al-muʿāṣirīn* (al-Maktabah al-Shāmilah), https://al-maktaba.org/book/2080/291#p20 (accessed August 02, 2022).

[102] Check, for example, https://almoqtabas.com/ar/manuscripts?find (accessed August 04, 2022).

[103] See https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLHrRbdXRN506r5Cn_7WagsT_OYVaN6E_A (accessed July 28, 2022).

[104] Ḥasan ibn Abd al-Ḥamīd Bukhārī, ʿĀmir Bahjat, and Waʿd bint Abdillāh al-Fahd, *al-Ḥaqībah al-talīmiyyah li-matni Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ (tashjīrāt wa tadrībāt)* (Saudi Arabia: Dār Ṭaybat al-Khaḍirāʾ, 2020).

[105] It is one of the best and most extensive commentaries. It has been edited and published many times: [a] edited by ʿAbd Allāh Rabīʿ and Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as PhD thesis, 1995, al-Azhar University, and has been published in four volumes (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qurṭubah, 1999); [b] by Abū ʿAmr al-Ḥusaynī and has been published in two volumes; [c] by Mūsā ibn ʿAlī ibn Mūsā only to the chapter *Ijmāʿ* under Aḥmad ʿAlī Sayyid Mubārakī, 1985, Maktabat al-Malik Fahd. See also Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn,* 114; ʿAqīlah,*'Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ',* 91.

[106] Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *Tashnīf al-masāmiʿ bi Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, ed. by Abū ʿAmr al-Ḥusayn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2000), 1:15.

scholar Walī al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 826/1422)[107] abridged this commentary in *al-Ghayth al-hāmiʿ*.[108]

Due to the succinct and enigmatic nature of the text, students often relied on commentaries to enhance their understanding. Many commentators acknowledged that it was the demand from their students that motivated them to compile commentaries on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*.[109] By the ninth century, the number of works on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* had exceeded thirty, attesting to its growing acceptance.

The most influential commentary was produced in the 9th/15th century by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, attracting more than thirty supercommentaries.[110] Aḥmad al-Kūrānī (d. 893/1488), a contemporary of al-Maḥallī, initiated the critique of the author, rejecting many of his explanations of the text.[111] Al-Kamāl Muḥammad ibn Abī Sharīf (d. 906/1500) who used to teach *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*,[112] followed the same.[113] However, al-Maḥallī's commentary prevailed as the most widely accepted and became an indispensable aid for studying the base text. Al-Maḥallī's student Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 893/1488)[114] defended through a *ḥāshiyah*, and later Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-ʿAbbādī (d. 992/1585) dedicated his *ḥāshiyah* entitled *al-Āyāt al-bayyināt* to refute these criticisms.[115]

The ongoing debates and discussions among commentators resulted in an extensive body of literature on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, with the contribution of scholars in the 10th/16th century alone exceeding thirty. While the frequency of such works diminished in subsequent centuries, they manifested in various forms, including commentaries (*sharḥ*), marginalia like *ḥāshiyah al-ʿAṭṭār*,

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[107] Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Abū Zarʿah Walī al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī, born in 792 in Cairo, relocated to Damascus, where he met with eminent scholars. He was appointed as *qāḍī*, *khaṭīb* and *mudarris*. Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah* (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1987), 4:80-82; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 1:51–53.

[108] It is edited and published in three volumes, as cited before.

[109] Al-Maḥallī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 66.

[110] Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī's Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, 168–78; ʿAqīlah, '*Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*,' 95–96.

[111] Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ*, 1:24; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 1:32. The work entitled *al-Durar al-lawāmiʿ* underwent extensive scrutiny as a doctoral thesis at the Islamic University of al-Madīnah by Saʿīd Ghālib, ultimately published in 2008.

[112] Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan and Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, who also memorized the *matn*, for instance, studied *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* from him. Ibid., 3:97, 10:31.

[113] Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ*, 9:66; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 2:124.

[114] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Badr al-Dīn, was born in 830/1427, and earned the appellation Ibn Khaṭīb al-Fakhriyyah. In response to Ibn Abī Sharīf's criticism, he meticulously compiled his *ḥāshiyah*. Another notable pupil of al-Maḥallī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdillāh, studied this *sharḥ*. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ*, 9:24-25, 8:98 respectively.

[115] The author's primary focus is to staunchly defend both al-Subkī and al-Maḥallī, countering all criticisms levelled against them, especially by figures like al-Kūrānī and al-Kamāl. This defensive stance is evident in the comprehensive title of the work, *al-Āyāt al-bayyināt ʿalā indifāʿi aw-fasādi mā waqaftu ʿalayhi mimmā ūrida ʿalā Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ wa sharḥihi li-al-Muḥaqqiq min al-iʿtirāḍāt* (The clear sings on invalidation or defects in everything I have observed from the objections against *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* and its commentary by al-Maḥallī). This extensive work, widely cited by later commentators, has been published multiple times, including a four-volume edition by Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah in 1996.

and *taqrīrāt* (marginal notes) like the work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shirbīnī (d. 1334/1926).[116] Some, like Nūr al-Dīn al-Ashmūnī's (d. 918/1512)[117] engaged in versification (*naẓm*) of the text, as evident in his work *al-Badr al-lāmiʿ fī naẓm Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, accompanied by an auto-commentary *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ*.[118] A few, like ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Jamāʿah (d. 819/1416)[119] added *nukat* (notes) to *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* while his student, the distinguished *ḥadīth* scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) wrote *al-Taʿlīq* (interlinear notes).[120]

Some scholars undertook multiple commentaries of various types and lengths. For instance, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520) added a supercommentary to *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* entitled *al-Nujūm al-lawāmiʿ*[121] and abridged *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* to *Lubb al-uṣūl*[122] with an auto-commentary, *Ghāyat al-wuṣūl*.[123] Ibn Jamāʿah contributed a commentary, *al-Ghurar al-lawāmiʿ*,[124]

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[116] It encompasses clarifications of the *matn*, the commentary by al-Maḥallī and the *Ḥāshiyat al-Bannānī*. Published numerous times, it is often accompanied by *Ḥāshiyat al-Bannānī*. See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shirbīnī, *Taqrīrāt al-Shirbīnī*, printed in the margin of afore cited *Ḥāshiyat al-ʿAṭṭār*.

[117] ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Ashmūnī, Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan, student of both al-Maḥallī and al-Bulqīnī, was born in 838/1434. The exact date of his death varies, with sources suggesting anywhere from 918 to 930. Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 1:335.

[118] The complete title is *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ fī sharḥ al-Lamʿ al-lawāmiʿ*, which corresponds to the alternative name of the aforesaid versification. Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 1:285. He used to teach this *naẓm* to his students like al-Shaʿrānī, see Ibid., 3:158.

[119] Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Kanānī al-Maqdisī is known as Ibn Jamāʿah. Born in 746 or 749/1348, he exhibited a remarkable aptitude for diverse fields of knowledge encompassing sports and skills. Biographers note that he diligently recorded his thoughts on every book he encountered. He studied from luminaries such as al-Subkī, Ibn Khaldūn, and Ibn Ḥajar among others. His significant role as a transmitter of Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ is evident, having been both a student of the author and a teacher to many of the subsequent commentators. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4:49–50; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 2:62-63; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn: tarājum muṣannifī al-kutub al-ʿArabiyyah* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1957), 9:111.

[120] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa al-durar fī tarjumat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, ed. by Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Majīd (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999), 2:693; Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Rḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-ʿiqyān fī aʿyān al-aʿyān* (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1927), 49; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī, *al-Yawāqīt wa al-durar fi sharh Nukhbat al-fikr*, ed. by Al-Murtaḍā Aḥmad (Riyad: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1999), 1:141.

[121] *Al-Nujūm al-lawāmiʿ fī ibrāzī daqāʾiq Sharḥ Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ li al-Maḥallī*, is edited jointly by ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ al-Jazārī and Murtaḍā ʿAlī and published in four volumes by Maktabah al-Rushd, Riyad in 2007.

[122] It stands as the most refined abridgement of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, where the author made subtle adjustments to certain of al-Subkī and omitted few discussions. Notably, in some regions, it has been designated as a *uṣūlī* textbook, as previously mentioned.

[123] In this work the commentator depends on his teacher al-Maḥallī's work. Mostly his sentences are the same as *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*. Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, *Ghāyat al-wuṣūl sharḥ Lubb al-uṣūl* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2002).

[124] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4:50; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ*, 7:171; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, 2:62; Myhrman, 27; Muṣṭafā ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa al-funūn* (n.p., Dār al-Fikr, 1982), 1:596; Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn,* 115. However, ʿAqīlah (p. 92) put the title as *al-Najm al-lāmiʿ Sharḥ Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*.

besides his *nukat*. Al-Suyūṭī versified the text in *al-Kawkab al-sāṭiʿ* with an auto-commentary[125] and provided *nukat* on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, justifying that: "I did not find anyone versified it before despite their versification of the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥājib and *Minhāj* of al-Bayḍāwī. This work deserves more, as no equivalent work has been compiled before or after it."[126]

Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ, surpassing its Shāfiʿī legacy, has elicited commentaries from scholars of other *madhhabs*. ʿUmar al-Ghaznawī (d. 773/1371),[127] a Ḥanafī contemporary of al-Subkī, penned *al-Lawāmiʿ fī sharḥ Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*,[128] standing as one of its earliest commentaries. Remarkably, there are at least three additional Ḥanafī commentaries,[129] a notable phenomenon in the trajectory of *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature, broadly classified into two distinctive styles: *ṭarīqat al-mutakallimīn* (method of the scholastics) represented by Shāfiʿīs and *ṭarīqat al-fuqahāʾ* (method of jurists), represented by Ḥanafīs.

Given that Mālikites generally adhered to the style of *ṭarīqat al-mutakallimīn*, which is thus known as method of the majority (*ṭarīqat al-jumhūr*), the inter-*madhhab* writings were common among them. More than twenty commentaries and supercommentaries by Mālikī scholars can be identified.[130] Notable among these is *al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ* by Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ḥulūlū (d. 898/1493),[131] who also has another extensive commentary, *al-Badar al-ṭāliʿ*.[132] One of the widely accepted supercommentaries on *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*, found in many editions and commonly used by students, is *Ḥāshiyat al-Bannānī*[133] by Mālikī scholar, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Jād Allāh al-Bannānī (d. 1198/1783). Even scholars from Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, known for fewer *uṣūlī* works, made attempts to produce commentaries, such as *al-Badr al-lāmiʿ sharḥ Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* by Aḥmad Manṣūr Āl Sabālik, an influential *salafī* scholar.[134]

In addition to these commentaries, several works have addressed specific sections or topics discussed in *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. For instance, *al-Badr al-sāṭiʿ ʿalā muqaddimat Jamʿ al-*

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[125] Multiple editions of the work are available, for example, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-sāṭiʿ fī naẓm Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, ed. by Muḥammad Ibrāḥīm al-Ḥafnāwī (Cairo: Dar al-Salām, 2005).

[126] Al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ al-Kawkab*, 1:34–35.

[127] He is ʿUmar ibn Isḥāq ibn Aḥmad, Abū al-Ḥafṣ al-Qāḍī Sirāj al-Dīn al-Ghaznawī. Born in India in 704/1304, he ventured to Cairo in 740, where he was appointed as the *qāḍī* for the Ḥanafites. He cultivated strong connections with Mamlūk rulers. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:91–92.

[128] Ismāʿīl Bāshā Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn: asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa āthār al-muṣannifīn* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Thurāth al-ʿArabī, 1951), 1:790; al-Marāghī, *al-Fatḥ al-mubīn,* 2:188; Shaʿbān, *Uṣūl al-fiqh,* 367.

[129] Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī's Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, 167–78.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḥulūlū, *al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ sharḥ Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn ʿAlī al-Namlah (Riyad: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1999).

[132] Al-Marāghī, *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn,* 3:44; Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn,* 117; Namlah in Ḥulūlū, *al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ,* 1:29.

[133] It was first published in 1285/1868, and then various editions have been published many times in different countries, as it is the most popular glosses that used to be found with the commentary of al-Maḥallī. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Jād Allāh al-Bannānī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Bannānī ʿalā Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1998).

[134] See his official website: http://drahmedsbalek.com/newver/?omary (accessed on 03-08-2022).

jawāmi,[135] by Muḥammad ibn Bakhīt ibn Ḥusayn al-Maṭīʿī (d. 1354/1935),[136] a Ḥanafī scholar, provides an explanation of its introduction. Numerous others have followed suit.[137] Al-Subkī's definition of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl* was distinct, leading to treatises both opposing and supporting it. An example is *al-Kalim al-jawāmiʿ fī bayāni masʾalat al-uṣūlī bi Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*[138] by Ismāʿīl ibn Ghunaym al-Jawharī (d. 1165/1751), followed by three similar works.[139] Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī[140] elaborated on its *uṣūl al-dīn* part in *Sharḥ ʿaqīdat Jamʾ al-jawāmiʿ*.[141]

The trend of writing commentary or marginalia on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* persists, albeit the *ḥāshiyah* literature is largely given way to *taʿlīq* (comment) or *taḥqīq* (editing) in the contemporary period. Furthermore, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* and a significant number of its commentaries have been subjects of study in university dissertation work, and many of them have been published across the globe.

Conversely, criticism of the work persists, illustrated by Muṣṭafā Ibrāhīm al-Zalmī's article, *Akhṭāʾ uṣūliyyah li-Ibn al-Subkī*,[142] elucidating mistakes committed by al-Subkī, which was subsequently refuted by Ḥasan Khālid Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd al-Muftī[143] through his work *Naqd uslūb al-Zalmī wa naqḍ iʿtirāḍātihi*.[144] The reciprocal engagement with criticisms against al-Subkī and his *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, even in contemporary discussions, is indicative of the enduring reputation and significance that the author and his work hold among scholars.

6. As a Source for Subsequent Scholarship

Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ has served as an invaluable resource for subsequent scholarship in *uṣūl*

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[135] Al-Marāghī, *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn,* 3:186. This has been published along with other commentaries of the text in one volume by al-Tamaddun Publishers, 1332. Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn,* 121; ʿAqīlah, '*Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*,' 95; Namlah, in Ḥulūlū, *al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ,* 1:32.

[136] Born in 1271/1855, he pursued his studies at al-Azhar and later assumed the role of a lecturer. He was a student of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and ascended to the positions of *mufti* and *qāḍī* in Egypt. He used to deliver lectures on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Al-Marāghī, *al-Fatḥ al-mubīn,* 3:181–87.

[137] Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī's Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, 167–78.

[138] Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn,* 120. A manuscript can be downloaded from http://al-mostafa.info/data/arabic/depot3/gap.php?file=m001036.pdf (accessed on 05 August 2022).

[139] Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī's Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, 178–79.

[140] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, Raḍī al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl al-Ghazzī was born in 862/1457 at Damascus. He has another work on the theological part of the *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, the author of *al-Kawākib*, is his grandson. Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 2:3–5.

[141] It is a commentary of the *uṣūl al-dīn* part of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Ibid., 2:5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt,* 8:254; Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn,* 120.

[142] Dr Muṣṭafā Ibrāhīm al-Zalmī scrutinized the work in an article titled *akhṭāʿ uṣūliyyah li-Ibn al-Subkī fī kitābihi Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* (the *uṣūlī* mistakes of al-Subkī in his *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*) initially published in *al-Tajdīd* (Issue. 2, 5), a journal by Muntadā al-Fikr al-Islāmī, Kurdistan. This critical analysis, later compiled into a treatise and distributed locally ((Erbil, 2010), presents fourteen objections to al-Subkī, echoing some historical contentions.

[143] The author is the head of the Department of *Sharīʿah*, Kulliyyah of Islamic Studies, Salahuddin University, Erbil.

[144] The title means "criticising the methodology of al-Zalmī and invalidating his objections." It serves as a comprehensive al-Zalmī's criticism, providing counter perspective on all objections of al-Zalmī.

al-fiqh, as al-Subkī consolidates his views on various issues and collates opinions of early scholars across related disciplines. Although he does not cite specific works in *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, the author mentions in the preface that it draws from about one hundred works, encapsulating the essence of his two commentaries. At the beginning of *Rafʿ al-ḥājib*, al-Subkī lists around sixty sources, noting that naming them all would be time-consuming and paper-wasting endeavour.[145] This list includes works solely within *uṣūl* and related fields; excluding sources from other disciplines and previous commentaries on *Mukhtaṣar* and *Minhāj*. Thus, the actual count of sources would surpass one hundred. *Uṣūlī* discussions, as a science of principles, naturally intersect with a wide range of disciplines, such as sciences of Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, theology, language, and dialectology. Al-Subkī highlights this breadth by stating:

> In this work, I did not restrict myself to the available works in *uṣūl al-fiqh*; rather, I have incorporated many works of theologians, traditionists, dialecticians, jurists, and exegetes, as well as countless points gathered through contemplation, deduced by reflection, and articulated with a clear understanding, aspects for which I have no predecessors.[146]

The impact of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* on the subsequent development of *uṣūl al-fiqh* discourse is evident across *madhhab*s. In Shāfiʿī school, a substantial portion of later *uṣūlī* compendia, as previously illustrated, comprised commentary works on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Another notable contribution comes from al-Zarkashī, whose *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* serves as an encyclopaedic work in *uṣūl al-fiqh*. It is noteworthy that al-Zarkashī has compiled a commentary on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, suggesting potential influence, even though he makes no mention of al-Subkī or his *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. The structure and content of al-Zarkashī's another work, *Salāsil al-dhahab*, exhibit similarities with *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*.[147] An influential later *matn* work is *Lubb al-uṣūl*, an abridgement of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* by Zakariyyah al-Anṣārī.

Concerning its influence on the Ḥanafī literature, al-Subkī is frequently mentioned in *al-Taqrīr wa al-taḥrīr*, a commentary by Ibn Amīr al-Ḥāj (d. 879/1474) on *al-Taḥrīr* of Ibn al-Humām (d. 861/1457), both widely accepted works in the school. Given its incorporation of both Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī styles in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, this work relies extensively on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* and regards al-Subkī's opinions as representing the Shāfiʿī school.[148]

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mardāwī (d. 885/1480), in his auto-commentary *al-Taḥbīr sharḥ al-Taḥrīr*, a remarkable Ḥanbalī text, not only cites *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* and its commentaries but also engage in comparison of various scholars' opinions and word choices with those of al-Subkī. While delineating the conditions for the *ḥukm* of the original case (*aṣal*) in *qiyās*, he emphasizes that it should be a *sharʿī* issue, justifying his stance by aligning with the opinion of al-Subkī, concurred upon by all commentators.[149] This holds significance, as unanimity among commentators on an opinion of *mātin* lends legitimacy, signifying originality of subsequent *sharḥ* works, a dimension that is sometimes underestimated. Another prominent Ḥanbalī scholar, Ibn Najjār (d. 972/1564) also extensively quotes al-Subkī and several commentaries of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* in his *Sharḥ al-*

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[145] Al-Subkī, *Rafʿ al-ḥājib*, 1:238.

[146] Al-Subkī, *Manʿ al-mawāniʿ*, 369–70.

[147] ʿAqīlah, '*Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*,' 130.

[148] See, for example, the discussion on denying an issue of consensus in Abū Abdillāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Amīr al-Ḥāj, *Kitāb al-taqrīr wa al-taḥrīr ʿalā Taḥrīr al-Kamāl ibn al-Humām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1403/1983), 3:114.

[149] ʿAlāʿ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Mardāwī, *al-Taḥbīr sharḥ al-Taḥrīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Riyad: Maktabah al-Rushd, 2000), 7:144.

Kawkab al-munīr.[150]

The overwhelming reception of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* among Malikīes as a text of *uṣūl al-fiqh* has a far-reaching impact on the later *uṣūlī* works within Mālikī school. Al-Shanqīṭī, a Mālikī scholar from Mauritania, refers in his *Irshād al-muqallidīn* to al-Subkī's views on the fallibility and infallibility of *ijtihād* and the divisibility of *ijtihād*ic qualification from *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*.[151] He also cites *al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ*, a Mālikī commentary on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* by Ḥulūlū,[152] and *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-sāṭiʿ*, the versification by al-Suyūṭī.[153]

Al-Sanʿānī (d. 1182/1769), a famous jurist and prolific writer, in his *Irshād al-nuqqād*,[154] and *Ijābat al-sāʾil*[155] regularly refers to the opinions of al-Subkī in *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. Al-Shawkānī also draws from *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* in his various works, like *Irshād al-fuḥūl*.[156] In modern scholarship, scholars like Muḥammad Amīn Suwayd al-Dimashqī (d. 1355/1936)[157] and Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ḥajwī (d. 1376/1956)[158] cite *uṣūlī* issues from *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* in their respective works. Nādiyah, in her work on *Ijtihād*, quotes al-Subkī extensively on numerous issues, including the definition of the *mujtahid*, the order of *mujtahid*s, invalidating an *ijtihad*, and periods devoid of *mujtahid*.[159] She also refers to commentaries by al-Maḥallī, al-Bannānī, and Ibn Qāsim.

However, references to *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* are relatively limited in non-Arabic works, perhaps due to the challenges in comprehending the text. Yet, some scholars have recorded al-Subkī's *uṣūlī* opinions. For example, in the discussion on the total extinction of *mujtahid*s at any given period, Hashim Kamali includes al-Subkī among the majority of scholars affirming such a possibility.[160] *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* and some of its commentaries are referenced by Imran Nyazee in his work, Islamic Jurisprudence.[161] Aḥmad Ḥasan stands out for extensively quoting al-Subkī in various works. In his *The Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, al-Subkī is cited on issues such as [1]

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[150] See, for example, the discussion on abrogation of the Qurʾān by Sunnah in Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Futūḥī Ibn al-Najjār, *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-munīr*, ed. by Muḥammad al-Zuḥylī (Maktabah al-ʿUbaykān, 1418/1997), 3:578.

[151] Sayyidī Bāb ibn al-Shaykh Sayyib Muḥammad al-Shanqīṭī, *Irshād al-muqallidīn ʿinda ikhtilāf al-mujtahidīn*, ed. by Al-Ṭayyib ibn ʿUmar (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1997), 68-69, 185.

[152] See Ibid., 159, 195, 207 and 226.

[153] For example, see Ibid., 250–52.

[154] Al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, *Irshād al-nuqqād ilā taysīr al-ijtihād*, ed. Salāḥuddīn Maqbūl Aḥmad (Kuwait: al-Dar al-Salafiyya, 1405), 27.

[155] Al-Amīr al-Ṣanʿānī, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, *Kitāb uṣūl al-fiqh al-musammā Ijābat al-sāʾil sharḥ Bughyat al-āmil* (Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1986), 240.

[156] Shawkānī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, *Irshād al-fuḥūl ilā taḥqīq al-ḥaqq min ʿilm al-uṣūl*, ed. Al-Shaykh Aḥmad ʿAzw (Damascus: Dār al-Kutub, 1999), 1:273.

[157] Muḥammad Amīn Suwayd al-Dimashqī, *Taṣḥīl al-ḥuṣūl ʿalā qawāʿid al-uṣūl*, ed. Muṣṭafā Saʿīd al-Khinn (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1991), 67.

[158] See his work, *al-Fikr al-sāmī fī tārīkh al-fiqh al-Islām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1995).

[159] See Nādiyah Sharīf al-ʿUmarī, *al-Ijtihād fī al-Islām* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 2001), 17, 188, 214, 224 respectively.

[160] Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, (2nd ed., Malaysia: Ilmiyah Publishers, 2000), 386.

[161] Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee, *Islamic jurisprudence* (Malaysia: Other books, 2003), 364.

the definition of *karāhah* (detestable) and *khilāf al-awlā* (suboptimal), [2] *ʿazīmah* (stringent ruling) and *rukhsah* (dispensation), and [3] the definitions of *adāʾ* (timely fulfilment) and *qaḍāʾ* (compensatory fulfilment).[162] The recently published *The Compendium of Seminary Texts*, a translation of various instrumental sciences, includes an *uṣūl al-fiqh* treatise based on *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* and its commentaries.[163]

These samples, while not exhaustive, strongly indicate that *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* has been esteemed as a reliable source for later scholars, including contemporary writers in various languages.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* represents a high point in *uṣūl al-fiqh* scholarship, synthesizing and building upon early literature. Beyond its historical significance, it continued to exert a profound impact, valued as a precise and comprehensive summary of the discipline. Its concise yet nuanced style, has established *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* as a key text, rigorously studied, and frequently memorized in Islamic institutions worldwide for centuries. The records underscore its study with the commentaries like *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*, along with supercommentaries such as *Ḥāshiyat al-Bannānī*, depicting the evolving patterns within traditional Islamic education. Despite its Shāfiʿī origin, the text's embrace by scholars from various schools, notably Mālikīes and Ḥanafīs, indicates a cross-*madhhab* engagement within the domain of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. The selection of eminent authors like al-Zarkashī, Ibn Jamāʿah, al-ʿIrāqī, al-Suyūṭī, al-ʿAsqalānī, and Zakariyyah al-Anṣārī for commentaries attests to its depth and complexity, challenging preconceptions about the nature of commentaries.

Contrary to the perception of commentaries as mere regurgitations, the ongoing debates among commentators have given rise to a diverse literary family, with over a hundred works exploring various facets of *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*. This makes it the most commented-upon work in *uṣūl al-fiqh*. A comparative study of these commentaries will offer valuable insights into the evolution of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in the post-classical era, and the contributions of commentary literature. While its central role may have shifted in contemporary *uṣūlī* studies, classical texts such as *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* continue to command reputation among traditional scholars, serving as a cornerstone for the authentic understanding of the discipline*.*

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[162] Ahmad Hasan, *Principles of Islamic jurisprudence*, 124, 155, 212–13 respectively.

[163] Muhammad Emin Er, *The Compendium of Seminary Texts*, Edited and translated by Marwan M. Tayyan and Justin Poe (Boston: ASIPT, 2024).

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