



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

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Article history:

Submission date: 29 September 2024

Received in revised form: 14 October 2024

Acceptance date: 30 October 2024

Available online: 12 November 2024

Keywords:

Shāfi'ī jurisprudence; post-classical Islamic legal theory; sharḥ-matn relationship; commentary literature; Bloom's Taxonomy

Funding:

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Competing interest:

The author(s) have declared that no competing interests exist.

How to Cite:

al-Hudawi, Mohamed Jabir Ali. 2024. "Reception of Tāj Al-Dīn Al-Subkī's *Jam' Al-Jawāmi'* and Its Impact on Post-Classical *Uṣūl Al-Fiqh* Literature". *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Pidana Dan Ketatanegaraan* 13 (2):116-42. <https://doi.org/10.24252/al-daulah.v13i2.51130>.

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Abstract

Research Objective This study examines post-classical *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature through Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) seminal work *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*. It investigates the factors that contributed to the text's establishment as an educational cornerstone and its influence on Islamic legal scholarship across diverse juristic traditions. **Research Method:** The research employed historical analysis of biobibliographical sources, tracing the evolution of commentaries across various juristic schools. This approach facilitated the reconstruction of the intellectual networks through which *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* spread beyond its 8th/14th-century Shāfi'ī origins. **Results:** The treatise rapidly transcended temporal and geographical boundaries to become integral to Islamic legal education worldwide. It catalyzed the production of a substantial commentary corpus from multiple juristic schools, demonstrating an exceptional level of scholarly reception across traditional boundaries. **Findings and Implications:** The analysis reveals a sophisticated interplay between the base text (*matn*) and its commentary literature, challenging reductive assumptions about the originality of post-classical Islamic scholarship. Practices of textual transmission functioned as dynamic sites of intellectual engagement rather than mere vehicles of knowledge preservation. **Conclusion:** *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* established itself as a pivotal node in the development of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, with enduring influence manifested through successive generations of scholarly engagement that transcended juristic boundaries. **Contribution:** This study reconceptualizes the transmission of Islamic legal knowledge by highlighting the critical role of commentary literature in fostering intellectual innovation within traditional educational frameworks. **Limitations and Suggestions:** Despite constraints related to source accessibility, the research sheds light on underappreciated dimensions of Islamic scholarly traditions. Future scholarship would benefit from a deeper investigation into the interpretive legacies of such works within evolving socio-intellectual contexts.

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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 the sources of Islamic law, methods of interpretation, objectives of *Sharīʿah*, and principles of *ijtihād*, within a single work, enabling easier study and memorization. This endeavor was often motivated by students' expressed need for comprehensive materials, and exceptional scholarly works frequently supplanted earlier ones in academic curricula. This dynamic produced a historical progression of influential texts that shaped the syllabi of various Islamic disciplines. The trajectory from foundational knowledge texts to extensive compendia promoting higher-order critical thinking aligns closely with Bloom's Taxonomy, a predominant educational framework that organizes learning objectives into cognitive levels, from basic recall to advanced synthesis and evaluation.

In the domain of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (Islamic legal theory), this trend began with *al-Shāfiʿī's* (d. 204/820) *al-Risālah* and reached its zenith in the 8th/14th century with *Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd 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 rose to prominence as authoritative sources for the discipline, only to be replaced by newer contributions, as demonstrated in the following discussion. The structure, language, argumentative style, and length of these compendia were continuously refined to address evolving educational needs.

The development of *uṣūlī* compendia follows a path that mirrors Bloom's Taxonomy: beginning with *al-Risālah*, a modest-sized treatise in accessible language aimed at foundational understanding; progressing to voluminous works characterized by intricate argumentation for deeper analytical engagement; and 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 concentrated on interpreting authoritative base texts (*mutūn*) across disciplines. This trend gave rise to a genre of multi-layered commentaries, resulting in an extensive body of literature that included *shurūḥ* (commentaries), *ḥawāshī* (glosses), and *mukhtaṣarāt* (abridgements), among others.²

For a long time, the Islamic commentary tradition was dismissed as merely reiterating established ideas, serving only to clarify base texts without contributing innovation. Orientalist scholarship often cited it as evidence of intellectual stagnation.³ However, recent studies in the

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>.



intellectual history of post-classical scholarship have increasingly challenged this view, recognizing the commentary tradition as a dynamic and evolving form of intellectual engagement.⁴ Unlike other Islamic disciplines,⁵ studies on the *matn-sharḥ* genre in *uṣūl al-fiqh* remain notably scarce, likely due to the field's linguistic nuances and complex stylistic conventions. Operating in the transitional period between the classical and post-classical eras and representing the *mutakallimūns* school, al-Subkī's *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* occupies a pivotal position. As a seminal, original *matn* work, it significantly influenced the subsequent development of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Widely studied, memorized, and referenced, it inspired over a hundred commentaries. Recent scholarly efforts have verified and published several of these works, offering concise insights into the commentary tradition surrounding the text.⁶ Comprehensive lists of these commentaries have been compiled by Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Ḥasanāt⁷ and Ṣāliḥ al-Zankī,⁸ though without further analysis of their impact. Building on their foundational work, the present study offers an in-depth examination of the reception of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* as a textbook, the range and nature of its commentaries, and its enduring influence on the evolution of *uṣūl al-fiqh* scholarship.

Methods

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

This qualitative study employed descriptive textual analysis to examine the historical significance and impact of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* within *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature. Textual analysis, a core method in the study of Islamic intellectual history, involved consulting both primary and secondary sources to assess the reception and influence of this seminal work.

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 Shāfi'ī 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).

⁶ See for example, Sa'īd ibn 'Alī Muḥammad al-Ḥumayrī, *Dirāsah ḥawla al-mu'allif wa al-kitāb*, in Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Man' al-Mawānī' an Jam' al-Jawāmi'* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 1999), 43–59; Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Muntaṣir Muḥammad, *Muqaddimat al-taḥqīq*, in Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-Sāṭi' fī Naẓm Jam' al-Jawāmi'* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 2006), 1: 193–231; 'Aqīlah Ḥusayn, *Jam' al-Jawāmi' fī 'Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh li 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī Tāj al-Dīn ibn al-Subkī: Dirāsah wa Taḥqīq* (Ph.D diss., University of Algiers, al-Jazā'ir, 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, *Ma'ālim al-Turāthī al-Uṣūlī: Kitāb Jam' al-Jawāmi' li al-Imām Ibn al-Subkī Namūdḥajan* (Kuala Lumpur: Dār al-Tajdīd, 2007).



The research centered on a detailed examination of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* itself, alongside key commentaries, super-commentaries, and related works that engaged with the text. It also investigated the text's inclusion in traditional curricula and its role in shaping subsequent scholarship. A comparative analysis with preceding and contemporaneous works highlighted the distinctive features that contributed to its enduring prominence.

Result and Discussion

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. The principles articulated in *uṣūl al-fiqh* can be traced 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, a need arose for new methodologies to authenticate sources and deduce laws applicable to novel cases and evolving circumstances. This need led to the emergence of *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a distinct discipline, initiated by the pioneering efforts of al-Shāfi'ī, whose work *al-Risālah* constituted the first 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 remains widely acknowledged as a pivotal turning point in the 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 refutations (see Table 1).¹² Scholarly disagreements within Islamic law, theology, and related disciplines influenced the *uṣūlī* corpus, giving rise to two major approaches: *ṭarīqat al-mutakallimīn*¹³ ("the method of theologians") and *ṭarīqat al-fuqahā'* ("the method of jurists").¹⁴ Using Bloom's "understanding" stage, this division

⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, ed. 'Alī 'Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfi, 3rd edn (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1979), 3:1061.

¹⁰ The contribution of al-Shāfi'ī 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 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-Shāfi'ī 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-Shāfi'ī 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 Sha'bān Muḥammad Ismā'īl, *Uṣūl al-fiqh: Tārīkhuhu wa rijāluhu* (Riyad: Dār al-Mirrikh, 1981); 'Abd al-Salām Blāji, *Taṭawwur 'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh wa tajadduduhu* (Egypt: Dār al-Wafā', 2007); Hallaq, *A history of Islamic legal theories*.

¹² Ṭāha Jābir al-'Alwānī, '*Ilm uṣūl al-fiqh, nash'atuhu wa-tārīquhu wa-tadwīnuhu*,' *al-Muslim al-Mu'āṣir* 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 *madrāsah* (school).

¹⁴ Many contemporary scholars have provided detailed explanations of these writing methods in *uṣūl al-fiqh*. For example, see Muḥammad al-Khudrī Bayk, *Uṣūl al-fiqh* (Egypt: al-Maktabah al-Tijāriyyah al-



can be seen as a response to different intellectual needs: the former, adopted by the majority,¹⁵ focused on logical and objective analysis, while the latter adhered closely to *Ḥanafī* legal practices.¹⁶ At Bloom's "applying" stage, the practical distinction emerges: the former aimed for broad applicability, whereas the latter served primarily *Ḥanafī* jurisprudential needs.

By the end of the 5th/11th century, as Ibn Khaldūn noted, four works had emerged as authoritative texts in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, particularly among the *mutakallimūn*. Two were by Ash'arīs, *al-Burhān* by Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) and *al-Mustaṣfā* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), and two by Mu'tazilīs, *al-'Umad* by al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1024) and its commentary *al-Mu'tamad* by Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044).¹⁷ Applying Bloom's "analyzing" stage reveals each work's distinctive contributions and influence. Reflecting their authors' theological orientations, *Ash'arī* or *Mu'tazilī*, these texts shaped divergent approaches in *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Each established precedents in balancing rational and textual evidence, and all became foundational references for later scholars.

Subsequently, *uṣūlī* discourse focused largely on critically examining earlier works and assessing the validity of differing opinions through structured argumentation, corresponding to Bloom's "evaluating" stage. By the close of the 6th/12th century, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) groundbreaking *al-Maḥṣūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl* and Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī's (d. 631/1233) monumental *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* recapitulated the earlier four works while introducing distinctive arrangements and arguments. This period marked the predominance of Ash'arī-Shāfi'ī scholars within the *mutakallimūn* tradition. Despite their shared theological background, al-Rāzī and al-Āmidī's manuals differed in structure, reasoning, and preferred positions.¹⁸

The voluminous nature of these works, representing the pinnacle of extended *uṣūlī* literature (*muṭawwalāt*), posed challenges for students and readers. In response, scholars produced abridged versions of *al-Maḥṣūl* and *al-Iḥkām*, adopting their style and opinions. This development gave rise to two distinct approaches within the *mutakallimūn*: the *Madrasat al-Rāzī* and the *Madrasat al-Āmidī*. As students increasingly preferred concise (*mukhtaṣar*) texts, scholars competed to produce succinct *matn* works that encapsulated the essence 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 into *al-Minhāj*, which gained wide acceptance and inspired over forty

Kubrā, 1969), 8-11; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, *Uṣūl al-fiqh* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1997), 19-24; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb Khallāf, *'Ilm uṣūl al-fiqh* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2003), 18-19; Ahmad Hasan, *The principles of Islamic jurisprudence: The command of Sharī'ah 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 Ash'arites and Mu'tazilites. The adoption of this method is prevalent among scholars from Mālikī, Shāfi'ī, and Ḥanbalī schools. However, it is the Shāfi'ites who have made substantial contributions, leading to its identification as the method of Shāfi'ites (*ṭarīqat al-Shāfi'iyyah*). See Mas'ūd ibn Mūsā Falūsī, *Madrasat al-mutakallimīn wa manhajuhā fī dirāsāt 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.

¹⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 3:1062.



commentaries.¹⁹ Similarly, Ibn al-Ḥāḥib's (d. 646/1249) *Mukhtaṣar*—an auto-abridgement of his larger compendium *al-Muntahā*, itself a synopsis of al-Āmidī's *al-Iḥkām*,²⁰ also became a widely studied textbook and base text.

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

Period	Key Texts	Author	Significance
2 nd /8 th C	<i>Al-Risālah</i>	Al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820)	The first systematic work on <i>uṣūl al-fiqh</i> , a foundational text introducing legal methodology.
3 rd -4 th /9 th -10 th C	<i>Sharḥ al-Risālah</i> , <i>Uṣūl al-Karkhī</i>	Ibn Surayj (d. 306/918), <i>al-Karkhī</i> (d. 340/952)	Expanded upon <i>al-Risālah</i> or refuted its approach; contributed to the establishment of the juristic (<i>fuqahā'</i>) method.
5 th /11 th C	<i>Al-'Umad</i> , <i>al-Mu'tamad</i>	Al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, Al-Baṣrī	Mu'tazilī contributions incorporating rational theology into <i>uṣūl al-fiqh</i> .
	<i>Al-Burhān</i> , <i>al-Mustaṣfā</i>	Al-Juwaynī, Al-Ghazālī	Consolidated the <i>mutakallimūn</i> approach, integrating theology with legal theory from the Ash'arī perspective.
6 th /12 th C	<i>Al-Maḥṣūl</i> , <i>al-Iḥkām</i>	Al-Rāzī, al-Āmidī	Pinnacle of extended works (<i>muṭawwalāt</i>) in <i>uṣūl</i> ; synthesized earlier foundational texts with distinctive arrangements and arguments.
7 th /13 th C	<i>Mukhtaṣar</i> , <i>al-Minhāj</i>	Ibn al-Ḥāḥib, al-Bayḍāwī	The era of concise texts (<i>mukhtaṣarāt</i>) epitomized the schools of al-Rāzī and al-Āmidī within the <i>mutakallimūn</i> tradition.
8 th /14 th C	<i>Jam' al-Jawāmi'</i>	Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370)	Integrated and refined previous approaches; established as a comprehensive framework for <i>uṣūl al-fiqh</i> .

By the time of al-Subkī, *al-Minhāj* and *al-Mukhtaṣar* had become the preferred choices for studying, teaching, and writing on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Al-Subkī himself studied both works and composed commentaries on them. In 752/1351, he completed his commentary on *al-Minhāj*, titled *al-Ibhāj fī Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, marking his initial foray into *uṣūl al-fiqh* scholarship, remarkably, before the age of twenty-five.²¹ By 759/1358, he finished *Raf' al-Ḥāḥib 'an Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥāḥib*,²² a concise commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar*, distinct from his earlier, more extensive work *al-Ta'liqah*.²³ This dual exposure acquainted him with the methods of both schools, enabling the development of an independent *uṣūlī* perspective free from exclusive allegiance to any single scholar. In alignment with Bloom's final stage, creating, *al-Subkī* produced his magnum opus, *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*, synthesizing and innovating upon prior *uṣūl al-fiqh* scholarship. This work introduced a novel

¹⁹ Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn*, 83.

²⁰ 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwaḍ, and 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd, '*Muqaddimat al-taḥqīq*', in Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Raf' al-Ḥāḥib 'an Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥāḥib* (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1999), 1:191–225.

²¹ He completed it on Friday morning, Sixteenth of Ṣafar, 752 from his father's office at Madrasah al-'Ādiliyyah, Damascus. Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, and Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *al-Ibhāj fī Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, ed. Maḥmūd Amīn al-Sayyid (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 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 *Rabī' al-Ākhir*, 759/1358. Al-Subkī, *Raf' al-Ḥāḥib*, 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, *Man' al-mawānī'*, 163; *Raf' al-Ḥāḥib*, 4:70, 167, 192, and 209.



style and methodology, blending earlier approaches with his insights.

Significance of Jam' al-Jawāmi' in Usul al-Fiqh Literature

Jam' al-Jawāmi' marked a paradigm shift in *uṣūlī* literature, moving beyond the prevailing focus on the works of al-Rāzī and al-Āmidī. It was embraced in scholarly circles both as a curriculum textbook and as a foundational reference for *uṣūl al-fiqh* writings. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī skillfully integrated the distinct approaches of the al-Rāzī and al-Āmidī schools, producing a concise yet comprehensive *matn* that addressed all major topics in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, expressed in an intricate and abstract style. Al-Subkī himself described his work as follows:

Jam' al-jawāmi' brings forth clear maxims (*al-qawā'id al-qawā'it*) 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 opinions on each topic, verified against their sources.²⁷ many of which are no longer extant. 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 *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*.²⁸ Moreover, al-Subkī presented his preferred positions on various discussions, albeit without justifications, consistent with the inherent constraints of a *matn*. Consequently, *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* stands as a comprehensive synthesis of *uṣūl al-fiqh* discourse from its inception to the author's time, representing not only an original contribution but perhaps the culmination of the *matn* tradition in its genre.

²⁴ Two fields of *uṣūl* are the *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-dīn*. Even though *Jam' al-jawāmi'* discusses both areas, its major portion covers the principles of *fiqh*, while analysis of the issues related to *uṣūl al-dīn* 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 *Jam' al-jawāmi'*: 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 *Raf' al-ḥājib* and *al-Ibhāj* respectively.

²⁶ Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Jam' al-jawāmi' fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im Khalīl Ibrāhīm (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2003), 11.

²⁷ In *Man' al-mawānī'* (p. 84), he recounts the considerable time, labour, and dedication invested in the completion of *Jam' al-jawāmi'*. 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 *Jam' al-jawāmi'*', 90.

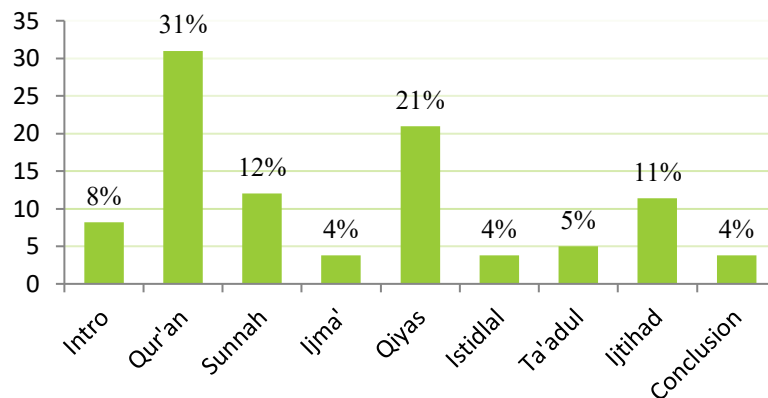


Figure 1. Chapter-wise division of *Jam' al-jawāmi'*

The structure of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* comprises an introduction followed by seven chapters (see Figure 1): *al-Qur'ān* (the Book), *Sunnah*, *ijmā'* (consensus), *qiyas* (analogy), *al-istidlāl* (inference), *al-ta'ādul wa al-tarājih* (equilibrium and preponderance), and *ijtihād*. The final chapter briefly addresses major theological themes (*uṣūl al-dīn*), while the conclusion offers insights into *taṣawwuf* and the author's methodology. The text thus distills the essence of *uṣūl al-fiqh* into a concise, memorizable format.²⁹

Al-Subkī's confidence in the work's perfection is evident from his warning against hasty rejection or attempts at abridgment, asserting that every element of the work was meticulously crafted.³⁰ He praised the potency of its language, claiming it was such that "even the deaf can hear and the blind can pay attention to it," and urged readers "to memorize its sentences, especially those that deviate from others."³¹ The enduring relevance of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* within the *uṣūl al-fiqh* tradition is underscored by its inclusion as the sole *matn* representing the discipline in *Majmū' Muḥimmāt al-Mutūn*, a collection of the most important *matns* across the Islamic sciences.³²

Early Reception of the Work

According to some editions, al-Subkī completed *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* on the night of 11 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 760/1358, from his residence in Damascus,³³ at the age of thirty-three. Serving the

²⁹ Jabir Ali Hudawi, and Hikmatullah, 'Al-Subkī's *Jam' al-jawāmi'*. 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 *Jam' al-jawāmi'*', *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Literature and Muslim Society*, 8.2 (2023), 24–49 <<https://doi.org/10.22515/islamius.v8i1.4440>>; Mohamed Jabir Ali al-Hudawi, 'Terminologies of classical *uṣūlī* texts: a study of al-Subkī's *Jam' al-jawāmi'*', *Islamic Insight Journal of Islamic Studies (IIJS)*, 5.1 (2022), 11–38 <<https://www.islamicinsight.in/index.php/islamicinsight/article/view/19>>.

³⁰ Al-Subkī, *Jam' al-jawāmi'*, 132.

³¹ Al-Subkī, *Jam' al-jawāmi'*, 133.

³² Majmū'atun min al-Mu'allifin, *Majmū' muḥimmāt al-mutūn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1994).

³³ Al-Subkī, *Jam' al-jawāmi'*, 133; Carl Brockelmann, *Tārīkh al-adab al-'Arabī*, trans. Maḥmūd Fahmī Ḥijjāzī (Egypt: al-Hay'at al-Miṣriyyah al-'Āmmah li al-Kitāb, 1995), 6: 354; David W. Myhrman, 'Introduction



contemporary demand for a succinct epitome, the work quickly became a preferred choice for students, teachers, and scholars alike. Its adoption as a core text in *uṣūl al-fiqh studies* began during the author's lifetime, aided by the teacher-centered, text-based educational system of the period. As a professor in prominent *madrasahs* in Syria and Egypt, al-Subkī personally taught the work to his *uṣūlī* students.

Biographical dictionaries mention several individuals who studied *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* directly with the author. One such figure was Burhān al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad (d. 819/1416).³⁴ In Islamic scholarly tradition, receiving knowledge directly from its author, alongside an *ijāzah* (teaching license), was considered a privilege. Among the earliest recipients of such an *ijāzah* from al-Subkī was 'Alī ibn Aḥmad Abū al-Ḥasan al-Adamī (d. 813/1410), recorded by al-Sakhāwī as the first to obtain it after a meticulous (*taḥqīqan*) reading of the text with the author.³⁵ Al-Adamī also studied a substantial portion of the author's auto-commentary *Man' al-Mawānī'*, making him a valuable early reference for later commentators seeking to grasp the author's intent. Another example is Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Silmī (d. 789/1388), known as Ibn Abī al-'Ashā'ir, who was granted *ijāzah* in 767/1365 at Damascus in recognition of his mastery of the work.³⁶

Given al-Subkī's reputation, it was not only his students who relied on *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*; many contemporaries and leading scholars also read, taught, and even began writing commentaries on it. The renowned historian and literary figure Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), a student of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, the author's father, copied the entire text and attended discussions in the author's *ḥalqa*.³⁷ Notably, al-Ṣafadī, who was nearly twice the author's age, died only four years after the release of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*, illustrating the immediacy of its reception. He also recorded that the author's appeal to "memorize its sentences" had a real impact: Taqī al-Dīn Abū Ḥātim (d. 764/1363), the author's brother, had memorized the entire work in Egypt.³⁸

The widespread acceptance of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* naturally invited critique and inquiry. Scholars sought clarification on specific issues, quotations, opinions, sentence structures, and even word choices. One example is Muḥammad al-Zubayrī al-Asadī (d. 808/1405), three years older than al-Subkī, who studied the text directly with him and later compiled a set of questions and objections under the title *al-Burūq al-Lawāmi'*.³⁹ Al-Subkī acknowledged this engagement,⁴⁰ boasting that the work's benefits reached "everyone" and that students preferred it over other

and notes" in Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Mu'īd al-ni'am wa mubīd al-niqam* (London: Luzac & Co., 1978), 26.

³⁴ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'* (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt), 12:52.

³⁵ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 5:164.

³⁶ Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī a'yān al-mi'ah al-thāminah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1997), 4:54; Myhrman, 34; See also, Abū al-Fidā' Murtaḍā 'Alī, 'Qism al-dirāsah', in Jalāl al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Maḥallī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī' fī ḥall Jam' al-jawāmi'* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah Nāshirūn, 2005), 1:42.

³⁷ Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah al-kubrā*, ed. by Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī, and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1992), 10:6.

³⁸ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-aṣr wa-a'wān al-naṣr*, ed. by 'Alī Abū Zayd (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1998), 4:279.

³⁹ These questions and answers are the first part of *Man' al-mawānī'* (pp. 73–279).

⁴⁰ These questions and answers are the first part of *Man' al-mawānī'* (pp. 73–279).



epitomes, with *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* "shining like a moon among stars."⁴¹ He responded to al-Asadī's queries in detail in 762/1361, just two years after the work's completion. Al-Asadī also produced a commentary, *Tashnīf al-Masāmi' fī Sharḥ Jam' al-Jawāmi'*.⁴² Likewise, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf Jamāl al-Dīn al-Khurāsānī posed a number of queries during a visit from Ḥalab.⁴³

Pleased with the work's wide acclaim, claiming there was "no gathering without discussion of it"⁴⁴ Al-Subkī composed his auto-commentary *Man' al-Mawānī'*, devoted to answering such questions and clarifying objections raised by students and peers alike. Remarkably, this intense scholarly exchange unfolded within only a few years of the work's release, with final revisions to *Man' al-Mawānī'* completed in Sha'bān 767/1366.⁴⁵

A Standard Textbook for the Study of Uṣūl al-Fiqh

By the ninth century AH, *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* had firmly established itself as a seminal textbook, partly displacing previously popular works in the field. This shift marked a turning point, attracting scholars from diverse geographical regions and across madhhab affiliations. An examination of *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, the biographical dictionary of 9th/15th-century scholars compiled by Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), reveals numerous figures who not only studied the text but also memorized and taught it. Examples include Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū al-'Abbās al-Shuḡrī (d. 885/1480),⁴⁶ Ja'far ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sanhūrī (b. 810/1407),⁴⁷ Ibn Rajab Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (b. 847/1443),⁴⁸ and Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān al-Dimyāṭī (b. 852/1448). The practice of memorization was widespread, as seen in the cases of Muḥammad ibn Khalīl Abū Ḥāmid al-Balbīsī (b. 817/1414),⁴⁹ Khalīl ibn 'Abd Allāh (b. 825/1422),⁵⁰ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Amīn al-Dīn al-'Abbāsī (b. 838/1434),⁵¹ and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 873/1468).⁵²

This widespread adoption by students and teachers inspired the composition of numerous commentaries. Most commentators first studied *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* in depth before lecturing on it, often alongside their own commentaries. For instance, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459)⁵³

⁴¹ Al-Subkī, *Man' al-mawānī'*, 73.

⁴² Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 9:21.

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

⁴⁴ Al-Subkī *al-mawānī'* (pp. 280–292).

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

⁴⁶ Al-Sakhāwī notes his commentary on *Jam' al-jawāmi'* and indicates that he typically relies on it in his *uṣūlī* writings, as if he has memorized it, al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 2:190.

⁴⁷ al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* 3:68.

⁴⁸ al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* 2:121.

⁴⁹ al-Kamāl ibn Abī Sharīf, 7:234.

⁵⁰ al-Kamāl ibn Abī Sharīf, 3:198.

⁵¹ al-Kamāl ibn Abī Sharīf, 9:25.

⁵² al-Kamāl ibn Abī Sharīf, 6:284.

⁵³ 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-'Irāqī, Ibn Ḥajar and 'Izz ibn Jamā'ah. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-



taught the text extensively; his students, such as Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh (b. 831/1428), learned both the matn and his commentary.⁵⁴ Notably, al-Maḥallī’s teachers, al-Walī al-‘Irāqī, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, and ‘Izz ibn Jamā‘ah (a direct student of al-Subkī), had themselves engaged in studying, teaching, and commenting on the work. Over time, al-Maḥallī’s commentary became the primary gateway to the matn, as in the case of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī (d. 973/1565), who studied it under Zayn al-Dīn al-Maḥallī.⁵⁵

The 10th/16th century saw even wider dissemination. The polymath Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) studied portions of the text with al-‘Izz Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kinānī, a Ḥanbalī *qāḍī al-quḍāt*.⁵⁶ Figures such as Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Ḥalabī (d. 921/1515)⁵⁷ and Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (d. 937/1530)⁵⁸ They are among those known to have memorized the entire text. In various regions, the completion of *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* was formally recognized through *ijāzahs*, as in the case of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520), who certified Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Riḍā to teach it.⁵⁹

The text by heart and recommends its commentaries for further mastery of the subject.

The text maintained its prominence well beyond the early modern period. Al-Ghazzī, for example, acknowledged studying it with Ḥasan ibn Iskandar (d. 950/1543).⁶⁰ In the 12th/18th century, the Ḥanbalī scholar Abū al-Mawāhib⁶¹ attended lectures on *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* by al-Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī al-‘Āmirī at al-Madrasah al-Shāmiyyah in Damascus. In the 13th/19th century, the Yemeni mujtahid Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Shawkānī (d. 1255/1839) studied parts of the text under Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Aḥmad (d. 1207/1792)⁶² and later lectured on it along with its commentaries and super-commentaries.⁶³ Al-Shawkānī even listed *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* among the essential works for achieving *ijtihād* in *uṣūl al-fiqh*.⁶⁴ Similarly, the Indian reformist Siddīq Ḥasan Khān (d. 1307/1890) recommended that serious students memorize the matn and consult its major commentaries for mastery.⁶⁵

Beyond its relevance to *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* was also referenced for its theological

Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī‘ bi maḥāsini man ba‘da al-qarn al-sābi‘*, ed. by Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1998), 2:42; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 7:40.

⁵⁴ See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 8:95.

⁵⁵ Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā‘irah bi a‘yān al-mi‘ah al-‘āshirah*. ed. by Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1997), 3:158.

⁵⁶ Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib* 1:228.

⁵⁷ Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib* 1:69–70; ‘Abd al-Ḥayy ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1998), 8:113–14.

⁵⁸ Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 2:22.

⁵⁹ Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 2:244.

⁶⁰ Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 2:135.

⁶¹ Abū al-Mawāhib ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir, born in 1044, was the Ḥanbalī *mufti* in Damascus. Muḥammad Ḥalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī a‘yān al-qarn al-thānī ‘ashar*, ed. by Akram Ḥasan al-‘Ulābī (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 2002), 1:79–81.

⁶² Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī‘*, 1:253.

⁶³ Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī‘*, 1:318.

⁶⁴ Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī‘*, 2:22.

⁶⁵ Siddīq ibn Ḥasan al-Qannawjī, *Abjad al-‘ulūm* (Lahore: al-Maktabah al-Quddūsiyyah, 1983), 1:368.



and Sufi content. This spurred the production of works analyzing its theological passages.⁶⁶ And led certain Sufi masters to integrate its concluding section on *taṣawwuf* into their teachings, such as ‘Alī ibn ‘Aṭīyyah al-Ḥamawī (d. 936/1529), who granted *ijāzahs* for this portion to disciples like ‘Alī ibn Maymūn.⁶⁷

Significantly, the influence of *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* transcended both geographic and madhhab boundaries. Though a Shāfi‘ī work, it became a standard advanced textbook in *uṣūl al-fiqh* for Shāfi‘ī circles worldwide,⁶⁸ Including Egypt, Palestine, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Malaysia, Singapore, Somalia, Syria, Thailand, Yemen, and beyond. It found a place not only in traditional learning contexts, such as mosque-based lessons, madrasahs, and *khānqāhs*, but also in the formal curricula of leading Islamic universities.

Al-Azhar University, one of the oldest and most respected institutions in the Muslim world, prescribed *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* as the primary textbook for *uṣūl al-fiqh* for centuries.⁶⁹ The text was traditionally taught alongside *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*, with additional glosses recommended for further study.⁷⁰ This pedagogical tradition inspired prominent Azharī scholars such as al-Bannānī, al-‘Aṭṭār, and al-Shirbinī to compose super commentaries (*hawāshī*) and marginal notes on both *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* and al-Maḥallī’s commentary. Even after its removal from the official curriculum, the text continued to attract considerable interest from professors and students. A notable example is Muḥammad Ḥasnayn Makhlūf (d. 1355/1936), a Mālikī scholar and key reformer at al-Azhar, who lectured on the text for nearly four decades to self-motivated students.⁷¹ He also produced a two-volume *ḥāshiyah* and an independent treatise on it.⁷²

As a leading centre of learning, al-Azhar set a precedent for other Islamic institutions worldwide. *Al-Zaytūnah University* likewise designated *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* as its *uṣūlī* text for extended periods,⁷³ with professors such as Ḥasan al-Saynāwī⁷⁴ contributing additional commentaries.⁷⁵ However, educational paradigms gradually shifted, as many modern Islamic

⁶⁶ For example, ‘Abd Allāh Bākathīr al-Ḥāḍramī versified the theological portion. See, Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn*, 140.

⁶⁷ Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 2:205.

⁶⁸ Ṭāhā Jābir al-‘Alwānī, *Uṣūl al-fiqh al-Islāmī manhaj baḥth wa ma‘rifah*, 2nd edn (Riyad: al-Dār al-‘Ilmiyyah li al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1995), 68.

⁶⁹ ‘Aqīlah, *Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*, 11.

⁷⁰ See the comments of ‘Abd Allāh Drāz in “*Muqaddimah*” to al-Shāṭibī, Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā, *al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-sharī‘ah* ed. by ‘Abd Allāh Darrāz (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2005), 1:9.

⁷¹ See *Tarjamat al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasnayn Makhlūf al-‘Adwī* in Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā al-Shāṭibī, *al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-sharī‘ah*, ed. by Abū ‘Ubaydah Mashhūr ibn Ḥasan (Saudi Arabia: Dār Ibn ‘Affān, 1997), 7:70; ‘Abd Allāh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Ṭabaqāt al-Uṣūliyyīn*, 2nd edn (Beirut: Muḥammad Amīn Damj, 1974), 3:190.

⁷² See his work on some linguistic discussions of *Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*, *al-Muṭlaq wa al-muqayyad ‘inda al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī fī kitābihi Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘* which is edited by Aḥmad al-Faylālī and published from Oman, and another work on the introduction, *al-Qawl al-Jāmi‘ fī al-Kashfī ‘an Sharḥ Muqaddimat Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*.

⁷³ ‘Aqīlah, *Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*, 11.

⁷⁴ Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥāj ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Saynāwī was a senior lecturer of Qur’anic recitation in the Zaytunah University.

⁷⁵ 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 ‘Āshūr. The work has been published in three volumes. Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥāj ‘Umar al-Saynāwī, *al-Aṣl al-jāmi‘ li idāḥ al-durar al-manẓūmah fī salk Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘* (Tunisia: Maṭba‘at al-Nahḍah, 1928).



universities moved from a text-based approach to subject-based curricula, emphasizing thematic coverage over reliance on a single classical text.

Despite these changes, several contemporary institutions continue to teach *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* as the main *uṣūlī* textbook. *Darul Huda Islamic University* in Kerala, India,⁷⁶ And *Zaytuna College* in Berkeley, California, is a notable example. *Zaytuna* not only prescribes *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* but also incorporates one of its latest commentaries, *al-Sharḥ al-Jadīd*.⁷⁷ By 'Abd al-Karīm al-Dabbān (d. 1413/1993), along with supplementary works such as *al-Ghayth al-Hāmi'* by Walī al-Dīn al-'Irāqī and various marginal glosses.⁷⁸

At *Darul Huda*, *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*, together with *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*, forms an essential part of the Shāfi'ī curriculum. It is studied over three years, beginning in the second year of the degree programme and continuing into the first year of the master's programme. The teaching method follows a traditional reading-based approach, with explanations delivered in the local language (Malayalam). Recent reforms have adjusted the course to five semesters at the degree level. Notably, the focus has shifted from conventional sentence-by-sentence textual parsing (*'ibārah*) to thematic study, linking discussions in the *matn* to contemporary issues and supplementing them with modern reference works.⁷⁹

The enduring popularity of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* is evident in many regions. In Iraq, particularly in Kurdistan,⁸⁰ It is still studied in mosque-based study circles (*ḥalaqāt*), with some preferring the abridgement *Lubb al-Uṣūl* by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī.⁸¹ In Indonesia's *pesantren* system, *uṣūl al-fiqh* is a compulsory subject, and *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*, alongside *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*, al-Bannānī's marginalia, and al-Shirbīnī's glosses,⁸² Remains central to the curriculum.

In Kerala, a South Indian state where the Shāfi'ī school predominates, *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* is widely taught in traditional *pallidars* (mosque-based madrasas),⁸³ typically at the third stage of religious education,⁸⁴ following a foundational text such as *al-Waraqāt* by Imām al-Ḥaramayn. It

⁷⁶ *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.

⁷⁷ 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥumādī al-Dabbān, *al-Sharḥ al-jadīd 'alā Jam' al-jawāmi'*, ed. by Salāḥ Sāyir Farhān al-'Ubaydī (Iraq: Dār Ibn Ḥazam, 2016).

⁷⁸ 'Master Degree Curriculum: General Courses', *Zaytuna College*, accessed October 21, 2023 <<https://zaytuna.edu/academics/masters-degree/ma-courses>>

⁷⁹ *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 *Jam' al-jawāmi'*. See Jāmiyah Dār al-Hudā al-Islāmiyyah, Kerala, *al-Manhaj al-Dirāsī 2022-2023, marḥalat al-dirāsāt al-āliyah*, 65-69.

⁸⁰ Ḥasan Khālid Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd, *Naqd uslūb al-Zalmī wa naqḍu i'tirāḍātihi* (Irbil-Iraq, 2010), 32.

⁸¹ Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī's Jam' al-jawāmi'*, 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.

⁸² Zubair, 'Religious higher education,' 138-78.

⁸³ See on *Pallidars* system of education in Kerala, Zubair, 'Religious Higher Education', 179-242.

⁸⁴ 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



is also a fixture in Sharia colleges such as Jāmi‘ah al-Nūriyyah (Pattikkad) and its affiliated junior colleges.⁸⁵ Despite Muslims constituting only 26% of Kerala’s population, the consistent demand for *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* and *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* is reflected in the local book market.⁸⁶

The text has also transcended its Shāfi‘ī origins, gaining popularity among Mālikī scholars. Shaykh Ḥammād ibn Muḥammad (d. 1418/1997), a distinguished ḥadīth scholar from Mali, recalls studying *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* due to the scarcity of Mālikī *uṣūl* texts, memorizing it, and versifying its more intricate sections. He described it as the final text to study after *al-Waraqāt* and *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, and recommended memorizing *al-Kawkab al-Sāṭi‘*, al-Suyūṭī’s versification.⁸⁷ The work continues to be a fixture in Mali’s traditional educational system, known as *Majliss* or *Mayss*.⁸⁸

In Mauritania, *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* is studied in the final stage of the *maḥāḍir* system,⁸⁹ following *al-Waraqāt*⁹⁰ and *Marāqī al-Su‘ūd* by Sayyidī ‘Abd Allāh al-Shanqīṭī.⁹¹ In Algeria, scholars such as Muḥammad ibn Mālik al-Fulānī wrote commentaries,⁹² while ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tanlānī (d. 1231/1816) studied the text and *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* under Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Mayārah al-Fāsī, consulting a range of commentaries.⁹³ Its acceptance among Tunisian scholars is attested in the biographies of Muḥammad ibn ‘Iqāb (d. 851/1447), Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Faḍl Kharūf (d. 966/1558),⁹⁴ and Muḥammad Ṭāhir (d. 1284/1868), grandfather of the renowned *maqāṣid* scholar Ibn ‘Ashūr.⁹⁵ Surveys of Mālikī biographical dictionaries, such as *Shajarat al-Nūr*

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).

⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁶ 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.

⁸⁷ ‘Abd al-Awwal ibn Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, *al-Majmū‘ fī tarjamat al-‘Allāmah al-Muḥaddis al-Shaykh Ḥammād ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī*, Maktabah al-Shāmilah, 1:264, 563, 401.

⁸⁸ Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī’s Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*, 165.

⁸⁹ For more details on the *maḥāḍir* educational institution of Mauritania see Al-Khalīl al-Naḥwī, *Bilād Shanqīt al-Manārah wa-al-Rabāṭ* (Tunisia: al-Munazzamah al-‘Arabiyyah li’l-Tarbiyah wa’l-Thaqāfah wa’l-‘Ulūm, 1987), 47.

⁹⁰ Introduction, *Irshād al-Muqallidīn*, 39–40.

⁹¹ Al-Khalīl al-Naḥwī, *Bilād Shanqīt*, 213–17.

⁹² Muḥammad Bay Balālam, *Irshād al-ḥā’ir ‘ilā ma‘rifat qabīlat Fulān fī janūb al-Jazā’ir* (al-Maktabah al-Shāmilah), 88, 79.

⁹³ Muḥammad Bay Balālam, *al-Ghusn al-dānī fī tarjamat al-Shaykh al-Tanlānī* (al-Maktabah al-Shāmilah), 1:11.

⁹⁴ Muḥammad Maḥfūz, *Tarājum al-mu‘allifīn al-Tūnisiyyīn*, 2nd edn (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islām, 1994), 3:408, 2:193.

⁹⁵ Maḥfūz, *Tarājum*, 3:300.



al-Zakiyyah, confirm the text's wide appeal among Mālikī scholars, particularly in Africa.⁹⁶

Despite hailing from Turkey, a predominantly Ḥanafī region, the eminent luminary Bediuzzaman Said Nursi (d. 1960) memorized *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* in just one week.⁹⁷ The Ḥanbalī-Salafī scholar 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan (d. 1285/1869), grandson of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, also studied the text along with *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* under Ḥasan al-Quwaysinī, receiving an *ijāzah* during his stay in Egypt.⁹⁸ Muḥammad Amīn ibn 'Abdillāh (d. 1441/2019), an influential Shāfi'i-Salafī scholar from Ethiopia, not only studied the text but also produced a *taqīrāt*.⁹⁹ The survival of hundreds of manuscripts of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* and its numerous known and unknown commentaries worldwide attests to its global reputation.¹⁰⁰

The work maintains contemporary relevance through online teaching on platforms such as YouTube and Facebook in multiple languages. A notable example is Shaykh Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Bukhārī's weekly lectures from Masjid al-Ḥaram, Makkah.¹⁰¹ More recently, he oversaw the publication of a comprehensive four-volume academic edition (*al-ḥaqībah al-talīmīyah*) of the text in Saudi Arabia. This edition includes the *matn* alongside corresponding lines from *al-Kawkab al-Sāṭi'*, diagrams (*tashjīr*) summarizing concepts, practical exercises, and a QR code linking to audio recordings of the lectures.¹⁰² This approach exemplifies a broader trend of making classical works relevant to contemporary pedagogy by integrating them into modern educational frameworks, bridging traditional scholarship with present-day learning methods, and reaffirming the enduring significance of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* in today's intellectual landscape.

The Commentary (*Sharḥ*) Works on *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*.

The recognition of *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* as a core textbook for *uṣūl al-fiqh* studies inspired a vast commentary tradition spanning centuries. As noted earlier, the author himself produced an *auto-commentary*, and his students and contemporaries supplemented it with marginal notes, queries, and commentaries. In the same century as its composition, notable works emerged, such as *Tashnīf al-Masāmi' bi-Jam' al-Jawāmi'*¹⁰³ by Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392). Al-Zarkashī's decision to comment on the work is significant given his prolific contributions to various Islamic

⁹⁶ See Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar Makhluḥ, *Shajarat al-nūr al-zakiyyah fī ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyyah* (Lebanon, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2003), 1:594, 1:624.

⁹⁷ 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.

⁹⁸ 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-Laṭīf Āl al-Shaykh, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' Najd* (Riyad: Dār al-Yamāmah, 1972), 60, 66.

⁹⁹ Majmū'atun min al-Mu'allifīn, *al-Mu'jam al-jāmi' fī tarājum al-'ulamā' wa-ṭalabat al-'ilm al-mu'āṣirīn* (al-Maktabah al-Shāmilah), <https://al-maktaba.org/book/2080/291#p20> (accessed August 02, 2022).

¹⁰⁰ Check, for example, <https://almoqtabas.com/ar/manuscripts?find> (accessed August 04, 2022).

¹⁰¹ See https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLHrRbdXRN506r5Cn_7WagsT_OYVaN6E_A (accessed July 28, 2022).

¹⁰² Ḥasan ibn Abd al-Ḥamīd Bukhārī, 'Āmir Bahjat, and Wa'd bint Abdillāh al-Fahd, *al-Ḥaqībah al-talīmīyah li-matni Jam' al-jawāmi' (tashjīrāt wa tadribāt)* (Saudi Arabia: Dār Ṭaybat al-Khaḍirā', 2020).

¹⁰³ It is one of the best and most extensive commentaries. It has been edited and published many times: [a] edited by 'Abd Allāh Rabī' and Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz as PhD thesis, 1995, al-Azhar University, and has been published in four volumes (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qurṭubah, 1999); [b] by Abū 'Amr al-Ḥusaynī and has been published in two volumes; [c] by Mūsā ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsā only to the chapter *Ijmā'* under Aḥmad 'Alī Sayyid Mubārakī, 1985, Maktabat al-Malik Fahd. See also Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn*, 114; 'Aqīlah, *Jam' al-jawāmi'*, 91.



sciences, including his encyclopedic *uṣūlī* masterpiece, *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*. He justified his choice by emphasizing the text's unique citations, penetrating insights, precise definitions, and its ability to combine comprehensiveness with brevity.¹⁰⁴ His student, the eminent ḥadīth scholar Walī al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 826/1422),¹⁰⁵ produced an abridgment of this commentary entitled *al-Ghayth al-Hāmiʿ*.¹⁰⁶

Due to the text's brevity and at times cryptic style, students often relied on commentaries for comprehension. Many commentators explicitly stated that their works were prompted by their students' requests.¹⁰⁷ By the ninth century AH, the number of commentaries had already surpassed thirty, evidence of its expanding scholarly reception. The most influential of these was the ninth-/fifteenth-century commentary by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, which attracted over thirty super-commentaries.¹⁰⁸ Aḥmad al-Kūrānī (d. 893/1488), a contemporary of al-Maḥallī, initiated critical engagement with the work, rejecting many of his explanations.¹⁰⁹ Al-Kamāl Muḥammad ibn Abī Sharīf (d. 906/1500), who taught *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*, followed a similar line of critique.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, al-Maḥallī's commentary emerged as the most authoritative, becoming an indispensable aid for studying the *matn*. In its defense, al-Maḥallī's student Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 893/1488) authored a *ḥāshiyah*, while later Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-ʿAbbādī (d. 992/1585)¹¹¹ composed *al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt*, specifically refuting these criticisms.¹¹²

The ensuing scholarly debates generated a vast body of literature on *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*. The tenth/sixteenth century alone witnessed over thirty works on the text. Although the frequency of new commentaries declined in later centuries, they continued to appear in various forms—full commentaries (*sharḥ*), marginalia such as *Ḥāshiyat al-ʿAṭṭār*, and *taqrīrāt* (marginal notes) such as

¹⁰⁴ 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.

¹⁰⁵ 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-ṭālīʿ*, 1:51-53.

¹⁰⁶ It is edited and published in three volumes, as cited before.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Maḥallī, *al-Badr al-ṭālīʿ*, 66.

¹⁰⁸ Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī's Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, 168-78; ʿAqīlah, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, 95-96.

¹⁰⁹ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 1:24; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālīʿ*, 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.

¹¹⁰ Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ*, 9:66; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālīʿ*, 2:124.

¹¹¹ 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-Ḍawʿ*, 9:24-25, 8:98 respectively.

¹¹² 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 indifāʾi aw-fasādi mā waqaftu ʿalayhi mim mā ʾurida 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.



those by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shirbīnī (d. 1334/1926).¹¹³ Other scholars engaged in versification (*naẓm*), such as Nūr al-Dīn al-Ashmūnī (d. 918/1512).¹¹⁴ In his *al-Badr al-Lāmi‘ fī Naẓm Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*, which he accompanied with an *auto-commentary*, *Ḥam‘ al-Hawāmi‘*.¹¹⁵ A few, like ‘Izz al-Dīn ibn Jamā‘ah (d. 819/1416),¹¹⁶ added *nukat* (critical notes), while his student Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) wrote *al-Ta‘līq* (interlinear notes).¹¹⁷

Some scholars undertook multiple engagements with the text across different formats and lengths. Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520) produced a super-commentary on *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* entitled *al-Nujūm al-Lawāmi‘*,¹¹⁸ abridged *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘* into *Lubb al-Uṣūl*,¹¹⁹ and authored an *auto-commentary* on it, *Ghāyat al-Wuṣūl*.¹²⁰ Ibn Jamā‘ah, besides his *nukat*, composed a commentary titled *al-Ghurar al-Lawāmi‘*.¹²¹ Al-Suyūṭī versified the *matn* in *al-Kawkab al-Sāṭi‘* with

¹¹³ 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 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shirbīnī, *Taqrīrāt al-Shirbīnī*, printed in the margin of afore cited *Ḥāshiyat al-‘Atṭār*.

¹¹⁴ ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsā 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-ṭālī‘*, 1:335.

¹¹⁵ The complete title is *Ḥam‘ al-hawāmi‘ fī sharḥ al-Lam‘ al-lawāmi‘*, 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-Sha‘rānī, see Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan, 3:158.

¹¹⁶ Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Kanānī al-Maqdisī is known as Ibn Jamā‘ah. 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 *Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘* 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-ṭālī‘*, 2:62–63; ‘Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn: tarājum muṣannifī al-kutub al-‘Arabiyyah* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā‘ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1957), 9:111.

¹¹⁷ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa al-durar fī tarjumat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, ed. by Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Majīd (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999), 2:693; Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-‘iqyān fī a’yān al-a’yān* (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1927), 49; Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Munāwī, *al-Yawāqīt wa al-durar fī sharḥ Nukhbat al-fikr*, ed. by Al-Murtaḍā Aḥmad (Riyad: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1999), 1:141.

¹¹⁸ *Al-Nujūm al-lawāmi‘ fī ibrāzī daqā’iq Sharḥ Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘ li al-Maḥallī*, is edited jointly by ‘Abd al-Ḥafīz al-Jazārī and Murtaḍā ‘Alī and published in four volumes by Maktabah al-Rushd, Riyad in 2007.

¹¹⁹ It stands as the most refined abridgement of *Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*, 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.

¹²⁰ 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).

¹²¹ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4:50; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘*, 7:171; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī‘*, 2:62; Myhrman, 27; Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-zunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa al-funūn* (n.p., Dār al-Fikr, 1982), 1:596; Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn*, 115. However, ‘Aqīlah (p. 92) put the title as *al-Najm al-lāmi‘ Sharḥ Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*.



an accompanying *auto-commentary*,¹²² and also provided *nukat* on the text. He justified his versification by noting: “I did not find anyone who had versified it before, despite their versification of the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥāḥib and the *Minhāj* of al-Bayḍāwī. This work deserves more, as no equivalent work has been compiled before or after it.”¹²³

Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘, surpassing its Shāfi‘ī legacy, has elicited commentaries from scholars of other madhhabs. ‘Umar al-Ghaznawī (d. 773/1371),¹²⁴ a Ḥanafī contemporary of al-Subkī, authored *al-Lawāmi‘ fī Sharḥ Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*,¹²⁵ One of its earliest commentaries. Remarkably, at least three other Ḥanafī commentaries exist,¹²⁶ a notable phenomenon in the trajectory of *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature, which is broadly classified into two distinctive styles: *ṭarīqat al-mutakallimīn* (method of the scholastics), represented by the Shāfi‘īs, and *ṭarīqat al-fuqahā’* (method of jurists), represented by the Ḥanafīs.

Given that Mālikīs generally adhered to the style of *ṭarīqat al-mutakallimīn*, also known as the method of the majority (*ṭarīqat al-jumhūr*), inter-madhhab writings were common among them. More than twenty commentaries and supercommentaries by Mālikī scholars can be identified. Notable among these is *al-Ḍiyā’ al-lāmi‘* by Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ḥulūlū (d. 898/1493),¹²⁷ who also authored another extensive commentary, *al-Badr al-ṭālī’*.¹²⁸ One of the most widely accepted supercommentaries on *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*, found in numerous editions and commonly used by students, is *Ḥāshiyat al-Bannānī*¹²⁹ by the Mālikī scholar ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Jād Allāh al-Bannānī (d. 1198/1783). Even scholars from the Ḥanbalī madhhab, known for producing fewer works in *uṣūl*, attempted commentaries, such as *al-Badr al-lāmi‘ sharḥ Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘* by Aḥmad Maṣṣūr Āl Sabālik, an influential Salafī scholar.¹³⁰

In addition to these commentaries, several works addressed specific sections or topics discussed in *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*.¹³¹ For instance, *al-Badr al-sāṭi‘ ‘alā muqaddimat Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘* by

¹²² Multiple editions of the work are available, for example, Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-sāṭi‘ fī naẓm Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*, ed. by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥafnāwī (Cairo: Dar al-Salām, 2005).

¹²³ Al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ al-Kawkab*, 1:34–35.

¹²⁴ He is ‘Umar ibn Ishāq 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.

¹²⁵ Ismā‘īl Bāshā Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn: asmā’ al-mu‘allifīn wa āthār al-muṣannifīn* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Thurāth al-‘Arabī, 1951), 1:790; al-Marāghī, *al-Faṭḥ al-mubīn*, 2:188; Sha‘bān, *Uṣūl al-fiqh*, 367.

¹²⁶ Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī’s Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*, 167–78.

¹²⁷ Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥulūlū, *al-Ḍiyā’ al-lāmi‘ sharḥ Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn ‘Alī al-Namlah (Riyad: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1999).

¹²⁸ Al-Marāghī, *al-Faṭḥ al-mubīn*, 3:44; Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn*, 117; Namlah in Ḥulūlū, *al-Ḍiyā’ al-lāmi‘*, 1:29.

¹²⁹ 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. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Jād Allāh al-Bannānī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Bannānī ‘alā Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1998).

¹³⁰ See his official website: <http://drahmedsbalek.com/newver/?omary> (accessed on 03-08-2022).

¹³¹ Al-Marāghī, *al-Faṭḥ 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; ‘Aqīlah, *Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘*, 95; Namlah, in Ḥulūlū, *al-Ḍiyā’ al-lāmi‘*, 1:32.



Muḥammad ibn Bakhīt ibn Ḥusayn al-Maṭṭī (d. 1354/1935),¹³² a Ḥanafī scholar, focuses on its introduction. Numerous others have followed this approach.¹³³ Al-Subkī's definition of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl* was distinctive, prompting treatises both opposing and supporting it. An example is *al-Kalim al-jawāmi' fī bayān mas'alat al-uṣūl bi-Jam' al-jawāmi'*¹³⁴ by Ismā'īl ibn Ghunaym al-Jawharī (d. 1165/1751), followed by three similar works.¹³⁵ Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī¹³⁶ elaborated on its *uṣūl al-dīn* section in *Sharḥ 'Aqīdat Jam' al-Jawāmi'*.¹³⁷

The tradition of writing commentaries or marginalia on *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* continues, although the classical ḥāshiyah format has largely given way to *ta'liq* (commentary) or *taḥqīq* (critical edition) in the contemporary period. Furthermore, *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* and many of its commentaries have been the subject of university dissertations, with numerous editions published globally. Criticism of the work also persists. For example, Muṣṭafā Ibrāhīm al-Zalmī authored the article *Akhṭā' Uṣūliyyah li-Ibn al-Subkī*,¹³⁸ pointing out errors allegedly committed by al-Subkī. This was subsequently refuted by Ḥasan Khālīd Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd al-Muftī¹³⁹ in his work *Naqd Uslūb al-Zalmī wa-Naqd I'tirāḍātihi*.¹⁴⁰ Such reciprocal scholarly engagement, even in modern times, attests to the enduring reputation and significance of al-Subkī and his *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*.

As a Source for Subsequent Scholarship

Jam' al-Jawāmi' has served as an invaluable resource for subsequent *uṣūl al-fiqh* scholarship. In it, al-Subkī consolidates his views on various issues and collates the opinions of early scholars across related disciplines. Although he does not cite specific works in *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*, the author notes in the preface that it draws from approximately one hundred works, encapsulating the essence of his two commentaries. At the beginning of *Raf' al-Ḥājib*, al-Subkī lists around sixty sources, noting that naming them all would be too time-consuming and would waste

¹³² 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 *Jam' al-jawāmi'*. Al-Marāghī, *al-Faṭḥ al-mubīn*, 3:181–87.

¹³³ Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī's Jam' al-jawāmi'*, 167–78.

¹³⁴ 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).

¹³⁵ Jabir Ali Hudawi, *al-Subkī's Jam' al-jawāmi'*, 178–79.

¹³⁶ 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 *Jam' al-jawāmi'*. Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, the author of *al-Kawākib*, is his grandson. Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, 2:3–5.

¹³⁷ It is a commentary of the *uṣūl al-dīn* part of *Jam' al-jawāmi'*. Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, 2:5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, 8:254; Ḥasanāt, *al-Imām Tāj al-Dīn*, 120.

¹³⁸ Dr Muṣṭafā Ibrāhīm al-Zalmī scrutinized the work in an article titled *akhṭā' uṣūliyyah li-Ibn al-Subkī fī kitābihi Jam' al-jawāmi'* (the *uṣūlī* mistakes of al-Subkī in his *Jam' al-jawāmi'*) 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.

¹³⁹ The author is the head of the Department of *Sharī'ah*, Kulīyyah of Islamic Studies, Salahuddin University, Erbil.

¹⁴⁰ 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.



paper.¹⁴¹ This list includes only works within *uṣūl* and its related fields, excluding sources from other disciplines and previous commentaries on *Mukhtaṣar* and *Minhāj*. Thus, the actual number of sources would surpass one hundred. As a science of principles, *uṣūl al-fiqh* naturally intersects with a wide range of disciplines, including the sciences of Qurʾān and ḥadīth, fiqh, theology, language, and dialectics. Al-Subkī underscores this breadth, 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.¹⁴²

The influence of *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* on subsequent *uṣūl al-fiqh* discourse spans all madhhabs. In the Shāfiʿī school, a substantial portion of later *uṣūlī* compendia, many of which have been mentioned above, consist of commentaries on *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*. Notably, al-Zarkashī's *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ* serves as an encyclopaedic work in *uṣūl al-fiqh*. It is significant that al-Zarkashī also authored a commentary on *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*, suggesting possible influence, even though he makes no explicit reference to al-Subkī or his work. The structure and content of another of al-Zarkashī's works, *Salāsil al-Dhahab*, likewise exhibit similarities to *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*.¹⁴³ An influential later manuscript is *Lubb al-Uṣūl*, an abridgement of *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī.

In Ḥanafī literature, al-Subkī is frequently cited in *al-Taqrīr wa al-Taḥrīr*, a commentary by Ibn Amīr al-Ḥāj (d. 879/1474) on *al-Taḥrīr* by Ibn al-Humām (d. 861/1457), both highly regarded works within the school. Given its integration of both Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī *uṣūl* styles, this work relies extensively on *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ* and treats al-Subkī's opinions as authoritative representations of the Shāfiʿī school.¹⁴⁴

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 engages in detailed comparisons between the opinions and word choices of various scholars and those of al-Subkī. While delineating the conditions for the *ḥukm* of the original case (*aṣl*) in *qiyās*, he emphasizes that it should be a *sharʿī* issue, justifying his stance by aligning with the opinion of al-Subkī, an opinion unanimously accepted by all commentators.¹⁴⁵ This is significant, as unanimity among commentators on a *matn*'s position lends it legitimacy and often signifies the originality of subsequent *sharḥ* works, a dimension sometimes underestimated. Another prominent Ḥanbalī scholar, Ibn al-Najjār (d. 972/1564), also extensively quotes al-Subkī and several commentaries on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* in his *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-munīr*.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Al-Subkī, *Rafʿ al-ḥājjib*, 1:238.

¹⁴² Al-Subkī, *Manʿ al-mawānī*, 369–70.

¹⁴³ ʿAqīlah, 'Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ', 130.

¹⁴⁴ 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.

¹⁴⁵ 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.

¹⁴⁶ 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.



The widespread reception of *Jam' al-jawāmi'* among Mālikīs as a foundational text in *uṣūl al-fiqh* profoundly influenced later *uṣūlī* works within the 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 *ijtihādīc* qualification, as presented in *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī*.¹⁴⁷ He also cites *al-Ḍiyā' al-lāmi'*, a Mālikī commentary on *Jam' al-jawāmi'* by Ḥulūlū,¹⁴⁸ and *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-sāṭi'*, the versification by al-Suyūṭī.¹⁴⁹

Al-San'ānī (d. 1182/1769), the renowned jurist and prolific author, regularly refers to al-Subkī's opinions in *Jam' al-jawāmi'* in his works *Irshād al-nuqqād*¹⁵⁰ and *Ijābat al-sā'il*.¹⁵¹ Al-Shawkānī also draws upon *Jam' al-jawāmi'* in several of his writings, including *Irshād al-fuḥūl*.¹⁵² In modern scholarship, figures such as Muḥammad Amīn Suwayd al-Dimashqī (d. 1355/1936)¹⁵³ and Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ḥajwī (d. 1376/1956)¹⁵⁴ cite *uṣūlī* issues from *Jam' al-jawāmi'* in their respective works. Nādiyah, in her study on *ijtihād*, quotes al-Subkī extensively on numerous issues, including the definition of the *mujtahid*, the hierarchy of *mujtahids*, the invalidation of an *ijtihād*, and periods devoid of *mujtahids*.¹⁵⁵ She also engages with commentaries by al-Maḥallī, al-Bannānī, and Ibn Qāsim.

However, references to *Jam' al-jawāmi'* are relatively scarce in non-Arabic works, likely due to the challenges of comprehending its dense style. Nevertheless, some scholars have recorded al-Subkī's *uṣūlī* positions. For instance, in his discussion on the total extinction of *mujtahids* at any given time, Hashim Kamali lists al-Subkī among the majority who affirm such a possibility.¹⁵⁶ Both *Jam' al-jawāmi'* and its commentaries are cited by Imran Nyazee in his *Islamic Jurisprudence*. Aḥmad Ḥasan stands out for his extensive use of al-Subkī in various works; in *The Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*,¹⁵⁷ He cites al-Subkī on issues such as (1) the definitions of *karāhah* (detestability) and *khilāf al-awlā* (suboptimality), (2) *'azimah* (strict ruling) and *rukhsah* (dispensation), and (3) the definitions of *adā'* (timely fulfilment) and *qaḍā'* (compensatory

¹⁴⁷ Sayyidī Bāb ibn al-Shaykh Sayyib Muḥammad al-Shanqīṭī, *Irshād al-muqallidīn 'inda ikhtilāf al-mujtahidīn*, ed. by Al-Ṭayyib ibn 'Umar (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1997), 68-69, 185.

¹⁴⁸ See al-Shanqīṭī, 159, 195, 207 and 226.

¹⁴⁹ For example, al-Shanqīṭī, 250-52.

¹⁵⁰ Al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il, *Irshād al-nuqqād ilā taysīr al-ijtihād*, ed. Salāḥuddīn Maqbūl Aḥmad (Kuwait: al-Dar al-Salafiyya, 1405), 27.

¹⁵¹ Al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il, *Kitāb uṣūl al-fiqh al-musammā Ijābat al-sā'il sharḥ Bughyat al-āmil* (Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1986), 240.

¹⁵² Shawkānī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, *Irshād al-fuḥūl ilā taḥqīq al-ḥaqq min 'ilm al-uṣūl*, ed. Al-Shaykh Aḥmad 'Azw (Damascus: Dār al-Kutub, 1999), 1:273.

¹⁵³ Muḥammad Amīn Suwayd al-Dimashqī, *Taṣḥīl al-ḥuṣūl 'alā qawā'id al-uṣūl*, ed. Muṣṭafā Sa'id al-Khinn (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1991), 67.

¹⁵⁴ See his work, *al-Fikr al-sāmī fī tārikh al-fiqh al-Islām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1995).

¹⁵⁵ See Nādiyah Sharīf al-'Umarī, *al-Ijtihād fī al-Islām* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 2001), 17, 188, 214, 224 respectively.

¹⁵⁶ Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, (2nd ed., Malaysia: Ilmiyah Publishers, 2000), 386.

¹⁵⁷ Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee, *Islamic jurisprudence* (Malaysia: Other books, 2003), 364.



fulfilment).¹⁵⁸ The recently published *The Compendium of Seminary Texts*, a translation of various works in the instrumental sciences, also includes an *uṣūl al-fiqh* treatise based on *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* and its commentaries.¹⁵⁹

These examples, while not exhaustive, clearly demonstrate that *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* has been consistently regarded as a reliable and authoritative source by later scholars, including contemporary researchers writing 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 earlier literature. Beyond its historical significance, it continued to exert a profound influence, 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. Historical records attest to its study alongside commentaries such as *Sharḥ al-Maḥallī* and supercommentaries like *Ḥāshiyat al-Bannānī*, reflecting evolving patterns within traditional Islamic education. Despite its Shāfiʿī origins, the text's embrace by scholars from various schools, notably Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs, demonstrates a vibrant cross-*madhhab* engagement within the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh*.

The fact that eminent scholars such as al-Zarkashī, Ibn Jamāʿah, al-ʿIrāqī, al-Suyūṭī, al-ʿAsqalānī, and Zakariyyah al-Anṣārī authored commentaries on it attests to its depth and complexity, challenging the common perception of commentaries as mere reiterations of earlier works. On the contrary, the sustained debates among commentators have generated a diverse literary tradition, 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 would offer valuable insights into the evolution of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in the post-classical era and into the intellectual contributions of commentary literature. While its central role in contemporary *uṣūlī* studies may have diminished, classical texts such as *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ* continue to command respect among traditional scholars, serving as a cornerstone for the authentic understanding of the discipline.

CRedit Authorship Contribution Statement

Mohamed Jabir Ali al-Hudawi: Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing -original Draft, Supervision, Methodology, Writing - review & editing.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no competing financial interests or personal relationships that could influence the work reported in this paper.

Data Availability

Data will be made available on request.

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¹⁵⁸ Ahmad Hasan, *Principles of Islamic jurisprudence*, 124, 155, 212–13 respectively.

¹⁵⁹ 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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