



Some Preliminary Observations on al-Šāfiʿī and Later *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*: The Case of the Term *bayān*

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Abstract

This article follows the reception of Šāfiʿis (d. 204/820) concept of bayān, beginning with Ğāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) and continuing with discussions in selected later works of uṣūl al-fiqh. For Šāfiʿi, in his Risāla, the term covered categories of divine legislative pronouncements and hermeneutical categories for addressing apparent contradictions between them. Ğāḥiẓ, in the course of elaborating his own, different concept of bayān, seems to have been polemically engaged with Šāfiʿis. For Ğāḥiẓ, as for the later uṣūl authors, the term connotes a successful act of communication, yet later authors continued to attempt to explain Šāfiʿis use of the term, which fit badly into their own conceptual framework. The disjunction between Šāfiʿis and later authors' use of the term is emblematic of what is tentatively termed the linguistic turn in mature uṣūl al-fiqh.

Keywords

Šāfiʿī, Šāḥiz, bayān, uṣūl al-fiqh, legal theory, Islamic law, linguistics, communication.

I. Introduction

This article traces the concept of *bayān* as elaborated in the *Risāla* of Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Šāfiʿī (d. 204/820) through its reception in selected later works of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. This investigation is worthwhile for several reasons: (a) because we would like to know generally how Šāfiʿī's ideas were understood by later legal theorists, and (b) because I have argued in a recent monograph that the

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¹ This paper was previously presented at the Conference of the School of Abbasid Studies in St. Andrews, Scotland, in June 2006 and at Yale University in November 2006. Thanks to those in attendance, and also to the editorial board of *Arabica*, for very helpful comments. I became aware of the 2003 doctoral dissertation of Mohyddin Yahia (École Pratique des Hautes Études), which contains a discussion of Shāfiʿi's concept of *bayān*, too late to take advantage of it for this article.

² The reception of Šāfi'i's ideas by the later *uṣūl* tradition has received some attention. An earlier generation of scholars held Šāfi'ī to occupy a foundational position with respect to *uṣūl al-fiqh*. See, e.g., N.J. Coulson's *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1964, ch. 4; and also G. Makdisi, "The Juridical Theology of al-Shāfi'ī: Origins and Significance of *Uṣūl al-fiqh*," *Studia Islamica*, 59 (1984), p. 5-47. This view has been challenged by

concept of *bayān* is central to Šāfiʿī's discussion of legal theory in his *Risāla*.³ In the course of pursuing this investigation from these two angles, it was striking how various the interpretations of this idea from Šāfiʿī turned out to be in the later works on legal theory. This fact suggested a third reason for pursuing this line of research: (c) it seemed possible to use the different responses to Šāfiʿī's concept of *bayān* to try to understand the emergence of *uṣūl al-fiqh* as an organized field of knowledge with its own distinctive discursive structures. Accordingly, in this article, in addition to tracing the reception of the concept of *bayān* from the *Risāla*, some reflections on macro-level tendencies in the history of the *uṣūl al-fiqh* tradition will be offered concerning, in particular, the transition from concern with structure and contradiction evident in early Islamic legal hermeneutics to the concern with language and communication that is prominent in works of *uṣūl al-fiqh*.

In what follows, I will briefly describe Šāfiʿi's concept of *bayān*, and trace its trajectory in later works by al-Ğāḥiz, al-Ğaṣṣāṣ, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Ğuwaynī, Ibn ʿAqīl, and Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkašī. I will then return to Ğāḥiz to consider what his polemical engagement with Šāfiʿī suggests about the 'linguistic turn' in Islamic legal thought.

II. Šāfi'ī's Concept of bayān

The first sustained discussion of a legal-hermeneutical concept in the *Risāla* begins immediately after its introductory "mission-topos" section, 4 where Šāfi'ī

⁴ "Mission topos" is a term coined by Michael Cook to describe the opening passages of



a number of scholars, and the challenges have brought forth their own responses. For the sharpest challenge, see W. Hallaq, "Was al-Shāfi'ī the Master Architect of Islamic Jurisprudence?", International Journal of Middle East Studies, 25 (1993), p. 587-605. For a response to Hallaq with further references, see D. Stewart, "Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī's al-Bayān 'an uṣūl al-aḥkām and the Genre of Uṣūl al-fiqh in Ninth Century Baghdad," in J.E. Montgomery (ed.), 'Abbasid Studies: Occasional Papers of the School of 'Abbasid Studies, Cambridge 6-10 July 2002, Leuven, Peeters, 2004, p. 321-49, at 322-3 and notes. See also my "The Reception of al-Shāfi'ī's Concept of Amr and Nahy in the Thought of his Student al-Muzanī," in J. Lowry, D. Stewart and S. Toorawa (eds), Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of George Makdisi, Cambridge, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004, p. 128-49.

³ Joseph E. Lowry, Early Islamic Legal Theory: The Risāla of Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi ī, Leiden, Brill, 2007. This article expands on and presents additional evidence for some of the conclusions presented therein, especially p. 51-7 and 364-6. In-depth investigation of Shāfi ī's other works on legal theory, and of the theoretical underpinnings of his Kitāb al-Umm, remain desiderata of the field. The origins of the technical terms of Muslim legal hermeneutics, such as bayān, also require further study. One may hypothesize a connection with the evolution of grammar and Qur'ānic exegesis, but there may also be connections with discussions of logic and language in Late Antiquity. See Cornelia Schöck, Koranexegese, Grammatik und Logik: Zum Verhältnis von arabischer und aristotelischer Urteils- und Konsequenz- und Schlusslehre, Leiden, Brill, 2006.

defines the term *bayān* and gives extensive examples of what he means by it. His definition is, it must be said, somewhat vague. The *bayān* is, Šāfiʿī tells us,

a noun comprising several convergent basic meanings which are, however, divergent in their ramifications [$ism \check{g}\bar{a}mi$ [$ism \check{g}\bar{a}mi$ [sic] $mu\check{g}tami$ at al-usūl mutaša ibat al-furū]. The lowest common denominator among those convergent and yet divergent meanings is that a $bay\bar{a}n$ is directed to whosoever is addressed thereby among those persons in whose language the Qur an was revealed. ($Ris\bar{a}la$, § 53-54)

In other words, the *bayān* represents a statement, communication, or address, from God, to someone, in the Arabic language. It resembles the term hitab in later $us\bar{u}l$ al-figh.

Šāfiʿi's examples of the *bayān* clearly illustrate what he means by the term in the context of the revealed law: it refers, for him, to the various forms that God's announcements of norms to mankind take. More specifically, it describes the finite number of textual arrangements, conceived as discrete revelatory structures composed of the Qurʾān and the Sunna, that are employed to express such norms. Šāfiʿī gives examples of five such structures, each of which is a permutation of possible combinations of the Qurʾān and the Sunna.

- 1. That which God communicates in the form of naṣṣ (mā abānahu li-ḥalqihi naṣṣan, § 56); these include general obligations (ğumal al-farā id, such as ṣalāt, zakāt, ḥaǧǧ, ṣawm), explicit Qurʾānic declarations of illicitness (e.g., in regard to unlawful sexual intercourse, wine-drinking, certain foods, etc.), and other obligation such as wuḍūʾ. He gives the specific examples of Koran 2, 196, in which the Qurʾān identifies the sum of 3 and 7 as 10 (in regard to the pilgrimage of the mutamattiʻ) (§ 73-5); Koran 7, 142, in which the Qurʾān identifies the sum of 30 and 10 as 40 (being the number of nights promised by God to Moses) (§ 76-8); and Koran 2, 183-5, in which Ramaḍān is named (at verse 185) as the month of the fast (§ 79-81). Šāfiʿī does not expressly identify this category of bayān as exclusively Qurʾānic, but that fact emerges clearly from his examples, and also from his description of the other categories of bayān.
- 2. The second category comprises unequivocal Qur'ānic legislation in regard to which the Sunna plays a non-essential role. He gives the examples of the ablutions verses (principally Koran 5, 6) as self-sufficient, even though one

⁶ On the term *hitāb*, see B. Weiss, *The Spirit of Islamic Law*, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1998, p. 54; see also p. 34-5 and 61.



dogmatic works in which details of sacred history are recounted. Early Muslim Dogma, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 7.

⁵ I cite A.M. Šākir's edition of the *Risāla*, Cairo, al-Ḥalabī, 1940, by paragraph number.

could learn from the Sunna that additional washings are optional, over and above the basic Qur'ānic requirement of one (p. 84-88). He also gives the example of the inheritance verses (Koran 4, 11-12), which clearly state what shares go to whom, and also that debts and bequests take priority over the regime of forced shares, even though one learns from the Sunna that the upper limit on bequests is one-third of the estate (p. 89-91). He characterizes the relationship between the Qur'ān and the Sunna in regard to this last example as follows: fa-staġnā bi-l-tanzīl fī hādā 'an ḥabar ġayrihi (p. 91). This category of bayān is one in which Qur'ān and Sunna both legislate in regard to the same matter in such a way that the Qur'ān's contribution is self-sufficient and the Sunna provides detail that is not strictly necessary for compliance with the law.

- 3. In the third type of *bayān* general obligations imposed by God in the Qur'ān have their details supplied by the Sunna: *aḥkama farḍahu bi-kitābihi wa-bayyana kayf huwa 'alā lisān nabiyyihi* (p. 57, 95). Examples of this are prayer, alms-giving, fasting, and so on. These were mentioned in the first category, too, but in that case the point was evidently that the fact that one is obligated to do these things emerges in a wholly unproblematic way directly from the Qur'ān, whereas in this category the details of the performance of such unquestionably obligatory acts must be supplied from the Sunna.
- 4. The fourth type comprises those rulings that appear in the Sunna, but not in the Qur'ān: mā sanna rasūl allāh mimmā laysa li-llāh fīhi naṣṣ ḥukm wa-qad faraḍa allāh fī kitābihi ṭāʿat rasūlihi wa-l-intihāʾ ilā ḥukmihi (p. 58) or kull mā sannahu rasūl allāh mimmā laysa fīhi kitāb (p. 96). Šāfiʿī gives no examples, but the point is clear enough.
- 5. Finally, in some cases, the *bayān* will occur by means of inference and legal interpretation, based on the Qur'ān and the Sunna: *mā faraḍa allāh 'alā ḥalqihi l-iǧtihād fī ṭalabihi* (p. 59). The examples given are finding the *qibla* when out of visual range (p. 63ff., 104ff.), the problem of the inwardly deceitful witness, and the problem of estimating compensation for unlawful hunting during the pilgrimage (*ǧazāʾ al-ṣayd*) (p. 70 and 117ff.). These examples illustrate the epistemological assumptions underlying exercises of *iǧtihād*: that there is a pre-existing, correct answer that may, however, remain undetected. They also furnish authority for engaging in exercises of legal interpretation in other cases.

Šāfiʿīs concept of *bayān* can therefore be summarized as follows: God always communicates norms in ways that are structured exclusively by the Qurʾān and the Sunna: by the Qurʾān alone, by the Qurʾān and the Sunna together, by the Sunna alone, or by inference based on the Qurʾān and/or the Sunna. Thus, the five modes of *bayān* are reducible to four basic combinations. Šāfiʿī lists only these four basic combinations in his first discussion of the *bayān*



(*Risāla*, § 56-9, collapsing numbers 2 and 3 in the above discussion) and then lists five varieties in his subsequent discussion (§ 73-125).

The list of modes of the *bayān* describes all possible combinations of the Qur'ān and the Sunna by which God communicates normative materials. The modes of the *bayān* furnish a simple and elegant typology, from a structural point of view, of legal rules. They comprise a symmetrical and comprehensive scheme that exhibits a clear and satisfying order. It also seems that by the term *bayān*, Šāfi'ī means something almost mechanical and certainly structural, but not something that has a qualitative sense of 'clarity,' i.e., the *bayān* does not necessarily connote an exceptionally successful instance of expression.⁷ Šāfi'ī's attempt to categorize the divine legislative usages of Qur'ān and Sunna reflects a general 9th-century, pre-*uṣūl al-fiqh* concern with contradiction in revelation and is not really focused on the nature of Arabic as a system of signification as such (which is a major preoccupation of mature *uṣūl al-fiqh*).

This five-part scheme of varieties of Qur'ān-Sunna interaction that Šāfi'ī labels 'bayān' seems to me to be the principal idea of the Risāla.8 It is the first idea of real hermeneutical consequence and depth that appears in the Risāla and it supplies an outline of the Risāla's form. However, the analysis and conclusions presented in the remainder of this article do not depend on accepting my understanding of the concept of bayān as the structuring principle of the Risāla and of Šāfi'ī's legal theory as elaborated therein.

III. Reception of Šāfiʿī's Concept of bayān

Before surveying later authors' responses to Šāfiʿī's idea of the *bayān*, some preliminary remarks are in order. In tracing later authors' understanding of Šāfiʿī's concept of *bayān* it must be remembered that *uṣūl al-fiqh* has a concept of *bayān* that differs from Šāfiʿī's. In general, it refers to the clarification of one text, often designated as *muǧmal*, by another, often labeled *bayān*, after which the *muǧmal* text is said to become *mubayyan*.9 We might say that it is more

⁹ This particular binary (*muǧmal:mubayyan*) is related to a pair of hermeneutical concepts that Šāfiʿī uses, namely *ǧumla* and either *naṣṣ* or *mufassar*. For a brief outline of Šāfiʿī's hermeneutical rubrics, see my "The Legal Hermeneutics of al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Qutayba: A Reconsideration," *Islamic Law and Society*, 11/1 (2004), p. 1-41. at 30-8. A more extensive discussion of



⁷ However, there is no doubt (from his remarks on the Arabic language in the *Risāla*, § 127-78) that he views Arabic as a qualitatively superior linguistic medium, as "numinous" or "sacral" in the words of James Montgomery. J.E. Montgomery. "Al-Ğāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*," in J. Bray (ed.), *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam. Muslim Horizons*, London, Routledge, 2006, p. 91-152, at 101 (I am grateful to Professor Montgomery for sending me a copy of the galleys of his article article prior to its publication).

⁸ As I argue in Early Islamic Legal Theory, ch. 1.

'transitive' than Šāfi'ī's concept of bayān, and it is this difference that makes the following analysis possible, since later authors try, in general, to explain how Šāfi'ī could have such an elaborate conception of bayān that is so unlike its use in later uṣūl al-fiqh. In addition, by the time we are in the world of full-fledged books on uṣūl al-fiqh, the science of Arabic rhetoric, which has become highly evolved, comes to be denoted as balāġa, possibly hiṭāba, but sometimes also as 'ilm al-bayān, and this fact has, obviously, affected both the understanding of the term bayān and the science of uṣūl al-fiqh, which is preoccupied with issues of language and signification. This point must be kept in mind because whereas for Šāfi'ī the notion of bayān seems to have a structural significance—denoting interaction of the Qur'ān and the Sunna—for later authors it has a more literary, linguistic, communicative, or perhaps even semiotic connotation, as well as a qualitative sense of particularly felicitous usage.

A. al-Ğāḥiz (d. 255/868)

The starting point for this analysis is a possible echo of the *Risāla* in a non-*uṣūl* work, but a work that is nonetheless connected with the *uṣūl* tradition: the *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* of al-Ğāḥiz.¹⁰ This parallel has been noticed and discussed by James Montgomery in a recently published article on Ğāḥiz's *Bayān*. I share Montgomery's belief that Ğāḥiz's engagement with Šāfi'i is significant and will come back to this point in the conclusion to this article. Preliminarily, the existence of other evidence suggesting that Ğāḥiz knew who Šāfi'i was, and that he admired Šāfi'i for his language, should be noted. Ğāḥiz is reported to have said,

I have looked into the books of those luminaries who have shone so brightly in scholarship and not seen any better at composition than the Muṭṭalibī. It is as though his tongue were strewing pearls (nazartu fi hāʾulāʾ al-nabaġa lladūna nabaġū fi l-ʿilm fa-lam ara aḥṣan taʾlūfan min al-Muṭṭallibī ka-anna lisānahu yanturu l-durr).¹¹

¹¹ It is cited by A.M. Šākir in his edition of Šāfiʿis short work on legal theory entitled *Ğimā' al-ʿIlm*, Cairo, Maṭbaʿat al-maʿārif, 1940, p. 5. It appears in two sources of which I am aware: Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil fi Duʿafā' al-riǧāl*, 7 vols, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, 1984, I, p. 124; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīḫ madīnat Dimašq*, 80 vols., ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-ʿAmrawī, Beirut, Dār al-fikr, 1995-, li, p. 370. Thanks to Professor Robert Gleave for these two references.



them is found in my Early Islamic Legal Theory, ch. 2. On the term muğmal see M.H. Kamali, Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence, Cambridge, Islamic Texts Society, 1991 (rev. ed.), p. 101-2; on muğmal and mubayyan see W. Hallaq, A History of Islamic Legal Theories, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 43-4.

¹⁰ 4 vols. in 2, ed. 'A.S.M. Hārūn, Cairo, Makatabat al-Ḥānǧī, 1985.

Ğāḥiz is also connected with the early history of uṣūl al-fiqh. Although Ğāḥiz's Bayān is not a work on legal hermeneutics, its author was familiar with the field of legal hermeneutics and wrote at least one work on the subject, the Kitāb al-Futyā, from which the introduction survives, along with scattered quotations preserved in other works. In the introduction to the Kitāb al-Futyā Ğāḥiz says, after noting the excellence of "knowledge and its clear expression" (al-'ilm wa-l-bayān 'anhu), that he intends the work as "a book that collects people's disagreements concerning the bases of legal opinions," it being the case that "subsidiary rules differ and rulings contradict one another" because of such disagreements (kitāb ǧāmi li-iḥtilāf al-nās fī uṣūl al-futyā llatī 'alayhā iḥtalafat al-furū 'wa-taḍāddat al-aḥkām; Futyā, Rasā il, I, p. 314). This concern with contradiction as a principal problem of legal hermeneutics is very much in line with other legal thinkers of the 9th and early 10th centuries, including Šāfi i, Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), and al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933). Is

The introduction proper to Ğāḥiz's *Bayān* begins some 70 pages into volume one of the standard edition. At that point, Ğāḥiz offers a definition of the concept of *bayān*, in regard to which there are several points of interest, each of which points to what Montgomery identifies as "an intellectual and polemical connection" between the *Risāla* and the *Bayān*. First, even though Ğāḥiz defines *bayān* very differently than Šāfiʿī, the diction of Ğāḥiz's definition of *bayān* (at *Bayān*, I, p. 76) parallels very closely that of Šāfiʿī, at least in part. I give the quotations below, putting the exact parallels in bold-face type and a further overlap in vocabulary in roman type.

¹⁵ Montgomery, p. 102. He does not discuss the following points of contact in detail, but it seems very likely that he had them in mind when he says that "the 'influence' of... Shāfi'ī looms large in Ğāḥiz's discourse on *bayān*." Montgomery, p. 126.



The introduction is published with Ğāḥiẓ's Rasā'il, 4 vols., ed. M. ʿA.S. Hārūn, Cairo, Maktabat al-Ḥānǧī, 1964, p. 309-19. Surviving quotations from Ğāḥiẓ's K. al-Futyā have been collected and studied as a repository of the theological and legal-theoretical ideas of Ğāḥiẓ's teacher al-Naẓām (d. before 230/845) by van Ess, Das Kitāb an-Nakt des Nazzām und seine Rezeption im Kitāb al-Futyā des Ğāhiz, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972.

¹³ Devin Stewart has suggested that the *Kitāb al-Futyā* is an early work of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. "Muḥammad b. Dāʾūd al-Zāḥirī's Manual of Jurisprudence, *al-Wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat al-uṣūl*," in B.G. Weiss, (ed.), *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*, Leiden, Brill, 2002, p. 99-158, at 108-9. On hermeneutical techniques for harmonization in these authors' works, see N. Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993. (on Šāfiʿī, Ibn Qutayba and Ṭaḥāwī); G. Lecomte, "Un Exemple d'Évolution de la Controverse en Islam: De l'*Ilṇtilâf al-Ḥadîth* d'al-Šāfiʿī au *Muḥtalif al-Ḥadîth* d'Ibn Qutayba," *Studia Islamica*, 27 (1967), p. 5-40 (Šāfiʿī and Ibn Qutayba); and my "Legal Hermeneutics of al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Qutayba," cited above (also on Šāfiʿī and Ibn Qutayba).

¹⁴ Ġāḥiz himself, ever playful, reminds us that the introduction might have come at the beginning instead but that for unstated reasons of organization, he postponed it; *Bayān*, I, p. 76; see Montgomery, p. 116, 120.

Ğāḥiz: wa-l-bayān ism ǧāmiʿ li-kull šayʾ kašafa laka qināʿ al-maʿnā... Šāfiʿī: wa-l-bayān ism ǧāmiʿ li-maʿānī muǧtamiʿ at al-uṣūl mutašaʿ ibat al-furūʿ

Concededly, the overlap is not in the substantive part of either definition, but by one measure the congruence is striking: An electronic search of the precisely overlapping part of this phrase on www.alwaraq.com revealed three occurrences, all in *adab* works that were quoting the *Bayān* of Ğāḥiz. ¹⁶ So it is an unusual turn of phrase, shared perhaps exclusively by the *Risāla* and the *Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*.

Second, Ğāḥiz, more or less like Šāfiʿī, claims that there are five types of bayān. I give each author's list below.

Mode of the bayan	Šāfiʿī	Ğāḥiẓ	
1.	Qurʾān alone	lafz	(speech)
2.	Qur'ān and non-essential Sunna	išāra	(gesture)
3.	Qur'ān and explanatory Sunna	ʻaqd	(enumeration)
4.	Sunna alone	<u></u> bat t	(writing)
5.	legal interpretation/analogy	nișba	(non-language
	(iǧtihādl qiyās)		based inference) ¹⁷

Gāḥiẓ lists only two categories that involve language (the first and fourth, *lafẓ* and *ḥaṭṭ*), whereas all of Šāfiʿī's varieties involve revelatory texts and so, by extension, language. However, both authors do list a kind of inference in the fifth slot, which brings us to the third parallel.

For Šāfiʿī, *iğtihād* and *qiyās*, his fifth variety of *bayān*, are based on Qurʾānic or Sunnaic texts, but the paradigmatic example of *iğtihād* that he uses repeatedly is that of finding the *qibla* when out of visual range of Mecca. In this regard he notes, using supporting prooftexts from the Qurʾān, that one aid in finding the *qibla* consists of signs of nature that have been provided by God, such as the stars (e.g., Koran 16, cited at *Risāla*, § 113: "[God set up] signs, and by the stars they are guided"). Thus, the example contemplates a nonlinguistic but divinely furnished basis for an inference, even though in this initial discussion of *iğtihād*, the example illustrates more the epistemological assumptions that underlie the exercise of *iğtihād* than the procedure for making an inferential nexus between a text and an actual case (*Risāla*, § 104-25). However, precisely in regard to epistemological underpinnings, Šāfiʿī's discus-

Montgomery, p. 128, translates these terms as "word," "indication," "counting," "writing," and "location." Montgomery translates *niṣba* as "location" to highlight a possible connection with Arabic renderings of the seventh of Aristotle's ten categories (as listed in the *Topics* at I.9, 103b20-25). In the context of the instant article, "sign" might be an appropriate translation.



¹⁶ Search conducted on May 11, 2006.

sion in the *Risāla* is very close to that of Šāḥiz in the *Bayān*. Šāḥiz defines *niṣba*, his fifth variety of *bayān*, as an "expressive circumstance without verbal expression" (*al-ḥāl al-nāṭiqa bi-ġayr al-lafz*, *Bayān*, I, p. 81), and notes that this phenomenon is amply attested by the creation of the heavens and earth (*zāhir fī ḥalq al-samawāt wa-l-ard*), an example strikingly similar to that given by Šāfiʿī in relation to finding the *qibla*.

While none of these points of contact on its own clinches the case for a connection between Šāḥiẓ's and Šāfiʿī's notions of bayān in the Bayān and the Risāla, cumulatively they are suggestive. Šāḥiẓ was a voracious reader whose writing style is playful and suffused with allusion and deliberate misdirection (as in the introduction to the work under discussion, the Bayān). Moreover, as we shall see, Šāḥiẓ's definition of bayān reverberates in some later uṣūl al-fiqh texts. Therefore, as Montgomery has already argued, Šāḥiẓ not only had Šāfiʿī in mind when he composed his own definition and discussion of the concept of bayān, but also perceived the centrality of the notion of bayān to the argument set out in Šāfiʿī's Risāla.

This discussion has thus far dwelled on surface similarities (though they are key similarities), and before moving on to the *uṣūl al-fiqh* texts, we need to consider the substance of Ğāḥiẓ's notion of *bayān* briefly, as well, since it is very different from Šāfiʿī's, and represents a significant moment in Muslim contemplation of what it means to be addressed in language by the divinity. Ğāḥiẓ's definition of *bayān* is much closer to that of later *uṣūl al-fiqh*: it is, he says, "anything that lifts for you the veil from ideas" (*kullu mā kašafa laka qināʿ al-maʿānī*) (*Bayān*, I, p. 75). Thus, Ğāḥiẓ's notion of *bayān* is much more transitive than Šāfiʿī's: a *bayān* renders something *else*—ideas—intelligible.

Ğāḥiz describes *bayān* as a process involving an originator, something to be communicated (an idea), a medium to effect that communication, and a recipient. The complexities of the medium in particular seem emphasized in Ğāḥiz's discussion. Ğāḥiz recognizes, moreover, a certain dichotomy between the medium and what the medium conveys, namely "ideas [as] existing in

¹⁹ Montgomery, at p. 124, notes the communicative aspect of Šāḥiz's discussion of bayān.



It seems also conceptually related at some level—though perhaps not genetically—to the discussion of bayān in the work al-Burhān fī Wuğūh al-bayān, a manual of style and rhetoric attributed to various 9th and 10th century authors. In that work the author identifies four 'modes' (wuğūh) of bayān: bayān al-ašyā' bi-dawātihā, al-bayān alladī yaḥṣulu fī l-qalb 'inda i'māl al-fikr wa-l-lubb, al-bayān bi-l-lisān, and al-bayān bi-l-kitāb. One can render these various senses of bayān as: self-explanatory matters, clarity achieved through intellection, expression through speech, and expression through writing. Abū l-Ḥusayn Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Kātib (attrib.), al-Burhān fī wuǧūh al-bayān, A. Maṭlūb and Ḥ. al-Ḥadīthī (eds.), Baghdad, University of Baghdad, 1967, p. 60. Thanks to Professor Beatrice Gruendler of Yale University for alerting me to the relevance of this work.

people's breasts, conceived in their minds" (al-ma'ānī l-qā'ima fī ṣudūr al-nās al-mutaṣawwira fī adhānihim) (Bayān, I, p. 75). It is not possible to know these ideas unless they are brought to life by being communicated (wa-innamā yuḥyī tilka al-ma'ānī dikruhum lahā wa-iḫbāruhum 'anhā) (Bayān, I, p. 75). Then he tells us "that the express signification of a hidden idea is the bayān" (al-dalāla al-ṣāhira 'alā al-ma'nā al-ḥafī huwa al-bayān, Bayān, I, p. 75). He also uses, shortly thereafter, dalāla ("signification") and išāra ("intimation", "allusion") as synonyms for bayān. Then follows the above-quoted definition: "bayān is a comprehensive noun for anything that lifts for you the veil from ideas." Finally, we are told, the evaluation of expressions is distinct from the evaluation of ideas (ḥukm al-ma'ānī ḥilāf ḥukm al-alfāz) because ideas are infinite and verbal expressions finite (Bayān, I, p. 76). This gulf between medium and message is perhaps the key point here for Ğāḥiz in regard to his subtle reference to and commentary on the Risāla and I will come back to it in my conclusion.

B. al-Ğaşşās (d. 370/980)

In regard to the reception of the *Risāla*, one is on decidedly firmer but also unflinchingly hostile ground in the $u \circ u \circ u$ work of the 4th/10th-century Ḥanafī jurist al-Ġasṣāṣ. Yā Ġaṣṣāṣ launches a sustained, multi-pronged attack on Šāfi i's notion of bayan. I will focus mostly on Ġaṣṣāṣ's specific criticisms of Šāfi i's five-part division of the bayan, but it will be worthwhile to first give an overview of his entire critique.

Ğaṣṣāṣ first criticizes (extensively) Šāfiʿī's definition of bayān (from p. 53-4 of the Risāla) on the grounds that it is formally defective, covering less than is denoted by the term bayān, admitting things that are not properly defined as bayān, and altogether a sloppy formulation that fails to define the term (Fuṣūl, II, p. 11-13). Ğaṣṣāṣ then goes through the five types of bayān listed by Šāfiʿī, casting a critical eye especially on the second, fourth and fifth varieties (Fuṣūl, II, p. 14-16, a critique that I will examine in more detail). He next objects, on epistemological grounds, to the omission of iǧmāʿ and the inclusion of iǧtihād among the varieties of bayān (Fuṣūl, II, p. 16). He takes particular exception

²¹ Al-Fuṣūl fi l-uṣūl, 4 vols., ed. ʿU.Ğ. al-Našmī, Kuwait, Wizārat al-awqāf wa-l-šu'ūn al-islāmiyya, 1994.



²⁰ The distinction between *lafz* and *maʿnā* recalls that between matter and form, respectively. A similar distinction (infinite ideas vs. finite verbal expressions) is made by the grammarian al-Sīrāfi (368/979) in his famous debate with the logician Mattā b. Yūnus (328/940) as preserved in al-Tawḥīdī's *K. al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 3 vols., ed. A. Amīn and A. Zayn, Cairo, Laǧnat al-taʾlīf wa-l-tarǧama wa-l-našr, 1953, at I, p. 115.

to Šāfiʿīs suggestion that God's bayān is directed only to persons who know Arabic. Finally, Ğaṣṣāṣ accuses the Šāfiʿīs themselves of disavowing their namesake's definition and he cites the much-quoted definition of bayān attributed to the Šāfiʿī jurist al-Ṣayrafī (d. 330/942), which provides that "bayān is a noun [denoting] the extraction of something from the realm of problematicalness to [that of] clarity" (al-bayān ism li-iḥrāǧ al-šay' min ḥayyiz al-iškāl ilā l-taǧallī, cited at Fuṣūl, II, p. 17; attributed to Ṣayrafī by, e.g., Ibn ʿAqīl, Wādiḥ, I, p. 103, substituting iḥtimāl for iškāl). Ğaṣṣāṣ argues that Šāfiʿīs own examples are inconsistent with this definition (Fuṣūl, II, p. 18-19). As we will see, Ṣayrafīʾs is close to Ğaṣṣāṣʾs own definition of bayān.

Ğaşṣāṣ reports an objection to his own criticism of the form of Šāfiʿi's definition of bayān, namely that Šāfiʿi provided examples of what he meant (Fuṣūl, II, p. 12), but Ğaṣṣāṣ is not impressed by Šāfiʿi's examples. Ğaṣṣāṣ knows that Šāfiʿi divides the bayān into five parts (qasama l-bayān ilā ḥamsat aqsām) and this five-part division is, he asserts, unprecedented and neither derived nor derivable from language (luġa) or revelation (šarʿ). A description of Ğaṣṣāṣʾs discussion is complicated by the fact that he either deliberately or unknowingly misdescribes several of Šāfiʿi's categories. The first variety of the bayān is, however, simple enough and Ğaṣṣāṣʾs account is accurate. He cites Šāfiʿi's example, from his five-part list, of Koran 7, 142 (fa-tamma mīqāt rabbihi arbaʿīn layla) (Fusūl, II, p. 14; passage cited and discussed at Risāla, § 76-8).

Ğassās's discussion of Šāfi'ī's second set of examples of bayān is more complex. Recall that Šāfi'ī's second variety of *bayān* involves parallel legislation by the Qur'an and Sunna pertaining to the same matter, but in regard to which the Sunnaic component is non-essential. Whether Čassās understands it in this way is not easy to discern. Čassās first refers to the example of Koran 5, 6, "wash your faces and hands to the elbows" (fa-gsilū wuğūhakum wa-aydiyakum ilā l-marāfiq), one of Šāfi'ī's examples of the second variety of bayān (Risāla, § 84-8; cited at Fusūl, II, p. 15). Second, he refers to Koran 2, 185 (fa-man šahida minkum al-šahr fa-l-yasumhu). Third and finally, he refers to prohibitions against sexual immorality, and the eating of carrion, blood, and swineflesh. The problem here is that the last two examples (fasting and the group of prohibitions) are unmistakably from Šāfi'ī's examples of the first variety of bayān (see Risāla, § 56). What may have confused Ğaşşāş is that at § 56 of the Risāla, Šāfi'ī mentions wudū' as an example of the first type of bayān but does not cite Koran 5, 6. At Risāla, § 84, Šāfi i cites Koran 5, 6, the principal Qur'anic provision governing wudu', as an example of the second type of bayān. Thus, the same rule appears to serve as an example of different varieties of bayān. The different uses made of the rules governing wudū' as an example of two different kinds of bayān are subtle, but comprehensible: There is no



doubt about the obligation to perform ablutions; it is the object of unequivocal legislation (*naṣṣ*) in the Qur'ān, which is why it is an example of the first mode of *bayān*. However, there is some doubt, given the content of some Sunnaic texts, about how many washings or wipings are entailed by the relevant Qur'ānic verse (see *Risāla*, § 87-8, and also § 448-65 for an extended treatment of the problem under the *ğumla:naṣṣ* rubric). Since the Qur'ān by its own terms, according to Šāfi'ī, requires only one washing or wiping, then the Sunnaic texts furnish merely supplemental, non-essential information and thus do not modify the underlying Qur'ānic obligation. In that respect, Koran 5, 6 is an appropriate example of Šāfi'ī's second variety of *bayān*.

On the other hand, Ğaṣṣāṣ's reference to the taḥrīm al-fawāḥiš wa-l-mayta wa-l-dam wa-laḥm al-ḥinzīr (Risāla, § 56; Fuṣūl, II, p. 15) cannot be conformed to Šāfi'ī's second type of bayān. So in this case, Ğaṣṣāṣ has erred in his reporting of Šāfi'ī's views. These examples are used by Šāfi'ī to illustrate basic Qur'ānic legislation that is neither actually nor potentially complicated by Sunnaic texts. According to Ğaṣṣāṣ, Šāfi'ī's followers claim that this second variety of bayān is hermeneutically self-sufficient (kāfī bi-nafsihī), but, he points out, so is the first variety, so they are indistinguishable and should belong to the same category of bayān (Fuṣūl, II, p. 15). But it is Ğaṣṣāṣ who has mixed up the categories here, not Šāfi'ī's followers. Still, it is true that in both the first and second categories of bayān Šāfi'ī seeks to illustrate self-sufficient Qur'ānic legislation. It is just that in the first variety, the Qur'ānic legislation is unaffected by any Sunnaic text and in the second it interacts in a non-material way with Sunnaic texts.

One might note, based solely on his own reporting of Šāfiʿī's examples, that Ğaṣṣāṣ seems to distinguish between Šāfiʿī's first and second categories of *bayān* as encompassing non-legislative and legislative passages from the Qurʾān respectively. Perhaps that is how he understood Šāfiʿī's intent.

The third variety, according to Ğaṣṣāṣ, is the prophet's *bayān* of indistinct obligations (*al-furūḍ al-muǧmala*) such as prayer and alms-giving (*Fuṣūl*, II, p. 15). This is a generally accurate report of Šāfiʿiʾs views (see *Risāla*, § 57 and § 92-5).

Šāfiʿīs fourth variety of bayān Ğaṣṣāṣ reformulates as follows: "those Sunnas initiated by the Prophet that are on a par with obligations initiated by God; and together these [two] constitute one category" (mā btadaʾahu al-nabī min al-sunan fī ḥayyiz mā btadaʾahu llāh min al-furūḍ wa-an yakūnā ǧamī an qism wāḥid) (Fuṣūl, II, p. 16). This category, explains Ğaṣṣāṣ, contains those expressions in which the explanatory force (bayān) is the same regardless of the speaker. But Ğaṣṣāṣ objects (to his own paraphrase) that the quality of bayān is not speaker-dependent, by which he must mean that Šāfiʿī should make a



qualitative distinction (more vs. less *bayān*) between pronouncements rather than a speaker-based one (God vs. Muḥammad). In that case, continues Ğaṣṣāṣ, then every obligation will become unique with respect to its quality of *bayān* and there will result an infinite number of categories of the *bayān* because every originator of an utterance will produce a separate category of *bayān*. This objection illustrates well the overwhelmingly qualitative component that the concept of *bayān* has for Ğaṣṣāṣ, and how different that is from Šāfi is purely structural use of the term.

Finally, Ğaṣṣāṣ notes that Šāfi is fifth category encompasses rulings made on the basis of *iğtihād*, which Ğaṣṣāṣ identifies as problematic because, he argues, if such legal problems were characterizable as *bayān*, then they would not lead to an interpretive result that is, by definition, only probable (*ġalbat ṣann*). Conversely, Šāfi i omits *iğmā*, which leads to certainty (*Fuṣūl*, II, p. 16). This criticism highlights the fact that for Ğaṣṣāṣ the notion of *bayān* also has an overt epistemologically qualitative aspect: clarification is related to (or produces) certain knowledge.

After reciting this litany of defects, Ğaṣṣāṣ goes on to discuss the remainder of Šāfiʿīʾs definition of bayān, namely that a bayān is something "directed to whosoever is addressed thereby among those persons in whose language the Qurʾān was revealed" (Risāla, § 54). This will not do either, according to Ğaṣṣāṣ, because (a) the term bayān can be used of any language (even though Arabic is the most clear and eloquent language of all) because the whole point of language is to effect a bayān (express an idea) and (b) because the message from God and the Prophet is directed to all persons, irrespective of language, and those who do not know Arabic need merely be able to understand the meaning of that message translated into their own language (Fuṣūl, II, p. 17). Ğaṣṣāṣ is clearly uncomfortable with Šāfiʿī's apparent insistence that all Muslims have an unconditional obligation to learn Arabic at the level of a native speaker, in order to become potential recipients and beneficiaries of the Islamic message; the implication that non-Arabic speakers were not directly addressed by the Qurʾān was clearly unacceptable to Ğaṣṣāṣ.²²

It is interesting to compare Ğaṣṣāṣ's description of Šāfi'ī's concept of the *bayān* with Šāfi'ī's own description of it in the *Risāla*, since Ğaṣṣāṣ has introduced sufficient variation to raise questions about the sources and goals of his discussion:

 $^{^{22}}$ This point presupposes a distinction between medium and message of the kind made by Šāḥiẓ.



Mode of the bayān	Šāfiʿī	Ğaşşāş's paraphrase of Šāfiʿī
1.	Qurʾān alone	self-sufficient (non-legislative?)
		Qur'ānic text
2.	Qur'ān and non-essential Sunna	self-sufficient (legislative?)
		Qur'ānic text
3.	Qur'ān and explanatory Sunna	Qurʾān and explanatory
		Sunna
4.	Sunna alone	Sunna equivalent to the
		Qurʾān
5.	Iğtihād	Iğtihād

As can be seen, some of the elements have been transposed, and, as emerged from the foregoing description of Čassās's discussion, some of the examples are misdescribed or mischaracterized.²³ Some of Ğaşṣāş's confusion may result from the fact that Šāfi'ī, as noted above, first introduces four kinds of bayān and then gives examples of five kinds. On the other hand, Ğassās is relentless in his critcisms and it seems unlike that he would have passed up an opportunity to ridicule Šāfi'ī for the existence of two slightly inconsistent such lists in the Risāla. His failure to do so, as well as the rearrangement of the ordering and the somewhat garbled report of what Šāfi'ī was up to, raises the question of what the version of the Risāla that Ğassās had looked like, since otherwise he quotes Šāfi'i's remarks on the bayān fairly accurately, and he quotes the definition (from Risāla, § 53) verbatim. Perhaps he was reporting on the basis of someone else's quotation, or from debates with or works written by Šāfi'īs. I am reluctant to attribute his criticisms of Šāfi'ī to mere partisan debating tactics, since I believe we should take authors at their word, but neither that possibility nor the possibility that he was working from a defective, secondhand source, can be completely discounted.

One has also to wonder, in light of Ğaṣṣāṣ's invective, whether the *Risāla*, perhaps because so un-*uṣūl* like, had become the weapon of choice with which Ḥanafī jurists assaulted their Šāfi'ī colleagues in the mid-10th century. However that may be, Ğaṣṣāṣ's assault on Šāfi'ī himself becomes understandable (apart from inter-*madhab* polemics) if we consider his own definition of *bayān* and its place in his legal theory. For Ğaṣṣāṣ, *bayān* is the "expression of an idea, and its clarification, to an addressee, dissociated from whatever might become confused with it, or become doubtful by reason of it" (*al-bayān izhār al-maˈnā wa-īḍāḥuhu li-l-muḥāṭab munfaṣilan mimmā yaltabis bihi wa-yaštabih min ağlihi*) (*Fuṣūl*, II, p. 6). Ğaṣṣāṣ bolsters his own definition by appealing to the

²³ Marie Bernand, in a posthumously published article, relied on this misdescription by Ğaşṣāṣ and was persuaded to agree with his criticisms of Šāfiʿī. M. Bernand, "*Bayān* selon les *Uṣūliyyūn*", *Arabica*, 42 (1995), p. 145-59.



etymology of words derived from the root b-y-n, which, in the sense of "to separate" or "become distinct," emphasizes the separation of what is clear from what is doubtful or ambiguous. Thus, bayān has both a transitive sense (it clarifies something else, as for Ğāḥiz) as well as a salutary aspect (it guards against ambiguity) (Fuṣūl, II, p. 6-7). One is not surprised, then, to find that among the varieties of bayān Ğaṣṣāṣ includes taḥṣīṣ al-ʿumūm, tafsīr al-ǧumla, and nasḥ, all instances in which one revealed text clarifies the legislative status of another revealed text (Fuṣūl, II, p. 22). Šāfiʿī used such categories—all encompassed by the term bayān—to explain the fact of interaction between texts whereas we might say that Ğaṣṣāṣ uses the term bayān to explain the felicitous result of such interactions.

The conceptual congruence between Ğaṣṣāṣ's and Ṣayrafi's definitions of bayān shows how the world of legal hermeneutics had changed since Šāfi'i's time. In this regard, Ğaṣṣāṣ's criticisms reflect intervening developments in legal thought at least as much as they preserve a moment in the history of inter-madhhab polemics.

C. Abū al-Husayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044)

Abū al-Husayn al-Basrī is perhaps best known as the student of and commentator on the works of the Mu'tazilī theologian and judge 'Abd al-Ğabbār (d. 415/1024). Although he does not attempt to characterize Šāfi'ī's five varieties of bayān in his Kitāb al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh,24 Abū al-Ḥusayn does consider Šāfi'ī's definition of the term, which he quotes. It is, he says, not a proper definition (hadd), but merely a description (wasf) from which one understands that a bayān is something that is intelligible to native speakers of Arabic (yatabayyanuhu ahl al-luga), and which is further subdivided into parts (aqsām). Moreover, this aspect of the definition defines a bayān as a bayān (to Arabic-speakers) which is defining something in terms of itself and therefore invalid. He takes exception to Šāfi'ī's failure to include "rational indicators" (al-adilla al-'aqliyya) within his definition, if it is meant as a general definition. He also takes exception to Šāfi'ī's inclusion of texts whose intendment is immediately apparent (al-kalām al-mubtada' idā 'urifa bihi al-murād), if it is meant as a technical, juristic definition. In other words, Abū al-Husayn understands bayān as a transitive procedure that involves two texts. Abū al-Ḥusayn also possibly alludes to Gahiz's definition of bayan, noting that some define it as al-kalām wa-l-hatt wa-l-išāra, which he criticizes as being a mere enumeration (ta'dīd) (al-Mu'tamad, I, p. 318).25

²⁵ The fact that these remarks follow closely on the heels of his discussion of Šāfiʿī may betray



²⁴ 2 vols., ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh, Damascus, Institut Français de Damas, 1964.

Abū al-Ḥusayn divides his own definition of bayān into two parts, a general sense and a technical sense. In general, bayān means "signification" (al-dalāla). Its technical meaning as used by jurists is, as one would expect, a narrower variation on the general sense: it is "speech or action signifying the intendment of an address, and which does not function independently in its signification of the intendment" (kalām aw fiʿl dāll 'alā al-murād bi-biṭāb wa-lā yastaqill bi-nafsihi fī l-dalāla 'alā al-murād) (Muʿtamad, I, p. 317). In other words, it is a text that only signifies in conjunction with another, presumably by being brought to bear on another text to clarify the (legislative) import of that other text. This is generally in the spirit of Ğāḥiẓ and Ğaṣṣāṣ, but incompatible with the mostly intransitive notion proposed by Šāfiʿī.

D. Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Ğuwaynī (d. 478/1085)

The 11th-century Šāfiʿī jurist Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Ğuwaynī is, as one might expect, more sympathetic to Šāfiʿī's definition of *bayān*, but he paraphrases it in ways that change it fundamentally. In his *al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ²⁶ Ğuwaynī surveys several (mostly) unsatisfactory definitions of *bayān*, but Šāfiʿī's is not among them. Then, however, naming his source as the *Risāla*, he offers his own paraphrase of Šāfiʿī's five varieties of *bayān* as part of a survey of the views of various scholars on what he calls the "degrees" (*marātib*) of the *bayān* (*Burhān*, I, p. 125-6). Ğuwaynī's paraphrases are all the more interesting because he never quotes from the *Risāla*, even though he does tie his interpretive paraphrases to prooftexts used by Šāfiʿī.

Ğuwaynī describes Šāfi'ī's first category of bayān as "an expression of unequivocal legislative import that directly indicates its intendment, and which may be for emphasis" (lafz nāṣṣ munabbih 'alā al-maqṣūd min ġayr taraddud wa-qad yakūn mu'akkidan). It is true that Šāfi'ī formulates similarly,²⁷ but if I am right that Šāfi'ī meant his first category (and all the others) to have a structural significance, then Ğuwaynī here takes a structural notion—plain Qur'ānic texts that are to be read alone—and generalizes it into a category describing certain communicative properties of revelatory language, thereby completely uncoupling it from the Qur'ānic specificity of Šāfi'ī's description. In other words, Šāfi'ī's purely Qur'ānic category will have become, for Ğuwaynī, a qualitative category that is the highest level of bayān,

²⁷ Compare Risāla, § 56: mā abānahu li-ḥalqihi naṣṣan miṭla ǧumal farā iḍihi... maʿa ġayr ḍālika mimmā bayyana naṣṣan. See my discussion above.



a Muʿtazilī school memory of what Montgomery called (above) the "polemical and intellectual connection" between Šāfiʿī and Ğāḥiẓ in regard to the concept of *bayān*.

²⁶ 2 vols., ed. 'Abd al-'Azīm M. al-Dīb, al-Manṣūra, Dār al-wafā', 1992.

independent of its literary setting. The reference to emphasis in this context is not entirely clear, but possibly refers to redundant statements of a given rule. If that is right, then this description would also fit Šāfiʿī's second category of the *bayān*.

Šāfi'i's second category he also changes fundamentally when he describes it as "speech that is clear and distinct in regard to the matter for which it is employed, but such that only persons capable of independent legal research and having particular insight can understand its meanings and import... which includes expressions that can only be comprehended by an expert in Arabic" (kalām bayyin wāḍiḥ fī l-maqṣūd allaḍī sīqa l-kalām lahu wa-lākin yaḥṭaṣṣ bi-darak maʿānīhā wa-mā fihā l-mustaqillūn wa-dawū al-baṣāʾir... fī aṭnāʾihā ḥurūf lā yuḥīṭ bihā illā baṣīr bi-l-ʿarabiyya). This seems to make Šāfiʿi's second category, in which the Sunna adds non-essential detail to a clear Qurʾānic norm, into a sample of language that is outwardly clear but whose subtleties require expertise in both law and language. Here Ğuwaynī has made a relatively unproblematic variety of bayān into something potentially deceptive and that justifies the status of experts.

Ğuwaynī's remaining three paraphrases are much closer to Šāfi'ī's ideas in the Risāla. In the third variety, the function of providing clarifying details of the Qur'an is given over to the Prophet. However, in this case Ğuwaynī cites Koran 6, 141 (*wa-ātū haqqahu yawma hasādihi*), which Šāfi'ī does not adduce in either of his lists of examples of the bayān, but which he does cite later, in his discussion of the *ğumla:nass* rubric, as an example of a general Qur'ānic obligation whose details are supplied by the Sunna (Risāla, § 531). The fourth consists of valid Prophetic reports that discuss matters not treated in the Qur'an. The fifth comprises analogies based on the Qur'an and the Sunna. But Ğuwaynī's concluding remarks to this summary are oddly Qur'an-centric, especially given his failure to refer to Qur'an or Sunna in his paraphrase of the first two varieties of *bayān*: "It is as if he $[= \tilde{S}afi'\bar{\imath}]$ preferred to tie the *bayān* to God's Book in every respect" (fa-ka-annahu ātara rtibāt al-bayān bi-kitāb allāh min kull wağh) (Burhān, I, p. 126). That seems not to have been Šāfiʿī's point at all; rather, he sought to explain how the seeming confusion of Quran-Sunna interaction could be slotted into orderly categories and two of his five categories do not involve the Qur'an at all. The differences between Šāfi'ī's description of modes of the bayān and Ğuwaynī's description of Šāfi'ī's ideas are summarized below:

Mode of the bayan Šāfi'ī

- 1. Our'ān alone
- 2. Qur'ān and non-essential Sunna

Ğuwaynī

a very clear legislative text an ostensibly clear text, but requiring expertise



3.	Qur'ān and explanatory Sunna	the Prophet clarifies the
	•	Qurʾān
4.	Sunna alone	Prophetic reports on
		matters not in the Qur'an
5.	Iğtihād	analogies

Still, Ğuwaynī's is the first friendly reception that we have seen, which is not surprising since he is also the first Šāfi'ī to be examined. However, his own definition of the term *bayān* is very different from Šāfiʿī's. Čuwaynī, relying on his Aš'arī forbear al-Bāgillānī (d. 403/1012), defines bayān as a dalīl, which can be either rational or revelational ('aqlī or sam'ī) (see Burhān, I, p. 124, 127).²⁸ Revelational dalīls are instituted by someone²⁹ and are represented by languages and verbal expressions ('ibārāt), whether established by God or by convention. Rational dalīls, by contrast, involve inference of the thing signified, but without the necessity of someone instituting them (he gives the examples of inferring capability from action, volition from specification [taḥsīs], and a display of mastery [ihkām] indicating knowledge) (Burhān, I, p. 121). For Ğuwaynī, then, the *bayān* will in most cases be a sample of revelatory language from the Qur'an or the Sunna and will require decoding in a manner akin to drawing an inference. Ğuwaynī's emphasis on the task of the recipient of communication is much closer conceptually to the thought world of Ğāhiz than to Šāfi'ī's concern with the vagaries of Qur'ān-Sunna interaction.

E. Ibn 'Aqīl (d. 513/1119)

The late 11th-/early 12th-century Ḥanbalī jurist and Muʿtazilī-leaning theologian Ibn ʿAqīl, in his *al-Wāḍiḥ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*,³⁰ enthuses about Šāfiʿiʾs definition of *bayān*. Ibn ʿAqīl quotes the passage cited above from *Risāla*, § 53-4 (*Wāḍiḥ*, I, p. 102) and comments as follows:

Then he [Šāfiʿī] made it into five varieties, but those later [scholars] who objected to him did not understand his words, not having reached the level of his followers in regard to knowledge... Šāfiʿī is, after all, the father and mother of this science and the first to correctly arrange uṣūl al-fiqh. From the copiousness of his knowl-

An act described as naṣb nāṣib, recalling Ğāḥiz's term niṣba, though no inference is involved.
5 vols., G. Makdisi, (ed.), Beirut, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998-2002.



²⁸ Tantalizingly, Bāqillānī tells us in his al-Taqrīb al-ṣaġīr that because he discussed Šāfiʿīs definition of bayān (which he quotes) in sufficient detail in his "Big Book," the more expansive version of the Taqrīb, he does not need to go into it in the instant discussion. Al-Taqrīb wal-iršād al-ṣaġīr, 3 vols., ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Abū Zayd, Beirut, Mu'assasat al-risāla, 1998, III, p. 374.

edge and abundant ability he realized that bayān is among those things that cannot be completely captured by a definition, since it encompasses a variety of things. Among these are al-naṣṣ, al-ẓāhir, al-ʿumūm, tafṣīr al-muğmal, taḥṣīṣ al-ʿumūm, dalīl al-ḥiṭāb, and faḥwā al-ḥiṭāb. He subsumed all of that under one word, and said it in a general way; all of that is bayān, even though its degrees [marātib] might differ. His saying "convergent basic meanings" refers to a noun of broad scope [ism šāmil], which is bayān. And his saying "divergent in their ramifications" refers to what is shared between naṣṣ, zāhir, 'umūm, taḥṣīṣ, faḥwā, dalīl, and so on. Those are the subsidiary senses of the noun that he referred to in a general way—and that is the bayān. (Wādiḥ, I, p. 103)

This is a generous construction indeed. Although I think that Šāfiʿī was trying to be precise in a different way than Ibn ʿAqīl suggests, Ibn ʿAqīl is quite right to hold that Šāfiʿī's notion of *bayān* was designed to encompass the various hermeneutic techniques that describe the interaction of the Qurʾān and the Sunna. Šāfiʿī carefully and deliberately subsumes all his hermeneutical rubrics under the modes of the *bayān* and, I would argue, uses the resulting framework as the outline of the *Risāla*. However, like his *uṣūlī* colleagues, Ibn ʿAqīl is also attracted by the idea of degrees (*marātib*), or qualitative differences in the level of *bayān*, and imports it into Šāfiʿī's notion of *bayān*.

Ibn 'Aqīl's own definition of *bayān* is almost a quotation from Ğaṣṣāṣ: "It is the extraction of an idea or, you could say, the expression of an idea by means of a verbal expression that is neither confusing nor ambiguous or, you could say, dissociated from whatever might become confused with it, or become doubtful" (*iḥrāğ al-ma'nā aw taqūl izhār al-ma'nā bi-lafz ġayr multabis wa-lā muštabih aw taqūl munfaṣilan 'ammā yaltabis bihi wa-yaštabih) (Wāḍiḥ, I, p. 102). A bayān is required whenever a verbal expression cannot be used on its own for purposes of making a ruling (Wāḍiḥ, I, p. 105). In addition to the notion of degrees, then, Ibn 'Aqīl also, like Ğaṣṣāṣ, conceives of bayān as inherently transitive. Unlike Ğaṣṣāṣ, however, Ibn 'Aqīl did not view his own description of bayān as fundamentally incompatible with that of Šāfi'ī.*

F. al-Zarkašī (d. 794/1392)

Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkašī's *al-Baḥṛ al-muḥīṭ fī uṣūl al-fiqh* offers an appropriate end-point for this survey:³¹ His work offers an admirably comprehensive overview of the entire *uṣūl* tradition, which he understands as beginning with the *Risāla*; he quotes from many different authors, including many whose works are lost; and, writing in the late fourteenth century, he stands near to the end of the of pre-modern period of Islamic legal thought.

³¹ 4 vols., ed. M.M. Tāmir, Beirut, Dār al-kutub al-'ilmīya, 2000.



Šāfiʿī's definition of *bayān* looms large in Zarkašī's discussion, and he reports extensively on the controversy aroused by Šāfiʿī's formulation. Zarkašī is not surprised by disagreement over the term *bayān* since it is used, he observes, to mean three different things: (1) the person or text that communicates something, by means of an address, in a self-sufficient manner (*al-dāll ʿalā al-murād bi-ḥiṭāb tumma yastaqill bi-ifādatihi*); (2) the thing that indicates an intended meaning (*al-dalīl ʿalā al-murād*); and (3) the act of rendering something clear(er) (*fiʿl al-mubayyin*) (*Muḥīṭ*, III, p. 64). In his survey of various authors' understandings of the term *bayān*, words such as *izhār*, *ifhām*, and *īḍāḥ* loom large (*Muhīṭ*, III, p. 64-5), suggesting again a transitive semiotic procedure.

Zarkašī then offers his own summary and explanation of Šāfi'ī's modes of the bayān, a discussion that is reminiscent of Čuwaynī's. The first mode of the bayān is the "confirmatory bayān" (bayān al-ta'kīd). This is an unequivocal text (nass) that is clear (ğalī), does not admit of ta'wīl, is veridical (though it can encompass both tropological aspects and some restriction of general import: fi l-haqiqa llati tahtamil al-mağāz wa-l-'āmm al-maḥṣūs), and generally excludes further interpretation (ihtimāl) because it signifies at the surface level of the text (mugarrir li-l-hukm 'alā mā qtaḍāhu l-zāhir) (Muḥīṭ, III, p. 67). Gone is the mechanical Qur'anic specificity of Šāfi'ī's definition, replaced by an abstract quality of paramount clarity. Šāfi'ī's second category of bayān Zarkašī identifies as an unequivocal text (naṣṣ) that can only be understood properly by specialists (yanfarid bi-darakihi al-'ulamā') and that involves linguistic ambiguity (Muḥīṭ, III, p. 67). 32 Again, and reminiscent of Čuwaynī, the specificity of Šāfi'ī's category is replaced with a qualitative description and an assertion of the importance of expertise. Šāfi is third through fifth categories of bayān are reported accurately, though the technical idiom is that of Zarkašī's day.

Zarkašī, a Šāfiʿī, defends Šāfiʿī valiantly against the attacks of later uṣūlīs: For example, Šāfiʿī did not neglect iǧmāʿ; it is merely the case that iǧmāʿ only coalesces on the basis of a dalīl, and Šāfiʿīs list of types of bayān is really a listing of possible kinds of dalīls that could serve as a basis for iǧmāʿ (Muḥīṭ, III, p. 68).

What is striking, however, is the replacement of a schema that foregrounds structural matters—the relationship of the Qur'ān and the Sunna—with a schema that foregrounds qualitative aspects of divine-human communication, conceived of as "levels" (*marātib*) of clarity.

³² Zarkašī gives the examples of *wa-* and *ilā* in the *āyat al-wuḍū* (Koran 5, 6), both of which are susceptible to differing interpretations that affect an understanding of how to perform the legal obligations set forth in the verse in question.



IV. Conclusions

One question that arises is why the passage from the *Risāla* concerning the notion of *bayān* should garner so much attention in later *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature. Šāfiʿī's discussion of the term contains one of the few definitions offered in the *Risāla*. But even though that fact made it a convenient topic to discuss, I think it most likely that the *Risāla*'s discussion of the term *bayān* was remembered as central to the concerns of its author.

Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭāhirī (d. 297/910), son of the eponymous founder of the Ṭāhirī school of legal thought, criticized Šāfiʿī's five-part definition of bayān for omitting consensus, iǧmāʿ: "Šāfiʿī ignored, among the degrees [marātib, i.e., of the bayān], consensus. It is among the basic indicators of the Law [min uṣūl adillat al-šarīʿa]" (quoted, e.g., by Ğuwaynī at Burhān, I, p. 126). This criticism is also made by Ğaṣṣāṣ (Fuṣūl, II, p. 16), but the fact that Ibn Dāwūd is said to have been engaged polemically with an idea from Šāfiʿī's Risāla tends to suggest that 9th-century jurists were interested in Šāfiʿī's Risāla.³³ This fact fits with Montgomery's contention that Ğāḥiẓ's serious interest in Šāfiʿī's notion of bayān, expressed as a collection of playful allusions to Šāfiʿī's Risāla, shows that Šāfiʿī's hermeneutics were highly relevant to the concerns of 9th-century Muslim thought generally.³⁴

But Ibn Dāwūd's criticism is also interesting because it suggests that he viewed Šāfiʿī's enumeration of the varieties of *bayān* as an attempt (albeit a failed one) at a complete statement of the basic 'sources' (*uṣūl*) of law. Ibn Dāwūd felt that Šāfiʿī should have offered something more in the nature of the list of the traditional four sources of law (though presumably without *qiyās*).³⁵ This aspect of Ibn Dāwūd's critique suggests, perhaps, that Šāfiʿī's intention was more intelligible to him than to the later *uṣūlīs* whose views have been examined above—after all, Šāfiʿī sought to offer a comprehensive typology of ways that norms are expressed.

Later authors seem to have expected the term *bayān* to pertain to levels of communicative clarity. Their expectations were much more strongly colored by the concern with language as the central problem of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (as opposed to contradiction occasioned by Qur'ān-Sunna conflict), and also by the notion

³⁵ I have argued that Šāfiʿī did not intend to offer a theory of four sources of the law in the *Risāla*, though he has been widely misunderstood in the secondary literature as having proposed such a theory. "Does Shāfiʿī Have a Theory of 'Four Sources' of Law?" in Weiss (ed.), *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*, p. 23-50.



³³ Ibn Dāwūd's interest also reflects his father's positive valuation of Šāfi'ī's jurisprudence. See C. Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law*, Leiden, Brill, 1997, ch. 9, esp. p. 179-182.

³⁴ Montgomery, p. 102.

of *bayān*, emergent in Ğāḥiẓ's *Bayān*, as describing a communicative process subject to infelicities. It is in this regard that the reception of this idea from the *Risāla* in later *uṣūl* works sheds some light on trends in legal thought connected with the rise of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. The difficulty in assimilating Šāfiʿis concept of *bayān* into later *uṣūl* suggests a general shift from a concern with contradiction to a concern with communication in language. This shift, which I would call the 'linguistic turn,' is already evident in Ğāḥiẓ's playful critique of Šāfiʿī.

If it is right that Šāhiz meant to refer to Šāfi'ī in his discussion of bayān, what did Gahiz mean to say by doing that? We must begin from the premise that Ğāḥiz did not like Šāfi'ī's use of the term bayān, likely because Šāfi'ī does not highlight the qualitative aspect that Ğāhiz viewed as a crucial component in his own communicative concept of bayān. Šāfi'ī uses his notion of bayān defensively, to repair a breach: he uses it to link the Qur'an and the Sunna in response to the charge that they do not cohere. Šāfi'ī focuses in the Risāla almost exclusively on the difficulties caused by the interpenetrative, interlocking relationship between the two sources of the law, which are mostly understood (and heroically portrayed) as instances of apparent (rather than actual) contradiction. His portrayal of the *bayān* shows that they interlock and thereby produce a seamless body of norms. Šāfi'ī's bayān is thus wholly structural; it does not liberate ideas from the speaker's mind and convey them to the recipient with crystal clarity. No wonder, then, that Šāfi is account does not satisfy Ğāhiz, who anyway probably did not see juxtaposition of the Qur'an with hadīt-s as a desirable procedure for highlighting eloquence in general, or the Qur'ān's linguistic preeminence in particular.

In his *Bayān* Ğāḥiẓ explores the human struggle to master the medium and celebrates their successes, their capacity for superlatively felicitous expression, above all expression in Arabic. The ability to fashion sublime discourse in Arabic verges on a kind of human participation in the divine. The Qurʾān presents itself as the paradigmatic act of communicative excellence, a *kitāb mubīn*. On the one hand, the Qurʾān expresses the most sublime ideas that can possibly be expressed, but on the other hand, even the Qurʾān must render the sublime through the earthly medium of language. In Ğāḥiẓ's model of communication a lack of fit between idea and idiom is always possible, making for the ever-present possibility of miscommunication, infelicity, etc. Humans—quite unlike God—must struggle with that medium. This struggle is exemplified in the opening sections of the *Bayān* (before the introduction proper), which portrays actual instances of infelicitous communication, but also the human capacity for overcoming them, such as Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā''s heroic attempts to cope with his speech impediment.³⁶

³⁶ As noted by Montgomery, p. 117.



Recent research on *uṣūl al-fiqh* has also focused on problems of communication, but from the point of view of the recipients, those who must interpret the divine and divinely-inspired samples of language that are the sources of norms.³⁷ For the *uṣūlīs*, it is not so simple a matter to know what God is saying, however beautifully He may say it. With the recognition of this problem we are no longer in the realm of structural incompatibility, but are instead confronted by the problem of language and its potential for indeterminacy, a major concern that separates *uṣūl al-fiqh* from Šāfiʿī and his *Risāla*.

³⁷ Above all, M.M. Yunis Ali in his *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*, Richmond, Curzon, 2000. Bernard Weiss, too, has emphasized the *uṣūlī's* recognition of the linguistic difficulties attending the interpretation of revelational texts. See his *Spirit of Islamic Law*, p. 52-65. See also Weiss's *The Search for God's Law*, Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1992, p. 117-50; and, in a slightly different vein, S.A. Jackson, "Fiction and Formalism: Toward a Functional Analysis of *Uṣūl al-fiqḥ*," in Weiss, (ed.), *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*, p. 177-201.



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