

OPPOSING THE THEOLOGICAL DOCTRINE OF THE QĀSIMĪ STATE IN 11TH/17TH CENTURY YEMEN:

A SHĀFI'Ī KHAT ADDICT FROM ṢAN'Ā'

ALLEGEDLY WRITING UNDER THE PSEUDONYM OF A KURDISH SAVANT FROM DAMASCUS*

Gregor Schwarb

Among the great diversity of source material and multiple historio- and biographical works covering the history of the early Qāsimī state¹, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim's (d. after 1100/1687) *Bahġat al-zaman fi tāriḥ al-Yaman* occupies a position of paramount importance.² For the political, economic, social, cultural and intellectual history of Yemen in the five decades³ following the end of the first Ottoman occupation in 1046/1636, it amounts to an exceedingly rich mine of unique information. Even though it is referred to as 'appendix' (*dayl*) to the author's overarching history of Yemen (*Anbā' al-zaman fi tāriḥ al-Yaman*) and its general introduction (*al-Ibar fi aḥbār man maḍā wa-ghabar*), it in many respects eclipses the *Anbā'* in importance, not least because it contains a substantial amount of data collected during the author's lifetime from a wide range of sources and informants (travellers, tradesmen, students, men of learning, and commoners) from Yemen and all over the Islamic world.⁴

An equally amusing and intriguing section of *Bahġat al-zaman* is the entry dedicated to 'Abd al-Hādī al-Quway'ī, a Ṣan'ā' based Šāfi'ī bibliophile.⁵ The following pages offer an annotated translation of passages extracted from that entry and are designed to prepare the ground for an in-depth study of *K. al-Nibrās* and a ramified network of related texts.⁶

In the margins of the Arabic text, غ refers to al-Amīr's edition, ح to al-Ḥibšī's *Yawmiyyāt*, ق to the *musawwada*-holograph. The footnotes in Arabic are extracted from غ and ح.

* I am indebted to Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Alfī who drew my attention to the Šāfi'ī khat addict.

1 For a useful, yet incomplete survey of relevant sources see A. F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir tāriḥ al-Yaman fi l-'aṣr al-islāmī* (*Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane*), (Cairo: IFAO, 1974), pp. 221–49.

2 Ed. Amat al-Ghafūr 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Alī al-Amīr, in ead. *al-Awdā' al-siyāsīyya fi l-Yaman fi l-niṣf al-tānī min al-qarn al-ḥādī 'aṣar al-ḥijrī, al-sābi' 'aṣar al-milādī, 1054–1099 H / 1644–1688 M, ma' taḥqīq Bahġat al-zaman fi tāriḥ al-Yaman li-l-mu'arriḥ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad* (Ṣan'ā': Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd ibn 'Alī al-Ṭaqāfiyya, 2008). For a description of the *musawwada* holograph underlying the edition (Ṣan'ā', Maktabat al-Ġāmi' al-Kabīr al-Ġarbiyya, mss. nos. 2492, 2430, 2512) see *ibid.*, pp. 242–263; A. M. 'Isawī et al., *Fihris al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyya li-Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt wa-l-Maktaba al-Ġarbiyya bi-l-Ġāmi' al-Kabīr, Ṣan'ā'*, vol. 2 (Qum 2005), pp. 1437f. Contrary to claims made in some ill-informed secondary literature, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī's *Yawmiyyāt Ṣan'ā' fi l-qarn al-ḥādī 'aṣar, 1046–1099 H* (Abu Dhabi: al-Maġma' al-Ṭaqāfi, 1996) does not offer a full edition of *Bahġat al-zaman*, but – as stated in the introduction (p. 16) – a compilation of selected passages. For a biographical sketch of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, a grandson of al-imām al-Manṣūr bi-Llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1029/1620), the 'founder figure' of the Qāsimī dynasty, see al-Amīr's introduction, *loc. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 231–242 (with further references). An inventory of Yaḥyā's extensive oeuvre is given by al-Ḥibšī, *loc. cit.*, pp. 5–16, and *id.*, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī fi l-Yaman* (Abu Dhabi: al-Maġma' al-Ṭaqāfi, 2004), pp. 35, 69, 102, 151, 187, 254, 347, 517f., 560, 584, 711–24.

3 *Bahġat al-zaman* covers the period from 1046/1636 up to the beginning of the reign of *Šāhib al-mawāhib*, i.e. al-Imām al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-imām al-Qāsim (d. 1130/1718) in 1099/1688. In the edition, the three *ajzā'* of the *musawwada* holograph are distributed as follows: [1] 1046/1636–1080/1669 = ed. pp. 301–750; [2] 1081/1670–1090/1679 = ed. pp. 753–1114; [3] 1091/1680–1099/1688 = ed. pp. 1117–1408.

4 Many of these informants are mentioned by name. For the intellectual history of 11th/17th century Yemen and its attendant material culture, *Bahġat al-zaman* contains a great deal of additional data not included in the author's *al-Mustaṭāb fi tarāġim riġāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb* (= *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-suġrā*) which is mostly based on written sources itemised in the final section of the book.

5 Ed. al-Amīr, pp. 561–566 [غ]. Except for a few gaps, the entry is also included in al-Ḥibšī's *Yawmiyyāt*, pp. 99–101 [ح].

6 For *K. al-Nibrās li-kaṣf al-iltibās al-wāqī' fi l-Asās li-'aqā'id qawm sammū anfusahum bi-l-Akyās*, see the references in my "MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294: a guide to Zaydī *kalām*-studies during the Ṭāhirid and early Qāsimite periods (mid-15th to early 18th centuries)", in D. Hollenberg et al. (eds.), *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 200–202.

In Ramadan [of the year 1068 AH]⁷ died the Šāfi'ī scholar 'Abd al-Hādī al-Quway'ī of Ḥaḍramī origins.⁸ He was a knowledgeable man and from an early age until his death a devoted and passionate learner. In his neat and elegant handwriting he copied for himself precious books and purchased what he could get hold of in his time. He so collected a good number of exquisite books in all disciplines of knowledge, even though most of them concerned Šāfi'ī law and the sayings of Ṣūfīs. He was incessantly sitting amidst [his books] and devoted his entire life to studying them. [His library] comprised about six hundred volumes or more.

[Following his death] he left behind neither money nor offspring, for he was a bit of a loner and never got married. He was frequently chewing khat, and constantly obsessed with it. It was presumably above all the khat that diminished his sexual urge,

ح ٩٩ | وفي رمضانها مات الفقيه العارف
عبد الهادي القويبي^٢ الحضرمي الأصل
٣ الشافعي. كان المذكور بالعلم عارفاً، وبه
متفرغاً مشغولاً من وقت شبابه إلى حال
مماته. ينسخ بخطه الواضح الحسن الكتب
٦ النفيسة لنفسه. ويشتري منها ما وجد في
غ ٥٦٢ | وقته، | فجمع كتباً كثيرة جليّة في كلّ فن،
غير أنّ غالبها في فقه الشافعية، وفي الأقوال
٩ الصوفية. ولا يزال بينها مجالساً، وعليها طوال
مدته عاكفاً. وكان جملة قدر ستمائة مجلد أو
فوقها.
١٢ ولم يخلف بعده مالاً ولا ولداً، لأنه كان
حصوراً لم ينكح ولم يتزوج. وكان مكثراً من
أكل القات، مشغولاً به في جميع الأوقات،

7 June 1658.

8 Apart from the references given in the Arabic footnotes see for him also 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī al-Wazīr (d. 1147/1734), *Tārīḥ al-Yaman khilāla l-qarn al-ḥādī 'aṣar al-ḥigrī - al-sābi' 'aṣar al-milādī*, 1045-1090 H / 1635-1680 M, *al-musammā Tārīḥ ṭabaq al-ḥalwā wa-ṣiḥāf al-mann wa-l-sabwā*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ġāzim (Beirut: Dār al-Masīra, 1985), p. 154 (dependent on *Bahġat al-zaman*); 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. Aḥmad Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1089/1679), *Takmilat ṣadarāt al-dahab fī aḥbār man dahab, al-ġuz' al-awwal: tarāġim al-a'lām fī l-qarn al-ḥādī 'aṣar al-ḥigrī fī l-'ālam al-islāmī*, ed. Akram Ḥasan 'Ulabbī (Damascus: Dār al-Ṭabbā', 1991), p. 410; Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Maqḥafī, *Mu'ġam al-buldān wa-l-qabā'il al-yamaniyya* (Ṣan'a': Dār al-Kalima, 2002), vol. 2, p. 1306; id., *Mawsū'at al-alqāb al-yamaniyya* (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-Ġāmi'iyya, 2010), vol. 5, p. 525; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra, *Tārīḥ al-a'immat al-Zaydiyya fī l-Yaman ḥattā al-aṣr al-ḥadīṭ* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ṭaqāfa al-dīniyya, 1998), p. 125. In the entry on 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Salāma (d. 1090/1679; *TZK*, pp. 785-7, no. 485), Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn also refers to Zaydī students who studied *ilm al-ḥadīṭ* with 'Abd al-Hādī al-Quway'ī in Ṣan'a' (*Bahġat al-zaman*, ed. al-Amīr, p. 1110). Elsewhere in *Bahġat al-zaman* al-Quway'ī's *ism&nasab* are given as Hādī b. 'Abdallāh al-Quway'ī (see ed. al-Amīr, p. 1030).

٩ [طوال] طول ح | ١٠ مجلد...فوقها] مجلداً وفوقها ح

١ يعني رمضان سنة ثمان وستين وألف.
٢ ذكر الجنداري في الجامع الوجيز، ق ١٤٥ أن عبد الهادي القويبي توفي ١٠٦٦ هـ. والقويبي نسبة إلى هجرة القويبة التي تقع في الشرق الأسفل، في ناحية الشاهل في حجة (إسماعيل الأكوخ: هجر العلم، ج. ٣، ص. ١٧٦٩؛ وانظر الفهارس العامة؛ Gazetteer، ص. 198).

subdued his seminal discharge and weakened his [sexual] appetite, for semen dilution is a typical side effect of [khat chewing]. That's why people who live in isolation resort to it to mitigate their sex drive. On top of this he also used to smoke tobacco (*tutun*) which in medical literature is known as *tubāq*. But for all that he was very obliging, humble, unassuming and unpretentious. His elementary needs he satisfied from the market. Wherever he was, he chewed his khat, even in the market hall.

His only heir was his nephew 'Abdallāh ibn Aḥmad al-Quwayṭī, a common farmer and peasant labourer in the immediate hinterland of al-Bawn which is part of *Bilād al-qibla*.⁹ It was here that his father Aḥmad had established himself on a piece of vacant land and got married after previously having made a living as marketer on the markets between Ṣan'ā' and Khamir and other places nearby.¹⁰

[...]

[Al-Quwayṭī], may God have mercy upon him, was buried in the 'Bāb al-Yaman' cemetery. His books he bequeathed to the judge Ḥasan ibn Yaḥyā

فلعله الذي قلل شهوة النكاح في أكثر [ق ١٦١ و] الحالات، | وأسلس جري المنى، وقلل ٣ الشهوة، لأن من خواصه إسلاس المنى، ولذلك يعتمد المنقطعون ليقبل داعيهم إلى النكاح. وكان أيضا قد اعتاد شرب دخان ٦ التتن المعروف في كتب الطب بالطباق. وكان مع ذلك كثير التسليم والتواضع، وعدم الكبر والترافع، فيقضي حاجته من السوق، ٩ ويأكل القات إيما اتفق، ولو كان في قاعة السوق.

ولم يورث بعده غير ابن أخيه عبد الله بن ١٢ أحمد القويبي، عامي مشغل بالزراعة والفلاحة في جهات البون من بلاد القبلة، لأنه اختطها والده أحمد وتزوج فيها لما كان ١٥ في تلك المدة السابقة يتسبب^٣ إلى أسواقها من صنعاء إلى سوق خمر وغيره من نواحيها.

[...]

١٨ وقبر المذكور بمقبرة باب اليمن، رحمه الله | وأوصى في كتبه إلى القاضي حسن بن يحيى حابس الصعدي^٤، وجعل الثلث منها ٢١ للفقراء والمساكين بصنعاء من أهل السوق،

9 Region northwest of Ṣan'ā'.

10 Robert T.O. Wilson, *Gazetteer of historical North-West Yemen in the Islamic Period to 1650*, Hildesheim / New York: G. Olms, 1989, p. 106 (al-Bawn), pp. 156f. (Khamir). *Bilād al-qibla* roughly corresponds to the area studied in this Gazetteer.

٦ التتن [التن (!) ح

٣ يتسبب: السبب ما يتوصل به إلى الرزق.

٤ ترجم به المؤرخ ترجمة مطولة عند وفاته [ق. ٢٧٠-٢٧٣ أ من المخطوطة المسودة = ص. ٧١٨-٧٢٣ من النص المحقق]. وترجم له إبراهيم بن القاسم: طبقات الزيدية، ج. ٣، ص. ١٢٦ [= ص. ٣٥١، رقم ٢٠٥ من النص المحقق]، وزبارة: ملحق البدر الطالع، ص. ٧٨-٧٩.

Hābis al-Ša'dī¹¹, donating one third of the proceeds to charity in support of the poor and destitute living in the markets of Šan'a'. The judge took charge of putting his will into effect.

Among the books that came to light was *al-Nibrās li-šarḥ al-Asās* ('The Lamp in Elucidation of the Foundation')¹² which was attributed to the Damascus-born Sheikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Abī 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī l-Šihāb al-Ganḡawī.¹³ The judge Ḥasan took charge of [the

ح ١٠٠ | تباع وتصرف فيهم، فنذ القاضي وصيته. |

وظهر من جملتها كتاب النبراس لشرح

٣ الأساس، ونسب مصنفه إلى الشيخ عبد

الوهاب بن | أبي عبد الله بن الحسين بن أبي

الشهاب الكنجوي نزيل دمشق الشام.

- 11 See for him the entry in *Bahğat al-zaman*, pp. 718-723; *TZK* I:351, no. 205; *al-Ġawāhir al-muḏī'a*; *Mulḥaq BT*; al-Ġurmūzī, *Tuḥfat al-asmā'*, etc. He is a younger sibling of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Hābis (d. 1061/1651), the author of *K. al-Īdāḥ al-kāšif li-ma'ānī al-Mišbāḥ*, *K. al-Anwār al-hādiya li-dawī l-'uqūl ilā ma'rifat maqāšid al-Kāfil bi-nayl al-su'l fi 'ilm al-ušūl* (written in 1022/1613) and a number of other important treatises. For a copy of *K. al-Anwār* in the handwriting of Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā, completed on 16 Ramaḏān 1040 (18/04/1631), see IZbACF CD #371:1. After his brother's death, he was appointed Qāḏī in Ša'da and Ḥaṭīb of the Hādī mosque.
- 12 *K. al-Nibrās li-kašf al-iltibās al-wāqī' fi l-Asās li-'aḡā'id qawm sammū anfusahum bi-l-Akyās* see n. 6 above; *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 330; *GAL*², vol. 2, p. 433; *GALS*, vol. 2, p. 457 no. 7; *K. al-Nibrās* survives in several mss. in Yemen, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, India and elsewhere, and is extensively quoted in its two major counter-refutations, i.e. Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad al-'Abdī's (d. 1115/1703) three-volume *K. al-Iḥtirās 'an nār al-Nibrās al-ṭā'in fi qawā'id al-Asās*, extant in several mss. [a far shorter anti-Aš'arī treatise by al-'Abdī, *Abṭāl al-'inād fi aḡāl al-'ibād*, has been published (Ša'da: Maktabat al-Turāt al-Islāmī, 1999), ed. Ḥusayn Muqbil Qillī], and Zayd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Manšūr bi-Llāh al-Qāsīm's (d. 1123/1711) *al-Qusṭās fi l-radd 'alā Šāḥib al-Nibrās* (= *Irsāl al-anfās li-itfā' al-Nibrās*). For the latter see Schwarb, *loc. cit.*, pp. 186, 202. His father was a cousin of the author of *Bahğat al-zaman*. The *Qusṭās* was left unfinished (some sources mention that it reached up to section on *al-ağal*) and apparently destroyed.
- 13 The edition has الكنجوي (p. 563, l. 1), whereas the corresponding footnote has الكنجوي; for 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Kanḡ(aw)ī/al-Ganḡ(aw)ī see *GAL* (*loc. cit.*); *MM*, vol. 6, p. 224; *BT*, 166, etc.; *Takmilat šaḡarāt al-dahab* (see n. 8 above), p. 413; Muḥammad Muṭī' al-Ḥāfiẓ and Nizār Abāza, *'Ulamā' Dimašq wa-a'yānuhā fi l-qarn al-ḥādī 'ašar al-ḥiğrī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āšir; Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 2000), vol. 2, p. 122-3 ['Abd al-Wahhāb al-Kanḡī]; see, moreover, the editor's introduction in Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Šalāḥ al-Šarafī's (d.

٢ لشرح | شرح ح | ٥ الشام] - ح

٥ الكتاب هو: (النبراس لكشف الالتباس الواقع في الأساس لعقائد قوم سمو أنفسهم بالأبجاس) مؤلفه عبد الوهاب الكنجوي. فرغ من تأليفه سنة ١٠٦٢هـ. وقيل ١٠٥٩هـ. وهو رد على كتاب (الأساس) للإمام القاسم بن محمد. تناول الكنجوي في رده إبطال قواعد المعتزلة. وقد رد على (النبراس) عالمان من علماء الزيدية: الأول إسحاق بن محمد العدي (ت. ١١١٥هـ) وأسمى رده (الاحتراس من نار النبراس) في أربع مجلدات، والثاني زيد بن محمد بن الحسن (ت. ١١٢٣هـ) وأسمى رده (القسطاس في الرد على صاحب النبراس) (عمر كحالة: معجم المؤلفين، ج ٦، ص. ٢٢٣، أحمد الشرفي، شرح الأساس، تحقيق: د. أحمد عارف، مقدمة، ص. ٢١-٢٢).

books] and offered them for sale; some of them he acquired [for himself]. *The Lamp in Elucidation of the Foundation* he sold or lent to Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan¹⁴. Subsequently, a copy [of the book] turned up in Lower Yemen, in Ta'izz or elsewhere. I myself once got hold of a copy which 'Abdallāh, the son of Sheikh 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Lāhūrī¹⁵ brought over from the Ta'izz region and which I then borrowed from him. It turned out that the entire [book] consists of an assemblage of refutations, objections and counterarguments [against *K. al-Asās*] from a Sunnī point of view. Every single point of doctrine is countered with a counter-doctrine.

One of his objections runs as follows: [...] ¹⁶

[...] Throughout the entire book, each allegation that was meant to compel the adversary to accept that the doctrine he had espoused was in fact heretical was reposted with a counter-allegation aiming at extracting a similar confession

فقبضها القاضي حسن وباعها، وبعضها
شراها، وباع النبراس شرح الأساس هذا
٣ من محمد بن الحسن أو أعاره، ثم ظهرت
نسخة باليمن الأسفل كتعزّ وغيرها. فرأيت
نسخة طلعت من بلاد تعزّ مع عبد الله بن
٦ الشيخ عبد الرحيم اللاهوري^٧، واستعرتها
منه. فإذا جميعها ردود ومناقضات
واحتجاجات لأهل النسبة وجوابات، وقابل
٩ كل حجة بحجة.

ومن جملة ما اعترض به: [...]
[...] ثم قابل كل إلزام بالكفر بإلزام
١٢ مثله إلى آخر كتابه. يتكلم بكلام عارف بالحقّة،
وينقل فيه عن (الأطواق)، يريد به (أطواق

1055/1646) *Šifā' šudūr al-nās bi-šarḥ ma'ānī l-Asās* (= *Šarḥ al-Asās al-kabīr*), (Ṣan'ā', Dār al-Ḥikma al-Yamāniyya, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 21-23. Some of his ancestors in Damascus are mentioned in Ibn al-'Imād's *Šadarāt al-dahab*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Arnā'ūt (Damascus/Beirut: Dār Ibn Kaṭīr, 1986), vol. 10, pp. 282f.; Naḡm al-Dīn al-Ġazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-a'yān al-mi'a al-'āsira*, ed. Ġibrā'īl Sulaymān Ġabbūr (Beirut: Dār al-Āfaq al-Ġadīda, 1979), vol. 2, p. 186. Other sources (e.g. Ṭihriyānī, *Darī'a; BT*) ascribe the *Nibrās* to the famous Šūfī Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), who – like his illustrious teacher Aḥmad al-Qušāšī (d. 1071/1660-1) – was based in Medina and established close ties with several Yemenī scholars. The misattribution of the *Nibrās* to al-Kūrānī may be the result of a confusion with his *Nibrās al-'imās bi-aḡwibat su'ālāt ahl Fās*. For a detailed study on al-Kūrānī see the unpublished Ph.D. thesis by the Palestinian scholar 'Aṭallāh Qubṭī, *Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Šahrazūrī (1025-1101/1616-1690): ḥadīṭ ve-šūfīyūt bi-l-Madīna ba-me'ah ha-11/17* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 2004).

14 Possibly the son of Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā Ḥābis.

15 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Lāhūrī, Ḥanafī from Lahore who after his hajj to Mecca settled in Yemen and pledged allegiance to the imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl.

16 Here follow two longer quotations from *K. al-Nibrās*.

٦ من اللهجة العامية في اليمن، فيقال: (باع من) أو (باع مني) بدلاً من: (باع لي) أو (باع إليّ).
٧ هو من القادمين إلى اليمن نفاه المهدي صاحب المواهب وتكبه إلى الهند (نشر العرف ٧٢١:٢).

from [the author of *K. al-Asās*]. He writes with authority like someone who knows the sources of his objections. He draws, for instance, on *The Necklaces*, i.e. Imām Yaḥyā ibn Ḥamza's *The Necklaces of the Dove on the virtues of the Companions* (*Aṭwāq al-ḥamāma fī faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*) to show that what [al-Qāsim] says in the *Asās* is in contradiction to what your imāms say about the Companions. He also quotes passages from al-Qāsim's *Mirqāt fī uṣūl al-fiqh*¹⁷ to turn it against [al-Qāsim's] own statements and principles [in *K. al-Asās*]. He also draws on *al-Anwār Ṣarḥ al-Azhār*, i.e. 'Alī al-Naḡrī's commentary on *al-Azhār*, the *Anwār* in the title being extracted from the introduction to al-Naḡrī's commentary, to quote passages that are inconsistent with what the author of *K. al-Asās* says. All this is aimed at forcing him to admit that he had turned the doctrinal tradition and practice of *Ahl al-Bayt* into something that contradicts the sayings of those two imāms. Other such contradictions are expounded at great length as anybody who reads his above-mentioned 'commentary' will recognise.

Soon after this book [i.e. *K. al-Nibrās*] had come to light, a scholar hailing from the region of

الحماسة في فضائل الصحابة) للإمام يحيى بن حمزة. وأن ما ذكر في (الأساس) مخالف لما ذكره أئمتكم في شأن الصحابة. وينقل عن ٣ (مرقاة)^٨ الإمام القاسم التي في أصول الفقه، مما فيه حجة عليه في كلامه وأصوله. وينقل ٦ أيضاً عن (الأنوار شرح الأزهار)، يريد به شرح الفقيه علي النجري^٩ على (الأزهار)، لأن اسمه (الأنوار) ينقل منه في شرحه في ٩ مقدمة (الأزهار) ويرد ما خالف فيه صاحب (الأساس) إلى ذلك، وما ألزم به أنه عمل طريقة أهل البيت بخالفته لقول الإمامين هذين. وغير ذلك | من المناقضة في ١٦٢ ظ] كلمات طويلة يعرفها من طالعها في شرحه [غ ٥٦٦] المذكور.

١٥ ولما ظهر هذا الكتاب وصل بعض العلماء من بلاد دمشق إلى صنعاء اليمن وله تعليق بالسبب عن هذا الذي عزي إليه التبراس

17 al-Imām Qāsim b. Muḥammad, *Mirqāt al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl*, ed. Muḥammad Yaḥyā Sālim 'Azzān (Ṣan'ā': Maktabat Dār al-Turāth, 1992).

٣ أئمتكم [المتكلم ح | وينقل... ٦ وأصوله] - ح | ٥ وينقل [ينقل ح | ٧ النجري] البحري ح | ١١ عمل [على ح بخالفته] لمخالفته ح | ١٣ شرحه [شرح ح

٨ الكتاب هو: (مرقاة الوصول إلى علم الأصول) في أصول الفقه. وقد شرحه محمد بن الحسن بن القاسم، حفيد الإمام القاسم، وشرح آخر لصالح بن داود الأنسي (الجبشي: مصادر الفكر، ص. ٦١٦).
٩ علي النجري: هو علي بن محمد بن أبي القاسم بن علي النجري، نسبة إلى (نجرة) عزلة من أعمال حجة، عالم محقق في الفقه، نشأ ببحوث، وتوفي فيها سنة ٨٤٤/٥٠٤ م. أما عنوان كتابه شرح الأزهار فهو: (الأنوار وجلاء الأثمار المفتوح لكائم الأزهار المنتزع من الغيث المدرار) (أبو الرجال: مطلع البدور، ج. ٣، ص. ٢٣٤؛ الأكوغ، هجر العلم، ج. ١، ص. ٥٠٩-٥١٠).

Damascus came to Ṣan‘ā’, Yemen.¹⁸ Even though his doctrinal stance was similar to that of the supposed author of the *Nibrās*¹⁹, he said that [this book] was altogether unknown in the area of Damascus, indeed, unknown tout court. In light of all this, some people reached the verdict that this book was actually authored by the *faqīh* [‘Abd al-]Hādī al-Quway‘ī²⁰, given the fact that it was only discovered in his library posthumously and taking into consideration that someone who is not well acquainted with [at least] some works of the imām al-Qāsim²¹, such as *al-Mirqāt fī uṣūl [al-fiqh]* as well as [other Zaydī key sources such as] *Ṣarḥ al-Asās* and al-Nağrī’s commentary [on *al-Azhār*] will not be in a position to get a good grasp of the underlying issues. That man [i.e. al-Quway‘ī], however, ticks all the boxes, and for this very reason it cannot be ruled out [that he is the actual author of the *Nibrās*]. God knows best.

[...]

[...]

فقال: ما يُعلم به في جهات دمشق، ولا يُعرف أصلاً، فقال بعضهم: يدل هذا أنه ٣ للفقير هادي القويبي ١١، لأنه لم يظهر إلا في خزائنه بعد وفاته، ولأنه لا يكاد يعرف بقواعده من لم يمارسه خصوصاً مع معرفة ٦ بعض مصنفات الإمام القاسم مثل (المراقبة في أصول) و(شرح الأساس) و(شرح النجري). والرجل متمكّن، فقد يحتمل ٩ ذلك، والله أعلم.

18 In *Bahğat al-zaman*, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim mentions by name several of his acquaintances – ‘informants’ as it were – hailing from *Bilād al-Šām* (and elsewhere), travellers, tradesmen, students, and men of learning.

19 I.e. al-Ganğawī.

20 Elsewhere in *Bahğat al-zaman* his *ism cum nasab* are given as Hādī b. ‘Abdallāh al-Quway‘ī (see ed. al-Amīr, p. 1030).

21 I.e. the imam al-Manšūr bi-Llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1029/1620), the founder figure of the Qāsimī state, author of *K. al-Asās li-taṣḥīḥ ‘aqā'id al-akyās* and grand-father of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (see n. 2 above).

٧ وشرح الأساس [والأساس ح | ٨ النجري] البحري ح | ٩ والله أعلم - ح

١٠ كذا في الأصل، وقد سبق ذكره باسم عبد الهادي.

١١ قال الحبشي (محقق يوميات صنعاء): «يدل على ذلك أنه لم يترجم له صاحب خلاصة الأثر وهو من أهل دمشق، وذكره صاحب هدية العارفين ١: ٦٤٢ وذكر كتابه هذا ولكن مصدره الوحيد هو هذا الكتاب المذكور. ومنه نسخة بمكتبة مصر. قلت: هناك كتاب آخر في الرد على الأساس يحمل نفس العنوان [كذا!] من تأليف إبراهيم بن حسن الكوراني المولود سنة ١٠٢٥ والمتوفي سنة ١١٠١، وقفت على مخطوطة منه بمتحف بغداد.»