

An Archaeological and Artistic Study of Four Tombstones from the Period of the Qāsimī State in Yemen

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Abstract

This study examines four tombstones associated with significant figures in Yemen's history during the period of the early Qāsimī State (1006-1054 H./1597-1644 A.D.); 'Alī b. al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (1013-1078 H./1603-1617 A.D.) and his brother al-Qāsim b. al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (1024-1127 H./1632-1715 A.D.). The research sheds light on their life histories and historical roles. It documents and studies these stone artifacts from both archaeological and artistic perspectives, providing a detailed description and analyzing the inscriptions in terms of form and content. The inscriptions contain valuable historical information, religious and historical titles, and supplicatory phrases. The researcher employed a descriptive-analytical approach and an inductive method by describing the four artifacts, reading their written texts, analyzing their contents, and referencing various archaeological evidence sources and historical references. The study emphasizes the importance of preserving these artifacts due to their significant archaeological and cultural value amid the ongoing armed political conflict in Yemen.

Keywords: Yemen, Qāsimī period, al-Mu'ayyad, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, Ṣan'ā', al-Wuṣālī, Wahhabis.

INTRODUCTION

The early Qāsimī State is one of the most prominent states that governed Yemen, emerging after a long series of Zaydi imāmate rulers. It stands as one of the most impactful periods in modern Yemeni history, spanning from 1006-1054 H./1597-1644 A.D. It was founded by al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llah al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (966-1029 H./1558-1620 A.D.) and his sons; it marked a significant chapter of struggle against Ottoman rule in Yemen, lasting for around forty years. The rulers of the Qāsimī State successfully ousted the Ottoman presence in Yemen in 1054 H./1635 A.D, extending their influence to Ṣan'ā' and all northern regions (al-Ṭawr 2004: 3-6). The Qāsimī State witnessed the rule of several Zaydi imāms, with al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-llah Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (990-1054 H./1582-1644 A.D.) being among the most renowned. Historians consider him the primary founder of the Qāsimī State in Yemen, unifying the country under his leadership and continuing its development after the passing of his father al-Imām al-Qāsim (al-Basāmī 1985: 18-22; al-Madāḥ 1980).

This research focuses on four tombstones belonging to two sons of Imām al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim; 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad (1013-1078 H./1603-1668 A.D.) and his

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brother al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad (1024-1127 H./1632-1715 A.D.). Three of these tombstones are studied and published for the first time and one of them, the third tombstone has been studied before by al-Ma'īdī (2011: 749-772).

The study of tombstones holds significant importance in archaeology, providing valuable information about genealogy, names, countries, linguistic structures, religious texts, supplicatory phrases, titles, and dates. Additionally, it contributes to the understanding of Arabic calligraphy style and its evolution, along with distinctive artistic features during different periods (Šīḥah 1988: 7). The choice to study these four artifacts stems from their crucial role in the history and civilization of the Qāsimī State in Yemen. The research comprises four sections, exploring the life of Amīr 'Alī and Imām al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad, examining the location, providing a descriptive study, conducting an analytical study of the four tombstones, and concluding by summarizing key findings and results.

First Section: The Life of Amīr 'Alī and al-Imām al-Qāsim; this section covers the biographies, genealogy, upbringing, and key accomplishments of both individuals. (**Figure 1**)

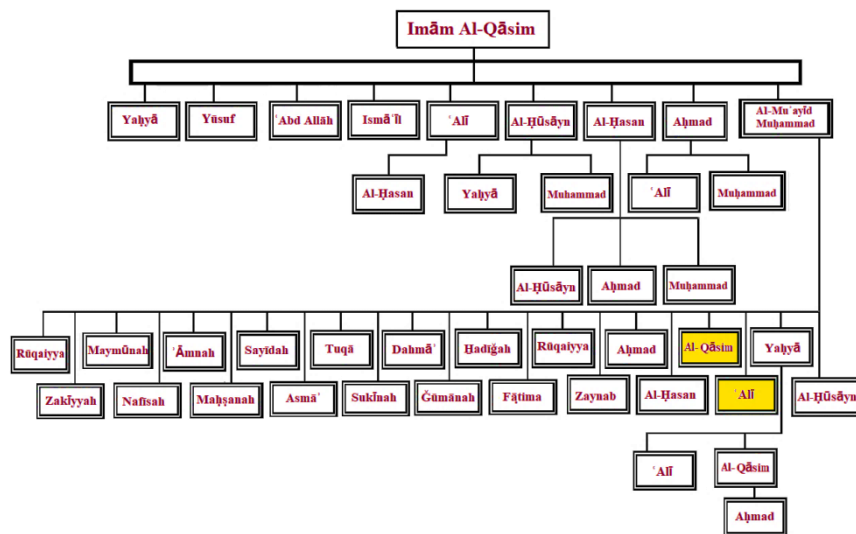


Figure 1 Genealogical tree of imām al-Qāsim, including his grandchildren mentioned in this article 'Alī and al-Qāsim B. al-Mu'ayyad Marked in yellow (al-Tawr 2004: 1147).

Amīr 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad: He is 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad (d.1078 H./1668 A.D.). He was known as Jamāl al-Dīn (Šaraf al-Dīn 2003: 309). He was born in Ḥiṣn Kawkabān in Jūmādā al-Awwal in 1013 H./1604 A.D. during the captivity of his father, al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad (990-1054 H./1582-1644 A.D.), under the Turks (al-Mu'ayyad 2001: 798). Described as a noble, pure, generous, and illustrious leader, Amīr 'Alī was recognized for his profound scholarship in Hadith and proficiency in historical events (al-Ḥusaynī 1999: 328-329). His expertise extended to jurisprudence, having learned from notable figures such as Qāḍī 'Āmir b. Muḥammad al-Ḍamārī and 'Abd al-Hādī al-Ḥasūsa. Noteworthy was his comprehensive knowledge of Arab affairs, early generations' history, and tribal genealogies (al-Šawkānī 1987: 608-609). His grandfather, al-Imām al-Manšūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim, held a deep affection for him. Additionally, he shared

a close bond with his father, al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad, who heavily relied on him. al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad appointed him as the leader of the Yemeni Hajj and entrusted him with the Yemeni Hajj caravan (al-Ḥusayn 1968: 833; al-Ṭawr 2004: 102). Moreover, he was entrusted with various other significant responsibilities. Following the collapse of the truce between Imām al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad and the Ottoman governor Ḥaydar Pasha (Šaraf al-Dīn 2003: 309; Sālim 1999: 396), Ḥaydar Pasha mandated that one of the imām's sons accompany him from Ṣan'ā' to Zabīd and be accompanied by a distinguished scholar from the loyalists of the Mu'ayyad state to ensure protection during the journey. This precautionary measure aimed to forestall potential attacks from rebellious tribes against Ḥaydar Pasha and his administration. Consequently, al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad dispatched his son 'Alī alongside Qāḍī 'Āmir b. Muḥammad al-Ḍamārī ('Āmir 2012: 250-252).

When Ḥaydar Pasha departed from Ṣan'ā', competition for the rule of the city emerged among the brothers of al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad: Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim and al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (al-Ġarmūzī 2002: 224). To avert potential conflicts between his brothers over the governance of Ṣan'ā', al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad appointed his son 'Alī as the city's ruler, entrusting him with its administration (al-Ṭawr 2004: 102). His selection came based on his qualities and qualifications, which closely resembled the characteristics of the imamate in Zaydī thought (Haider 2021: 215-216). 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad's rule over Ṣan'ā' persisted until his passing on the ninth day of Rabī' al-Awwal in 1078 H./1668 A.D., at the age of sixty-five, with an exception of one month. He was laid to rest in a tomb within the al-Wuṣālī Mosque in Ṣan'ā' (al-Wazīr 1985: 228). Subsequently, his brother al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad (d. 1084 H./1673 A.D.) constructed a grand dome over his grave in 1084 H./1673 A.D., which was later demolished. This dome was situated west of the dome of al-Sirājī in the al-Wuṣālī Mosque (al-Ḥusayn 1996: 151).

Amīr 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad was a just ruler, beloved by the people of Ṣan'ā'. He was known for his asceticism, contentment, and humility in dress and dwelling. The historian Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn praised him, stating that he was humble towards both the young and the old, leading a frugal life. His rule over Ṣan'ā' lasted for approximately forty years (al-Ḥusayn 1968: 151), characterized by continuous prosperity, abundant resources, and fruitful outcomes. The poet al-šayḥ Ibrāhīm b. Šālīḥ al-Hindī al-San'ānī, who lived in the year 1101 H./1690 A.D., composed poetry lamenting 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad upon hearing about his death (al-Šawkānī 1987:174-175):

| | |
|---|---|
| Qad 'aḥbra al-rakb 'nna b. al-Mu'ayyad | Qad ṭawā wa 'ūnzla taḥt al-tūrb wa hwa 'Alī |
| Wa 'nna fī al-Wuṣālī ūḥtīr maḍriḥū | Wa kaif yūsṛḥ lūḡ fī "al-wašl" |
| The travelers have reported that the son of Al-Mu'ayyad | has been buried and laid beneath the soil, and his name is 'Alī |
| Also, it has been chosen his grave in al-Wuṣālī | and how lūḡ screams in "al-wašl" |

al-Imām al-Qāsim B. al-Mu'ayyad: He is al-Dā'ī 'ilā Allāh al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad (d. 1127 H./1715 A.D.). He is the fifth son of the Imām al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim ('Āmir 2012: 269-270). He was born in the city of Šahārah on the 18th of Dū al-Ḥijjah 1042 H./1632 A.D, and grew up there. His call to the imamate was in the year 1087 H./1676 A.D. (Zabārah 1998: 132-133). He possessed the qualities of the imamate in Zaydī

thought (Haider 2021: 215-216). He attained a great level of knowledge and was renowned for virtues, inheriting the sciences of the Quran and Sunnah. He demonstrated excellence on the battlefield and skill in administration and governance. When his uncle, al-Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh Ismā'īl, passed away in the year 1087 H./1676 A.D., he called for the imāmate for himself in Šahārah. Al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad called for the imāmate for himself once again, then pledged allegiance to al-Mu'ayyad bi Allāh Muḥammad, the son of al-Imām al-Mutawakkil. Later, he pledged allegiance to al-Mahdī, Šāhib al-Mawāhib, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim. He stayed in Šahārah until Šāhib al-Mawāhib detained him in Šan'ā' for about ten years. Later, he released him and ordered him to stay in Šan'ā', where he continued for about twenty-four years. He passed away on the afternoon of Sunday, the seventh of Jūmadā al-Āḥirā, in the year 1127 H./1715 A.D. The funeral prayer was held at the Great Mosque in Šan'ā', and he was buried beside his brother 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad. He lived for eighty-four years and five months. Al-Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Wazīr mourned him with the following poetic verses, which chronicles his death with the date calculated according to hīsāb al-jūmal as follow; (Abu Ṭālib 1990: 367-368):

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Zūr ɗarīḥ al-imām wa b. al-imām | Wa 'abī al-mūntaqā imām al-zamān |
| Fahūa al-Qāsim al-šahīr akḥū al-'alm | Wa akḥū al-Faḍl wāḍiḥ al-būrḥān |
| Huḡah al-dahr Zīnah al-'aṣr wa al-'ā | I qāmūs 'Ilmhm- fī al-bāyān |
| 'azama Allāh fīh 'ḡr banīh | Wa ḥabāhm bi al-'afw wa al-ḡufrān |
| Ḥamlathu 'alā al-riqāb 'ayād | Qlādthu yadāhu bi al-'iḥsān |
| šāfḥathu al-ḥūr al-ḡnān iṣṭiyāq | mā talqathu min yadī ruḍwān |
| fī ḡnān al-na'im ṭaba f'arḥ | ḥlada Allāh Qāsim fī al-ḡnān |

| | |
|--|---|
| Visit the shrine of al-imām and the son of al-imām, | And the father, selected leader of the time. |
| He is the renowned al-Qāsim, the brother of knowledge, | And the brother of virtue, clear in proof |
| The argument of the era, the adornment of the age, | Their knowledge is like a dictionary in explanation |
| May God magnify his reward for his children, | And bless them with forgiveness and pardon. |
| He carried burdens upon his shoulders, | Guided by his hands with benevolence. |
| The maidens of paradise yearned to shake his hand, | Ever since they received from his hands the satisfaction. |
| In the gardens of bliss, he found delight, | And Allah has immortalized Qāsim in paradise |

As eulogized by the Yemeni historian, Muḥammad Zabārah (1301-1381 H./1884-1961 A.D.), in these poetic verses that encapsulate the history of his death and his burial place in al-Wuṣālī Mosque in Šan'ā' (Zabārah 1998: 132-133) as follow:

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Wa al-Qāsim al-qā'im min Šahārah | Rab al-Tuqa wa al-'ilm wa al-barārah |
| Qiyāmah fī zuḡf fī nafr | Wa kān mā kān lahu min ḥayr |
| Wa mawthu fī sābi' al-'iṣrīnā | Bi-Wuṣlī Šan'ā' ṭawā dafīnā |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| And al-Qāsim standing in Ṣahārah | The master of piety, knowledge, and righteousness |
| His standing in zuġf was prominent, | Yet he had no knowledge of what was to come. |
| And his death on the twenty-seventh, | In Wuṣlī Ṣan‘ā’, where he was laid to rest |

Second Section: Location of the Four Tombstones; they are located in al-Wuṣālī Mosque. Amīr ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad was buried in al-Imām al-Wuṣālī Mosque, with his grave situated in the northern part of the mosque. His brother, Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, erected a magnificent dome over his grave (al-Ḥusayn 1968: 151). In addition, al-Imām al-Qāsim was buried in the same location, next to the grave of his brother ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad. al-Wuṣālī Mosque is one of the famous mosques in Ṣan‘ā’, situated north of the prominent road from al-Sāīlah to ḥārat Jamāl al-Dīn and ḥārat Ṭalha (**Figures 2, 3**). It is an old mosque known as al-‘Ajzam Mosque. Historical sources indicate the antiquity of its construction, but they do not specify the year of its establishment. They mention that al-Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Sirājī, who passed away in 696 H/1296 A.D, used to give his lessons to students in this mosque. It later became famous for its association with his grandson, al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Wuṣālī, who passed away in 910 H/1504 A.D. (al-Wuṣālī 2003: 178). He was buried beside this mosque. The mosque underwent many renovations during the first half of the 10th century H/16th century A.D. (al-Ḥujarī 2004: 137-138).

This mosque was specifically chosen to serve as the burial place for ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad and his brother al-Qāsim due to its historical, cultural, and religious significance. The mosque, known as a scholarly institution and a hub for numerous scholars who were buried there, held great importance. Therefore, Amīr ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad instructed to be buried in its courtyard. A large dome was erected over his grave, built by his brother al-Ḥusayn, as mentioned earlier. However, the dome later collapsed and no longer exists. Al-Imām al-Qāsim was also buried beside his brother Amīr ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad (al-‘Ānsī 1981: 37).



Figure 2 The location of al-Wuṣālī Mosque and its components.
Source: Google Earth.

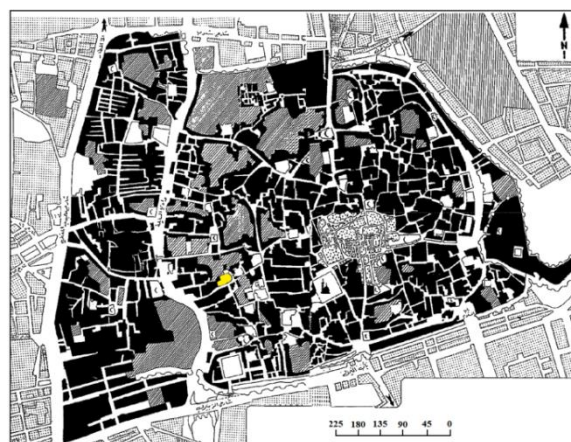


Figure 3 Map of Ṣan‘ā’ indicating the location of al-Wuṣālī Mosque. (Ġaylān 2004: 242-243, Fig 1).

The Location of the Tombstones within the Mosque: al-Wuṣālī Mosque is one of the suspended mosques in the city of Ṣan‘ā’, elevated about 1.5 meters above street level. Access to the mosque is through three steps to prevent rainwater from entering. The mosque’s layout differs from other mosques in Ṣan‘ā’, possibly due to limited space to the south. The prayer hall is directly located on the street and can be entered through a small covered passage. The courtyard is to the west, and another courtyard is to the east, opening to the al-Maṭāhīr.

The prayer hall, rectangular in shape (16x12 meters), is divided into three aisles by two rows of columns, with each row having four distinct columns carrying semi-circular arches. The mosque has various architectural additions (**Figure 4**). The four tombstones under study are located in a rectangular area outside the mosque to the north (Ġaylān 2004: 89-90). These Tombstones were added and secured to the mosque's exterior wall in 2004 to protect them from theft or damage (**Figure 5**).

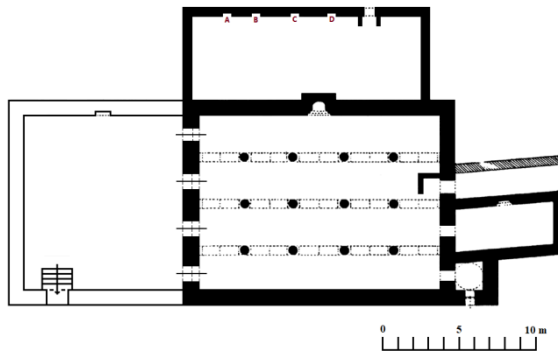


Figure 4 Plan of al-Wuṣālī Mosque.
Source: de Maigret et al. 1986: Vol. 36, No. 4: Fig. 54, p. 428.



Figure 5 al-Wuṣālī Mosque, the northern courtyard contains the grave of ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad and his brother al-Qāsim, Tombstones are fixed on the northern wall. Photographed by the Researcher, 2013

Third Section: Descriptive Study of the Four Tombstones. This section focuses on the tombstones of ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad and al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad. Repetition of tombstones for the same individual is a characteristic feature of the descendants of al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad. Notable examples of this feature include the tombstones of Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim in 1048 H/1638 A.D. in Ḍūrān ‘āns District, Ḍamār governorate, also the tombstones of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim in 1052 H/1642 A.D. in Ḍamār governorate (al-Kūmānī 2010:191-192), in addition to the tombstones of Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim in 1066 H/1655 A.D. in the city of Ṣa‘da, and the tombstones of Imām al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh Ismā‘īl in 1087 H/1676 A.D. in the village of Al-Ḥisn, which is part of Ḍūrān ‘āns District, Ḍamār governorate (al-Kūmānī 2021: 612). These tombstones were commonly referred to as “**Al-Ḍarīḥ**” as mentioned in the inscriptions of the first, third, and fourth tombstones. This term has become widespread for most tombstones in Yemen. This section begins by describing the tombstones of al-Amīr ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad, considering them the oldest historically, and then moves on to the tombstones of al-Imām al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad. (**Figure 6**)



Figure 6 General View of the Four Tombstones. Photographed by the Researcher, 2013

The First Tombstone: It is a rectangular limestone slab, somewhat deteriorated with signs of cracks and breakage at the top, leading to the obliteration of some words. It is situated horizontally with the letter A. Its length is approximately 1.10 meters, width around 85 cm, and its thickness cannot be determined due to its attachment, along with the other three tombstones, to the wall of al-Wuṣālī Mosque. The inscriptions on the tombstone are divided into two sections: the main text and the margin. The first section, consisting of fourteen horizontal lines, is executed in raised al-ṭuluṭ script with distinct lines separating them. The inscription begins with the 'Bismillah' (In the name of Allāh). The tombstone contains some obscured words, which can be inferred based on the preceding or following words (**Figures 7, 8**), (**Appendix 1**). The content of the inscriptions is summarized in the following table:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm lā ilāh illā Allāh Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh 'Alī walī Allāh |
| 2 | Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm haḍā ḍarīḥ ḡuṣn min 'aḡṣān ṣaḡrat al-nubwah wa rūkn min 'arkān |
| 3 | Al-'itra al-maḥṣūṣa bi-ṣaraf al'umūamah wa-l-ubuwwa māḡid tanāsaḡathu 'a'raq al'ansāb wa Sayyid |
| 4 | Bihūr al'sfiyyā' wa karīm zakt fī 'uṣūlah manābt al'zkīyyā Sayyid māḡid naṣā fī ḥūḡwr Ṭāhirāt min kul naqṣ wa šīn |
| 5 | W |
| 6 | Min kul raīb alras Al-'Azīm faṭūbā limūḥbīkm nafrah hwa 'ayn hwa al- |

| | |
|----|---|
| | Sayyid al'alm al'lāmah al'awḥad al'akram (al-fahhāmah) |
| 7 | Gamāl al-Islām wa al-Mūslimīn siptā a'imat al-hudā 'Alī Amīr almū'minīn al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. amīr almū'minīn al-Manṣūr bi-llāh |
| 8 | al-Qāsm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Raṣīd b. Aḥmad b. Amīr al-Ḥūsāyn al'amlahī 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al'imām Yūsuf al-aṣḡar |
| 9 | al-mūlqqab bī ala'aṣl b. al-Qāsm b. al'imām al-dā'ī ilā Allāh Yūsuf al'akbar b. al-imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-imām al-Nāṣir |
| 10 | Li-dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-imām al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥūsāyn al-Hafīz b. al-imām turḡumān al-dīn naḡm 'āl al-rasūl al-Qāsm b. |
| 11 | Ibrāhīm ṭabāṭabā al-ḡumr b. Isma'īl aldībāḡ b. Ibrāhīm alṣabīh b. al-Ḥasan almaṭnī b. al-Ḥasan alsipt b. Amīr almū'minīn wa sayyid alwaṣiyyīn |
| 12 | 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib wa b. Fāṭimah al-zahrā' albatūl biḍ'at rasūl Allāh ṣalā Allāh 'Alīh wasalm naqlahū Allāh 'ilā ḡwārhi yawm al'aḥd alṭāmn min šahr Rabī' al-awwal |
| 13 | Sanat ṭamān wa sab'in wa'alf wakān mawlidhu fī Hīsn Kūkbān sanat ṭalāṭat 'šr b'd al'lf wwālidhū yawm'd fī siḡn alzulmah |
| 14 | alḡdīn ḥlaṣahū Allāh min aydīhim wa ḡa'al ḥalākuhm wa damāruhm 'lā yadīh wa'īdī 'ihwānhū ṣalā Allāh 'Alīhum wa'lā ābā'ihm al'kramīn |

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| وَلَا يَنْوُدُّهُ جَفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ يُبَشِّرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ وَرِضْوَانٍ وَجَنَّتْ لَهُمْ فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ مُّقِيمٌ (21) خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أَبَدًا إِنَّ اللَّهَ عِنْدَهُ أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله | س1 | لا إله إلا هو الرحمن الرحيم الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الأرض من ذا الذي |
| | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا ضريح غصن من أغصان شجرة النبوة وركن من أركان | س2 | |
| | [...] العترة المخصوصة بشرف الأمومة والأبوة ماجد تناسجته أعرق الأنساب وسيد | س3 | |
| | بحور الأصفيا وكريم زكت في أصوله منابت الأزكيا سيد ماجد نشأ في حجور طاهرات من كل نقص وشين | س4 | |
| | والرشيد وتقوى (الإله في كل ابن) الأكرم والكرام أهل المعالي والفخر الملا | س5 | |
| | من كل (ريب) الرس العظيم فطوبى لمحبيكم نفرة هو عين هو السيد العلم العلامة الأوحى الأكرم (الفهامة) | س6 | |
| | جمال الإسلام والمسلمين سبطا أئمة الهدى الهادي علي أمير المؤمنين المؤيد محمد بن أمير المؤمنين المنصور بالله | س7 | |
| | القسم بن محمد بن علي الرشيد بن أحمد بن الأمير الحسين الأملحي علي بن الحسن محمد بن الإمام يوسف الأصغر | س8 | |
| | الملقب بالآشل بن القسم بن الإمام الداعي إلى الله يوسف الأكبر بن الإمام | س9 | |

| | |
|---|--|
| س10 | المنصور بالله يحيى بن الإمام الناصر لدين الله أحمد بن الإمام الهادي إلى الحق يحيى بن الحسين الحافظ بن الإمام ترجمان الدين نجم آل الرسول القسم بن |
| س11 | ابراهيم طباطبا الغمر بن اسماعيل الديباج بن ابراهيم الشبه بن الحسن المتني بن الحسن السبط بن أمير المؤمنين وسيد الوصيين |
| س12 | علي بن أبي طالب وابن فاطمة الزهراء البتول بضعة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم نقله الله إلى جواره يوم الأحد الثامن من شهر ربيع الأول. |
| س13 | سنة ثمان وسبعين وألف سنة وكان مولده في حصن كوكبان سنة ثلاثة عشر بعد الألف ووالده يومئذ في سجن الظلمة |
| س14 | الذين خلصه الله من أيديهم وجعل هلاكهم ودمارهم على يديه وأيدي إخوانه صلى الله عليهم وعلى آبائهم الأكرمين. |
| يشفع عنده إلا بإذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه إلا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والأرض | |

Appendix 1: The Arabic Inscriptions of the First Tombstone

The second part of the tombstone is the margin and consists of three parts: right, bottom, and left. In the right margin, there is a written strip containing part of *šahādat al-tawḥīd* and *āyat al-kursī* as follows; (Lā ilāha illā Huwa, al-Raḥmān, al-Raḥīm, Allāh Lā ilāha illā Huwa, al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm, Lā ta'ḥuḍu sinat wa lā nawm, Lahū mā fī al-samāwāt wa mā fī al'arḍ, Man dā al-aḍī). And its completion is in the bottom margin as follows; (yašfa' 'indahū illā bi'idnih, ya'lam mā bayna aydīhim wa mā ḥalfahum, wa lā yūḥīṭūn bišay' min 'ilmihi illā bimā šā', wasi'a kursiyuhu al-samāwāt wa al'arḍ). Then it was continued in the left margin as follows; (wa lā ya'ūduhu ḥifẓuhumā, wa huwa al-'Alīyyu al-'Azīm), after that, a Qurānic quotation from Surat al-Tawbah, verses (21, 22) as fellow; (Yūbaširūhum Rabbūhum bīraḥmat minhū wa riḍwān wa jannāt lahūm fihā Na'im mūqīm (21) ḥālidīna fihā abadā, 'Inna Allāh 'indahū 'ajr 'azīm (22)). (**Figure 9**)

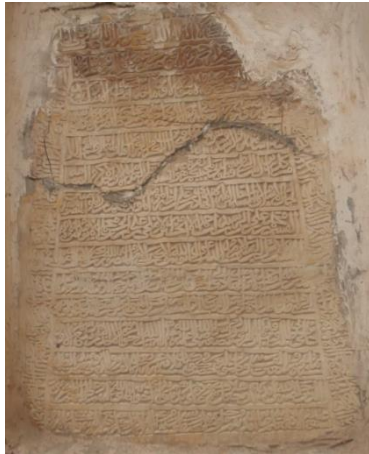


Figure 7 The first tombstone for 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad. The researcher, 2013

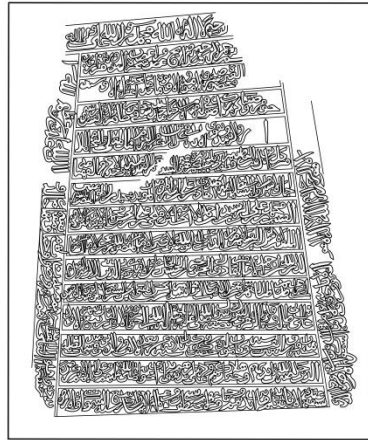


Figure 8 Illustration of inscriptions of the first tombstone of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad. The researcher.

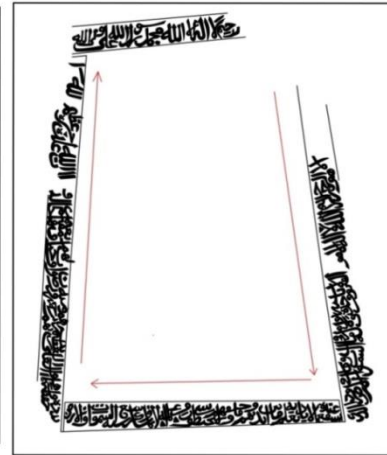


Figure 9 The direction of the inscriptions in the margins of the first tombstone. The researcher.

The Second Tombstone: It is the second tombstone for 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad. Its condition is good and complete. There is some obscuring of words due to the monument being fixed in the wall with gypsum. Its location on the plan of al-Wuṣālī Mosque is marked with the letter 'B'. It is a rectangular limestone slab with a length of about 1.40 meters and a width of about 77 cm. The inscriptions on the tombstone are distributed into two sections: the main text and the margin. The main text consists of eighteen horizontal lines executed in raised relief with al-Ṭuluṭ script, separated by prominent lines (**Figures 10, 11**), (**Appendix 2**). The content of the inscriptions is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Lā ilāh illā Allāh Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh 'Alī walī Allāh Fāṭimah amat Allāh 'alīhm salām Allāh |
| 2 | Bismillāh Al-Raḥmān Al-Raḥīm ya qabr hūzt makārimā waṣlāḥā wa maḥāmidā. |
| 3 | Wa faḍā'ilā ṣallū wa-lil'asmā [...] min fawq al-nujūm makānah [...] wa kul al-'iḥsān wa alāḥir li'aḥā Al-Imām [.....] |
| 4 | B. al-imām b. al-imām al-māḡid al-mukram lasmā [...] maḥall [...] sal liman dāma 'izzuhu [.....]. |
| 5 | 'Azīmā fī [...] šuhūr [...]. Yawm fī šahr Rabī' al-Awwal, sab' wa-sab'in wa-'Alf |
| 6 | Raqat lahū al-rawḥ Al-karīmah, ġudwah wa liḡanāt al-ḥūld. [Ṣalra.d] Marjā [...] al-Raḥmān Rabb al-'ālamīn. |
| 7 | L'aṣbaḥ wa al'msā wal-ā [...] haḍā ḍarīḥ Al-Sayyid Al-Imām, b. Al-Imām, b. Al-Imām. |
| 8 | ḥalf al-'itrah al-kirāmḥ min al-a'immah al'a'lām, al-hāwī min al-faḍā'il wa al-maḥāmīd, kul murām. |
| 9 | 'Alī al-wafā wa al-tamām, min ḥaṣa bi al-faḍl al-ṣarīḥ wa al-dīn al-saḥīḥ wa al-qāṣim |

| | |
|----|--|
| 10 | Maqām al-šaraf wa al'asmā wa maḥall al-mağd alladī 'ilāh kul makramah (Samā qabranā 'alā al-nuğūm) |
| 11 | Wa'an makanuh lahu al-dīkr al-wasīm (wa-rāḥ) balāga fī al-makārim wa al-faḍāil wa al'ulūm |
| 12 | Mablġā 'azīmā tāmā wa lam yabraḥ fī dars al'ulūm bukraḥ wa masā wa šabāḥā ḥattā kān fī al'ulūm |
| 13 | Wa al-faḍāil 'ilmā wa ma'lūmā wa sayidā wa imāmā 'Ali b. amīr almū' minīn al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh rabb al-'ālamīn |
| 14 | Muḥammad b. amīr almū' minīn al-Manšūr bi-llāh al-Qāsm b. Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. amīr almū' minīn Yaḥyā al'amlahī |
| 15 | 'Alī b. Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. al-imām al-dā'ī 'ilā Allāh Yūsuf al'aṣamī b. al-imām b. al-imām al-dā'ī |
| 16 | 'ilā Allāh Yūsuf al-'akbr b. al-imām al-Manšūr bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Imām al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh |
| 17 | b. al-imām al-Hādī 'ilā al-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥūsāyn b. al-imām āl nağm 'āl alrasūl al-Qāsm Ibrāhīm |
| 18 | ṭabāṭabā b. Isma'īl aldībāğ b. Ibrāhīm alšabīḥ b. Al-Ḥasan almaṭnī b. al-Ḥasan alsipt b. amīr almū' minīn 'Alī ṣalā Allāh 'Alīhum ağma 'īn |

| | | | |
|--|---|-----|---|
| صلى الله عليه وعلى عترته الأطهار المسبحين الأخيار الذين أذهب الله عنهم الرجز أهل البيت وبطهرهم تطهيراً الحمد لله رب العالمين | لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله فاطمة أمة الله عليهم سلام الله | س1 | لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له إلهاً واحداً أحد فرداً صمد لم يتخذ صاحبة ولا ولداً لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له |
| | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم يا قبر حزت مكارماً وصلاً ومحامداً | س2 | |
| | وفضائلاً صلوا وللأسما[.....] من فوق النجوم مكانه[.....] وكل الإحسان والآخر لأخا الإمام[.....] | س3 | |
| | بن الإمام بن الإمام الماجد المكرم لسما محل... سل لمن دام عزه[.....] | س4 | |
| | عظيماً في[.....] شهور[.....] يوم في شهر ربيع الأول سبع وسبعين وألف | س5 | |
| | رقت له الروح الكريمة غدوة ولجنات الخلد [صلر..د] مرجا [...] الرحمن رب العالمين | س6 | |
| | لأصبح والأمسا والأ[..] هذا ضريح السيد الإمام بن الإمام | س7 | |
| | خلف العترة الكرام من الأئمة الأعلام الحاوي من الفضائل والمحامد كل مرام | س8 | |
| | علي الوفا والتمام من خص بالفضل الصريح والدين السحيح والقاصم | س9 | |
| | مقام الشرف والأسما ومحل المجد الذي إليه كل مكرمة (سما قبرنا على النجوم) | س10 | |
| | وعن مكانه له الذكر الوسيم (وراح) بلغ في المكارم والفضائل والعلوم | س11 | |
| | مبلغاً عظيماً تاماً ولم يبرح في درس العلوم بكرة ومسا وصباحاً حتى كان في العلوم | س12 | |

| | |
|---|--|
| س13 | والفضائل علماً ومعلومًا وسيدًا وإمامًا علي بن أمير المؤمنين المؤيد بالله رب العالمين |
| س14 | محمد بن أمير المؤمنين المنصور بالله القسم بن محمد بن علي بن أمير المؤمنين يحيى الأملحي |
| س15 | علي بن يحيى محمد بن الامام الداعي إلى الله يوسف الأصمعي بن القسم بن الإمام الداعي |
| س16 | إلى الله يوسف الأكبر بن الإمام المنصور بالله يحيى بن الإمام الناصر لدين الله أحمد |
| س17 | بن الإمام الهادي إلى الحق يحيى بن الحسين بن الإمام آل نجم الرسول القسم إبراهيم |
| س18 | طباطبا بن إسماعيل الديباج بن إبراهيم الشبيه بن الحسن المثني بن الحسن السبط بن أمير المؤمنين علي(صلى الله عليهم أجمعين) |
| كفوا أحد وأن محمداً عبده ورسوله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله | |

Appendix 2: The Arabic Inscriptions of the Second Tombstone

The second part of the inscription is the margin, consisting of three sections: right, bottom, and left. The right margin contains a written script quoting a Qūrānic quotation from Surat Al-'Ihlās as fellow; (lā 'ilāh illā Allāh waḥdahu lā šarīka lahu, 'ilahā wāḥidā 'aḥadā, fardā šamadā, lam yataḥiḍ ṣāḥibat wa-lā waladā, lam yalid wa-lam yūlad, wa-lam yakun lahu). The bottom margin completes the verse with the following text as follows; (Kufwā aḥad wa-anna Muḥammad 'abduhu wa-rasūluhu, Wa law kariha al-kāfirūn). As for the left margin, its text reads: (ṣalā Allāh 'alayhi wa-'alā 'itratihi al-aṭḥār al-musabbihīn al-aḥyār, allaḍīn aḍḥab Allāh 'anhum al-riḡz ahl al-bayt wa-yuṭahhiruhum taṭhīrā, al-ḥamd lillāh Rabb al-'ālamīn). (Figure 12)



Figure 10 The second tombstone for 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad. The researcher, 2013

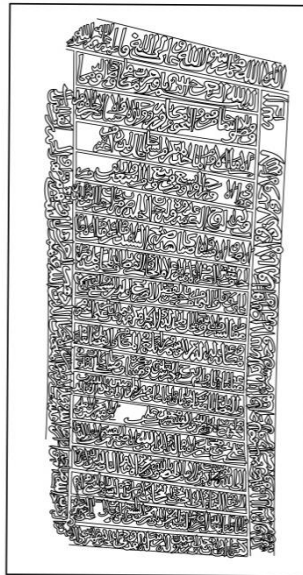


Figure 11 Illustration of inscriptions of the second tombstone of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad. The researcher.

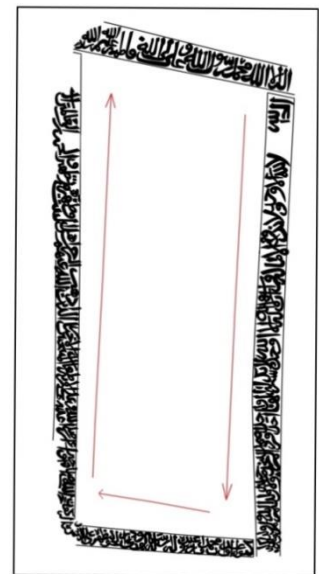


Figure 12 The direction of the inscriptions in the margins of the second tombstone. The researcher.

The Third Tombstone: It is the first tombstone for al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad¹. Its location on the plan of al-Wuṣālī Mosque is marked with the letter 'C'. It is a rectangular stone slab made of limestone. It is in excellent condition, with a length of 87 cm and a width of 74 cm. The texts of the inscriptions of the tombstone are distributed in two sections: the main text and the margin. The main text consists of eleven horizontal lines of inscription executed in Relief cut using the Al-Ṭuluṭ script, separated by prominent horizontal lines. It is noteworthy that the first line of the main text and the frame above it are written in a larger font than the rest of the tombstone's texts (**Figures 13, 14**), (**Appendix 3**). The content of the tombstone's text is as follows in the table:

| | |
|----|---|
| 1 | lā ilāh illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh 'Alī walī Allāh Fāṭimah amat Allāh al-Ḥasan wa al-Ḥusayn ṣafwat Allāh |
| 2 | Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm al-Ḥamd lilāh wa salām 'alā 'ibādih allaḏīn 'iṣṭafā |
| 3 | Haḏā ḏarīḥ al-Sayyid al-sand al-imām al'alm al'alāmah al-hūmām rabīb al'ulūm wa al-'awārf wa rabānī 'a'imat al-'adl |
| 4 | Wa al-ma'ārif, qūṭb da'irat al-'aqṭār al-yamanīya, wa rūkn al-'ūsrah al-fātimīyyah al-'alawīyyah, wa saīf al-hūḡḡ. |
| 5 | Wa al-qawāt', wa sannān al-sūnan al-lawāmi', wa ḡalīs maḥarīb al-tilāwah wa al-'ibādah, wa tirb al-nifāsah wa al-zuhd. |
| 6 | Wa al-siyādah, ṣāhib al-na'ṣah al-ṭāhirah, wa ḥabr al-karāmāt al-zāhirah, wa baḥr al-ma'ārif al-zāhirah, 'alm al'imāmah |
| 7 | Wa-ḥasanat al-layalī wa al'ayyām, mawlānā al-Qāsim b. mawlānā amīr almū'minīn al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Rabb al-'ālamīn, b. mawlānā amīr almū'minīn. |
| 8 | al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Raṣīd Aḥmad b. al-Hūsāyn al'amlaḥī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā |
| 9 | B. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-imām al-mūlqqab bī ala'aṣl al-Qāsim b. al-imām al-dā'ī 'ilā Allāh Yūsuf al'akbr b. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh |
| 10 | Yaḥyā b. al-imām al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-imām al-Hādī ilā al-Haqq Yaḥyā b. al-Hūsāyn ṣalwāt Allāh 'Alīhum aḡma'īn |
| 11 | Wa-rawḥ Allāh ... wa-nur ḏarīḥu taqabbal Allāh rawhu 'ilā ḡannāt al-na'im fi yawm al'aḥad ṭāmin jumādā al'aḥirah sanat sab' wa 'iṣrīn wa mā'ah wa 'alf. |

| | | | |
|--|--|----|---|
| وسع كرسية السموات الأرض ولا يؤده وحفظهما وهو العلي العظيم صدق الله العظيم والله الحمد | لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله فاطمة أمة الله الحسن والحسين صفوة الله | س1 | الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الأرض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده |
| | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى | س2 | |
| | هذا ضريح السيد السند الإمام* والعلم العلامة الهمام ربيب العلوم والعوارف* ورباني أئمة العدل | س3 | |
| | والمعارف* قطب دائرة الأقطار اليمنية* وركن الأسرة الفاطمية العلوية* وسيف الحجج | س4 | |
| | والقواطع* وسنان السنن اللوامع* وجليس محاريب التلاوة والعبادة* | س5 | |

¹ This tombstone has been studied before: (al-Ma'ṭidī 2011: 749-772).

| | | |
|---|-----|--|
| وترب النفاسة والزهد | | |
| والسيادة* صاحب النشأة الطاهرة* وحبر الكرامات الظاهرة* وبحر المعارف الزاهرة* علم الإمامة | س6 | |
| وحسنة الليالي والأيام* مولانا القسم بن مولانا أمير المؤمنين المؤيد بالله العالمين بن مولانا أمير المؤمنين | س7 | |
| المنصور بالله القسم محمد بن علي بن محمد بن علي بن الرشيد أحمد بن الحسين الأملحي بن محمد بن علي بن يحيى | س8 | |
| ابن محمد بن يوسف الإمام الأصغر الملقب بالأشعل القسم بن الإمام الداعي إلى الله يوسف الأكبر بن المنصور بالله | س9 | |
| يحيى بن الإمام الناصر لدين الله أحمد بن الإمام الهادي إلى الحق يحيى بن الحسين صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين | س10 | |
| وروح الله ... ونور ضريحه تقبل الله روحه إلى جنات النعيم في يوم الأحد ثامن جمادى الآخرة سنة سبع وعشرين ومائة وألف | س11 | |

Appendix 3: The Arabic Inscriptions of the Third Tombstone

The second part of the tombstone is the margin and consists of three parts: right, bottom, and left. In the right margin, there is a written strip containing part of āyat al-Kursī as fellow; (Lā ilāha illā Huwa, Al-Raḥmān, Al-Raḥīm, Allāh Lā ilāha illā Huwa, al-Ḥayyu al-Qayyūm, Lā ta'ḥuḍu sinat wa lā nawm, Lahu mā fī al-samāwāt wa mā fī al-'arḍ, Man ḍā al-aḍī yašfa' 'indahū). And its completion is in the bottom margin as follows; (illā bi' idnih, ya'lam mā bayna aydihim wa mā ḥalfahum, wa lā yuḥīṭūn bišay' min 'ilmihi illā bimā šā'). Then it was continued in the left margin as follows; (wa si'a kursiyuhu al-samāwāt wa al-'arḍ wa lā ya'ūduhu ḥifzuhumā, wa huwa al-'Alīyyu al-'Aẓīm, ṣadaq Allāh al-'Aẓīm wa līlāh al-ḥamd). (**Figure 15**)

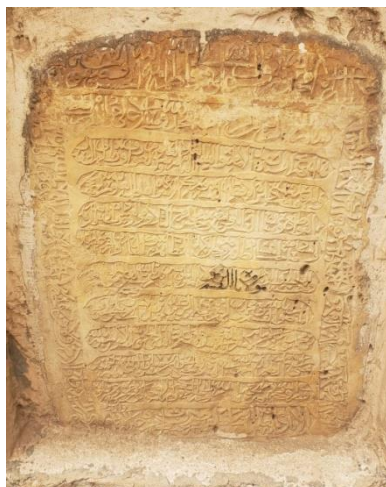


Figure 13 The Third tombstone for Al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. The researcher, 2013



Figure 14 Illustration of inscriptions of the Third tombstone of Al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. The researcher.

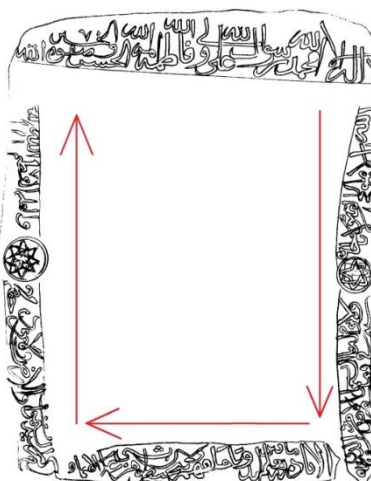


Figure 15 The direction of the inscriptions in the margins of the Third tombstone. The researcher.

The Fourth Tombstone: It is the second tombstone for al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. Its location on the plan of al-Wuṣālī Mosque is marked with is marked with the letter 'D'. It is a rectangular stone slab made of limestone. It is in an excellent condition, measuring 91 cm in length and 74 cm in width. The inscriptions of the tombstone are distributed into two sections: the main text and the margin. The main text consists of fourteen horizontal lines, executed in relief cut using the al-tuluṭ script, separated by prominent horizontal lines (**Figures 16, 17**), (**Appendix 4**). The content of the main text of the tombstone is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Bismillāh Al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm lā ilāh illā Allāh Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh 'Alī walī Allāh |
| 2 | Haḍā ḍarīḥ al-Qāsm b. Muḥammad * nāzwrat al'āl al'aṭāyb 'n yad * al'rwā' |
| 3 | Al-Ma'ālī al-'awra' (al-Yaqḍ) al-Taḳī al-'azhad * baḥr al-nadā al-ḥawī |
| 4 | Likul faḍīlah al'amḡad b. al'amḡad b. al'amḡad * 'alm al-Hūdā 'alāmat al-Zamān al-laḍī |
| 5 | Ramaqathū 'ayn al-maḡd 'ind al-mawld * wa huwa b. naḡdathā waḥīd al'aṣr fī ḥalq wa fī ḥūlq |
| 6 | Biḡayīr taradud * Fawfātuḥu (Ṭalm) wa-fī tarīḥiha buṣrā lahu bi al-fawz ḥaqqā fī ḡadā |
| 7 | Maṭwāhu fī al-ḡannāt tāriḥ lahu fa'lam wa-ḍālik huwa al-na'im al-sarmadī * dām al-salām |
| 8 | Min al-salām 'alayhi mā ḡadat manāqibuhu li ahl al s'udūd * hāḍihi al'abyāt li al faḳīh Ismā'īl al ṣa'dī wa-hāḍihi al-tāliyah |
| 9 | Lahā li al-Sayyid al-ḡalīl 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-wazīr 'afā Allāh 'anhumā * laysa yabqā siwāka yā ḥāliq al-ḥalq jamī'an wa-kull shay' fān |

| | |
|----|---|
| 10 | La warqnā min (al'amān min fādih al-mawt) ẓafarnā minhu bi ba'd Al'amānī * aw ẓam'nā fī fushah lahu lasamhnā li-fatā fātanā lil-murtān |
| 11 | Tān * ay 'uyūnī li 'aqd 'an al-ma'ālī 'asbilī suhb wābil hattān * Qāsim b. al-imām amīr 'alāmat al-āl baḥr al-nadā wa qutb |
| 12 | Al-awān qurat al-'ayn minhu ẓamt in hwa ba'd dā naḥw dīl'ayš hān * maḍ da'āhu aḥūhu labā nidahu. |
| 13 | Ḡayr mustatqil wa lā mutawān, faḥṣur rawḥahu bi-rawḥ 'Alī |
| 14 | Wa 'aqāma fī ḡibṭat al-zamān ḥālīdā fī a'lā al-ḡinān, qad 'arraḥ ḥalladā Allāh qāsimā fī al-ḡinān, ṣaḥḥa al-'adad 1128 |

| | | | |
|--|-----|---|--|
| الحمد لله وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له إلهًا واحدًا أحدًا فردًا | س1 | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله | صلى الله عليه وعلى عترته الأطهار المسبحين الأبرار الصادقين الأخيار |
| | س2 | * هذا ضريح القسم بن محمد ناظورة الآل الأطايب عن يد [.....] الأروع | |
| | س3 | (اليقظ) التقي المعالي الأورع بحر النداء الحاوي الأزهد | |
| | س4 | لكل فضيلة الأمجد بن الأمجد بن علم الهدى علامة الزمن * الأمجد الذي | |
| | س5 | وهو * رmqته ⁴ عين المجد عند المولد ابن (نجدتها) وحيد العصر في خلق وفي خلق | |
| | س6 | بغير تردد فوقاته (تلم) وفي تاريخها * بشرى له بالفوز حقًا في غد | |
| | س7 | مثنواه في الجنات تاريخ لها فاعلم وذلك هو النعيم السرمدي دام السلام | |
| | س8 | من السلام عليه ما غدت مناقبه لأهل هذه الأبيات للفقير * السؤدد ⁵ اسماعيل الصعدي وهذه التالية | |
| | س9 | لها للسيد الجليل عبد الله بن علي الوزير عفى الله عنهما * ليس يبقى سواك يا خالق الخلق جميعًا وكل شيء فان | |
| | س10 | لورقنا من (الأمان من فادح الموت) ظفرنا منه ببعض الأمان * أو طمعنا في فسحة له لسمحننا لفتى فاتنا للمرثان | |
| | س11 | ثان أي عيوني لعقد عن المعالي اسبلي سحب وابل ⁶ هتان ⁷ * قاسم ابن الامام أمير علامة الآل بحر النداء وقطب | |
| | س12 | الأوان قرت العين منه ثمت إن هو بعد ذا نحو ظل عيش هان * مذ دعاه أخوه لبي نداه | |
| | س13 | غير مستنقل ولا متوان فاحشر | |

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| | <p>روحه بروح علي وأقاما في غبطة الزمان خالداً في أعلا الجنان قد أرّخ خلد الله قاسماً في الجنان (صح العدد) 1128</p> | <p>س14</p> |
| <p>لم يتخذ صاحبه ولا ولداً لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفواً أحد وأشهد أن محمد عبده ورسوله</p> | | |

Appendix 4: The Arabic Inscriptions of the Fourth Tombstone

As for the second part of the tombstone, it is the margin and consists of three parts: right, bottom, and left. In the right margin, there is a written strip containing part *shāhādat al-tawhīd* preceded by praise for Allāh as fellow; (*al-ḥamd li Allāh... wa-ʿašhadu ana lā ilāh illā Allāh waḥdahu lā šarīka lahu ilahā waḥdā aḥadā fardā*). The writings of the bottom frame contain a Qurānic quote from Surat Al' Ihlās, and its text is as follows; (*Lam yataḥid ṣāḥibah wa lā waladā, lam yalid wa lam yūlad wa lam yakun lahu kufwā aḥad wa-ʿašhadu ana Muḥammad ʿabduhu wa rasuluh*). The writings of the left frame have the text; (*.... ṣalā Allāh ʿAlīhi wa ʿalā ʿitratih al'aṭḥār al'aṭḥārīn al'abrār al ṣādiqīn al'ḥīār*) (Figure 18)



Figure 16 The Fourth tombstone for al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. The researcher, 2013



Figure 17 Illustration of inscriptions of the Fourth tombstone of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. The researcher.

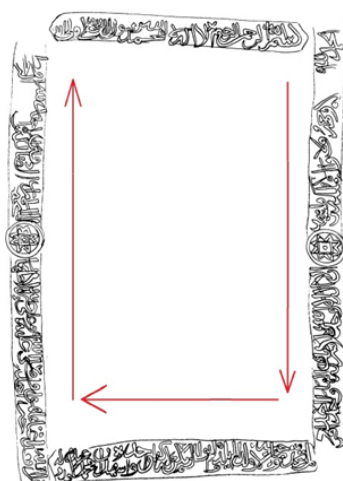


Figure 18 The direction of the inscriptions in the margins of the Fourth tombstone. The researcher.

Fourth Section: Analytical Study of the Four Tombstones. This section addresses an analytical study of the four tombstones, first regarding their form. It includes the general condition of them, the material of their construction, and the type and style of the inscriptions on these tombstones. Second, regarding their content, it encompasses an analysis of the various meanings of their inscriptions and their different historical, cultural, and religious implications.

A. Their Form:

A. 1. General Condition of the Tombstones: In reality, the overall condition of the

four inscriptions is generally acceptable, although the first tombstone of Amīr 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad is in a poor condition due to exposure to breakage and partial destruction. Consequently, this tombstone includes several obscured words that are difficult to read. In fact, many tombstones in Yemen are in poor condition. The reason for this can be attributed to the relocation of some tombstones that originally adorned tombs when locals constructed tomb structures and covered them with *al-qadāḍ*. This led to the breakage of most of these inscriptions that were already in poor condition due to climatic factors. Additionally, a large number of tombstones are exposed to erasure due to their deterioration caused by the water that locals habitually sprinkle on graves beneath the tombstones. Moreover, a significant number of them are subject to erasure due to repeated touching by visitors. Furthermore, the lower and upper parts of the tombstones are often covered with plaster when affixed to walls, as is the case with these tombstones. This makes them susceptible to moisture due to the absorbent nature of the plaster, contributing to the degradation and obscuring of some of the writings on these tombstones (al-Muṭā' 2000: 284-285).

A. 2. Material Used in Making the Tombstones: The material for these four tombstones is limestone, which is the common material generally used in the crafting of tombstones in Yemen. Building materials varied between sandstone, basalt, and *al-balq* stone, with the latter dominating the usage in most tombstones in Yemen. These stones were well-polished on one side and left untreated on the other, skillfully handled by calligraphers or artists who combined integrated both writing and decoration.

A. 3. Methods of Executing the Inscriptions of the Tombstones: The inscriptions were implemented using the raised engraving technique. In this method, the external shape of the script or ornamentation is defined, and then the calligrapher engraves the surrounding ground of the written elements. This makes the element protrude above the executed ground level, providing a deeper background for enhanced visibility. The inscriptions' lines were arranged horizontally, with independent lines separated by prominent broad lines (Šīḥah 1988: 10).

A. 4. D. The Calligraphy Used in Executing the Inscriptions: The inscriptions on these four tombstones were recorded in Ṭuluṭ script. The Ṭuluṭ script was distinctive in Yemen during that period, and it was widely favored by Yemeni calligraphers. They extensively used it in various structures and diverse artifacts, as evident in its usage on thousands of tombstones. In terms of artistic characteristics, both in terms of script and ornamentation, one can observe the significant effort exerted by the calligrapher to turn these inscriptions into artistic masterpieces. The inscriptions were executed in Al-Ṭuluṭ script, and the calligrapher adhered precisely to its proportions and ratios, displaying clarity despite the absence of spaces between words. This necessitated the calligrapher to skillfully manipulate some letters and words due to the large size of the text, a feature characteristic of Ṭuluṭ script (Šīḥah 1988: 57).

A. 5. The Style of Script Execution: Distinctive features of the tombstone inscriptions from the 11th and 12th centuries Hiğrī in Yemen emerged in these four examples. The calligrapher succeeded in utilizing the entire space of the tombstone in most cases in writing the texts commonly used in preparing tombstones. The diversity of letter shapes and their distribution on the allocated spaces without compromising the aesthetic proportion of each, as well as the distribution of words across lines, is noticeable. Despite the narrow space in some lines, where the writer had to reduce the space for certain words, he did not compromise the aesthetic proportion in their execution. Clear and bold writing was predominantly used in most of the tombstones.

The distinctive features of tombstones dating back to the 11th century Hiġrī/17th century A.D., represented in the first and second monuments of Amīr ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad, include simplicity and a departure from the decorative character that characterized tombstones from the 9th to the 10th century Hiġrī/15th to 16th century A.D. This is evident in their lack of any botanical decorations. The artist did not strictly adhere to shape and diacritic marks as required by the lexicon; sometimes he would include them in non-lexicon letters and neglect them in lexicon letters, a characteristic also found in diacritic marks.

Regarding the third and fourth tombstones for al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad, the general characteristics of tombstones from the 12th century Hiġrī/18th century A.D. become evident. One of the most important features is the mastery of the *Tuluṭ* script, which has become a hallmark of tombstones from the 12th century Hiġrī/18th century A.D. Decorative floral elements in geometric shapes, such as a flower, were employed to fill the vacant spaces between words and lines. This became a common style in the tombstones of the Zaydī imāms in Yemen during the 18th century A.D. additionally; some tombstones have an upper side shaped like a suspended arch, as seen in the first tombstone for al-Imām al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad. There is significant attention to shape, dots, and diacritical marks.

The inscriptions on the tombstones often omit the use of al-hamzahs in accompanying words. Sometimes al-hamzah is included in one place and omitted in another. For example, al-ḥamza appears in the word "**al-’usrah**" in the fourth line of the Third tombstone for al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad, while it is omitted in the word "**al-naš’ah**" in the sixth line. Despite being an integral part of the word "al-naš’ah" it is neglected. Another distinctive feature of this tombstone is the writing of texts within independent frames, a characteristic seen in many tombstones from the 12th century Hiġrī/18th century A.D.

This inscription of these tombstones has been meticulously engraved using the *Tuluṭ* script, both connected and spaced, in most instances, with diacritical marks (*al-taškīl*) and grammatical vowelization (*al-’i’rāb*). However, the calligrapher chose to omit diacritical marks in certain words, primarily in names. This intentional omission suggests that, due to the context of the discourse and the reader's familiarity with the names, there was no need for diacritical marks. This decision was likely made to maintain the coherence of the inscription's calligraphy, preserving its visual elegance (Saīf 2008: 113-114).

A. 6. Decorative Elements; decorative elements were limited to the tombstones of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad, distinguishing features found in Yemeni tombstones during the 12th century Hiġrī / 18th century A.D. Despite their simplicity, some floral decorations were discovered to break the monotony during reading, providing an aesthetic view to fill the gaps within the words of the verses. The floral motif was used as a separator between poetic lines.

The use of a four-petaled flower motif was observed, though executed with some lack of precision as some petals tended to elongate. The scribe did not adhere consistently to a specific location within the lines of the inscriptions. This motif, particularly the four-petaled flower (**Figure 19**), appeared repeatedly above words in the inscriptions of the first tombstone, al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad. Additionally, an ornament featuring eight hollowed-out petals was used, situated amidst the lines of inscriptions in the second tombstone, also belonging to al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad (**Figure 20**). This decorative element was commonly employed in Yemeni architecture and movable artifacts. Furthermore, the rosette served as a symbol for the Rasūlid state in Yemen (626-858 H / 1229-1454 A.D.), evident in some metal artifacts and coins from that era (Šīḥah 1988: 65).

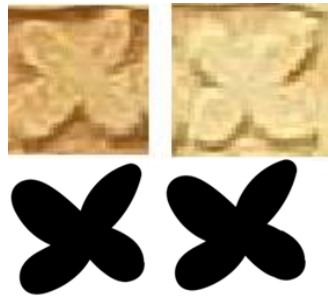


Figure 19 The four-petaled flower motif decorated the tops of the words in the inscriptions of the third tombstone of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad.



Figure 20 The eight-petaled flower motif adorning the middle of the inscriptions of the fourth tombstone of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad.

Regarding geometric decorations, the overall appearance of the tombs with their geometric divisions is considered a simple geometric ornamentation. These tombs are horizontally divided by prominent straight lines along the writing direction. These lines are executed with great precision and thickness, serving to separate the lines of inscriptions on these tombs. They were also used to separate the margins of the tombstones from the main text. Additionally, some geometric shapes were employed, such as an eight-pointed star formed by the intersection of horizontal and vertical rectangles, creating an octagonal star surrounded by a circular border. This shape serves to separate the inscriptions in the margin of the two tombstone of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. (**Figure 21**)

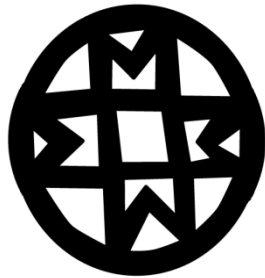


Figure 21 The eight-pointed star separates the inscriptions in the margin of the two tombstone of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad.

B. Their Content: this section addresses an analytical study of the contents of the inscriptions on these tombstones, along with an examination of the historical information provided by these writings.

B. 1. The Relationship Between the Wahābiyyah Movement and the Zaydi State: The funerary dome, in which Amīr *ʿAlī b. al-Mu'ayyad* and his brother *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad* are buried, along with their historical tombstones, reflects the relationship between the Wahābiyyīn that emerged in Al Ḥijāz and the Zaydis in Yemen. Delegations led by Saʿūd ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad visited imām al-Mansūr in Ṣanʿāʾ and his son imām al-Mutawakkil sending them invitations to embrace the call to monotheism in the year 1218 H/1803 A.D. They demolished the constructed tombs and elevated monuments erected over the graves of the imāms, scholars, and leaders, leveling them to the ground, considering them innovations contrary to Islam (al-Ḥawālī 1987: 83). These graves were

visited by people seeking blessings and intercession from the righteous saints, believing in their favor and dignity in the sight of Allāh Almighty. During that time, the Imām summoned the prominent people of his state and its scholars for consultation. Some of the scholars, led by Imām al-Ṣawkānī, responded, stating; “If adherence to Sharia is a reality and not a means of flattery for *al-Nağdī* and acceptance of his words, then these domes and the elevation of graves are an innovation, not in the legitimate manner. This is as narrated from the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, regarding their demolition and leveling to the ground” (Anonymous 1991: 7-8).

Therefore, imām al-Mutawakkil approved the demolition of domes and monuments erected in Ṣan‘ā’ in 1229 H / 1813 A.D., as well as some areas near it (al-Batūl 2007: 306). In Ṣan‘ā’, the dome of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the dome of al-Mansūr al-Ḥusayn in al-‘Abhar district, and the dome of al-Filāihī were demolished. Imām al-Mutawakkil ordered the closure of the dome of his grandfather, al-Mahdī ‘Abbās, and retained the dome of al-Mutawakkil for prayers. As well as the demolition of the dome of al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim in *al-Ġirās* area, orders were given to demolish domes scattered in many northern regions and in ḍamār region and its surroundings (al-‘Umarī 1984: 174-175). Imām al-Ṣawkānī, who was contemporary to these events, confirmed the destruction of these domes. When *al-nağdī* call reached Ḥaḍramawt in the year 1224 H./ 1809 A.D, most of the domes built on graves were also demolished (Ġaḥāf 2004: 1066-1067; al-Ṣafwānī 2013: 2, 52-253), including prominently the dome of ṣayḥ Aḥmad b. ‘Iwān in 665 H. / 1267 A.D, whose tomb was a pilgrimage site for many people (al-Mu‘allim 2005: 635).

Among these domes that were demolished was the dome of *amīr ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad* which was located in the northern courtyard of *al-Wuṣalī* Mosque, which was one of the grand domes and monuments visited by people (‘Āmir 2012: 257). This led to the destruction of the dome and some tombstones related to ‘Alī and his brother *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad* (al-Kabsī 2005: 370). The researcher points out evidence of this in some inscriptions, such as the first inscription for *amīr ‘Alī*, which was affected by the dome's collapse. There were fractures and damage in the upper half of the inscription, almost obliterating the writings on the top right part of the inscription.

B. 2. The Content of the Inscriptions; this is characterized by a literary nature, predominant in the writings of these inscriptions. These four tombstones stand out for their inclusion of a large number of titles and epithets recorded by the calligrapher in a prose literary framework.

B. 2. 1. The Genealogy of *Amīr ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad*; the writings of the first and second tombstone included the complete genealogy of ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad, which aligns with what historical sources have mentioned. While some expressions of attributions and honorific titles differed in both tombstones. In general, the tombstones dating back to the 11th century AH/17th century A.D. distinguished themselves with a detailed elaboration on genealogies. In the first tombstone, it was expressed as: “*Ġamāl al-Islām wa al-mūslimīn siptā a’imat al-hudā ‘Alī amīr almū’minīn al-Mu’ayyad Muḥammad b. amir almū’minīn al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Raṣīd b. Aḥmad b. Amīr al-Ḥūsāyn al’amlaḥī ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-imām Yūsuf al-aṣḡar, al-mūlaqqab bī ala’aṣl b. Al-Qāsim b. al-imām al-dā’ir ilā Allāh Yūsuf al’akbr b. al-imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-imām al-Nāṣir, li-dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-imām al-Hādī ilā al-Haqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥūsāyn al-Ḥafīz b. al-imām turḡumān al-dīn nağm ‘āl alrasūl al-Qāsim b., Ibrāhīm ṭabāṭabā alğumr b. Isma’il aldībāğ b. Ibrāhīm alṣabīh b. al-Ḥasan al-maṭnī b. al-Ḥasan*

alsipt b. amīr almū'minīn wa Sayyid alwaṣiyyīn, 'Alī b. abī Ṭālib wa b. Fāṭimah al-zahrā' albatūl biḍ'at rasūl Allāh ṣalā Allāh 'Alīh wasalm" (Figure 22). While in the second tombstone, came in this form: "‘Alī b. amīr almū'minīn al- Mu'ayyid bī-Allāh Rabb al-‘ālamīn, Muḥammad b. amīr almū'minīn al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. amīr almū'minīn Yahyā al'amlahī, 'Alī b. Yahyā Muḥammad b. al-imām al-dā'ī ilā Allāh Yūsuf al'aṣamī b. al-imām b. al-imām al-dā'ī, 'ilā Allāh Yūsuf al'akbr b. al-imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh Yahyā b. al-imām al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh, b. al-imām al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq Yahyā b. al-Hūsāyn b. al-imām 'āl naḡm 'āl Alrasūl al-Qāsm Ibrāhīm, ṭabāṭabā b. Isma'il aldībāḡ b. Ibrāhīm alṣabīh b. al-Ḥasan almaṭnī b. al-Ḥasan alsipt b. amīr almū'minīn 'Alī ṣalā Allāh 'Alīhum aḡma'in" (Figure 23).

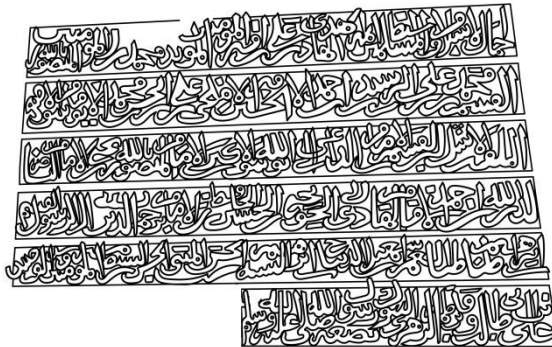


Figure 22 The genealogy of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad on the first tombstone.

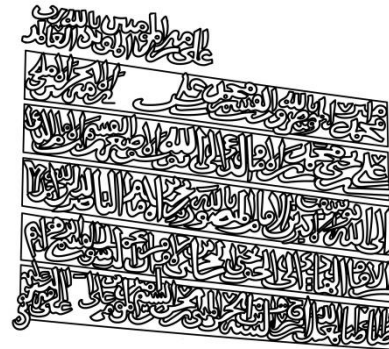


Figure 23 The genealogy of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad on the second tombstone.

As for al-Imām al-Qāsim, the third tombstone included his lineage in full as follows: "Mawlānā al-Qāsim b. mawlānā amīr almū'minīn al-Mu'ayyad bi-Allāh rabb al-‘ālamīn, b. mawlānā amīr almū'minīn, al-Manṣūr bi-llāh al-Qāsm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Raṣīd Aḥmad b. al-Hūsāyn al'amlahī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yahyā, B. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-imām al-mūlqqab bi ala'aṣl al-Qāsm b. al-imām al-dā'ī ilā Allāh Yūsuf al'akbr b. al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, Yahyā b. al'imām al-Nāṣir līdīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-imām al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq Yahyā b. al-Hūsāyn ṣalwāt Allāh 'Alīhum aḡma'in" (Figure 24). The fourth tombstone, specific to al-Qāsim, was limited to mentioning only his name in this form; "Qāsim b. al-imām". In another part of the tombstone, supplications were mentioned for him in the form of "ḥalladā Allāh Qāsimā fī al-ḡinān" (Figure 25).

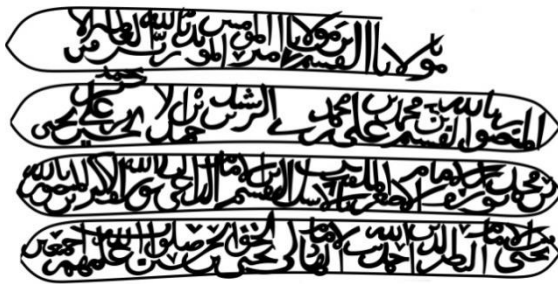


Figure 24 The genealogy of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad on the Third tombstone.

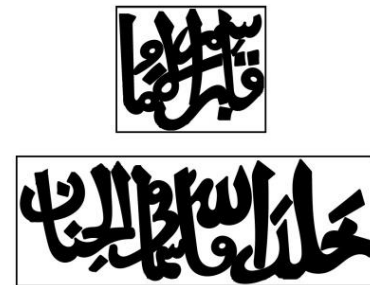


Figure 25 The genealogy of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad on the Fourth tombstone.

B. 2. 2. The dates recorded on the tombstones: In fact the calligrapher of the tombstones consistently recorded the date of death for the tombstone owner after completing the recording of their name and titles. This date usually corresponds to the date of the tombstone itself, and often precedes the date of death with a supplication for the deceased. Most of the tombstones included in the study recorded the date of death with great precision, including the day, name, and date, followed by the month. Numeric characters, numerals, or often the 'abḡad numerical system were used for writing which is known by "*ḥisāb al-ḡummal*". The word "*sanat*" is often added after the date of death, a practice common in many other Islamic tombstones inscriptions in Yemen. Some other significant dates were also recorded (Šīḥah 1988: 61).

Regarding the two tombstones of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad, there are two different dates for his death. In the first tombstone, it is recorded as "*yawm al'aḡd al-tāmn min šahr Rabī' al-awwal Sanat tamān wa sab 'īn wa 'alf*" which is equal to 1178 H (**Figure 26**). However, in the second tombstone, it is presented in the following format: "*fī šahr Rabī' al-Awwal, sab ' wa-sab 'īn wa- 'alf*" which equals 1177 H (**Figure 27**).

There is notable precision in specifying the date of death in both tombstones, mentioning the day, month, and the year in words. Historical sources generally agree on the year of death for 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad but they differ on the exact day and month. In some sources, it is mentioned that the date of his death was on *al-tās'* of *Rabī' al'aḡir*, not the eighth of *Rabī' al-aḡir* (al-Wazīr 1985: 228) and others stated that the date of his death was in the month of Rajab (al-Kabsī 2005: 340).

This contradicts the inscriptions of the first and second tombstones. The researcher suggests that the date of death in the first tombstone is more accurate and consistent with most historical sources. As for the date in the second tombstone, it is in agreement regarding the Islamic month but differs in the year of death by one year compared to the first witness. This discrepancy might be due to a writing error or oversight by the writer.



Figure 26 The date of death of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad on the first tombstone.

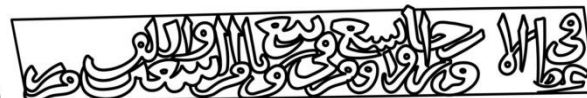


Figure 27 The date of death of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad on the second tombstone.

Regarding the date of the death of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad, it was recorded in the third tombstone in the following format; "*yawm al'aḡd tāmin jūmādā al'aḡirah sanat sab ' wa 'īsrīn wa mā'ah wa 'alf*" which equal 1127 H (**Figure 28**). As for the fourth witness, the date of death was recorded in an arithmetic notation after the word "*'arraḡ*" in the phrase; "*ḥalladā Allāh Qāsimā fī al-ḡinān*" (**Figure 29**). This phrase is taken from the poetic verses recited by al-Sayyid 'Abd Allah b. 'Alī al-Wazīr in mourning for al-Qāsim, as mentioned in the first section about the life of *imām al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad*. The calligrapher noted below this phrase the date in numerals as 1128 H, preceded by the expression; "*ṣaḡḡa al-'adad*". However, applying the arithmetic notation "*ḥisāb al-ḡummal*" in the phrase "*ḥalladā Allāh Qāsimā fī al-ḡinān*" as shown in the following table, reveals that the correct date of death is 1127 H. This aligns with the date recorded in the

first tombstone for *imām al-Qāsim*, and it also aligns with what historical sources have mentioned. It's possible that the calligrapher made a mistake when mentioning the date in numerals as 1128 H after the phrase “*ṣaḥḥa al-‘adad*”.

| H | L | D | A | L | L | H | Q | A | S |
|------------|---------------|----|----|----|----|---|-----|---|----|
| 600 | 30 | 4 | 1 | 30 | 30 | 5 | 100 | 1 | 60 |
| M | A | F | Ī | A | L | Ġ | N | A | N |
| 40 | 1 | 80 | 10 | 1 | 30 | 3 | 50 | 1 | 50 |
| Sum | 1127 H | | | | | | | | |



Figure 28 The date of death of *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad* on the third tombstone.



Figure 29 The date of death of *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad* on the fourth tombstone.

B. 2. 2. Important Historical Information in the Inscriptions of the Tombstones;

The inscriptions included some important historical information, such as the date and place of the birth of *‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad* in *ḥiṣn Kawkabān*² in 1013 H, recorded in the thirteenth line of the first tombstone (Figure 30). Some writings also highlighted a significant event, namely the Ottoman capture of *imām al-Mu’ayyad Muḥammad*, the father of *amīr ‘Alī*, and his brother *imām al-Qāsim*, as recorded in the thirteenth line of the first inscription as well. These Inscriptions reflect the relationship between the Ottomans and the Qāsimī Imāms, which was characterized by a fluctuating dynamic between conflicts at times and reconciliation at other times. Since the inception of the Qāsimī call in 1006 H/1597 A.D, political and military conflicts arose between *Imām Maṣṣūr Bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad* and the Ottomans (Figure 31). The family of Āl Shams al-Dīn, based in Kawkabān, assisted the Ottomans in their war. They provided military support and actively participated in Ottoman campaigns against the Qāsimī Imāms. In the timeframe spanning 1010/1601 to 1016/1608, Ottomans captured members of the family of *Imām al-Manṣūr Qāsim* encompassed the wives of *Imām al-Manṣūr Qāsim* and his eldest son, the prospective *Imām al-Mu’ayyad Muḥammad* (r. 1029–54/1620–44), in addition to members of the imām’s council (Pukhovaia 2023: 31-304). This historical information had mentioned in the writings of the first tombstone for *‘Alī b. Al-Mu’ayyad*. He was not released until the peace agreement in 1016 H/1608 A.D. between *Imām al-Qāsim* and Ġa‘far Pasha (Al-Ḥaḍramī 2005: 92-93).

² *Kawkabān* is a famous fortress located in the northwest of Sana‘a’, at a distance of 36 km. This fortress was built on Mount *ḡaḥār*, overlooking the city of *Šībām Kawkabān*. It is said to be named “*Kawkabān*” because it had two palaces adorned with precious stones, and they had a gleam that shone at night, similar to the shining of a planet, hence it was called that (al-Miqḥafī 2001: 1375).



Figure 30 The date and place of the birth of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad.

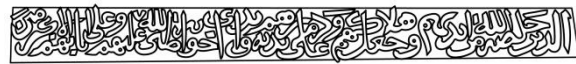


Figure 31 Inscriptions reflect the relationship between the Ottomans and the Qāsimī Imāms.

B. 2. 3. The Inscriptions with Religious Content. The inscriptions of the four tombstones included religious phrases and Qur'ānic quotations. *Al-Basmallah* was recorded in full in the first and second lines in the first tombstone of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad and it was also recorded in the second line in the second tombstone of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad, and in the second line in the third tombstone of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. Meanwhile, it was recorded in the first line of the inscriptions of the fourth tombstone of al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. In fact recording *Al-Basmallah* in full in the inscriptions of graves was a common practice in Yemen.

From the recorded Qur'ānic verses, 'āyat al-Kūrsī was included and its transcription appears in the margins of the first tombstone for 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad and the third tombstone for al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. Among the famous religious phrases recorded is the testimony of monotheism, which was noted in the first line after *Al-Basmallah* in the first tombstone for 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad and the fourth tombstone for al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. Also, it appears at the beginning of the first line for the second tombstone for 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad and the fourth tombstone for al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad.

The testimony of monotheism was also recorded in the margin of the first tombstone for 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad and the fourth tombstone for al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad. However, it came in a different form, accompanied by a Qur'ānic quotation from the words of Surat Al-'Ihlās and also followed by a Qur'ānic quotation from Surat al-Saff, verse 9. Among the Qur'ānic verses that were recorded, in the left margin of the first tombstone for 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad, after 'āyat al-Kūrsī, the Qur'ānic quotation from Surat al-Tawbah, verse (21).

B. 2. 4. Shi'a-Associated Inscriptions: Religious writings with Zaidī Shi'a connotations were extensively utilized to reflect the Zaidī Imāmate and its followers, a sect that gained significant prominence in Yemen, especially since the late 3rd century Hīġrī / 9th century A.D. Among the most famous Shia phrases recorded on these tombstones is the expression “‘Alī walī Allāh”; which the calligraphy associated it with the testimony of monotheism for its significant importance in expressing the doctrine of the Qāsimī state. He recorded it after the testimony of monotheism in the first line of the first, second, and fourth tombstones. Among the other Shi'a phrases are “*Fāṭma ammat Allāh*” and the phrase “*al-Ḥasan wa al-Ḥusayn ṣafwat Allāh*”. The first phrase was recorded in the first line for the second and third tombstones, while the second phrase was recorded in the first line for the third tombstone. Another Example of such Shi'a inscriptions includes the phrase: “*Fāṭima al-Zahrā' al-batūl biḍ'at Rasūl Allāh ṣalā Allāh 'alīh wa Salam*” which was recorded in the twelfth line in the first tombstone for 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad. This phrase is excerpted from an authentic hadith in which the Prophet Ṣalā Allāh 'alīh wa Salam speaks about his daughter, Fāṭma: “*Innamā Fāṭimah biḍ'at minnī, yū'ḍīnī mā āḍāhā, wa yūnṣibunī mā anṣabahā*” (al-Khāldī 2010: 19). And among the other phrases with Shi'a connotations is the word '*al-itrāh*' which appeared in this form in the inscriptions of the first tombstone in the third line, and in the inscriptions of the second tombstone in the

eighth line. It appeared in the form of “*‘itratihi*” in the inscriptions in the left margin of the second and fourth tombstones. In truth, the word “*al-‘itrah*” is a quotation from the noble hadith known as the Hadith *Al-ṭaqalīn*, in which the prophet Muḥammad ṣalā Allāh ‘alīh wa Salam says: *tarakt fikum al-ṭaqalīn, mā in tamassaktum bihimā, lan tadillū: kitāb Allāh, wa ‘Itratī Ahl baytī*” (*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmizī*, 2/30). This hadith had a significant and sacred status among both Sunni and Shi‘a Muslims. They considered the Prophet’s repetition of it on several occasions as a sign of its importance and elevated status. Shi‘a scholars used it to assert the leadership and imāmate of the Ahl al-Bayt.

B. 2. 5. Literary Inscriptions: Literary inscriptions have been a common feature on the epitaphs of the tombs dedicated to the imāms of the Qāsimī Dynasty. These inscriptions typically take the form of poetic compositions authored by eminent writers and poets. These compositions, often referred to as poetic and prose elegies, serve to recount the virtues and merits of the individual commemorated by the tomb. Such literary expressions were widely employed on numerous tombs associated with the Qāsimī family.

One of the most notable examples is the elegy recorded on the tomb of imām al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh Ismā‘īl b. al-Qāsim Muḥammad (d. 1087 H/1676 A.D.), situated within his shrine in the village of *al-Ḥisn* in the *Ḍūrān ‘āns* district. Additionally, there is the renowned elegy for Imām al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 1139 H/1727 A.D.), inscribed on the eastern wall of the dome of al-Mutawakkil, located to the west of *Bāb al-Sibaḥ* in the city of Ṣan‘ā’. These elegies are representative of a broader tradition that extends to various other tombs of the Qāsimī family (Saīf 2008: 115-117).

The first and second tombstone for *‘Alī b. al-Mu‘ayyad* comprised elegies dedicated to him, eloquently recounting his praises, virtues, and merits. The third tombstone included an elegy for *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu‘ayyad*, enumerating his virtues and praising his character. It was structured with each couplet separated by four-petaled flower motif. The fourth tombstone, it contained poetic verses mourning *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu‘ayyad*, with each section separated by eight-petaled flower motif. It is noteworthy to mention that these verses were attributed to the jurist Ismā‘īl al-Ṣa’dī, as indicated by the inscriptions. Furthermore, the following poetic verses are attributed to the renowned scholar and the jurist *‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-wazīr*, the author of the book “*Tarīḥ al-Yaman ḥilāl al-qarn 11 H/17 A.D.(1045-1090 H./1635-1680 A.D.) al-musmā tarīḥ ṭabaq al-ḥalwā wa ṣaḥāf al-mann wa-l-salwā*” which cover the historical period of *Al-Qāsim b. al-Mu‘ayyad*. Historical sources have referenced verses from *al-wazīr*’s composition, as previously mentioned in the first section of this study (al-Ḥabaṣī 1986: 602-603; ‘Abbās 2018: 584).

The literary inscriptions recorded on these four tombstones hold significant historical importance. These inscriptions reflect the profound political, social, scholarly, and religious stature of each individual, given their roles as scholars and jurists encompassing diverse fields of knowledge. As previously mentioned in their biographies, their reputations affirm their status as revered and knowledgeable figures distinguished by their piety, knowledge, asceticism, and devoutness. The significance of these inscriptions is derived from their inclusion of a variety of titles specific to both individuals, in addition to titles and epithets associated with them, as well as those dedicated to their fathers and ancestors. These titles, listed in the order they appear on the tombstones, can be summarized as follows:

Titles related to both *‘Alī b. Al-Mu‘ayyad* and his Brother *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu‘ayyad*

1. Titles Associated with *‘Alī b. al-Mu‘ayyad*:

Māğid: The title *al-Māğid* and *al-‘amğad* are among the appellations used for kings and prominent statesmen. It is a linguistic expression denoting a superior form of glory,

symbolizing honor and authenticity. Glory, linguistically, signifies generosity, and it is one of the titles commonly bestowed upon the sons of imām al-Qāsim and their descendants (al-Bāṣā 1978: 442). *Amīr ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad* was referred to by this title, as recorded in the inscriptions of the third line of the first tombstone. *Al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad* was similarly titled *al-’amğad*, as indicated in the inscriptions of the fourth tombstone.

Sayyid: This title is prominently recurring in all four tombstones and is one of the most renowned honorary titles. It can be written as “*Sayyid*” or “*al-Sayyid*”. *Sayyid* in the language signifies ownership and leadership, and it holds connotations of authority. It is a general title bestowed upon distinguished men, commonly used for the descendants of Imām ‘*Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*. This title is widely utilized in Yemen (Šīḥah 1988: 41; al-Muṭā‘ 2000: 567). *Sayyid* has also been incorporated into the formation of many compound titles, such as “*al-Sayyid al-’alam*” which means “The Master of Knowledge” and “*al-Sayyid al-Imām*” which were attributed to ‘*Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad*. Similarly, “*al-Sayyid al-Sanad*” was given to *Al-Qāsim b. Al-Mu’ayyad*, and “*al-Sayyid al-’ağal*” was the title bestowed upon the jurist ‘*Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-wazīr*. Also, “*Sayyid al-waṣiyyīn*” is among the titles associated with Imām ‘*Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*.

Al-Karīm: It is one of the beautiful names of Allāh. Al-Karīm refers to the one who is pure from any imperfection, and it is an honorary title bestowed upon both civilians and military personnel alike (al-Bāṣā 1978: 437). The term may also be found in its plural form, “*al-Kirām*” as an attribute for the descendants of Imām al-Manṣūr Bi-llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad. Additionally, it may take the comparative form, “*al-’akram*” derived from the root 'karam' which means “generosity”, as a title for Imām *al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq*.

Al-’Alam: *Al-’alam* refers to the banner or flag. The term “*alam*” has been incorporated into various compound titles, such as “*al-’alam al-’alāmah*” which means “The Knowledgeable Sign” (al-Qalqaṣandī 2004: 38). *Al-’alāmah* denotes an extremely knowledgeable person and is a title commonly used for scholars. This title, in its singular form, is widely employed in Yemen. It has been recorded on numerous epitaphs of the Qāsimī family as recognition of their scholarly status. It is a title attributed to both ‘*Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad* and *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad*, which were renowned for their scholarly and juristic contributions.

Al-Raṣīd: Derived from “*al-rūṣd*” meaning guidance or wisdom, in contrast to “*al-ğay*” which denotes deviation. It was an honorary title associated particularly with the Abbasid Caliph *Hārūn al-Raṣīd*. This title signifies the influence of his bearer in both religious and political affairs.

Al-’Awhad: This title indicates that the bearer holds a high status within the community to which he belongs, emphasizing uniqueness. It is recorded as one of the titles for ‘*Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad*.

Ğamāl: A compound title often associated with words like “*al-dīn*” or “*al-Islām*” or appended to phrases like “*al-dunyā wa al-dīn*”, “*al-dīn wa al-Islām*”, or “*al-mīllah wa al-dīn*”. Among the Zāidis, the name “‘*Alī*” is particularly associated. Anyone named ‘*Alī* is commonly referred to by titles such as “*al-Ğamāl*” or “*Ğamāl al-dīn*”. This title is recorded for ‘*Alī b. Al-Mu’ayyad*, where he became known as “*Ğamāl al-Islām wa al-muslimīn*” as mentioned in the seventh line of the first tombstone.

2. Titles Associated with *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad*:

Al-Sanad: *al-Sanad* refers to the reliable support or dependence, and it was a title attributed to *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad*. This title is recorded within the inscriptions of the

third tombstone.

Al-Hūmām: *al-Hūmām*, meaning the courageous or valiant. It is a title associated with the brave wielders of swords. This title was bestowed upon *Abū Al-Ġaḍanfar Asad al-Ġazī al-Šālihī* in an inscription dated 552 H in Cairo. It was a title commonly used among the military leaders during the Mamluk period. *Al-Hūmām* is also recorded within the inscriptions of the third tombstone dedicated to *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad* (al-Bāšā 1978: 537).

Rabīb al'ulūm wal'awārf: In the language, “*rabīb*” refers to the son of a man’s wife from another marriage. Here, the title implies a preference for the bearer, indicating that he was raised in a family of knowledge and wisdom, symbolizing learning and awareness (ibn Manẓūr N.A.: 1549).

Rabānī a'immat al'adl wa alma'arīf: In the linguistic sense, “*rabānī*” refers to one who is knowledgeable about God. It is a Qūrānic expression derived from Surat 'Āl-Imran, verse 79 “*kunūā Rabānīyyin*”. It is used to describe those devoted to righteousness and piety, often applied to scholars and religious men. Furthermore, additional words may be appended to the title to signify that the bearer is among the scholars with knowledge of various judgments and understandings. This compound title is recorded for *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad* within the inscriptions of the third tombstone (al-Ma'īdī 2011: 758).

Quṭb dā'irat al-qṭāb al-Yamanīyya: this title is among the designations of saints, Sufis, and people of virtue. The term has been incorporated into compound titles, such as the one mentioned, indicating the renown and distinction of the bearer (al-Muṭā' 2000: 377). It is included among the titles of *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad* in the inscriptions of the third tombstone.

Rukn al-'usrah al-fāṭimīyyah al-'alawīyyah: The term “*rukṇ*” refers to the strong side or corner. It is mentioned in the Holy Qūrān in Surat Hud, verse 80, with the phrase; “*'āwīl 'ilā rukn šadīd*” which means “a source of strength and protection” (al-Qalqašandī 2004: 9-11; al-Bāšā 1978: 304). Here, it is used as a specific praise for the association with the family of the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him), particularly the Fatimid lineage, referring to his daughter al-sayyidah Fāṭima Al-Zahrā', and *al-'alawī* lineage, symbolizing Imām 'Alī. This title is part of the appellations of the Shi'a, expressing their pride in the lineage of Imām 'Alī (al-Ma'īdī 2011: 757-758).

Saif al-ḥuḡḡ wa al-qawād': the term “*saif*” or “sword” carries the meaning of strength, and it has been incorporated into various compound titles, all of which signify strength in different contexts. This particular title indicates the strength of the bearer's opinions, and the logic upon which decisions are made. It is also among the titles of *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad* in the inscriptions of the third tombstone.

Sanān al-sūnn alāwam': it is a compound title; it is used to signify the adherence to the ways or traditions. This title is among those attributed to *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad*.

Ġalīs Maḥarīb al-tilāwah; it is a compound title; It indicates frequent participation in circles of knowledge and worship. This title is among those attributed to *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad*.

Šāḥib Al-Naš'ah Al-Ṭahirah: the term “*Šāḥib*” is one of the titles of ministers, and in the origin of the language it is the friend. It was begun to be used as a specific title when it was applied to Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād, the minister of Banī Buwaṭh in Isfahan. It later evolved into a title for anyone holding the ministerial position. It became as a part of a series of compound titles. Here, it is an expression associated with the pure upbringing of *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad* (al-Bāšā 1978: 367).

Habr al-karāmāt al-zāhirah: the term “*ḥabr*” is one of the titles of distinguished scholars and saints. This expression has been incorporated into compound titles, such as this title which associated with *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad*. It signifies a person known for manifest miracles.

Baḥr alma’arīf al-zāhirah: it is a compound title; it is attributed to the descendants of Imām ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. It is included among the titles of *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad* as a figurative expression symbolizing knowledge and abundant wisdom.

Nāzūrat: the term “*al-Nāzirah*” refers to a position overseeing regional affairs, particularly financial matters. It is derived the word “*Nāzir*” which means either “looking with the eyes”, or “the sense of thought and consideration” (al-Bāšā 1978:1177). The term *Nāzūrat* is mentioned in the titles of *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad* in the inscriptions of the fourth tombstone.

Al-’awra’: “*al-wari*” is one who refrains from falling into suspicions, and its meaning in language is “pious” (al-Muṭā’ 2000: 386). It is mentioned in the titles of *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad* in the inscriptions of the fourth tombstone.

Al-’zhad: *al-’zhad* is the one who refrains from and forsakes both the worldly life and its distractions. From it comes the term “*al-zūhd*” meaning to turn away from and abandon. Indeed, “*al-Zahid*” refers to the worshipper. It is mentioned in the titles of *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad* in the inscriptions of the fourth tombstone indicating his intense devotion and asceticism.

Wahīd al-’aṣr: it is a term derived from the word “*waḥd*” which means to be unique or singular. It often used to emphasize exceptional qualities or characteristics (ibn Manzūr N.A.:14781). In this context, it suggests that *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad* is distinguished and exceptional in both his creation and behavior.

Titles Related to Their Fathers and Ancestors.

Al-Imām: it has been repeated frequently in the four tombstones, and its linguistic meaning is “the role model” Initially, the title of Imām was used for those who led the affairs of the Muslims, then it was applied to the prominent religious men, and later extended to those known for righteousness, asceticism, knowledge, and adherence to the Sharia or anyone considered an exemplary one in a branch of religion. The title became widely associated with ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. This term is closely linked to the Shi’a community. It used as one of titles of *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad* in the inscriptions of the third tombstone in the third line (al-Qalqašandī 2004: 38).

Al-Sabḥ: it is a specific attribute used for both imāms: al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the sons of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. This title has been recorded in the inscriptions that include the genealogies of those whose names are mentioned in these inscriptions. It is a particular designation for imām al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, found in the inscriptions of the first and second tombstone to ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad.

Al-Hādī: the name “*al-Hādī*” is an active participle derived from guidance, meaning one who guides to the path of truth. It was used as an attribute for the Abbasid Caliph, Mūsā al-Hādī (al-Bāšā 1978: 536). The first imām in Yemen to be called by this title was imām al-Hādī ‘ilā al-Haq, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn. It appeared as a title for imām al-Hādī ‘ilā al-Haq in the inscriptions of the first, second, and third tombstones.

Al-’Amlaḥ: This title is attributed to the region of ‘*amlah*’, located in Ṣa’dah governorate. This designation is mentioned in many Islamic writings in Yemen as part of the sequence of titles of the Zaidī imāms in Yemen. It signifies beauty and excellence. This

is a title of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. al-Imām b. Muḥammad the sixth-generation ancestor of imām al-Qāsim, whose lineage traces back to imām Hādī 'ilā al-Haqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn ('Āmir 2012: 18, 54).

Al-'Aṣl: It refers to a village in the region of Ṣa'dah. It is associated with the honorable 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'amlahī. It became a common title of him.

Al-Dā'ī 'ilā Allāh: It is a title given to those who are actively involved in the Shi'a Islamic call in various parts of the Islamic world. The term is used in the formation of some compound titles such as "*al-Dā'ī 'ilā al-Haqq*" and "*al-Dā'ī 'ilā Allāh*". Both of these are titles for Imām Yūsuf, the son of Imām il-Mansūr Bi-llāh Yaḥyā, the son of al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, the son of al-Hādī 'ilā al-Haqq. He was the first imām among the Zā'idīs in Yemen to be addressed with this title (al-Bāṣā 1978: 285-286).

Tūrḡmān: It is used as a specific epithet for imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rūsī, the grandfather of Imām al-Hādī 'ilā al-Haqq. This term is recorded in various historical writings.

Naḡm: It was found in the form of "*Naḡm 'āl Al-Rasūl*". It is an epithet for Imām Al-Hādī 'ilā al-Haqq. His grandfather is Imām Al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm Al-Ġūmr b. Ṭabāṭabā. His lineage traces back to Imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Ṭabāṭabā: This term is a specific epithet for Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. It is recorded on the tombstone of the grave of imām Yūsuf al-Dā'ī.

Al-Ġūmr: In linguistic terms, it refers to abundant water. Metaphorically, it signifies a generous and morally broad-minded person who is widely known for goodness. This term is a specific epithet for Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Al-Dībāḡ: In linguistic terms, it refers to a type of clothing with its linings and flesh made of silk. This term is found recorded as a specific epithet for Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The title is a nickname highlighting beauty and elegance ('Āmir 2012: 52-53).

Al-Ṣabh: It is a specific epithet for Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim, who passed away in the year 293 H. It is said that he resembled the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) in appearance (al-Bāṣā 1978: 355).

Al-Muṭnā: It is an epithet for al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. It is recorded in the inscriptions of the first and second tombstone of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad, mentioning the genealogy of imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (al-Muṭā' 2000: 380).

Ṣafwat: It refers to the purity or excellence of a thing. It is added to other words to form compound titles such as "*Ṣafwat al-Mūlk*", "*Ṣafwat al-'ānām*", and "*Ṣafwat Allāh*" (al-Bāṣā 1978: 378). This term is included among the titles of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn in the first line of the inscriptions of the third tombstone for *al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad*.

Conclusion: This study focused on the dissemination and documentation of four significant tombstones from the Qāsimī family in Yemen. It conducted a descriptive analytical study of these tombstones and arrived at several important results, including:

1. These valuable tombstones reflected the significant scholarly contributions and political stature of 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad and his brother *al-Qāsim* due to the many titles and epithets included in their inscriptions.

2. These tombstones reflect the distinctive features of Arabic calligraphy in Yemen during the eleventh and twelfth centuries Hīḡrī (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D.). They also highlight the artistic characteristics of tombstones inscriptions during that period.

3. The study clarified the location of these tombstones in the northern part of *al-Wuṣālī* mosque. In this part, there was a large dome shrine that was demolished in response to the demands of the Wahhābīyyah movement in Yemen during the thirteenth century Hīḡrī /nineteenth century A.D.

4. The inscriptions of the first and second tombstone document the name of amīr **‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad** and his full lineage, tracing it back to Imām ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Similarly, the inscriptions of the third tombstone document the name of **al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad**, specifying his lineage only to imām al-Hādī ‘ilā al-Haqq. As for the fourth tombstone, the calligrapher avoided repeating the lineage of **al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad** and contented himself with mentioning the elegiac and supplicatory verses that document his death with **ḥīṣāb al-ḡūml**.

5. The inscriptions of the first tombstone reflected the relationship between the Qāsimī state and the Ottomans, which was indicated by the inscriptions of the first tombstone to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib with the phrase **“aldīn ḥlaṣahū Allāh min aydīhim”**. The relationship was characterized by conflict, strife, and wars.

6. The characteristic of repeating tombstone inscriptions for the same person is evident, with the idea of having tombstone inscriptions for **‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad** and his brother **al-Qāsim** being a distinctive feature of the descendants of imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad. A tombstone was made for each deceased among them, and the researcher suggests that this practice continued with their descendants.

7. The inscriptions provided us with a number of important historical information accurately, including the birthplace and year of birth of **‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad** in the fortress of Kawkabān in 1013 H, the date of amīr ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ayyad’s death in 1078 H, specifically on the eighth day of the month of Rabi‘ al-Awwal, not as some references mentioned that his death was in the month of Raḡab. The precise date of **al-Qāsim b. al-Mu’ayyad**’s death was also recorded on the eighth day of the month of Jūmadā al-Aḥīrah in the year 1127 H.

دراسة أثرية فنية لأربعة شواهد قبور من عصر الدولة القاسمية في اليمن

محمد / أحمد عنب¹

ملخص

تتناول هذه الدراسة أربعة شواهد قبور لشخصيتين من الشخصيات المهمة في تاريخ اليمن خلال فترة الدولة القاسمية في اليمن (1006-1054هـ/1597-1644م)، وهما الأمير علي بن الإمام المؤيد محمد بن القاسم (1013-1078هـ/1603-1617م)، وأخيه الإمام القاسم بن الإمام المؤيد محمد بن القاسم (1024-1127هـ/1632-1715م)، وترجع أهمية البحث أنه يُلقي الضوء على سيرة هذين الشخصين ودورهما التاريخي المهم في اليمن، ويهدف البحث لتوثيق ودراسة هذه الشواهد من الناحيتين الأثرية والفنية، ووصفهم وصفًا دقيقًا، وتحليل النقوش الكتابية الواردة عليهم من حيث الشكل والمضمون بما تتضمنه من معلومات تاريخية مهمة، وأسماء وألقاب لها دلالتها الدينية والتاريخية وعبارات دعائية، واستخدم الباحث المنهج الوصفي التحليلي الإستقرائي من خلال وصف الشواهد الأربعة وقراءة نصوصهم الكتابية وتحليل مضامينها، واستقرأ عدد من الشواهد الأثرية وتحليل المصادر والمراجع التاريخية، وتوصي الدراسة بضرورة الحفاظ على هذه الشواهد من التدمير لما تحمله من أهمية أثرية وحضارية كبيرة في ظل النزاع السياسي المسلح القائم في اليمن.

الكلمات الدالة: اليمن، علي بن المؤيد، صنعاء، الوشلي، القاسم بن المؤيد، الوهابيون.

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