

FURTHER NOTES ON THE AKSUMITE HISTORY

By

Dr. FAWZI MIKAWY

Aksum ceased to be mentioned in the European sources since the sixth century A.D., but the Arabic sources covered her news and activities during the rest of her life.

The later sources cared for Aksum, or Abyssinia as they used to call it - because of the following reasons :

1. The Arabic sources were composed in the greatest cultural power in the world during that period.
2. Aksum was very close to the Arab world from remote times. It was known to the merchants and the Ethiopians frequently went to the Arab land.
3. The impression of the Muslims towards Aksum was very friendly from the beginning, this started when the Aksumite king protected the muslim refugees against Qureach.

The aim of this paper is to shed light on some information on Aksum in those Arabic sources.

They are these notes :

The first note is dealing with Najran accident which has been widely covered by different authors. We will meet here two new pieces of information, the appearance of Kaleb as a commander over the Aksumite forces for the first time in the Arabic MSS, and the continuance of the Yameni struggle against the Aksumites, after the death of their leader (Du. Nuwas).

The Second note is a study on the name of the Aksumite capital in the Arab experience during the 9th and 10th centuries. This study puts, our hands on three different names of the city.

3. The Third note is a quotation from Al fihrist of IBN Nadim gives details on Ethiopic writing with some comments on it.

1. KALEB AND YEMEN (THE 6 CENTURY A.D.) ⁽¹⁾

(FURTHER INFORMATION)

Many stories are mentioned about the conflict between Du Nuwas and the christians of Najran. Most of these stories defend the christian point of view. They claim that the christians of Najran suffered from the aggressive attacks of Du Nuwas because of their religion. All the stories on this fight agree that the king of Aksum intervened⁽²⁾ in those events to save the christians from slaughter.

Islamic traditions agree with this point of view, but there are some differences between them on the details. Some say that the Aksumites occupied Yemen after one expedition but others say that the occupation took place after two expeditions.⁽³⁾ Some claim that the fight between the two parties was severe but other assure that it was not more than a skirmish⁽⁴⁾.

They also differ on the end of the Himyarite king Du Nuwas; either he was drowned in the sea or he was killed by the Aksumites.⁽⁵⁾

The following text is quoted from the Arabic manuscript. «Sharh Al Qasida Al Himyaria» (the explanation of the Himyarite poem ⁶

-
- (1) This king bears different names in the different sources. He is called Kaleb in the Ethiopian sources, in the book of the Himyarites and on the coins, see; Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa, 1972, p. 125. Schneider also found the connection between his name Kaleb and his title Elle Asbaha in his text from Aksum, see : Schneider, R., *Trois Inscriptions Aksumite Royale*, (Inscription de Kaleb), congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici, Roma 1972, L. 7.
 - (2) Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Op. Cit.* pp. 126-133.
 - (3) Tabari, *Tarikh Al-rusul wa Al-Molouk* (History of the profits and kings), Cairo 1961 Vol II; p. 125; and the following text from *Al-Qasida Al-Himyaria* the Himyarite poem.
 - (4) Tabari, *Ibid.* p. 125.
 - (5) Fawzi Mikawy, *Mamlaket Aksoum* (the Aksumite kingdom) unpublished P.H.D. dissertation, Cairo, 1974, pp. 112-113.
 - (6) *Al-Qasida Al-Himyaria* is attributed to Nashwan Al-Himyari (d. 573 H). It is a historical poem contains 135 verses, deals with the Yemenite history. Several copies from this poem has been discovered, one in Alexandria dated 1032H, Second in India dated 1117H, Third one in the possession of Al-Kubali, the Yemeinte Judge, dated 1153H, (two Egyptian researchers published the last one). I found fourth copy from that Ms in the British Museum No. 7542. It is without date but the cataloger suggests the 17th or the 18th centuries as a date for it. At any rate this copy is in the possession of the British Museum before 1846 A.D. which is the date of the printed catalog in which it is mentioned. There are no serious differences between the copy which is in the British Museum and that published in Cairo.

« .. هذا الملك ذو نواس الأصغر واسمه زرعه بن عمرو .. وهو صاجب الإخدود . سمى يوسف لما تهود ، قيل سمى ذا نواس ، لذا ابتين (كانتا) ينوسان على رأسه ، وكان على دين اليهود ، فشكا اليه يهود نجران غلبة النصارى وذلك انه وقع بين اليهود والنصارى فتنة بنجران ، فنهض ذو نواس بالجنود الى نجران فحفر الإخدود واضرم النار فيه وخير النصارى بين الرجوع عن دينهم او اخراقهم بالنار ، فمنهم من رجع عن دينه ومنهم من لم يرجع فأحرقه بالنار ، وفيهم نزلت هذه الآيات (قتل اصحاب الإخدود ، النار ذات الوقود) الى قوله (العزيز الحميد) .

فلما صنع ذو نواس ما صنع بالنصارى في النجران ، غضب ذو ثعلبان .. ومضى الى ملك الحبشة النجاشي ودينه دين النصارى ، فاستنجده وشكا اليه ما صنع ذو نواس ، فبعث النجاشي مع ذو ثعلبان قائد يقال له كالب ، ويقال بريكي في ثلاثين الفا الى اليمن ، فلقاهم ، ذو نواس فقال لهم نحن سامعون مطيعون ، فدوتكم اليمن ، فهذه مفاتيح خزائنها فابعثوا الى مخاليفها من يقبض لكم الخزائن ، واتي بمفاتيح تحملها ابل كثيرة ، فكتب بذلك كالب الى النجاشي يشاوره فكتب اليه النجاشي ان يقبل منهم الطاعة ، وافترقت الحبشة في المخاليف فلما صاروا بها كتب ذو نواس الى رؤساء حمير ان يذبحوا كل ثور اسود عندهم ، فعلموا ما اراد ، فوثبوا على الحبشة فقتلوهم حتى افنوهم ، وبلغ ذلك النجاشي فعلم انه قد غدر بهم ، فوجه قائدين بجيش عظيم الى اليمن يقال لاحدهما ارباط ، والآخر ابرهه الاشرم فلقاهم ذو نواس بمن معه فقاتلهم ، فلما رأى انه لا طاقة له بهم اقتحم البحر بنفسه ، ففرق فيه ..

ثم جمع النعمان ابن عفير اخا يوسف جموعا من اهل اليمن وقاتل الحبشة الى جبل بمجموعة ممن اتبعه من اهل اليمن ولحقهم الحبشة فقاتلهم ، فلم يكن لهم بهم طاقة واستولت الحبشة على اليمن ..

It agrees in many of its details from what is written in other authors, but this text provides two new pieces of information concerning the Aksumite commander in that conflict and the continuations of the Yemenite resistance after the death of Du Nuwas.

The Arabic text says,

The English version of the text :

«... This king, Du Nuwas the Younger, and his name is Zara's ibn cmr ..., was the king of Alukhdud (the Furrow). He was named Yousef when he adopted the Jewish faith. It is also said that he was named Du Nuwas because of two locks of hair dangling from his head and he was on the Jewish religion (7) The Jewish people of Najran complained to him the supremacy of the christians as a result of troubles that happened between them. At once, Du Nuwas went with his soldiers to Najran. He dug up the furrow and put fire on it, and made the choice for the christians either to leave their religion or to burn in the fire. Some of them left their religion and others refused and were burnt. (8) Concerning these (people) this (Ayah) verse has come down : (self) destroyed were the owners of the ditch, of the fuel-fed fire» to his saying «the owner of praise» when Du Nuwas did that against the christians in Najran (9) Du tha'laban(10) went to the king of Abyssinia, the Nagashi, whose faith was the religion of the christians, and appealed to him for help complaining of what Du Nuwas had done (against the christians).

(7) The sources mention several names for this Himyarite king. He is called Du Nuwas, Yousef and Masrouq ... etc see : Abd Al-Magid Abdeen, *Bayn Al-Habashah wa Al-Arah* (between Abyssinians and the Arabs) Cairo, N.D.P. 44.

(8) The authors think of different reasons for the accident of Najran. Ibn Ishaq as quoted in Tabari and Ibn Hisham say that the people of Najran suffered because of their religion. But Ibn Al-Kalbi says that the king Du Nuwas was punishing them because of what they did against a Jewish named Dous Du The Laban.

(9) Many Authors agree with what is mentioned in this MS. about the relation between the enterprise of the Ayah and the accident of Najran see : Tabari, op. cit. Vol. 11 pp. 120-124. Yaqout, correctly, did not think of that relation. He says that the Ayah refers to people believing in God Suffering from a king and an army denying him. But the accident of Najran had happened between its, christian people and the Jewish king Du Nuwas and both parties were believing in God.

Yaqout Mou'gam Al-Bouldan, Cairo Vol. p. 262.

(10) Du Tha'laban is here a christian fellow from Najran. He appealed the case to the Aksumite king, but other versions on the same accident say that he was a jew suffered from the christians at Najran. See : Abd Al-Magid Abdeen, op. cit. p. 49.

Then, the Nagashi sent with Du the'laban a commander named Kaleb and also B. reke, with thirty thousands (soldiers) to Yemen (II).

Du Nuwas met them and said to them, we are listening (to you) and obeying (you), so take Yemen and these are the keys of its safes, send to its provinces who will collect for you these safes. And he brought keys leaded on many camels. Then Kaleb wrote about that to the Nagashi asking for his opinion.

The Nagashi wrote to him to accept their obeisance, and the abyssinians were separated into the provinces (of Yemen) when they became there, Du Nuwas wrote to the chiefs of Himyar to kill every black ox they have, they understood what he wanted and leaped on the abyssinians, killing them till they destroyed all of them. The Nagashi was acquainted with that and he knew that they were deceived. Then he sent to Yemen two commanders, one named Ariat and the other Abraha Al-Ashram, with a great army. Du Nuwas met them with those who were with him and he fought them, but when he found that he could not bear them, he drove himself with his horse into the sea and he drowned.⁽¹²⁾

Then Al-Nu'man Ibn Afeer, the brother of Yousef gathered together a collection of Yemenis and he with his followers from the people of Yemen

(11) A. Al Masudi pointed, the place at which the Aksumites landed and the time of the sea journey between the two coasts. Al Masudi wrote in his book (Murug Al Dahab we Ma'adin Al-Gawhar) pp. 34-35.

«... between the sea coast of Abyssinia and the town of (غلافه -) Ghulafiqah (between latitude 14-15 on the Yemenite coast) the port of Zabid, is three days journey by the width of the sea between the two coasts. The Abyssinians crossed the sea from that place when they occupied Yemen in the days of Du Nuwas, the Owner of the furrow which is mentioned in the Quran, ... This place, between the two coasts, I mean the coast of Yemen and that of Abyssinia, in the narrowest place in that sea ...».

B. Tabari says that the Aksumite army against Yemen was about seventy thousands soldier. It seems that the two reports are far from correctness. It is likely to think of the report of Procopius who said that army contains three thousand soldiers only see :
Fawzi Mikawy, op. cit. 189-190.

(12) The end of the Jewish king differs from source to another. Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Kalbi say that he was drowned but Procopius and the book of the Himyarites confirm that he was killed. I prefer the second story because Najiran which was the field of the conflict is located far from the sea :
Abd Al-Magid Abdeen; op. cit. p. 49.
Fawzi Mikawy, op. cit. p. 117.
Procopius, the Persian war, Bk XIX.

fought the Abyssinians on a mountain.⁽¹³⁾ The Abyssinians over took them. They (The Yemenis) fought them (the Abyssinians) but they were unable to bear with them, and the Abyssinians occupied Yemen ...».

It is clear that many of the details mentioned in this MS agree with what is written in other Arabic MSS, especially the story of the two Aksumite expeditions against Yemen and the defeat of the first one by a trick of Du Nuwas.

But we can observe two new pieces of information in this Ms. I- The name and the title of the Aksumite commander of the first expedition. All the Arabic MSS, recognise that two men led the Aksumite side in that conflict; these were Ariat and Abraha. But here we have for the first time a new commander, that is Kaleb who is also named Brake. That man, we are told, led the Aksumites in the first expedition. Now, is there any connexion between Kaleb the king and Kaleb the commander ? we know from the historical sources that the Aksumite king took part in these events was named Kaleb. We also have no word, from the other sources, about the decision of king Kaleb to appoint a person named Kaleb as a commander over his forces.

Procopius also informed us that the Aksumite king Ε ελλδοθεα Tos (Kaleb) led his forces against the Himyarites. If we put these probabilities together we can claim that there is a possibility that Kaleb the commander was the king Kaleb.

This idea can be supported by two points :

- (a) The Arabic MSS used to confuse the main persons who dealt with the Najran accident and the role of one person is changed from one MS to another, that is to say we meet one person in one MS doing a certain thing and in another MS doing a different thing.⁽¹⁴⁾
- (b) The commander Kaleb is also named in that text Breke. The first letter is unvocalised and it can be read either Bareke, Boreke or Bereke. This word does not seem to be the name but the title of the commander.⁽¹⁵⁾

(13) It is mentioned in the book published in Cairo that the new fight took place in a plain not on mountain.

(14) See F.N. 10.

(15) It is not unusual idea because the Arabic Sources used to use the titles instead of the proper names. They used Nagashi to refer to all the Aksumite kings instead of mentioning their names.

I think that it is a corrupted form of the adjective from the Ethiopic root (7L_h) «to greet or to bless». This title agrees, in that case, with the behaviour of the king Kaleb.

2. The reaction of the Yemenis against the Aksumites after the death of Du Nuwas. The Arabic MSS used to end this conflict with the death of Du Nuwas and discuss the circumstances which led to the supremacy of Abraha in Yemen as the following events.

This MS deals with the resistance of the Yemenis after the death of Du Nuwas. The copy which is published in Cairo refers to the leader of the Yemenis in the new fight as the father of Sayf b. Di Yazan, but the copy which is in the British Museum recognizes the brother of Du Nuwas as the Yemenis leader. It is better to think of the leader as a brother of the ex-king than a member of a new royal family because it is strange to believe that all the royal family of Du Nuwas vanished by his death.

It seems also that Sayf's father was young enough during that war as we know that Sayf himself was still youth after fifty years from that fight.

Setting this Problem aside, we can say that this MS reveals new details about that conflict.

2. THE CAPITAL OF THE AKSUMITE KINGDOM DURING THE 9th & THE 10th CENTURIES A.D.

We are told that the Aksumite kingdom survived till the tenth century. This is claimed by the Ethiopian tradional story of Gudit⁽¹⁾, and supported with what Ibn Hawqal said on the queen who invaded that land, killed its king and ruled. It for thirty years in Ibn Hewqual's life time.⁽²⁾ But it is clear that the Aksumite kingdom fell in decay from the seventh century A.D. and it ceased from that time to act as an important power in the Red Sea basin.⁽³⁾

(16) For details about this king and his behaviour see :

Fawzi Mikawy; op. cit. pp. 95-99.

Sergew H.S.; op. cit. pp. 123-126.

(17) When Sayf was able to over throw the Aksumites in 575 A.D. with the persion aids.

(1) Sergew Hable sellassie, The problem of Gudit, Journal of Ethiopian studies,

(2) Ibn Hawkal, Surat Al-Ard. Beirut, N.D. p. 63.

(3) Fawzi Mikawy, Mamlakat Aksum, Ph. D. dissertation Cairo, 1974 p. 159, FF.

Many details of the Aksumite history during that era are still obscure. One of these things is the name of the Aksumite capital.

Since the Arab authors became the main source on the Aksumite history from the 7th century onwards, I will try in this paper to trace the name of the Aksumite Capital in the Arabic Sources. I have examined 30 famous Arabic MSS attributed to the ninth and tenth centuries.⁽⁴⁾ Ten MSS only of them mentioned the name of the Aksumite capital.⁽⁵⁾

These MSS mentioned three names for the Aksumite capital :

1. Al-Ya'qoubi (9th cent.) and Al-Mas'udi (10th. cent) said that the capital of Aksum was Ka'bar. It is a strange name without Arabic or Ethiopic meaning. It is also difficult to find any relation between the word Ka'bar and Aksum. What is surprising indeed is that it is mentioned by an eminent historian as Al-Mas'udi who is considered one of the historians of East Africa.
2. The second name of the Aksumite capital as appears, in the Arabic MSS. is Grme (Grma or Grme) (جرمي) This name is written partly unvocalized in the Arabic sources except in Ibn Rustah (10th cent.) who vocalized it as (Garme).

This name is recommended by six of our authors ⁶.

One of them, Al-Birouni, was a student of Al-Mas'udi.

(4) 'What is dealing with the African Affairs in these MSS are collected in : v.v. Matveev and L.C. Kubbel. Arabiske Istochnike (from) VII-X Vekov and (from X-XII vekov (Moskova) 1960-1965, (in Arabic and Russian).

(5) Ibid., see in the same collection :

* Al-Huwarizmi (d. 846-84), Sourat Al-Ard.

* Al-Buttani (858-929), Al-zeeg Al-sabi.

* Al-Ya'qoubi (d. 897) Tarikh Al-Ya'qoubi.

* Al-Farghani (IX cent) Gawami' 'elm Al-Nogoum 'Wa Al-Harkat Al-Samawea.

* Ibn. Rustah (x cent) kitab Al-A'laq Al-Nafisah.

* Suhrab (x cent.) Aga'eb Al-Aqaleem Al-Sab'a.

* Ikhwan Al-Safa (950) kitab Ikhwan Al-Safa 'Wa Khilan Al-Wafa.

* Ishaq b. al Husayn (951-952).

Kitab Aakam Al-Morghaan fi dikr Al-Madaa'en Al-Mashhoura fi kul makaan.

* Al-Mas'udi (965), 1-Moroug Al-Dahab wa Ma'aden Al-Gawhar.
2-Kitab Akhbar Al-Zeman.

* Al-Birouni, Al-Qanoon Al-Mas'udi Fi Al-Hai'a wa Al-Nogoum.

(6) Those authors are Al-Huwarizmi, Al-Farghani, Ibn Bustah, Ikhwan-Safa, Ishaq b. Al-Husayn and Al-Birouni.

I can not think that they meant another city named Grme (a-e) which succeeded Aksum as a capital of the kingdom because we are sure that Aksum was the capital of the kingdom at least till the eighth century A.D. and in that case the new capital would be a new and small city. But the Arab authors told us that the Aksumite capital was very great city with wide trade activities and close relations with the Arab peninsula from remote times.⁽⁸⁾ So it is better to think that Grme (a-e) was not the name of the Aksumite capital but it was the title of it. I also think that the vocalization of Grme (a-e) in these MSS. is a corrupted form of Girme (ገ [b) the Ethiopic word which means magnificent or terrible.

The adjective of this word describes well the famous Aksumite capital (Aksum) and agrees with the fact that the Arab authors used to refer to the king of Aksum as Al-Nagashi (Negus) without mentioning his name even they know that it is his title and not his name.

3. The third name is a surprising one. Al-Buttani mentioned in his book (Al-zeeg Al-Sabi) that the Aksumite capital is named (Ksumi). This name is very close to the famous city Aksum.

I am not sure that this information expresses the Arabic experience on Aksum because Al-Buttani is the only author who mentioned this name. At the same time there are other authors who were more interested in the Aksumite affairs like Al-Mas'udi did not know this name.

3. ETHIOPIC WRITING AND ETHIOPIC MSS IN THE TENTH CENTURY A.D.

The Arabic Sources refer many times, to documents written in Ethiopic. One of these sources in Sharh Al-Qasida Al Himyaria. The author said that Kaleb the commander wrote to the Nagashi on the Surrender of the Himyarites and received his reply.⁽¹⁾

The Arab authors know also that this language has special characters which differ from those of their own language Sa'id b. Al-Batriq Said

(7) According to the coins left at Aksum.

(8) Al-Mas'udi said in his book «Muroug Al-Dahab wa Ma'adin Al-Gawhar» and the name of there capital is Ka'bar and it is great city in it the Royal court of Al-Nagashi ... «He also mentioned in his book Akhbar Al-Zaman» and the name of their biggist city is ka'bar and the Arabs still come to it from remote times for trade ...»

(6) Ibn Khardidaba, Alqaah Mulouk Al-Ard, p. 17.
Suhrab said that «... the city of great grme for the Abyssinians ...».

(1) See Kaleb and Yemen in the same article.

in his book (Nadm Al-Gawahir) that the descendants of Ham use six writings one of them is Ethiopic.⁽²⁾

Tabari assures that Ethiopic differs from Arabic when he mentions that Abraha Al-Ashram was in need of a translator to understand Abdul-Mutalib of Mecca.⁽³⁾

Although many Arab authors mentioned Ethiopic writing, Ibn Nadim only gave us some details about it and drew examples of its letters.

He wrote in his book Al-Fibrst.⁽⁴⁾

« . . اما الحبشة فلهم قلم حروفه متصلة بحروف الحميرى يتدىء من الشمال الى اليمين يفرقون بين كل اسم منها بثلاث نقط ينقطنها كالمثلث بين حروف الاسمين وهذا مثال الحروف وكتبتها من خزائن المأمون غير الخط .

The Arabic text says :

«... The Abyssinians have a Script like the Himyarite letters (but) going from left to right.

They separate each of the words by means of three dots dotted like a triangle between the letters of the words. This is an example of the letters, which I copied from the library of Al-Ma'mun, but not with the same handwriting ...»

We can draw the following conclusions from the previous text :

1 — Ibn Nadim gives an early report on the Ethiopic writing as follows :

— He correctly pointed at the relations between this writing and the old South Arabian one and he noticed that Ethiopic writing is written from left to right on contrary to the old south Arabian.

— Ibn Nadim copied some Ethiopic letters among which we can see the following letters :

(2) He says «... They (the sons of Ham) have six scripts Egyptian; Nubian Abyssinian ...».

Said b. Al-Batriq, Nadm Al-Gawahir Vol. 1 p. 54.

(3) Tabari, the history of ... Vol 2 p. 166.

(4) Ibn Nadim, Al-Fihrist, Cairo, p. 29.

L	= g	□	= h
ḍ	= ts	ḥ	= h (ح)
ṣ	= t (ط)	L	= r
o	= A (ع)	π	= b

We can also notice that he copied some vocalized letters.⁽⁵⁾

— Ibn Nadim also observes correctly that there are some Arabic sounds without Ethiopic Parallels. He mentioned three correct examples those are :

The Arabic ث th which is written in Ethiopic t ت

« « ط D « « « « « T ط

« « غ Gh « « « « « 'A ع

But he also mentioned two wrong examples when he, said that ز Z (H) ر r (L) are one letter. and خ kh (μ) and ح h (ḥ) are one letter.

— Ibn Nadim observes correctly the existence of separating sign between the words in Ethiopic. But he falls in explaining this sign. We know from the history of Ethiopic language that the Aksumites used at first the south Arabian sign i.e. a vertical line between every two words. In later times, they created their own sign i.e. two dots in vertical position and often used four dots in square shape at the end of the sentences; but they never used three dots like a triangle as Ibn Nadim claimed.

2 — Ibn Nadim mentioned that he used the library of the Abbasside caliph Al-Ma'mun to quote the Ethiopic letters. This means that he saw by himself in Baghdad in the 10th century A.D. at least one Ethiopic MS.

This indication means that Ethiopic MSS were available outside Aksum early in the tenth century. Some MSS indeed; are lost from that time till now, but there are probability to find other Ethiopic MSS safe and we are asked to seek after these MSS especially we have no Ethiopic MSS known earlier than the 13th century A.D.

(5) See the drawing of the letters as mentioned by Ibn Nadim.

Bibliography

1. ABD AL-MAGID ABDEEN, *Bayn Al-Habasha wa Al'Arab Cairo*, N.D.
2. FAWZI MIKAWY, (1974) : *Mamlakat Aksum*, (The Aksumite kingdom) unpublished doctoral thesis in Arabic, Cairo.
3. FAWZI MIKAWY, (1975) : New light on the relations between Aksum and the southern Arabian states during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. *African Studies Review*, Cairo.
4. IBN HAWKAL, *Surat Al-Ard*, Beirut, N.D.
5. JAMME, A., (1962) : *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Mahran Bilqis (Marib)* Baltimore.
6. AL-MAS'UDI, *Morouj Al-Dahb wa Ma'adin Al-Gawhar*, Cairo.
7. MATVEEV V.V. and L.C. KUBBEL, *Arabiske Istoclnike (from) VII-X vekov (and from) X-XII vekov*, Moskowa 1960-1965.
8. MUTTAHAR ALI EL-IRYANI, (1973) : *Fitarikh Al-Yaman*, 34 new inscriptions explanation and interpretation. Cairo.
9. IBN NADIM, *Al-Fihrist*, Cairo.
10. NASHWAN AL-HIMYARI, AL-QASIDA AL-HIMYARIA MS. No. 7542 in British Museum.
11. NASHWAN AL-HIMYARI, (1959) : *Sharh Al-Qasida Al-Himyaria*, Cairo. (realization and explanation).
12. PROCOPIUS of CAESARIA, (1961) : *History of the wars*, ed and trarns. H.B. dewing, loeb classical library London.
13. SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, The Problem of Gudit, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. X No. 1 Addis Ababa.
14. SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, (1972) : *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*. Addis Ababa.
15. AL-TABARI, (1961) : *Tarikh Al-Rusul wa Al-Mulouk*, Cairo.
16. YAQOUT, (1916) : *MOU'GAM Al-Bouldan*, Cario.