

XIX.

ON THE COINAGE OF THE DYNASTIES CALLED
THE BENEE-TOOLOON AND THE IKHSHEEDEE-
YEH, RULING IN EGYPT.

IN the examination of some Oriental coins acquired this year by the Museum, I had the good fortune to discover that one of them, a deenar, bore the name of a sovereign of the Benee-Tooloon, of whose money no example had been previously known to numismatists. Coins of another prince of the same family had been found, and our collection contained one classed under his name. In both cases the deenars, for that last mentioned was also a deenar, bore the name of the contemporary Abbásee Khaleefeh of Baghdád, with that of the Tooloonite in a subordinate position, and it was therefore not unlikely that some other coins of the same class might be found in the Museum and elsewhere classed to the Khaleefehs. And it must be borne in mind, that the absence of vowels and diacritical points renders the reading of the inscriptions on this Cufic money so difficult, that a practised Oriental numismatist may often be unable to read a word unless he knows what to expect. My discovery induced me to examine carefully all the coins to which I had access that might bear the names of princes of the Benee-Tooloon family, that is, those of the contemporary Abbásee Khaleefehs, and the



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result was highly satisfactory. I was able to separate in our collection eleven coins, all deenars, struck by three kings. Encouraged by this success, I persevered in my examination, and discovered five deenars of three kings of another family, which reigned not long after, that of the Ikhsheedeeyeh. Of one sovereign alone of those above-mentioned, of the Benee-Tooloon, and of two of the Ikhsheedeeyeh, were coins known to numismatists, those three being represented in the series which was the result of my search, and thus that search has made us acquainted with the coinage of three princes heretofore unrepresented in our collections. An inquiry so satisfactorily commenced leaves us no room to doubt, that we shall ultimately possess money of every prince of the two dynasties above mentioned, except those whose reigns were of such short duration, and so taken up by the struggle for power, that we cannot suppose them to have issued a coinage. Before leaving this part of the subject I am unwilling to omit saying how much I have been indebted to my colleague, Mr. Vaux, for his kind assistance in inquiries of this nature, and in this one in particular, and how greatly I value the readiness with which he has aided me in a province which his extensive knowledge of Eastern subjects has made peculiarly his own.

The history of the East during the rule of the two short dynasties whose coins we have to consider being but little known, I make no apology for briefly noticing it. It was my original intention to have treated of these dynasties more fully, and, in particular, to have added as complete a chronological table as I could construct; but an examination of the materials convinced me, that in doing this I should render this paper too long for the Numismatic Chronicle, since its subject is not generally interesting, and I have

therefore determined to confine myself to a few main particulars.¹

After Egypt had been conquered by the Muslims it was governed by viceroys, appointed by the Ummawee and Abbásee Khaleefehs, for more than two hundred years, until a viceroy, Ahmad, the son of Tooloon, a Turk by nation, rendered himself independent. The weakness of the Arabian empire, the power which the rich provinces under his rule conferred upon him, and his influence with his own fellow countrymen, who were a highly important body in the state, all contributed to the success of measures taken perhaps as much from necessity as from ambition. The central government was in the hands of Turkish emeers, the chiefs of a turbulent soldiery, in whose hands the Khaleefehs were generally puppets, maintained on sufferance, because of their supposed authority in spiritual matters. Whenever a Khaleefeh had the courage or the temerity to endeavour to regain the power of his ancestors, the result was war or intrigue so destructive as to threaten the ruin of the empire. We cannot, therefore, wonder, that the great fabric composed (like the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw) of so many and such various materials, began to grow weak, and to manifest signs of dismemberment. One by one the governors of provinces threw off their allegiance in temporal affairs, and founded dynasties of various power and duration.

Tooloon, the father of Ahmad, was a Turkish slave of the Khaleefeh El-Ma-moon, and filled important offices.

¹ The *Khitat* of El-Makreezee, and the works of Abu-l-Fida, Es-Suyootee, El-Is-hákee, El-Mekeen, and others, contain much important matter respecting the Bence-Tooloon and the Ikhsheedeeyeh.

His son, after having held other places with credit, was appointed, in the year 868, to the government of Egypt and Syria, by the Khaleefeh El-Moatezz billáh. By degrees he threw off his allegiance to his sovereign in temporal affairs, though he did not cease to cause him to be prayed for in the mosques, and to be mentioned as Prince of the Faithful upon the coins. In doing this he avoided wounding the feelings of the people, by repudiating the religious authority of the descendant and successor of Mohammad, with whom also future accommodation was not impossible. For seventeen years he continued to rule Egypt and Syria with great wisdom and vigour, and when "he was visited by the terminator of delights and separator of companions," he left to his son Khumáraweyh a kingdom bounded on the West by Barca (for he had made conquests in Northern Africa), and on the East by the Euphrates. The historians of Egypt relate many things of his magnificence, and tell us that he founded a new capital, and adorned it with splendid buildings. It was named El-Katáë', and was situate near El-Fustát, the first Arab metropolis of Egypt. Its extent was never great, and it was rather remarkable for the edifices which it contained. The chief mosque yet remains in the southern part of Cairo, which now partly occupies the site of this earlier capital, and is known as the mosque of Ibn Tooloon. This great building is interesting, both as being the largest in extent of the mosques in Cairo, and on account of its architecture. The minaret has a spiral staircase winding around it instead of within it, and was surmounted by a boat, in which grain was put to feed the birds. This boat fell a few years ago while I was residing in Cairo, and was neither put up again, nor was another substituted in its place. Around each side of the court is a colonnade sup-

porting horse-shoe arches, which are thus shewn to have been known in the East as early as the latter part of the ninth century of our era. Formerly there was a college with professorships of various sciences attached to this mosque, but this has come to an end, doubtless owing to the misappropriation of funds, and the mosque itself is in a disgraceful state of neglect and dilapidation.

Khumáraweyh, the son of Ahmad, although he came to the throne before he had attained to manhood, governed the kingdom with a strength and ability not unworthy of his father. At his accession, El-Moatemid was Khaleefeh, and had as his colleague El-Muwaffik, his brother. The Khaleefeh being an indolent prince, and El-Muwaffik both warlike and ambitious, the latter gained almost everything excepting the title and spiritual authority of the Khaleefeh. The natural result of this state of things was great jealousy and mistrust, of which Khumáraweyh skilfully veiled himself, and thus, and by vigorous military measures, resisted every attempt at subjugation. With the next Khaleefeh, El-Moatadid, he made a treaty, engaging to pay an annual tribute and acknowledging his authority. To render the alliance firmer, a marriage was negotiated, and Katr-en-neda, the daughter of Khumáraweyh, went to Baghdád to become the bride of the Khaleefeh. Not long after this Khumáraweyh was assassinated, having reigned more than twelve years. Many things are related by the historians of his magnificence and luxury, which prove the richness of his kingdom, and the judgment with which he availed himself of its resources.

The son of Khumáraweyh, called Jeysh Abu-l-Asákir, while yet a child succeeded him, but was soon assassinated, and his brother Haroon, also but a child, set up in his stead. After a disastrous reign of nine years, this king was de-

feated by an invading army sent by the Khaleefeh El-Muktefee l'illah, and slain by a relation, who, in turn, was taken prisoner by the troops of the Khaleefeh after ruling but a few days. With him the dynasty of the Benee-Tooloon came to an end, having fallen rather on account of the extreme youth of two of its later princes, than by the power of the Khaleefeh. Had it been otherwise, it would not have been so soon followed by another dynasty of independent princes.

Thirty years had scarcely passed when Mohammad El-Ikhsheed, the son of Taghaj, was appointed governor of Egypt by the Khaleefeh, Er-Rádee billáh, and soon rendering himself independent, founded the dynasty of the Iksheedeeyeh. His father, Taghaj, was a Turkish emeer, who governed Damascus for Khumáraweyh, and deposed Jeysh, his son. The Khaleefeh being too weak to resist, not only acknowledged Mohammad, but permitted him to add Syria to his kingdom. After a stormy reign of eleven years, in which he had some difficulty in maintaining his power against the potent princes of Hamadán, who supported Radee's successor, the Khaleefeh El-Muttekee l'illah, this king died in Syria, leaving his kingdom to Abu-l-Kásim, his son. He was but a child at his father's death, and the whole weight of the government fell upon Káfoor El-Ikhsheede, a black eunuch of his father, who is one of the many instances which history affords us of the bravery and fidelity of negro slaves. He was named Káfoor (that is Camphor) because of his extreme blackness, and purchased for a trifling sum of money. Abu-l-Kásim, having reigned fourteen years, died, and was succeeded by his brother 'Alee, who ruled for five years under the regency of Káfoor. Upon his death Káfoor became sole king, and was recognised by the Khaleefeh. After

having reigned two years, he died, and was buried, like all the preceding princes of the same dynasty, at Jerusalem. Káfoor was virtually king from the death of Mo-hammad, and ruled with an energy and wisdom which supported his authority against the numerous enemies who assailed the kingdom. He defeated Seyf-ed-dowleh, the prince of Hamadán, but afterwards succoured him against the Greek emperor Nicephorus, whose forces he caused to retire. He also defeated the Nubians, and repulsed every attempt of the Fátimée Khaleefeh of Africa to gain possession of Egypt. He is recorded to have been an enlightened prince, and a great patron of learning. The Arab poet, El-Mutanebbbee, celebrates these qualities in his verses. Káfoor was succeeded by a child of the Ikhsheedee family, who was dethroned, and his dynasty brought to an end, by El-Mo'ezz, the Fátimée Khaleefeh, in the year 969 of our era.

I subjoin a list of the coins of the two dynasties.

DYNASTY OF THE BENEE-TOOLOON.

1. *Ahmad Ibn Tooloon.*

1. *Obv.—Area:*

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له المتوكل على الله

(There is no deity but God, the one, with him is no associate.—El-Mutawekkil 'ala-lláh).

Inner circle:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر سنة ست وستين ومايتين

(In the name of God, this deenár was struck at Misr in the year [of the Flight] 266).

Margin:

لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

(To God [belongeth] the government in the past and for the future: then shall the faithful rejoice in divine victory).

Rev.—Area :

لله محمد رسول الله المعتمد على الله احمد بن طولون

(To God—Mohammad is the apostle of God—
El-Moatemid 'ala-llah—Ahmad Ibn Tooloon.)

Margin :

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله
ولو كره المشركون

(Mohammad is the apostle of God, whom he sent
with direction and the true religion, that he should
extol it over every religion, though the associators
be unwilling.)

It is to be observed, that the occurrence of the name of a preceding Khaleefeh, El-Mutawekkil, may be explained by his having been the father of El-Moatemid, the reigning Khaleefeh. On others the name of El-Moatemid's brother and coadjutor, El-Muwaffik billah, occurs in the same part of the inscription. (See Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, pp. 60, 61).

The city here called Misr is El-Fustát, which was founded at the Arab conquest of Egypt. The name Misr was applied to every one of the great capitals of Egypt by the Arabs excepting Alexandria. Memphis is so called in the Kur-án. Egyptian Babylon, a strong place on the opposite side of the river, where the governor of Egypt resided at the time of the Muslim invasion, is called by the same name in the narratives of that expedition. The name was next transferred to El-Fustát, which retained it until it was supplanted by El-Káhireh (that is, Cairo) which was founded at the downfall of the Ikhsheedee dynasty by Jóhar, the general who subdued the country, and still bears the name of Misr. There were two other capitals or seats of government, El-'Askar, which was founded by the general who reduced Egypt to the Abbásee Khaleefeh, on the overthrow of the preceding family, the Ummawee, and

El-Katáë, built by Ahmad Ibn Tooloon; but neither of these, though in the immediate neighbourhood of the older capital, El-Fustát, rose to sufficient importance to receive the name of Misr. In the present day a modern town stands on the site of El-Fustát, a little south of Cairo, and is called Misr el-'Ateekeh or Old Misr, which has been erroneously translated Old Cairo. Misr (vulgarly pronounced Masr) is the common appellation of Egypt, as well as of its capital, in Arabic.

In describing the remaining coins, I shall only specify wherein they differ from that described above.

2. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 267.
3. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 267.
4. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 267.

2. *Khumáraweyh Ibn Ahmad.*

1. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date 273.

Rev.—Usual inscription—

خمارويه بن احمد

(Khumáraweyh Ibn Ahmad.)

2. *Obv.*—Mint, . . . ? date, 273.
3. *Obv.*—Mint, Dimeshk (Damascus); date, 277.
4. *Obv.*—Area:

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

(Name of El-Mutawekkil omitted.)

Inner circle: Mint, Misr; date, 282.

Rev.—Usual inscription—

المعتضد بالله خمارويه بن احمد

(El-Moatadid billáh Khumáraweyh Ibn Ahmad).

4. *Haroon Ibn Khumáraweyh.*

1. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 284.

Rev.—Usual inscription—

المعتضد بالله هرون بن خمارويه

(El-Moatadid billah Haroon Ibn Khumáraweyh.)

2. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 288.

3. *Obv.*—Mint, Misr; date, 291.

Rev.—*Area*: Usual inscription—

المكتفى بالله هرون بن خمارويه

(El-Muktefee billáh Haroon Ibn Khumáraweyh.)

DYNASTY OF THE IKHSHEEDEEYEH.

1. *Mohammad el-Ikhsheed.*

1. *Obv.*—Usual inscription—

ابومنصور بن امير المؤمنين

(Aboo Mansoor, son of the Prince of the Faithful.)

Inner circle: Mint, ? date, 333.

Rev.—Usual inscription—

المتقى لله الاخشيد

(El-Muttekee lilláh—El-Ikhsheed.)

2. *Obv.*—Mint, ? date, 33x.

2. *Abu-l-Kásim Ibn El-Ikhsheed.*

1. *Obv.*—*Area*: Usual inscription—

ابوالقاسم بن الاخشيد

(Abu-l-Kásim Ibn El-Ikhsheed.)

Inner circle: Mint, ? date, 337.

Rev.—*Area*:

لله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه المطيع لله

(To God—Mohammad is the apostle of God, may God favour him—El-Mutteea lillah.)

2. *Obv.*—Mint, ? date, 337.

3. *Obv.*—Mint, ? date, 345.

Rev.—*Area*:

لله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم له المطيع لله

(To God—Mohammad is the apostle of God—May God favour and preserve him—El-Mutteea lilláh.)

3. ' *Alee Ibn El-Ikhsheed.*1. *Obv.—Area:* Usual inscription—

على بن الاخشيد

('Alee Ibn el-Ikhsheed.)

Inner circle: Mint, Misr ; date, 353.*Rev.—Area:* The same as the last.

R. STUART POOLE.

British Museum, July, 1854.
