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THE COINS OF THE TULUNI DYNASTY.

BY

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PREFACE.

IN compiling the following history of the Tūlūni dynasty, I have endeavoured to limit myself to the leading facts, and to confine my observations to such as chance to bear either directly or indirectly on the numismatic illustrations of the period.

I have been greatly indebted to the admirable work of M. J. J. Marcel, "*Description d'Égypte*," and have also to acknowledge my obligations to M. Sauvaire for his aid in tracing several passages in obscure Arabic works, which I have since verified and taken advantage of. Extracts from Ibn-Khaldūn, Ibn-al-Athīr, Abū-l-Mahāsīn and al-Makrīzi complete the list of our extant authorities.

The coins here described are 125 in number, comprising 58 varieties and 67 occasional repetitions of some of them. Twenty-six coins are now published for the first time and twenty-four are unique examples.

I have to thank Mr. R. S. Poole and M. H. Lavoix for the facilities they have afforded, in allowing me free access to the National collections under their respective charges in London and Paris; and, in like manner, my thanks are due to M. Wold de Tiesenhausen for a full list of the published coins of this dynasty, which he—as the latest authority on the coins of the Khalīfahs—is so competent to supply; I have to express my special acknowledgments to M. Tommasini of Aleppo,—who rises above the mere collector into the scientific numismatist,—for having sent me, at no small risk, two unique dīnārs from his cabinet, in order that I might examine them in the original, instead of depending upon casts or written descriptions. I have also to thank M. Sauvaire, as well as M. Artin Bey, for so readily placing at my disposal for exhaustive study their respective private collections.

In the transliteration of Arabic words I have endeavoured to adhere strictly to the compromise accepted in Part II. of this work. Many fanciful and some logical schemes of transliteration, varying with the intonations of the leading dialects, could still show claims to consideration; but in a work of this nature, in which the several sections are written by independent authors, variously influenced by local teachings, it becomes imperative that, for the sake of uniformity, each contributor should subordinate his own particular theory to the system proposed by the indefatigable Editor.

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HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF THE BANI-ṬULÚN.

During the reigns of the early Khalífahs, the Arabs gradually extended their conquests in Central and Northern Asia till they met the Tatars or Turks in Má-wará-n-Nahr and on the frontiers of Turkistán.

The war which broke out between these two great nations lasted for many years, and in their numerous conflicts many prisoners were taken on both sides. Those Turks who thus fell into the hands of the Arabs were dispersed throughout the provinces of the Muhammadan Empire, and were sold and resold at considerable profit. The local Amírs, and even the Khalífahs, bought them eagerly, and trained them to become their personal attendants. Indeed, the physical superiority and personal beauty of the members of this northern race made them valuable acquisitions, and the Khalífahs preferred to be served by them rather than by their own subjects, upon whose fidelity—owing to local and family jealousies and intrigues—they could not entirely rely.

The Khalífahs, who were often unable to appease the turbulent spirits of the native Amírs, except by granting them special privileges and territorial rights, were gradually led into the opposite error in alienating the most powerful of their own subjects, and in giving all their confidence to these foreign slaves, who thus acquired the entire control of the interior of the palace.

These illiterate and barbarous white slaves, now incorporated into the society of the educated rulers of a great Empire, soon became conversant with the laws of the Kúrán. They adopted the language and religion of their masters. They studied science and politics; and when any of them became capable of undertaking the more difficult tasks, or of occupying the more eminent posts in the Court, they were emancipated, and appointed to the various Government offices, according to the talents they displayed. Thus manumitted Turks were appointed not only to the chief offices in the palace, but to the governorships of some of the most important provinces in the Empire.

Their spirit of independence was not however modified by their education and advancement. They repaid the favours lavished upon them with the basest ingratitude, especially so when the formation of a Turkish body-guard placed at the disposal of its chiefs a company of compatriots entirely under their influence and control.

During the reign of Al-Mu'tasim-b-illah the conduct of this troop was most insolent and overbearing towards the inhabitants of Baghdád; and, annoyed by the reiterated complaints of the population, and unable or unwilling to control the Turkish guard, to whom he had already shown too much forbearance and favour, the Khalífah retired to Samarra (Sarra-man-ráá), leaving them to their own devices. They thus increased in power and in outrageous pretensions. In A.H. 252 they attempted the life of the Khalífah Al-Mutawakkil-'al-Allah. It was by their help that Al-Muntasir, the parricide, killed his father and ascended the throne. Al-Musta'in owed his accession to their powerful aid, and they eventually disposed of the Empire as they pleased, appointing, deposing, imprisoning or murdering the Khalífahs according to their uncurbed desires. They were insolent servants, who made their masters tremble, and disposed of offices which the Khalífahs appeared to give away. Indeed, dating from the reign of Al-Mu'tasim-b-illah, the last son of the Khalífah, Harún-ar-Rashíd, when the decadence of the 'Abbási Khalífahs commenced, it may be said that the Mamlúk Turks and their descendants, occasionally reinforced by fresh importations, were the virtual rulers, until, by a bold though cruel stroke of policy, Muḥammad 'Ali, the founder of the present progressive dynasty in Egypt, put a successful end to their intrigues by massacring in the citadel of Cairo all that remained of them in Egypt.

During the reign of Al-Mu'tasim, the commandant of this Turkish body-guard was a freed Turk named Túlún. He belonged to the Tagházghán, one of the twenty-four great tribes of Turkistán. He had fallen into the hands of Núh-ibn-Asad, the Samáni Governor of Bukhára, who in A.H. 200 sent him, with other slaves and presents, as tribute to Al-Mamún. This Khalífah soon distinguished Túlún's merits, and selected him as his personal attendant. Túlún made himself so agreeable to his new master, that the latter emancipated him, and appointed him to the office of chamberlain.

This Túlún was the father of the founder of this dynasty,

AḤMAD-IBN-TULUN,

whose history and coinage we have under our consideration. Aḥmad was born at Baghdád in the year 220 (A.D. 835), or, as other historians say, in 214 (A.D. 829). His mother's name was Háshimah or Kásimah.

Before Aḥmad-ibn-Túlún was old enough to take any prominent part in the government of the Empire, two Khalífahs had succeeded Al-Mu'tasim,—namely, his eldest son Harún-abu-Ja'far, who, on his accession in 227, took the *lakab* or surname of Al-Wáthik-b-illah, and his second son Ja'far, who assumed that of Al-Mutawakkil-'al-Allah.

The first act of Al-Wáthik was to dismiss all the State functionaries who had been appointed by his father, obliging them at the same time to pay him large sums of money.

In 231 Al-Wáthik died, and the Wazírs immediately concerted with the Turk Wáṣif, who was then first chamberlain, to place his son Muhammad on the throne with the surname of Al-Muhtady-b-illah. But in consideration of the youth of this prince, they agreed to call the late Khalífah's brother Ja'far to the throne, under that of Al-Mutawakkil-'al-Allah.

Two years later Al-Mutawakkil designated his son Aḥmad as heir to the throne, under the title of Al-Muntaṣir-b-illah, at the same time nominating his other sons, Al-Mu'tazz and Al-Muayyad presumptive heirs. This prince (Al-Muntaṣir), ambitious to hold the reins of the vast empire, secretly conspired against the life of his father.

In 247 Al-Mutawakkil, who had discovered his son's designs, openly reprimanded him, but a few days afterwards he was, with Al-Muntaṣir's connivance, murdered in his palace by Bugha, captain of the Turkish guard, and the parricide was immediately proclaimed as his successor.

The new Khalífah proved to be no better as a brother than he had been as a son. He deprived his brothers of the appanages bequeathed to them by their father, and forced them to abdicate their right of succession to the throne. This last act was instigated by Wáṣif, who feared their vengeance in case of either of them attaining supreme power.

In the month of Rabi'-al-awwal, 248, Al-Muntaṣir died, under the peculiar circumstances related by some historians. Already seriously ill, and a prey to remorse, Al-Muntaṣir, in his endeavour to allay his physical and moral sufferings, sought amusement in the examination of the treasures stored in his palace. Amongst them a handsomely embroidered garment from Persia was on one occasion spread out for his inspection. On it he perceived the figure of a young man wearing a crown encircled by an inscription. When he asked for a translation of the inscription, the Persian interpreter said that the words had no particular meaning. But on being threatened and pressed for an explanation, he read: "I am Shíruéh, son of Khusrú: I killed my father, but only retained my ill-gotten crown, the fruit of my crime, for six months." On hearing this fatal interpretation, Al-Muntaṣir was seized with a convulsive fit, and died soon afterwards, having reigned a few days less than six months, just the same length of time that two centuries earlier his prototype the parricide king of Persia had reigned.

On the death of Al-Muntaṣir, the Turks assembled to decide who should succeed him. They selected Aḥmad, the grandson of Al-Mu'tasim, who guaranteed the condonation of their complicity in the murder of his grandfather, and the retention of their posts. He took the name of Al-Musta'in-b-illah.

Immediately after his recognition in his new dignity, another party proclaimed his uncle Al-Mu'tazz; but the conspiracy (probably prompted for a special purpose by those who suppressed it) was soon put down, and the sons of Al-Mutawakkil were cast into prison.

Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭūlūn was about nineteen years of age when his father died in 240. He had received a careful education, was gifted with rare talents, was courageous and generous, and inherited none of the cruel propensities which were such prominent qualities in the character of his compatriots. He had a natural love of justice, and had devoted himself especially to the study of jurisprudence. The Khalífah confirmed him in all the dignities with which his father had been invested.

One of the principal Turkish officers named Barḳūḳ gave his daughter in marriage to Aḥmad, and by her he had a son, whom he named Al-'Abbás.

Aḥmad continued his studies with diligence, and obtained permission to go to Ṭarsús, to avail himself of the teaching of the celebrated doctors who had established colleges there, retaining his titles and emoluments during his absence. The murder of Al-Mutawakkil, and the short reign of Al-Muntaṣir, occurred while he was at Ṭarsús; and he returned to Samarra in the first year of the reign of Al-Musta'in.

He distinguished himself signally by his bravery on this journey in defending the caravan from the attack of some nomad tribe, and by recovering from them some valuables belonging to the Khalífah, who, in recognition of Aḥmad's prowess, made him a present of a thousand dínars, and shortly afterwards gave him a favourite slave named Káturás, by whom he, in 250 or 255, had a second son, whom he named Khumáruwaih or Khumárawaih.¹

Al-Musta'in, who had been placed on the throne by a faction of the chief officers of the palace, had excited the discontent of another party of this turbulent militia. He was consequently deposed in 252, and the Turks placed his cousin, Al-Mu'tazz-b-illah, on the throne in his stead.

The deposed Khalífah was forced to sign his abdication, and was ordered to proceed to Wásit under a strong escort, commanded by Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭūlūn. On this journey the unfortunate prince was murdered, and some historians have accused Aḥmad of the crime; but the most credible accounts show that, on the contrary, he refused to have any hand in it, and tried to prevent it. After he had started on his journey, the Turkish officers wrote to him asking him to dispose of the Prince in his charge, and held out the governorship of Wásit as a reward for the crime, but he replied, "God forbid that I should kill a Khalífah to whom I have sworn allegiance."

When they found that Aḥmad would not consent to the deed, they sent Sa'id, one of the chamberlains of the new Khalífah, who executed his instructions secretly whilst Aḥmad was asleep in his tent, and brought back the head of his victim to Al-Mu'tazz. Aḥmad entered the Prince's tent after the sudden departure of Sa'id and found the headless body, which he caused to be washed and decently interred. At a long subsequent period Aḥmad was heard to say, "The Turks offered me the governorship of Wásit as a reward for the murder of Al-Musta'in, but I refused; and God has now rewarded me with the government of Egypt and Syria."

At this period the governorships of many of the outlying provinces were given by the Khalífahs to various powerful Amírs in recognition of real or pretended services, they remaining quietly at the Court, and employing agents or vice-governors to act for them, and to remit the revenues. It was thus with Egypt. The Amír Bábkýál, or, as some call him, Bákbák, had in 253 received from Al-Mu'tazz the governorship of Egypt. The good reputation enjoyed by Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭūlūn induced the Amír Bákbák to select him as his lieutenant in Miṣr, on the dismissal of Arkhúz-ibn-Ulugh-Turkhán in 254. According to Abú-l-Maḥásin, Aḥmad was then thirty-four years of age.

¹ Abú-l-Maḥásin and al-Maḥrizi give this name thus, خُمَارَوَيْه Khumáruwaih. Ibn-al-Athír and Ibn-Khallikan write it خُمَارَوَيْه Khumárawaih.

Aḥmad was only entrusted by Bākbāk with the civil and military administration, and the direction of the public prayers in Miṣr, the capital of Egypt. The collection of the imposts was confided to Aḥmad-ibn-al-Mudabbir, and there were other vice-governors in the remaining provinces of Egypt.

Aḥmad-ibn-al-Mudabbir was very unpopular in consequence of his harshness and of his imposition of fresh burdens on the peasantry. To protect him from any sudden attack he had obtained a hundred Indian slaves, who were vigorous and courageous, and whom he had armed as a body-guard.

When Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún made his official entry into Miṣr on Ramaḍān 23rd, 254, Aḥmad-ibn-al-Mudabbir, surrounded by his Indian escort, went out to meet him, and, desirous of obtaining his favour, offered him a large present in money. Ibn-Ṭúlún refused the gold, but cunningly demanded in its stead the hundred slaves forming Ibn-al-Mudabbir's body-guard. The latter, although terribly chagrined by this demand, did not feel himself strong enough to refuse compliance. The slaves were handed over to a new master, and with them the power hitherto enjoyed by the collector of taxes passed from his hands to those of the new governor.

Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún soon acquired sufficient power in Egypt to enable him, by force of arms, to oppose those enemies who were jealous of his position.

Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭabāṭabá, a descendant of the race of 'Alī, was the first against whom he took arms.

Another formidable enemy was Bugha-al-Aṣghar, brother of Bugha-aṣ-Ṣughayyir, murderer of the Khalífah Al-Mutawakkil.

Next he had to combat Ibráhīm-aṣ-Ṣúfi, whom he defeated and caused to take refuge in the oasis.

In 255 the Turkish troops conspired with the chamberlain Ṣálih, and forced the Khalífah Al-Mu'tazz to abdicate. He was shut up in prison without food, and died of starvation at the end of six days. They placed his cousin Al-Muhtady on the throne as his successor.

In 256 Al-Muhtady was murdered in Samarra, and the Turks then elevated another son of Al-Mutawakkil to the throne, under the name of Al-Mu'tamid-'al-Allah, who succeeded in passively occupying his position for a longer period than either of his immediate predecessors.

'Isa-ibn-ash-Shaikh, Governor of Syria, refused to recognize the new Khalífah. Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún was ordered to march against him. He took a considerable army into Syria, but finding that Amajúr, another Turkish general, had already been sent against him, with permission to replace him, Aḥmad returned to Egypt, where he set to work to strengthen his position.

Aḥmad found the Governor's palace at Fuṣṭát too small for his increasing wealth and the number of his horses and retainers, so he selected an elevated spot between Fuṣṭát and the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam hills. Here he built a magnificent palace, giving the surrounding lands to his state functionaries and the officers of his army, that they might build their houses in close proximity to his own residence; and the new town was consequently called *القطيع* Al-Ḳaṭi'ah, *land given in fee for military services*. He also constructed a splendid mosque, in the ruins of which may still be seen the earliest known examples of the Pointed arch.

The increasing power and riches of Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún could not fail to excite the envy of his rivals. Amajúr, the new Governor of Syria, conspired with Aḥmad-ibn-al-Mudabbir to obtain Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún's recall from Egypt; but the latter, who kept spies at the Court, and sent frequent presents to the most powerful functionaries, being duly informed of the decree, continued to circumvent his rivals, and by sending his secretary, Aḥmad-al-Wásiṭy, to Samarra with presents, induced the Khalífah to rescind the order.

Aḥmad-ibn-al-Mudabbir having failed in his intrigue, and having no hope of success against so powerful a governor, was desirous of quitting Egypt, and therefore sought and obtained the post of Administrator of the Finances of Syria. But before doing so, he effected a reconciliation with Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún, and, as a proof of his sincerity, he gave his daughter in marriage to Khumáruwaih, and with her all his real property in Egypt passed into the possession of the Ṭúlún family.

In 256 the Amír Bábkýál was murdered, and in 257 Al-Mu'tamid gave the governorship of Egypt to Yarkúj, who, having a strong friendship for Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún, confirmed him in his position of lieutenant of Miṣr, and extended his power over the whole of Egypt, of which he was authorized by a letter from the Khalífah to take possession.

In 258 he went to Alexandria, leaving Taghlaj¹ as his delegate in Miṣr. He returned in the month of Shawwál, and being offended with his brother Músa, reduced him to the position of a private individual.

In the same year Yarkúj, lord and appanagist of Egypt, died, and Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún succeeding to all his titles and privileges, became virtually independent.

In 259 Aḥmad again visited Alexandria, leaving his son Al-'Abbás as his representative in Miṣr. Al-Mu'tamid sent to Aḥmad to ask for the tribute, and according to the account given by Abú-l-Maḥásin, he replied, that the finances being in the care of another, he had nothing to do with the collection or payment of imposts or tribute. Whereupon the Khalífah sent his eunuch Nafis to invest him with the financial administration of Egypt, and with the government of the frontier villages of Syria. Aḥmad confirmed Abú-Ayyúb in his post of collector of taxes, and appointed Aṭ-Ṭakshy² his lieutenant in the frontier towns of Syria; but this latter did not proceed to his post until the year 264.

In 260, or, according to Ibn-al-Athír, in 261, the inhabitants of Barḡa revolted, and drove out their governor, the Amír Muḥammad-ibn-Faraj-al-Farḡānī. Aḥmad sent an army under the command of his general, Lulu, to whom he gave special instructions to endeavour to win back the inhabitants, if possible, without proceeding to extremities. He was obliged, however, to besiege the town, and, after suppressing the revolt, he appointed a new governor, and returned to Fuṣṭáṭ. His master invested him with a robe of honour ornamented with two collars.

In the same year Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún caused the canal at Alexandria to be dredged and the nilometer in the island of Rawḍah to be repaired. And about the same time he repaired the Pharos or lighthouse of Alexandria.

Ibráhīm-ibn-aṣ-Ṣúfi, who had been driven into the oasis, now re-assembled his forces for another attack on the Egyptian Government, and went to the village of Ashmúnín, whence he was driven to Aswán by the troops of 'Abd-al-Ḥamíd. At Aswán he was attacked by a detachment of Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún's army, under the command of Ibn-'Alī-al-Ghāyb, and then his followers deserted him, and he fled to the sea-coast, and crossed over to Makkah. The Governor of this place seized him and sent him to Aḥmad, who, after keeping him in prison for some time, eventually set him at liberty, on condition of his going to spend the rest of his life in Makkah.

In 261 the Khalífah Al-Mu'tamid, desirous of relieving himself of the cares of State, entrusted the supreme power to his son and to his brother. He appointed his son Ja'far his successor, surnaming him Al-Mufawwad-ila-Allah, appointing Musa-ibn-Bugha as his counsellor, giving him rule over Ifríḡyah, Egypt, Syria, al-Jazīrah, al-Mawṣil, Armenia, the road to Khorasán, and the Mihr-Ján-Ḳazaḳ. Moreover, he covenanted that his brother Abú-Aḥmad should be next in succession after his son, surnaming him An-Náṣir-li-dín-illah-al-Muwaffaḳ, and gave him supreme authority over the Eastern provinces, Baghdád, Sawád-al-Kúfah, the road to Makkah and al-Madínah, al-Yaman and Kaskar, the villages of the Tigris, Al-Ahwáz, Fáris, Ispahán, Ḳumm, Al-Karakh or al-Kurj, Dinawar, ar-Rayy, Zinján, and Sind. He gave them respectively white and black standards, and decreed that should Ja'far not reach maturity, Al-Muwaffaḳ should succeed to the throne. Ja'far gave to Músa-ibn-Bugha the rule over

¹ Al-Maḳrīzī calls this General طغج Ṭafj; whilst Ibn-al-Athír writes طغج Ṭaghj; and Abú-l-Maḥásin, whose orthography I have followed, writes طغلج Ṭaghlaḡ.

² Al-Maḳrīzī calls him طخشی ابن بلبر Ṭakshy ibn Balbard.

posts. He then took possession of Hima, and sent to Sima-aṭ-Ṭawṣī, Governor of Antioch (Antákiyah), instructing him to celebrate the public prayers in his name. On Sima's refusal, Aḥmad marched onwards, took the towns of Ḥamāh and Ḥalab (Aleppo) by force, and laid siege to Antákiyah. Unsuccessful on the westward side of the town, he went round with his army to the east side, and forced a gate called the Persian gate, and gave the town up to pillage. Sima was killed in the *mélés*, and his head was brought to Aḥmad, who was deeply grieved, on account of their early friendship.

Whilst his victorious army was subduing the other cities of Northern Syria, Aḥmad received intelligence that his son Al-'Abbās had revolted and taken possession of his treasury, and had fled to Barḳa. He speedily provided for the safety of his newly-acquired territory, garrisoned Ḥarrán and ar-Ráfiḳah, and returned to Egypt in Ramaḍan, 265.

He sent the Káḍi Bakkár-ibn-Ḳutaiba to 'Abbās, to persuade him to return to his duty; but his companions in revolt, who could not, like 'Abbās, hope for a father's clemency, persuaded him to turn a deaf ear to all remonstrance. They set out for the West, and attacked and pillaged the town of Labda. The troops sent by Ibráhīm-ibn-Aghlab worsted him, and obliged him to return to Barḳa, whither his father sent an army in 267. In 268 Al-'Abbās was taken prisoner, and brought to Fuṣṭát in Shawwāl of that year. Aḥmad ordered 'Abbās to cut off the hands and feet of his accomplices. He obeyed: whereupon his father reproached him bitterly for conduct so unworthy of a prince, adding, that he ought rather to have prostrated himself and begged to be sacrificed in their stead, and that his companions might be pardoned. He then ordered him to receive one hundred stripes, and placed him in prison. The other insurgents were beheaded and thrown into the Nile.

In 265 the Emperor of Constantinople, desirous of Aḥmad's friendship, sent him some handsome presents and a number of Muḥammadan prisoners.

In 266 the inhabitants of Hima revolted and killed their governor, 'Ysa-al-Karkhy.

In 267 Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún seized Aḥmad-ibn-al-Mudabbir, who was the collector of taxes in Syria, and imprisoned him, but pardoned him on payment of a heavy fine.

In 269, according to Ibn-al-Athír, Lulu, who was Aḥmad's general in command of Hima, Ḳinniarín, Ḥalab, and Dair-Muḍár, abandoned his master's cause, and joined al-Muwaffaḳ. He marched upon Bális, which he pillaged, and having taken possession of Ḳarkisia, which was defended by Ibn-Ṣafwán-al-'Uḳaili, he delivered it to Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭawḳ, and joined Al-Muwaffaḳ in his conflict with the Zanj. See *dínár* No. XII. struck at ar-Ráfiḳah in 268, with the name of Lulu.

Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún, somewhat impoverished by the rebellion of Al-'Abbās, was unable to continue the rich presents that he had been in the habit of sending to the great personages in the capital, and desiring to put himself out of reach of Al-Muwaffaḳ's constant intrigues, conceived the plan of inducing the Khalífah himself to reside in Egypt, and secretly invited him, hoping to strengthen himself by his influence with the spiritual sovereign.

Al-Mu'tamid, really alarmed by the increasing power and ambition of his brother, whose name was inscribed on the coinage and mentioned in the public prayers in conjunction with his own, readily accepted the invitation.

Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún left Egypt in charge of his second son, Khumáruwaih, and taking Al-'Abbās with him in chains, repaired to Damascus, where he received the Khalífah's answer to his proposal.

Al-Mu'tamid had planned a hunting party as a pretext for leaving the capital, and went in the direction of ar-Ráfiḳah. Al-Muwaffaḳ, apprised by his spies of the Khalífah's departure, sent peremptory orders to Ishák-ibn-Kandajík¹-al-Khazari, the Governor of Al-Mawṣil, to seize the Khalífah and his suite, who were thus forced to return to Samarra. This was in the year 269.

Aḥmad, when informed of the Khalífah's capture and forced return to Samarra, caused Al-Muwaffaḳ's

¹ This name is sometimes written Kandáj, but generally Kandajík.

name to be omitted from the public prayers. The latter, in revenge, induced the Khalifah to cause an anathema to be pronounced against Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún in all the mosques, and to invest Ishák-ibn-Kandajík with the government of all the provinces now belonging to Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún. But Aḥmad did not submit quietly to this spoliation. He was at Damascus when he received the news, and he started at once to besiege Ṭarsús, which had revolted, and during the siege his army had a narrow escape of being drowned. He came back in great anger as far as Antioch, where, overcome by thirst, he drank a quantity of buffalo's milk, which produced a violent attack of dysentery. He was carried in a litter on men's shoulders, and on arriving at Farámah, he embarked in a boat on the Nile, and reached Miṣr in 270, in a very prostrate condition.

Al-Muwaffak had just returned victorious, but fatigued by his long, though successful, expedition against the Zanj. He therefore thought of effecting a reconciliation with the Sovereign of Egypt and Syria. With this object in view, he commissioned Sa'íd-ibn-Mukhallad and others to write friendly letters to Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún.

These letters, although apparently written without Al-Muwaffak's knowledge, did not deceive Aḥmad. He guessed that they had been dictated by the Khalifah's brother, and he replied that he was willing to forget all past wrongs if Al-Muwaffak would publicly withdraw all his aspersions and hostile intentions. The proposition was accepted, and the Khalifah wrote an autograph letter to Aḥmad, expressing his satisfaction at the reconciliation, and announcing the withdrawal of the anathema pronounced against him. These letters, however, reached Egypt a short time after the death of Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún, which occurred on the tenth day of Zu-l-ka'adah, 270, after a reign of nearly seventeen years.

Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún was intelligent, resolute, charitable, and religious. He fortified the town of Jaffa and built its citadel, and he rebuilt the fortifications of Šúr, the ancient Tyre. He was about fifty years old when he died, and left seventeen sons and sixteen daughters. It is said that his treasury contained ten millions of dínars, and his palace was stocked with arms and military provisions. He had 7000 armed slaves, 24,000 other slaves, and a still larger number of horses, mules, and camels.

He was succeeded by his son

KHUMÁRUWAIH-IBN-AḤMAD,

who had taken the name of Abú-l-Jaish (Father of the Army), on the birth of his son, whom he named Jaish. He was about fifteen years of age (though, according to other historians, he must have been twenty years old) when he succeeded to the throne. Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún had on his death-bed expressed a wish that Khumáruwaih should succeed him, and the Egyptian army, who revered him, expressed their unanimous consent to the decree, thus excluding his elder brother 'Abbás, who was still in prison.

Shortly after Khumáruwaih's installation, several counsellors, amongst whom was Aḥmad-al-Wásīṭy Abú-'Abdullah, brought their influence to bear on the new sovereign, and obtained from him an order for the execution of his elder brother.

Khumáruwaih confirmed most of his father's officers in their respective posts, left the command of the army in Syria to Aḥmad-al-Wásīṭy, and that of the rest of the army to Sa'd-al-Aysar, and also, in order more effectually to secure his possessions in Syria, he caused ships of war to cruise about the coast.

Aḥmad-al-Wásīṭy, after taking command of the Syrian army, began to fear that Khumáruwaih might repent of having ordered his brother's execution, and seek vengeance from the chief instigator of the murder. Moreover, he felt that his new and brilliant post was a hindrance to his own protection, for, as it necessitated his absence from the court, he was unable to discover and counteract any plots that might be devised against him. He therefore decided to seek the assistance of Al-Muwaffak, whose enmity to the family of Ṭúlún was, in his judgment, only temporarily appeased.

He therefore wrote to Al-Muwaffak and revived that Prince's desire to attack and possess Egypt. Ishák-ibn-Kandajk, Governor of Al-Mawail and Jazirah, and Muhammad-ibn-abi-s-Sáj, were ordered to invade Khumáruwaih's territory. These found an ally in the Governor of Damascus, who soon succeeded in persuading the Governors of Antioch, Aleppo, and Emesa to join in the revolt. Ishák assumed the governorship of Syria.

Khumáruwaih sent troops to Syria, they regained possession of Damascus, and pursued Ishák and Ibn-abi-s-Sáj, who avoided fighting because their reinforcements had not arrived. Winter came on, and the Egyptian army encamped at Shayghar, where they were attacked and massacred by the troops of Abú-l-'Abbás-Aḥmad, son of Al-Muwaffak. Those who escaped fled to Damascus, whither they were pursued, and thence they went to Ramleh.

Khumáruwaih, informed of the defeat of his Syrian troops, left Egypt in the month of Safar, 271, and marched with reinforcements into Syria. He met the Khalífah's army, commanded by the son of Al-Muwaffak, at a place called Aṭ-Ṭawahín, *the Mills*, on the river Abu-Butrus, where they gave battle. Khumáruwaih, believing himself to be beaten, fled in great disorder with his staff. Sa'd-al-Aysar, his general, who was in ambush with a portion of the army, fell on the pursuing troops of Al-Mu'taqid, and cut them to pieces. Al-Mu'taqid, ignorant of the flight of Khumáruwaih, fled towards Damascus. The Egyptian army carried the day, and the battle was named after Aṭ-Ṭawahín.

Sa'd-al-Aysar was disappointed by Khumáruwaih's flight, which occasioned a loss of confidence, and he conceived the idea of making himself master of Syria. He took Damascus.

Khumáruwaih returned to Egypt in Rabi'-al-awwal, and heard of the success of his general Sa'd, and was at the same time informed of his rebellious projects. He therefore returned at once to Syria, but shortly returned after a fruitless expedition. However, in 272 he, for a third time, marched with an army into Syria. He overcame Sa'd-al-Aysar and entered Damascus in Muharram, 273. After a few days, he marched against Ibn-Kandajk, vanquished him, and pursued him as far as Sarra-man-ráa, where peace was established on Ibn-Kandajk consenting to mention the name of Khumáruwaih in the public prayers.

This victory re-established the prestige of Khumáruwaih in Syria. He made offers of peace to Al-Muwaffak, by whom they were accepted, and the Khalífah made over to him the peaceable possession of the government of Egypt, Syria, and the frontier towns. He returned to Egypt in the month of Rajab, and there re-introduced the name of Al-Muwaffak in the public prayers.

Peace being re-established, Khumáruwaih sought to restore order in the internal administration of his States.

In the same year Ibn-abi-s-Sáj pronounced the public prayers in Kinnisrín in the name of Khumáruwaih, leaving in possession of the latter his son as hostage. He was in conflict with Ibn-Kandajk, whom he vanquished. The latter fled to Mardín, and the former took possession of al-Jazirah and al-Mawail, where also he introduced the name of the Sovereign of Egypt in the public prayers.

In the same year Lulu, formerly a slave and then a freedman, and subsequently a general of one of the divisions of Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún's army, who had gone over to Al-Muwaffak's side, experienced a terrible retribution for his treachery. He was seized and imprisoned by Al-Muwaffak, who extorted from him 400,000 dinárs.

In 274 Ishák-ibn-Kandajk, having collected a numerous army, again marched upon Syria. Khumáruwaih preceded him thither, completely vanquished him, and he fled beyond the Euphrates. He then sent to offer his submission, promising to recognize Khumáruwaih as his suzerain in al-Jazirah and all its dependencies. The offer was accepted. But no sooner had Khumáruwaih returned to Egypt than Ibn-abi-s-Sáj made peace with Ishák and invaded Syria, in order to seek a cause of dispute with his suzerain. Again Khumáruwaih went to Syria, and again overcame the army of Ibn-abi-s-Sáj, at Al-Baṭaníyah, near Damascus, and forced him to recross the Euphrates, and afterwards generously sent him his son, who had been placed as a hostage.

Notwithstanding this act of magnanimity, Ibn-abi-s-Sáj revolted again, and towards the end of 274 Khumáruwaih marched again into Syria and overcame the rebellious troops, seized all the treasures of Ibn-abi-s-Sáj, and obliged him to take flight again, pursuing him to Aleppo, Ar-Raqqah and Balad, but he succeeded in reaching Baghdád.

Khumáruwaih returned to Egypt in 276.

In 277 he made peace with one of his former officers, Bazmár, who celebrated the public prayer in Tarsús in the name of Khumáruwaih.

On the death of Bazmár, Khumáruwaih appointed Aḥmad-al-Ujaifi to the government of Tarsús. He then dismissed him and appointed his cousin Muḥammad-ibn-Músa-ibn-Ṭúlún. The latter, however, remained there but a short time, being unable to quell the turbulent inhabitants who had revolted. He fled to Jerusalem, and Aḥmad-ibn-Ujaifi succeeded him.

In the same year, 278, died Ishák-ibn-Kandáj, who was succeeded by his son Muḥammad in the government of Al-Mawsil and Diár-Rabi'a.

In the same year, 278, Al-Muwaffak died, whereupon the Khalífah Al-Mu'tamid took from his son Al-Mufawwad the title of heir apparent, and nominated his nephew Al-Mu'taqid in his stead.

Al-Mu'tamid died in the month of Rajab, 279, and Al-Mu'taqid was immediately proclaimed the successor. Khumáruwaih hastened to send him rich offerings.

The new Khalífah, in return, granted to Khumáruwaih the investiture for thirty years of all the provinces in his possession from the Euphrates to Barqa, on condition of his paying an annual tribute of 200,000 dínars, and a sum of 300,000 dínars for arrears of tribute. Moreover, the Khalífah sent him a sword of state, robes of honour, and other insignia of government. This right of investiture was the only part of their ancient sovereignty that the Khalífahs of that period had retained. Their provinces were occupied by warlike chieftains, who only submitted to the Khalífah's authority when it suited them to do so, and the Khalífahs endeavoured to retain at least a nominal and apparent power by investing them with authority in the districts of which they had already taken possession. The tribute was very irregularly paid, and from most of the provinces assumed the form of an occasional present of much less value.

Khumáruwaih was careful to make the first payment in full; but the next and the next were much reduced, until it ceased altogether.

Desirous of securing a good understanding with the Khalífah, Khumáruwaih commissioned his ambassador to offer his daughter Kaṭr-an-Nada in marriage to Al-Muktafi, son of Al-Mu'taqid. The latter, however, replied that he would himself marry her.

Khumáruwaih prepared a magnificent trousseau for his daughter, the bride elect of the new Khalífah. The Arab historians describe in rapturous terms the enormous sums and the splendour of the presents as beyond anything that had ever been seen before.

Khumáruwaih did not long enjoy the favour of the Khalífah. He had gone to Damascus, and was there assassinated by some of his slaves in fear of punishment for an intrigue in the palace. This occurred in Zu-l-ka'adah, 282. He was succeeded by his son

ABU-L-'ASAKIR, JAISH-IBN-KHUMARUWAIH,

who was installed by the Generals of the army immediately on his father's death. He was a mere child, without any experience. He bore his father's body to Egypt, where it was interred near that of Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún on the slope of the Muḥattam hill amidst general and sincere expressions of grief.

Jaish, by his perversity and inexperience, soon alienated all his father's friends. Many of his officers left him and withdrew to Baghdád. Taghji-ibn-Jawf, Governor of Damascus, and Aḥmad-ibn-Tughán,

governor of the frontier towns, refused to recognize him, and omitted his name from the public prayer in their districts.

Some of his father's generals summoned him to their presence, and Jaish then declared to them that he was incapable of carrying on the government, the burden of the State was too heavy for him. A minute to that effect was drawn up and signed by the officers, notables and mamlúks. But when Jaish understood that they intended to place his uncle, Naṣr son of Aḥmad, on the throne in his stead, he went to the prison in which his uncle was confined, and there murdered him. The soldiers who witnessed this act rushed upon Jaish and slew him. This occurred in Jumáda-l-ákhirah, 283. He had reigned six months and a few days. His brother

ABU-MUSA, HARUN-IBN-KHUMARUWAH,

was immediately proclaimed by the army, although only ten years of age. Abú-Ja'far-ibn-Abáli was appointed as his administrator.

Shortly after Harún's installation, his uncle Rabi'a-ibn-Aḥmad, who had taken up his residence in Alexandria, consented to the instigations of a section of the army, and came with a number of rebellious inhabitants to Fustát, where they pitched their tents. They were attacked by Harún's soldiers, and Rabi'a, abandoned by those who had persuaded him to raise the standard of revolt, was taken prisoner and executed in the month of Sha'bán, 284.

In the same year the Khalífah confirmed Harún in his succession to the throne of Egypt.

The traitor Lulu, who had been the chief cause of the enmity between Al-Muwaffak and Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭúlún, now re-appeared in Egypt, where he soon died. He was reduced to the greatest misery, having been stripped of all his treasures by Al-Muwaffak.

In the same year 284 the Khalífah, acceding to a petition from the inhabitants of Ṭarsús, appointed Ibn-al-Akshahíd governor of that place.

Harún had hardly been a year on the throne when a series of misfortunes assailed him. The generals of his army and the officers of the Government were divided into cliques, and their disaffection began to show itself in their disregard of the orders of the sovereign. Abú-Ja'far succeeded, however, in maintaining order for a time. An army sent by him to Syria confirmed Ṭaghj-ibn-Jawf as Governor of Damascus, and appointed other governors in other towns in the name of Harún.

In 285 Harún sent to the Khalífah, begging him to grant him in fee those parts of Egypt and Syria which were under his power and in the hands of his generals, offering in exchange to consign to him Ḳinnisrín and its dependencies and the frontier towns, together with an annual tribute of 450,000 dínárs. The Khalífah accepted the terms, and immediately proceeded to Ḳinnisrín to receive from Harún's agents the newly-ceded district, leaving his son Al-Muktafy in Amid during his absence. This transfer occurred in A.H. 286.

In 285 Al-Akshahíd led an expedition against Alexandretta, which he took by storm.

In 286 Al-Mu'taḍid invested Al-Muktafy with the government of Ḳinnisrín, the frontier towns and Al-Jazírah.

In the same year Ibn-al-Akshahíd of Ṭarsús died, bequeathing his post to Abú-Tábit, who was killed in 287, and succeeded by Ibn-al-'Arábi.

Al-Hasan-ibn-'Aly-Kúra was now appointed Governor of the frontier towns.

The Khalífah returned to Antioch and Aleppo, and thence to Baghdád, where he died in Rabi'-al-akhir, 289. His son Al-Muktafy succeeded him.

The Ḳarmats had invaded the territory of Damascus. Ṭaghj had been more than once defeated by them, and in 290 they besieged Damascus. An Egyptian army of reinforcement was sent under the command of Badr. Yaḥia, chief of the Ḳarmats, was killed at one of the gates of the city, but his

brother Al-Husain, who took the name of Aḥmad and the surname of Abú-l-'Abbás, was immediately recognized as his successor. The Arabs and others who answered his appeal followed him to Damascus, whose inhabitants, reduced to the last extremity, came to terms with him, and agreed to pay tribute. He then proceeded to Ḥims, which surrendered, and the public prayer was there celebrated in his name, with the title of Al-Mahdi, prince of believers. He then marched to Ḥamāh, Ma'arrat-an-Na'mán, Ba'albak and other towns, where he massacred the inhabitants. He then took the road to Salamyah and Aleppo, after having routed the army sent against him by Al-Muktafy. He was however defeated at last in Shawwāl, 290, by Badr, a freedman of Ibn-Ṭúlún. He fled to the desert with those of his followers who escaped from the general massacre.

According to Abú-l-Maḥásin, Muḥammad-ibn-Sulaimán-al-Kátib gave battle to the chief of the Ḳarmaṭs near Ḥamāh, and routed him in Muḥarram, 291. Al-Mahdy gained the road to Kúfah, but he was overtaken at a village named Ad-Dália, seized and sent to Baghdád, where Al-Muktafy put him to death in the month of Rabi'-al-awwal.

Muḥammad-ibn-Sulaimán, after having honours conferred upon him by the Khalífah, was despatched to Syria and Egypt, with orders to wrest those provinces from the feeble grasp of Harún. This general started with his troops in the month of Rajab, after having written to Damyáni, servant of Bazmár, who was at that time naval commander, to take the fleet to the coast of Egypt, and to proceed up the Nile to blockade Miṣr.

At Damascus Muḥammad-ibn-Sulaimán was joined by Badr-al-Ḥammám and Fáik, who were offended with Harún. The united troops of these generals now formed one army. Harún, on hearing of these preparations to attack him, called together an army, and proceeded to Al-'Abbásah, intending to reach Syria; but his enemies had already taken possession of Tannis and Damietta. Harún now gave himself up to drink. Many of his officers deserted him. His two uncles, Shaibán and 'Ady, conspired to kill him: they entered his tent while he was intoxicated, and murdered him on the 19th of Safar, 292. According to Ibn-al-Athír, he was killed by a Maghrabi with his lance whilst he was endeavouring to pacify the officers of his suite. He was 22 years of age, and had reigned 8 years 8 months and some days. His uncle

ABU-L-MAḤANIB, SHAIBAN-IBN-AḤMAD,

distributed money to the troops, and obtained their suffrages in favour of his recognition as Harún's successor. He returned to Fustát, but Taghji-ibn-Jawf and other generals, on hearing of the murder of Harún, refused their allegiance, and joined Muḥammad-ibn-Sulaimán. Shaibán, thus deserted by most of his officers, surrendered to the conqueror on the 1st of Rabi'-al-awwal, 292, and on the same day the General of the Khalífah's army made his official entry into Miṣr, which was then given up to pillage. The quarter called Al-Ḳaṭi'ah was completely destroyed, and the inhabitants suffered all the horrors which a ruthless soldiery can commit on a population given over to their power.

Shaibán only reigned twelve days. He was sent to Baghdád with all the remaining princes of the family of Ṭúlún, to the number of about twenty, and the generals and people of their suite.

From that day Muḥammad-ibn-Sulaimán took possession of Egypt in the name of the Khalífah, and the name of Ṭúlún was no longer mentioned in the public prayer.

One of Harún's generals, named Muḥammad-abú-'Abdallah-al-Khalanjy, endeavoured to take vengeance for the Ṭúlúni family, and to re-establish their party in Syria. He advanced to Fustát; but after a few skirmishes, he was taken and thrown into prison in 293.

Thus ended the brilliant though ephemeral reign of the dynasty of the Ṭúlúnis.

COINS OF THE ṬULÚNI DYNASTY.

I have distinguished the Cabinets to which the following coins belong and the authors to whose descriptions I have alluded, by the following arrangement of initials:

B.M.	British Museum	. . . . .	13 coins.
P.	Paris, National Collection	. . . . .	24 „
S.	Sauvaire's Collection	. . . . .	19 „
A.B.	Artin Bey's Collection	. . . . .	15 „
Tom.	Tommasini's Collection	. . . . .	2 „
F.S.	F. Soret's Letters	. . . . .	4 „
T.	Tiesenhansen's "Mélanges"	. . . . .	7 „
C.	Castiglione	. . . . .	1 „
B.	Bergmann's notes	. . . . .	2 „
R.	Rogers' Collection	. . . . .	38 „
			<hr/> 125

The unique coins belong to the under-mentioned cabinets and authors.

B.M.	Nos. XXIX. and XLVII.	. . . . .	2 „
P.	Nos. IX., XXI. and XLIX.	. . . . .	3 „
S.	No. X.	. . . . .	1 „
F.S.	Nos. I., II., XXXVI. and LIV.	. . . . .	4 „
Tom.	Nos. XXXIII. and XLVIII.	. . . . .	2 „
T.	Nos. III. and XXXII.	. . . . .	2 „
R.	Nos. IV., XV., XIX., XXVI., XXVII., XXXIV., XL., XLIV., LI. and LV.	. . . . .	10 „
			<hr/> 24

The inedited coins are Nos. V., IX., X., XII., XIII., XIV., XV., XX., XXI., XXIV., XXVI., XXVII., XXXIII., XXXIV., XXXV., XXXVII., XXXVIII., XXXIX., XL., XLII., XLIV., XLVII., XLVIII., XLIX., LI. and LV., some of which adorn more than one cabinet and are thus distributed:

B.M.	Nos. 20 and 96	. . . . .	2 coins.
P.	Nos. 16, 22, 26, 47, 64, 67, 69, 73, 79 and 98	. . . . .	10 „
S.	Nos. 5, 17, 48, 68 and 71	. . . . .	5 „
Tom.	Nos. 62 and 97	. . . . .	2 „
A.B.	Nos. 23, 24, 41, 70 and 74	. . . . .	5 „
R.	Nos. 6, 21, 25, 27, 39, 40, 51, 52, 63, 65, 72, 75, 76, 86, 102 and 113	. . . . .	16 „
			<hr/> 40

Only eight Ṭulúni mintages are known; namely, **انطاكية** Antákiah, **حاران** Harrán, **حلب**

Halab, حمص Himṣ, دمشق Dimashk, الرافقه Ar-Ráfikah, فلسطين Filastín and مصر Miṣr; which are divided amongst the various cabinets in the following proportions:

B.M.	possesses Dimashk, Ar-Ráfikah, Filastín and Miṣr	4 mints.
P.	„ Antákiah, Himṣ, Ar-Ráfikah and Miṣr	4 „
S.	„ Antákiah and Miṣr	2 „
A.B.	„ Miṣr	1 „
Tom.	„ Antákiah and Halab	2 „
F.S.	describes Ar-Ráfikah and Miṣr	2 „
T.	refers to Ar-Ráfikah and Miṣr	2 „
C.	„ Miṣr	1 „
B.	„ Ar-Ráfikah	1 „
R.	possesses Harrán, Halab, Dimashk, Ar-Ráfikah, Filastín and Miṣr	6 „

The mint-marks found on these coins are ر ب ع ه and ط, and on one dínár we find the combination تم. The ب is probably intended for ت as the initial of the word *تَمَّ* complete, perfect. The ر may be the initial of *رَاجِعٌ* current. The ح (which is generally placed sideways, thus (ح)) may be intended for either ج or خ as the initial of *جَائِزٌ* current or permitted, or of *جَيِّدٌ* excellent, superior, or *خَيْرٌ* good. I would suggest that the letter ه, which is found on many dínárs of various dynasties, may perhaps be appropriately accepted as the initial of the word *هَبْرَزِيٌّ*, which is translated by Kazimirski, vol. ii. p. 1381, as 4, *Or pur* and 5, *Pièce de monnaie d'or nouvelle*; and in Bustáni's dictionary called *Muḥíṭu-l-Muḥíṭ* it is explained as: *الذهب الخالص; الدينار الجديد الجميل. الوسيم من كل شئ. viz. pure gold; a new and beautiful dinar; the beautiful of anything.* The ع is certainly intended for the initial of the word *عَدْلٌ* justice or *عَدِلٌ* just, which word we find in full on coins of several other dynasties. The ط is probably the initial of the word *طَيِّبٌ* good.

I am aware that some Oriental Numismatists do not admit that the letters found on Oriental coins have any reference to the quality of the metal or the currency of the coin; but as we find these letters corresponding so exactly with words distinctly applicable to that sense, I think that, until another explanation be given, we must accept the interpretation of the majority. I would here refer to a dínár in my collection struck at Sabúr-Khást in 397, which was described in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1871, on which there appears a word *إبر* which I could not interpret. I venture now to suggest, in connexion with the above remarks, that this word may be *إَبْرِيٌّ*, which means *pure gold*.

The majority of the coins of this dynasty are dínárs. The only copper coins of which I have heard are the two described by M. F. Soret. The only silver coins that have come under my notice are four in number, of which one is in the National Collection at Paris, one belongs to my friend M. Sauvaire, and two are in my own collection.¹

I have been careful to note every coin of this dynasty that has come to my knowledge,

¹ Since this notice has been in the press, Mr. H. C. Kay has kindly shown me his collection, in which I found a dirham and three dínárs belonging to this dynasty. The former bears the date 272, but the place of mintage is obliterated. On the reverse

the letter ن of the word *نِ* is terminated in an ornamental scroll, thus *نِ*. The dínárs are all struck in Miṣr bearing dates 267, 278 and 291.

even when I have had as many as four or five examples of the same coin, in order that an opinion of the relative rarities of different dates and mintages may be formed and also to show the general rarity of all the coins of this dynasty.

The plate executed by the Woodbury process represents seventeen coins, one of which is photographed from a specimen in the British Museum, the others being selected from my own collection.

AḤMAD-IBN-ṬULUN.

The earliest coins attributed to this dynasty are two small copper pieces described by F. Soret in two letters to Lelewel and Dorn, published in the *Revue Numismatique Belge*, respectively in the years 1854 and 1856.

No. I.¹

Æ. Miṣr, 258 (1. F. S.)

Obv. area.

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له |

There is no deity but God alone, He has no associate. No marginal legend.

Rev. area.

الله | محمد | رسول | الله | احمد or نصر

To God, Muhammad, Apostle of God, Aḥmad or Naṣr.

Marginal legend.

..... فلس بمصر سنة ثمان وخمسين وما

..... Fils in Miṣr the year 258.

No. II.²

Æ. Miṣr, 258. (2. F. S.)

Like the preceding, but with the word أحمد quite distinct.

The dīnārs of this dynasty are made after the type of the gold coinage adopted by the Khalīfah Al-Mamūn, A.H. 207, when, in addition to the legends in use up to that time, that Khalīfah introduced on the obverse a quotation from Chapter xxx. of the Kūrān, called the Sūratu-r-Rūm, v. 4 and 5, and within it inscribed the place of mintage and the date which had formerly appeared only on the reverse. Fig. 1 in the Plate is a dīnār of this type struck in 210.

¹ "La date et le lieu ne laissent guères de doutes sur l'attribution de ce fels, qui ne peut appartenir qu'au fondateur de la dynastie Toulounide Ahmed fils de Touloun. Il nous suffira pour appuyer notre opinion, de rappeler rapidement les principales données du rôle que cet émir remplit en Egypte. D'après Aboul Feda c'est en 254 qu'il fut appelé pour la première fois à la prefecture de Fosthāt. Ses attributions s'étendirent sur toute l'Egypte en 257, d'abord en qualité de vice-gouverneur; puis l'année suivante, précisément celle de la monnaie qui nous occupe, Yardjoud, le gouverneur, étant mort, Ahmed prit possession d'une contrée qui, en réalité, n'appartenait plus au Khalife: si à cette époque le fils de Touloun n'osa pas placer ostensiblement son nom sur la monnaie, il ne tarda cependant pas à lever le masque et à rompre les faibles liens qui pouvaient le rattacher encore au service de ses anciens maîtres. L'espèce de figure qu'on observe dans le champ du revers au dessous du symbole, n'est, en réalité, qu'un ornement; mais, comme je viens déjà de le faire entendre, n'a-t-on pas eu l'intention de simuler grossièrement le nom d'Aḥmed, qu'il eut été intempestif peut être de

tracer d'une manière plus distincte? Ce qui me le ferait presumer, c'est la forme tout à fait insolite des ى dans la légende marginale; ils sont figurés comme des | sans aucune trace du courbure et celui du mot ثمان en se prolongeant outre mesure, vient se placer comme un | au devant de l'ornement de manière à diriger tout naturellement la première pensée vers la lecture du nom أحمد." My friend M. Sauvage inclines to the reading of this doubtful word as نصر Victory.

² "Dans ma lettre adressée à M. Lelewel, j'ai attribué à Ahmed, fondateur de cette dynastie, une pièce en cuivre frappée à Miṣr, l'an 258; le nom de ce prince m'a paru déguisé dans l'espèce d'ornement ou de figure qu'on voit au revers sous le symbole. Cette conjecture me semble tout à fait confirmée par le nouvel exemplaire que je mentionne ici, et que je dois à l'obligeance de mon savant confrère M. Promis. Ici le nom d'Aḥmed se lit en caractères bien distincts, placé au milieu de trois barres verticales; en outre les ى de la légende marginale ont repris leur forme arquée naturelle."

No. III.

N. Miṣr, 258 (3. T.)

Revue de la Numismatique Belge, 1875.

Obverse—area.

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | جعفر

There is no deity but God alone, He has no associate.—Ja'far.

Inner legend.

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر سنة ثمان وخمسين ومائتين

In the name of God, this dīnār was struck in Miṣr the year 258.

Marginal legend

لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

To God belongeth the disposal (of all things) in the past and in the future, and in that day the faithful shall rejoice in help from God.

Reverse—area.

له | محمد | رسول الله | المعتمد على الله |

To God. Muḥammad the Apostle of God, Al-Mu'tamid-'ala-Allah.

Marginal legend.

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

Muḥammad the Apostle of God. He sent him with direction and the true religion to proclaim it above all other religions, although polytheists should be adverse thereto.

This dīnār does not bear any indication of Aḥmad-ibn-Ṭūlūn's governorship of Egypt. Ja'far, whose name appears on the obverse, is doubtless the son of the reigning Khalīfah, who was afterwards (in 261) surnamed Al-Mufawwad-ila-Allah, and appointed to the succession.

The remaining dīnārs of this dynasty being all modelled on this type, it will only be necessary, in describing them, to refer to the peculiarities of mintage, date, size, weight, points, and mintmarks, and to give the names of the Khalīfah, Prince, Vassal, Governor, or other personage figuring respectively upon them.

We find that in general the caligraphy is good, the die neat and uniform, and that diacritical points are rarely if ever used.

NO.	NO.			MINTAGE.	DATE	SIZE.	WEIGHT.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
IV.	4	R.	N.	Miṣr.	259	0.92 in.	65.6 grains.	جعفر	المعتمد على الله
V.	5	S.	N.	idem.	260		4.103 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	6	R.	N.	idem.	260	0.86 in.	63.6 grains.	idem.	المعتمد على الله
VI.	7	T.	N.	idem.	263			idem.	idem.
	8	R.	N.	idem.	263	0.83 in.	61.8 grains.	idem.	idem. Fig. 3.
VII.	9	B.M.	N.	idem.	266	0.95 in.	63.5 grains.	المفوض الى الله	المعتمد على الله
	10	A.B.	N.	idem.	266	12 m.m.	4.05 grammes.	idem.	احمد بن طولون
	11	R.	N.	idem.	266	0.89 in.	61.5 grains.	idem.	idem. Fig. 4.

This is the earliest known coin on which the founder of this dynasty placed his name and patronymic in full, introducing it on the reverse immediately beneath that of the reigning Khalīfah. It is quite possible, however, that he began to do so in 264, when he became independent, and dīnārs may yet be found of 264 or 265, which will determine this question.

It will be observed that the name Ja'far no longer appears on the obverse, that Prince being now designated by the surname or *laqab* Al-Mufawwad-ila-Allah, given to him by his father in 261.

NO.	NO.			MINTAGE.	DATE	SIZE.	WEIGHT.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
VIII.	12	B.M.	N.	Miṣr.	267	0.90 in.	62.3 grains.	المفوض الى الله	المعتمد على الله احمد بن طولون
	13	P.	N.	idem.	267		3.85 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	14	A.B.	N.	idem.	267	12 m.m.	4.06 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	15	R.	N.	idem.	267	0.9 in.	64.1 grains.	idem.	idem.
IX.	16	P.	N.	Ar-Ráfiḳah	267		3.68 grammes.	idem.	idem.
X.	17	S.	R.	Miṣr.	267		2.38 grammes.	idem.	idem.
XI.	18	B.	N.	Ar-Ráfiḳah	268			idem.	idem and لولو Lulu, the name of a famous general.
	19	R.	N.	idem.	268	0.89 in.	58.8 grains.	idem.	idem. Fig. 5.
XII.	20	B.M.	N.	Miṣr.	269	0.90 in.	63.8 grains.	idem.	idem, but without the name of Lulu.
	21	R.	N.	idem.	269	0.90 in.	65.4 grains.	idem.	idem.
XIII.	22	P.	N.	idem.	270		3.85 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	23	A.B.	N.	idem.	270	11½ m.m.	4.15 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	24	A.B.	N.	idem.	270	12 m.m.	4.25 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	25	R.	N.	idem.	270	0.87 in.	63.9 grains.	idem.	idem.
XIV.	26	P.	N.	Ar-Ráfiḳah	270		3.5 grammes.	idem.	idem.
KHUMARUWAH-IBN-AḤMAD.									
XV.	27	R.	N.	Miṣr.	271	0.88 in.	64.3 grains.	المفوض الى الله	المعتمد على الله خمارويه بن احمد Fig. 6.
XVI.	28	P.	N.	idem.	272		4.20 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	29	A.B.	N.	idem.	272	12 m.m.	4.15 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	30	T.	N.	idem.	272			idem.	idem.
	31	R.	N.	idem.	272	0.84 in.	63.8 grains.	idem.	idem.
XVII.	32	B.M.	N.	Ar-Ráfiḳah	273	0.85 in.	61.0 grains.	idem.	idem.
	33	B.	N.	idem.	273			idem.	idem.
	34	R.	N.	idem.	273	0.9 in.	54.5 grains.	idem.	idem.
XVIII.	35	B.M.	N.	Miṣr.	273	0.85 in.	63.3 grains.	idem.	idem.
	36	P.	N.	idem.	273		4.10 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	37	A.B.	N.	idem.	273	12 m.m.	4.10 grammes.	idem.	idem.
XIX.	38	R.	N.	Ar-Ráfiḳah	274	0.8 in.	57.8 grains.	المفوض الى الله beneath which is a double scroll forming a cross thus ۞	المعتمد على الله احمد بن الموفق

This is strictly an 'Abbási dīnār, and was described in a "Notice on the Dīnārs of the Abbasside Dynasty," published in vol. vii. of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, p. 284. Still, on account of its date and place of mintage, it deserves a place in a list of the coins of the Ṭulūni dynasty. Ar-Ráfiḳah belonged from time to time to the Ṭulūni Princes. We have

This dirham, the date of which is effaced, must have been struck before A.H. 279, as in that year the Khalifah Al-Mu'tamid died and was succeeded by his nephew Al-Mu'tadid-b-illah.

NO.	NO.			MINTAGE.	DATE	SIZE.	WEIGHT.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
XXXV.	64	P.	N.	Miqr.	279		3.8 grammes.	no name.	المعتض بالله خمارويه بن احمد
	65	R.	N.	idem.	279	0.85 in.	62 grains.	idem.	idem. Fig. 10.
XXXVI.	66	F.S.	N.	Ar-Rafikah	279			idem.	idem.
XXXVII.	67	P.	N.	Antakiah.	279		4.30 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	68	S.	N.	idem.	279		3.83 grammes.	idem.	idem.
XXXVIII.	69	P.	N.	Miqr.	280		4.20 grammes.	a dot or pellet •	idem.
	70	S.	N.	idem.	280		4.10 grammes.	idem •	and the letter ا
	71	A.B.	N.	idem.	280	12 m.m.	4.09 grammes.	idem •	idem ا
	72	R.	N.	idem.	280	0.89 in.	63.3 grains.	idem •	idem ا
XXXIX.	73	P.	N.	idem.	281		4 grammes.	idem •	idem ا
	74	A.B.	N.	idem.	281	11 m.m.	4.02 grammes.	idem •	idem ا
	75	R.	N.	idem.	281	0.85 in.	63.1 grains.	idem •	idem ا
XL.	76	R.	N.	Halab.	281	0.82 in.	65.1 grains.	idem.	idem ب. Fig. 11.
XLI.	77	B.M.	N.	Miqr.	282	0.85 in.	63.2 grains.	idem •	idem ا
	78	T.	N.	idem.	282			idem •	idem ا
XLII.	79	P.	R.	idem.	282		2.95 grammes.	idem.	idem.

JAISH-IBN-KHUMARUWAIH.

XLIII.	80	B.M.	N.	idem.	283	0.9 in.	63.6 grains.	no name •	المعتض بالله جيش بن خمارويه
	81	P.	N.	idem.	283		4 grammes.	idem •	and ا
	82	P.	N.	idem.	283		4.05 grammes.	idem •	idem ا
	83	S.	N.	idem.	283		4.103 grammes.	idem •	idem ا
	84	S.	N.	idem.	283		4.095 grammes.	idem •	idem ا
	85	R.	N.	idem.	283	0.88 in.	64.2 grains.	idem •	idem ا. Fig. 12.

HARUN-IBN-KHUMARUWAIH.

XLIV.	86	R.	N.	idem.	283	0.84 in.	59.2 grains.	idem •	المعتض بالله هرون بن خمارويه
									and ا. Fig. 13.
XLV.	87	B.M.	N.	idem.	284	0.9 in.	64.1 grains.	idem.	idem.
	88	P.	N.	idem.	284		3.8 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	89	S.	N.	idem.	284		4.03 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	90	A.B.	N.	idem.	284	11½ m.m.	4.07 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	91	R.	N.	idem.	284	0.88 in.	63 grains.	idem.	idem.
XLVI.	92	P.	N.	idem.	285		3.85 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	93	S.	N.	idem.	285		4.105 grammes.	idem.	idem.
	94	A.B.	N.	idem.	285	11 m.m.	4.34 grammes.	idem.	idem.
							mounted in a rim		
	95	R.	N.	idem.	285	0.84 in.	58.3 grains.	idem.	idem.
XLVII.	96	B.M.	N.	Filastin.	285	0.85 in.	57.9 grains.	idem.	idem.
XLVIII.	97	Torn	N.	Halab.	285	0.86 in.	61.2 grains.	idem.	idem.