



A Numismatic Study of Rare Ṭulūnid Dīnārs dated 277 AH Bearing the Names of Three ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs from Mallawi Museum Collection

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ARTICLE INFO	Abstract
Keywords: Ṭulūnīd, Dīnār, Khumārawayh, al-Mu‘tamīd, al-Mu‘taḍīd, al-Mufawwāḍ ilā Allāh. (IJTHS), O6U Vol. 8, No.2, April 2025, pp. 261-285 Received: 3/4/2025 Accepted: 30/4/2025 Published: 2/5/2025	This study examines three rare unpublished golden <i>dīnārs</i> preserved in the Mallawi Museum in Minya, Egypt, Minted during the reign the reign of <i>Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad</i> (r. 270-282 AH/ 884-896 AD), the second <i>Ṭulūnīd</i> ruler of Egypt. These <i>dīnārs</i>, catalogued as nos. 417, 418, and 422 in Mallawi museum, are of particular significance due to their epigraphic features, political references to the ‘<i>Abbāsīd</i> caliphs <i>al-Mu‘tamīd</i> (r. 256-279 AH/ 870–892 AD), <i>al-Mu‘taḍīd</i> (r. 279-289 AH/ 892–902 AD), and <i>al-Mufawwāḍ ilā Allāh</i> (nominal heir, 256–278 AH/ 875-891 AD), and the inclusion of <i>Qur’ānic</i> citations that emphasize divine authorization and legitimacy. The <i>dīnārs</i>, weighing between 3.8 and 4.2 grams, also reflect subtle variation from the standard ‘<i>Abbāsīd dīnār</i> of 4.25 g. This paper situates these <i>dīnārs</i> within the wider framework of Islamic numismatic history and the ideological strategies of <i>Ṭulūnīd</i> Egypt through transliteration, translation, and analysis, The results highlight the political conflict between provincial autonomy, central caliphal authority, and the symbolic role of coinage as a reflection of Egypt’s political and economic conditions during this period.

▪ Study objectives:

This study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. Catalogue and describe three rare *Ṭulūnīd dīnārs* minted in 277 AH, preserved in the Mallawi Museum, with full attention to their inscriptions, layout, and *Qur’ānic* citations.
2. Analyze the political significance of these *dīnārs*, especially the unprecedented presence of the names of four different ‘*Abbāsīd* caliphs within the same year’s coinage.

3. Investigate the relationship between *Ṭulūnīd* coinage and 'Abbāsīd authority, highlighting how *Khumārawayh* employed monetary symbolism to balance political independence with formal allegiance.
4. Contextualize the numismatic evidence within the broader historical framework of *Ṭulūnīd*- 'Abbāsīd relations during the late 3rd AH/ 9th AD century, drawing on primary sources and modern scholarship.
5. Offer a historical reading of these *dīnārs*, thereby illuminating their role as instruments of legitimacy and ideological expression in early Islamic Egypt.

1. Introduction:

The *Ṭulūnīd* dynasty (254–292 AH / 868–905 AD), founded by *Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn* (r. 254–270 AH / 868–884 AD), represents a transitional phase in the political and economic history of Egypt and Syria. *Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn*, followed by his son *Khumārawayh*, succeeded in establishing a semi-autonomous rule apart from the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in Baghdad,¹ while maintaining a façade of legitimacy through the symbolic mention of the caliph's name on coinage.²

Coinage thus served as a key instrument for understanding the political relationship between Baghdad, the imperial center, and the Egyptian provinces, functioning as a witness of authority and legitimacy.³

Among the most significant numismatic discoveries displayed in Mallawi museum⁴ in Minya⁵, are three gold *dīnārs* minted in Egypt "*Fuṣṭāṭ*" in 277 AH under the authority of the *Ṭulūnīd* emir *Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad*, each of which bears the name of a different 'Abbāsīd caliph:

- A *dīnār* naming the caliph *al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh* (r. 256–279 AH/ 870–892 AD).
- A *dīnār* naming the caliph *al-Mufawwāḍ ilā Allāh* (nominal heir, 256–278 AH/ 875-891 AD).
- A *dīnār* naming the caliph *al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh* (r. 279–289 AH/ 892–902 AD), along with the caliph *al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh*.

This phenomenon is exceptional, since the year 277 AH/ 890 AD predates the accession of *al-Mu'taḍid* (who assumed power only in 279 AH/ 892 AD), while *al-Mufawwāḍ* had already been deposed by (278 AH/ 891 AD). This raises chronological and historical issues that warrants a close analysis.⁶

2. Historical Context

Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn (r. 270-282AH/ 884-896AD) inherited a semi-autonomous *Ṭulūnīd* Egypt from his father, *Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn*. His reign coincided with a delicate balance

between independence and nominal 'Abbāsīd suzerainty, marked by military campaigns, political marriages, and financial reforms.⁷

The year (277 AH / 890 AD) was critical as the caliph *Al-Mu'tamid* remained nominal caliph in Baghdad, though real power had shifted to his brother *al-Muwaffaq* and later his son *al-Mu'tadid*. *Khumārawayh* secured 'Abbāsīd recognition through marriage alliances and tributary arrangements, to affirm his autonomy in Egypt.⁸

Coinage of the year 277AH/ 890-891 AD followed the 'Abbāsīd monetary standard, so the materials were the same, Golden *dīnārs* were widely used, minted in high-quality gold, following the weight standard of the 'Abbāsīd *dīnār* (~4.25 g), Silver (Dirham) and Copper (Fails) were also used but in a lower scale. The coins were mostly minted in *al-Fusṭāṭ* (Miṣr / Egypt), Dimashq (Damascus), *Himṣ* (Homs), *al-Ramla* (Palestine) and Other minor Levantine mints are occasionally attested, but far less common.⁹

▪ Numismatic description of the Three Dīnārs:

3.1 The First dīnār No. 417, with the name of caliph al-Mu'tadid bi'llāh:

Date: 277 AH / 890–891 AD (*Ṭūlūnīd* era)

Museum Inventory Number: 417

Location in the Museum: Hall 3, Showcase 4

Material: Gold

Dimensions: Diameter: 20.1 mm, Weight: 4.2 g

Provenance: Excavations carried out in the city of *Manqabād*; minted in *Miṣr* (*Fusṭāṭ*)

The obverse of this *dīnār* features a central field inscribed in simple Kufic script, arranged in three horizontal lines, enclosed within two concentric circular margins containing inscriptions. The outer margin is surrounded by a fine circular border. The reverse also bears a central inscription in six horizontal lines of simple Kufic script, encircled by marginal inscriptions separated by a thin circle (Plate No.1 a, b), (Fig.1 a, b).

The Obverse Dīnār (No. 417)			
	Reading	Transliteration	Translation
The center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	lā ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu"	There is no God but God alone No partner for him
The outer margin	الله الأمر من قبل ومن بعد يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله	"lillāh al-amr min qabl wa-min ba'd wa-yawma'idhin yafraḥ al-mu'minūn bi-naṣr Allāh"	God has the command before and after that day the believers will rejoice in God's victory

The inner margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمصر سنة سبع وسبعين ومئتين	"bismillāh ḍuriba hādhā al- dīnār bi-Miṣr sanat sab‘ wa- sab‘īn wa-mi’ atayn	In the name of God, this dīnār was minted in Egypt in the year seventy-seven two hundred
 			
Plate(1/a): Obverse of dīnār no. 417, (© The authors) ¹⁰		Fig.(1/a): Obverse of dīnār no. 417, (© The authors)	

The inscriptions of the obverse center inscribed in simple Kufic script, in three horizontal lines bearing the certificate of monotheism, reading:

"لا إله إلا / الله وحده / لا شريك له"

This text represents the first testimony of the first of the five pillars of Islam, it was recorded for the first time in this order in writings of the Center of the obverse of *dīnārs* in the last stage of the *dīnārs* Arabization carried out by the fifth Umayyad caliph ‘*Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān* (r. 65–86 AH / 685–705 AD) in (77 AH/ 696 AD).¹¹ This declaration of faith continued to be inscribed on Islamic coins throughout various eras: Umayyad, ‘*Abbāsīd*, *Ṭulūnīd*, *Ikhshīdī*,¹² Fatimid, Ayyubid, Mamluk, and other contemporary Islamic states in both the eastern and western parts of the Islamic world.¹³

The inscription of the outer margin bears a part of *Qur’anic* script of the verse number four of *Sūrat al-Rūm* reading:

"الله الأمر من قبل ومن بعد يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله"

This verse was first inscribed on the coins of the ‘*Abbāsīd* Caliph *al-Ma’mūn* (r. 198-218 AH / 813-833 AD), after his victory over his brother the caliph *Muḥammad al-Amīn* (r. 193-198 A.H/ 809-813 AD), who was killed in (198 A.H./ 813 AD), then *al-Ma’mūn* ascended the throne instead

of him.¹⁴ and continued to be inscribed on 'Abbāsīd coins until the fall of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate by *Hūlāgū Khān* in (656 AH/ 1258 AD).

The same verse was subsequently adopted by several Islamic states affiliated with the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, such as the states of *Ziyādiyya*,¹⁵ *Ṭāhirid*,¹⁶ *Sāmānid*,¹⁷ *Ṭūlūnīd*, *Ikhshīdī*, *Ḥamdānid*,¹⁸ *Banū Mirdās*,¹⁹ *Qarmaṭī* Bahrain,²⁰ *Banū J̧h*,²¹ *Banū Sāmā*,²² *Saljūq*,²³ *Atābiks*,²⁴ *Banū Jastān*,²⁵ and Ghaznavids,²⁶ as well as on the coins of countries outside the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, such as: *Banī al-Rasī* in Yemen, Idriss in the Maghreb, Umayyad in Andalusia, and Banu Salih in Yemen.

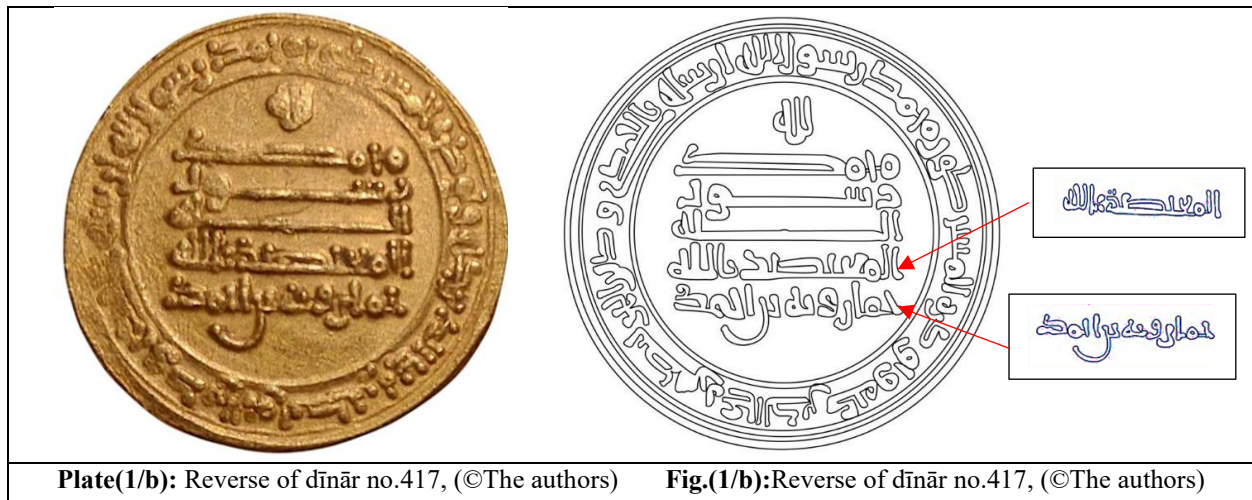
Even after the fall of Baghdad, the use of this verse persisted, appearing on the coins of later Islamic powers such as the *Al-Ilkhānīyūn* (*Ilkhanid* dynasty).²⁷ Its continued presence across centuries and regions underscores its enduring religious legitimacy and political symbolism in the Islamic monetary tradition.²⁸

The inner margin contains the incomplete "*basmala*" as follows "بسم الله", The abbreviated form of the *basmala* was first introduced on the margin of Sassanid Arabic dirham minted in Sijistān²⁹ in 31 AH, attributed to the reign of Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (r. 23–35 AH / 644–656 AD), and it remained written on Sassanid Arabic dirhams until the reign of Caliph *Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān* (r. 65–86 AH / 685–705 AD).³⁰

Then the phrase that indicates the type of money "*dīnār*", and the place of minting "*bi-Miṣr*" and date of the minting "*sanat sab' wa-sab' īn wa-mi' atayn*" (277 AH / 890–891 AD) as follows:

"ضرب هذا الدينار بمصر سنة سبع وسبعين ومئتين".

The Reverse Dīnār (No. 417)			
	Reading	Transliteration	Translation
The center	الله محمد رسول الله المعتضد بالله خمارويه بن احمد	Lillāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad	For God Muḥammad The Messenger of God al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad
The margin	محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون	"Muḥammad rasūl Allāh arsalahu bi'l-hudā wa-dīn al- ḥaqq li-yuḏhirahu 'alā al-dīn kullīhi wa-law kariha al- mushrikūn"	Muḥammad is the messenger of God, he sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to show it to the whole religion, even if the polytheists detest it



The reverse center came in five horizontal lines, the first line "الله" meaning for God "*lillāh*", it was inscribed for the first time on the reverse center of a *dīnār* minted in the year 139 AH during the reign of Caliph *Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr* (r. 136-158 AH /754–775 AD).³¹

The second line "*Muḥammad*", the third line the word "*rasūl Allāh*" the *Muḥammadan* message as follows, "محمد رسول الله". The inclusion of this *Muḥammadan* message on the reverse center represented one of the most significant changes introduced in coinage during the *ʿAbbāsīd* period. The *ʿAbbāsīds* removed the *Qurʾānic* quotation from *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* that had appeared on Umayyad *dīnārs* and replaced it with the *Muḥammadan* message arranged in three parallel horizontal lines.³²

This formula continued to be inscribed on coinage throughout the entire *ʿAbbāsīd* period, as the *ʿAbbāsīds* capitalized on their lineage to the Prophet *Muḥammad* in promoting their cause and asserting that they were the most rightful to rule.³³

The fourth line the name of the *ʿAbbāsīd* Caliph *al-Muʿtaḍid biʾllāh*³⁴ as follows "المعتضد بالله", (r. 279–289 AH/ 892–902 AD), Full name: *Abūʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ṭalḥa b. Jaʿfar al-Mūṭawakkil*, Son of *al-Mūwaffaq Ṭalḥa*, he inherited his father's military authority. Considered one of the last strong *ʿAbbāsīd* caliphs before the Buyid takeover in the 10th century AD.³⁵

At that time (277 AH), *al-Muʿtaḍid* had not yet officially become caliph (he only acceded in 279 AH). However, he already held a prominent position as heir-apparent and powerful military leader under his father *al-Mūwaffaq* and uncle *al-Muʿtamīd*. This *dīnār* may have been minted in his name in anticipation of his succession, or to emphasize his political authority even before his official accession, it may reflect an attempt by *Khumārawayh* to secure recognition from the future caliph, strengthening his political position.³⁶

In the fifth line, the name of "*Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad*" is mentioned as the following خمارويه "خمارويه", The mention of *Khumārawayh* immediately after the 'Abbāsīd caliph *al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh*, is a sign and declaration from the first of his continued submission to the caliph.

The margin bears a distorted rendition of several *Qur'ānic* verses, namely verse 33 of *Sūrat al-Taūbah*, verse 28 of *Sūrat al-Faṭḥ*, and verse 9 of *Sūrat al-Ṣaff*, which read:

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

The original *Qur'ānic* verse from *Sūrat al-Taūbah* (9:33) reads:

"هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ"

On *Ṭūlūnīd* coins, particularly the gold *dīnārs*, the *Qur'ānic* verses were not inscribed in their complete form but appeared in slightly modified or abbreviated versions. This practice was generally motivated by spatial or decorative considerations, as well as by the desire to employ certain phrases as political-religious slogans. Such modifications should not be regarded as distortions in a religious sense; rather, they represent non-literal quotations used as religious and political emblems to express Islamic legitimacy. This was a common and accepted convention in Islamic coinage from the Umayyad period onward.³⁷

This *Qur'anic* quotation was recorded on the Arabized Islamic *dīnārs* since the year (77 AH/ 621AD), and the entire text did not appear, but stopped at "الدين كله"; The whole religion", while it was engraved entirely on the first Arabized Islamic dirham minted in the year 78 AH, and this quote continued to be engraved on Islamic coins since the Umayyad era and throughout the 'Abbāsīd era, whether on the coins of the countries affiliated with the caliphate or outside it, and in the coins of the Fatimid state, and the states that were established after the fall of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in 656 AH / 1258 AD, such as *Al-Ilkhānīyūn* state, as well as on the coins of the Mamluk state³⁸ and Salghurid³⁹ (or *Atābek al-Salgār*).⁴⁰

3.2 The second dīnār No. 418, with the name of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allāh" & al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh:

Date: 277AH/ 890-891AD, *Ṭūlūnīd* era.

Museum inventory number: 418.

Location in the museum: hall 3, showcase 4.

Material: gold.

Dimensions: Diameter: 20 mm, Weight: 4.0g.

Provenance: excavations carried out in the city of *Manqabād*, minted in *Miṣr (Fuṣṭāṭ)*

The center of the *dīnār* Obverse bears four lines of simple Kufic script, its linear margin is followed by an outer one enclosed by a circle. Concerning the reverse, the inscription of the center comes

in five lines of simple Kufic, surrounded by a circular line, and followed by a margin enclosed by a circle as follows (Plate No.2 a, b), (Fig.2 a, b):

The Obverse Dīnār (No. 418)			
	Reading	Transliteration	Translation
The center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له المفوض الي الله	lā ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allāh	There is no God but God alone No partner for him al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allāh
The outer margin	الله الأمر من قبل ومن بعد يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله	lillāh al-amr min qabl wa-min ba'd wa-yawma'idhin yafrāḥ al- mu'minūn bi-naṣr Allāh	God has the command before and after that day the believers will rejoice in God's victory
The inner margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمصر سنة سبع وسبعين ومئتين	"bismillāh ḍuriba hādhā al-dīnār bi-Miṣr sanat sab' wa-sab'in wa- mi'atayn	In the name of God, this dīnār was minted in Egypt in the year seventy-seven two hundred
  المفوض الي الله			
Plate(2/a): Obverse of dīnār no. 418, (© The authors)		Fig.(2/a): Obverse of dīnār no. 418, (© The authors)	

The center of the *dīnār*'s Obverse has four lines of simple Kufic inscriptions, the first three lines bear the certificate of monotheism, reading:

"لا إله إلا / الله وحده / لا شريك له"

As for the fourth line, it has the title of the 'Abbāsīd caliph "*al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allāh*"⁴¹, Which was given to *Ja'far ibn Aḥmad al-'Abbāsī al-Hāshimī al-Qurashī al-Baghdādī*, son of the caliph *al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh*.

The name of *Ja'far* was inscribed beneath the central reverse inscriptions of *dīnārs* and *dirhams* issued between 256 AH / 870 AD and 261 AH / 876 AD. In 261 AH / 874 AD. Till his father invested him with the succession in the year 261 AH / 874 AD, bestowing upon him the title *al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allāh* ("the one entrusted to God").⁴² From that time onward, the title *al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allāh* replaced the name *Ja'far* beneath the central obverse inscriptions of *dīnārs* and *dirhams*.

In the year 257 AH / 871 AD, *al-Mu'tamid* divided the 'Abbāsīd state between his son and his brother into two parts: a western part (Maghrib, Syria, al-Jazīra, and Armenia) was entrusted to his son *Ja'far*, granting him the title *al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allāh* ; and an eastern part (Iraq, the *Hijāz*, and Yemen) was entrusted to his brother *al-Mūwaffaq billāh Ṭalḥa*.⁴³ This comes as a reason of the caliph having a brother who competed against him and wanted to rule.⁴⁴

Al-Mu'tamid handed each of them a standard, one white and one black, and stipulated that authority would pass to his brother *al-Mūwaffaq billāh* if his son *Ja'far* had not yet reached maturity. The oath of allegiance to this arrangement was taken to be announced in the provinces of the state, and the deed of investiture was sent with the chief judge *al-Ḥasan ibn Abī al-Shuwārib* to be hung on the *Ka'ba*.⁴⁵

The recording of the title *al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allāh* on *Ṭūlūnīd* coins was meant to announce to both elite and common people that he was the designated heir to the caliphate, thereby granting him legitimate authority. Here it becomes evident that coinage played a clear propagandistic role in addition to its economic function as a medium of monetary exchange.⁴⁶

However, *al-Mūwaffaq billāh* died in Baghdad in the year 278 AH / 891 AD, during the lifetime of his brother, the caliph *al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh*. Consequently, the caliph invested his son *Abū al-'Abbās* with the succession after *al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allāh*, giving him the title *al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh*.⁴⁷

The inner margin bears the incomplete "*basmala*" such as "بسم الله", then the phrase that indicates the type of money "*dīnār*", and the place of minting "*bi-Miṣr*" and date of the minting "*sanat sab' wa-sab' 'in wa-mi' atayn*" (277 AH / 890–891 AD) as follows:

"ضرب هذا الدينار بمصر سنة سبع وسبعين ومئتين"

The inscription of the outer margin bears a *Qur'anic* script of *Sūrat al-Rūm* reading:

"الله الأمر من قبل ومن بعد يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله"

The Reverse Dīnār (No. 418)			
	Reading	Transliteration	Translation
The center	الله	Lillāh	For God
	محمد	Muḥammad	Muḥammad
	رسول الله	rasūl Allāh	The Messenger of God
	المعتمد علي الله	al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh	al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh
	خمارويه بن احمد	Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad	Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad
The margin	محمد رسول الله أرسله	"Muḥammad rasūl Allāh	Muḥammad is the messenger of
	بالحدي ودين الحق	arsalahu bi'l-hudā wa-dīn al-	God, he sent him with guidance
	ليظهره على الدين كله	ḥaqq li-yuḏhirahu 'alā al-dīn	and the religion of truth to show
	ولو كره المشركون	kullihi wa-law kariha al-	it to the whole religion, even if
		mushrikūn"	the polytheists detest it.
  المعتمد على الله خمارويه بن احمد			
Plate (2/b): Reverse of dīnār no. 418, (©The authors)		Fig. (2/b): Reverse of dīnār no. 418, (©The authors)	

The reverse center came in five horizontal lines, the first line a word meaning 'for God' "lillāh", the second the second line "Muḥammad", the third line the word "rasūl Allāh".

While the fourth line the name of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh,⁴⁸ Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad, who was the fifteenth 'Abbāsīd caliph. He was born in the year 229 AH / 843 AD, assumed the caliphate in 256 AH / 870 AD, and died in 279 AH / 892 AD.⁴⁹ His reign lasted for twenty-three years. He divided the Islamic state between his son al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allāh and his brother al-Mūwaffaq Ṭalḥa, who left the caliph nothing of the caliphate except its name, emblem, mention in the Friday sermon, and the inscription of his name on the coinage as the legitimate caliph of the Muslims.⁵⁰

The fifth line, the name of "Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad" is mentioned as the following.

"الله/ محمد/ رسول الله/ المعتمد علي الله/ خمارويه بن احمد"

The Margin bears a distortion from the Qur'anic verse number 33 in *Sūrat Al-Taūbah*, verse number 28 *Sūrat al-Faṭḥ* and the ninth verse of *Sūrat Al-Ṣaff* reads:

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

3.3 The third *dīnār* No. 422, with the name of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh & al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh

Date: 277AH/ 890-891AD, Ṭūlūnīd era.

Museum inventory number: 422.

Location in the museum: hall 3, showcase 4.

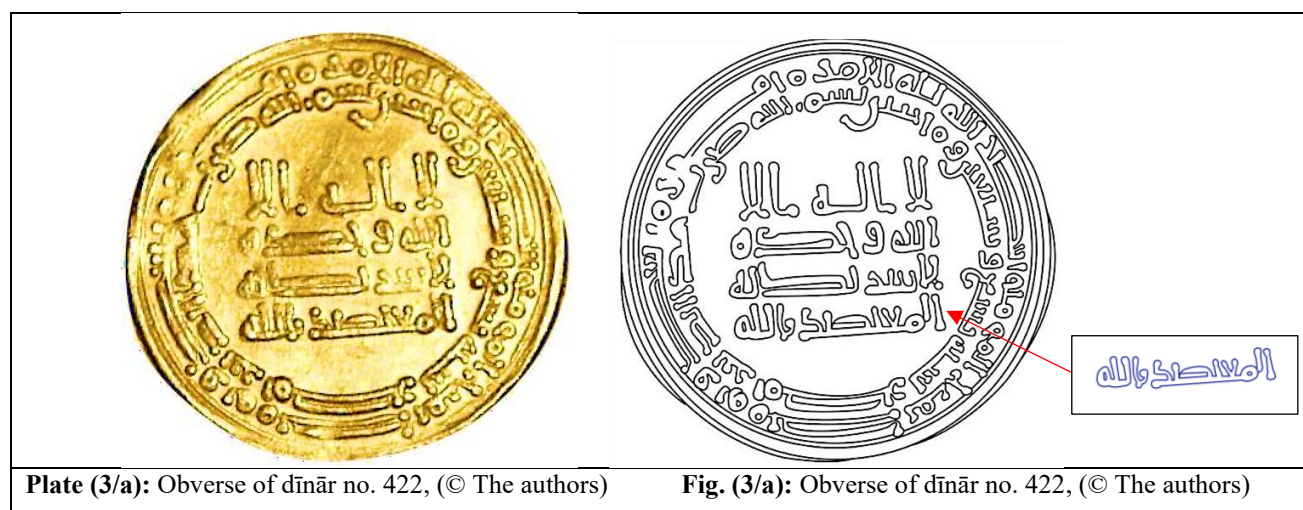
Material: gold.

Dimensions: Diameter: 19.5 mm, Weight :3.8 g.

Provenance: excavations carried out in the city of *Manqabād*, minted in Miṣr (Fustāt)

The general shape of this *dīnār* is a linear circle that surrounds the texts of the center and margin of the Obverse, the reverse has a central writings framed by a linear circle, while the margin writings are surrounded by two parallel circles from the outside, as follows (Plate No.3 a, b), (Fig.3 a, b):

The Obverse <i>Dīnār</i> (No.422)			
	Reading	Transliteration	Translation
The center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له المعتضد بالله	lā ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh	There is no God but God alone No partner for him al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh
The outer margin	الله الأمر من قبل ومن بعد يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله	lillāh al-amr min qabl wa-min ba'd wa-yawma'idhin yafrāḥ al- mu'minūn bi-naṣr Allāh	God has the command before and after that day the believers will rejoice in God's victory
The inner margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمصر سنة سبع وسبعين ومئتين	"bismillāh ḍuriba hādhā al-dīnār bi-Miṣr sanat sab' wa-sab'in wa- mi'atayn	In the name of God, this dīnār was minted in Egypt in the year seventy-seven two hundred



The inscriptions of the obverse center were in simple Kufic script in four horizontal lines, the first three lines bears the certificate of monotheism, reading:

"لا إله إلا / الله وحده / لا شريك له"

While the fourth line has the name of the 'Abbāsīd caliph "*al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh*" as follows:

"المعتضد بالله."

The inscription of the outer margin bears a Qur'anic quotation from the fourth verse *Sūrat al-Rūm* reading:

"الله الأمر من قبل ومن بعد يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله."

The inner margin contains the incomplete "*basmala*" such as "بسم الله", then the phrase that indicates the type of money "*dīnār*", and the place of minting "*bi-Miṣr*" and date of the minting "*sanat sab' wa-sab' 'īn wa-mi' atayn*" (277 AH / 890–891 AD) as follows:

"بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمصر سنة سبع وسبعين ومئتين"

The Reverse Dīnār (No. 422)			
	Reading	Transliteration	Translation
The center	الله	Lillāh	For God
	محمد	Muḥammad	Muḥammad
	رسول الله	rasūl Allāh	The Messenger of God
	المعتمد علي الله	al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh	al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh
	خمارويه بن احمد	Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad	Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad

The margin	محمد رسول الله أرسله بالحدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون	"Muḥammad rasūl Allāh arsalahu bi'l-hudā wa-dīn al- ḥaqq li-yuẓhirahu 'alā al-dīn kullihi wa-law kariha al- mushrikūn"	Muḥammad is the messenger of God, he sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to show it to the whole religion, even if the polytheists detest it
  المعتمد على الله خمارويه بن احمد			
Plate(3/b): Reverse of dīnār no. 422, (© The authors) Fig. (3/b): Reverse of dīnār no. 422, (© The authors)			

The reverse center came in five horizontal lines, the first line bears a word meaning ‘for God’ “*lillāh*”, the second line "*Muḥammad*", the third line the word "*rasūl Allāh*" the Muḥammadan message , in the fourth line the name of the ‘*Abbāsīd* Caliph “*al-Mu‘tamīd ‘alā Allāh*”⁵¹, and at the end of the writings, specifically in the fifth line, the name of "*Khumārawayh bin Aḥmad*" is mentioned as the following.

"الله/ محمد/ رسول الله/ المعتمد علي الله/ خمارويه بن احمد"

This *dīnār* corresponds with the established chronology, since *al-Mu‘tamīd ‘alā Allāh* was the officially recognized caliph in that year.

The Margin bears a distortion from the Qur'anic verse number 33 in *Sūrat al-Taūbah*, verse number 28 *Sūrat al-Faṭḥ* and the ninth verse of *Sūrat Al-Şaff* reads:

" محمد رسول الله أرسله بالحدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون"

3. Numismatic features of the Three Dīnārs:

4.1 The Weight:

- The weights of the three *dīnārs* are 3.8 g, 4.0 g, and 4.2 g, indicates slight deviations from the canonical ‘*Abbāsīd dīnār* standard of 4.25 g.⁵² Such deviations are within the tolerances observed in other contemporary *dīnārs*.

- The fact that coin no. 422 weighs significantly less weighs 3.8 grams, which is noticeably below the prevailing 'Abbāsid gold standard of approximately 4.25 grams. This was not the lowest weight of a *dīnār* dating to the *Ṭūlūnīd* era, the Museum of Islamic Art hosts a *dīnār* weighs 3.45 grams, and Balog mentioned a *dīnār* dated to the year 277 AH weighs 3.9 grams.⁵³ While minor variations in weight were common in Islamic coinage due to the manual striking process, this degree of deviation suggests deeper administrative or economic causes. This reduced weight may reflect a decline in 'Abbāsid central supervision over the Egyptian mint under the semi-independent *Ṭūlūnīds*, who continued to express nominal loyalty to the caliph through the inclusion of his name on their coins. Alternatively, it may indicate financial strain or a shortage of gold supply during the reign of *Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, whose rule was marked by heavy military expenditure.⁵⁴
- Scholars such as Luke Treadwell⁵⁵ and Stephen Album⁵⁶ interpreted similar weight discrepancies as signs of a relative monetary autonomy, reflecting changing political and economic conditions. Therefore, the 3.8-gram *dīnār* should not be seen merely as a technical irregularity, but as evidence of a broader economic and administrative transformation, embodying the *Ṭūlūnīd* policy of “practical independence combined with formal allegiance.”

4.2 Calligraphy:

- The inscriptions were depicted in simple Kufic style, characterized by its angular, rectilinear forms and balanced proportions. consistent with late 3rd AH/9th AD century Islamic numismatic styles, employing a concentric layout with clear separation of central and marginal fields. Comparison with contemporary 'Abbāsid issues suggests that *Ṭūlūnīd* engravers adhered closely to caliphal prototypes while introducing subtle innovations in titularies and epithets.⁵⁷

4.3 Epigraphic Formulas:

The epigraphic formulas of these *Ṭūlūnīd dīnārs* follow the established 'Abbāsid monetary tradition, characterized by a combination of religious declarations, caliphal names and titles, and mint and date inscriptions, all executed in elegant Kufic script. These formulas were not merely decorative but conveyed layered religious, political, and administrative meanings.

- The Obverse Central Field Inscriptions:

The obverse field typically bears the *shahāda* (profession of faith) arranged in three horizontal lines: "لا إله إلا / الله وحده / لا شريك له". This formula served as a declaration of Islamic orthodoxy and

a unifying religious statement on all official coinage from the early Islamic period, in No, 418,422 *dīnārs*, this field inscription is followed by the name of the reigning 'Abbāsīd caliph, reinforcing nominal allegiance to the central caliphate while emphasizing Ṭūlūnīd political autonomy.

- The Obverse Margin Inscriptions:

The outer margins bear a formula typical for the 277 AH *dīnārs*, *Qur'ānic* verse number four of *Sūrat al-Rūm* "لله الأمر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله" Function and Meaning: This *Qur'ānic* verse symbolizes divine support for legitimate rulers and the triumph of faith over opposition. Its presence on Ṭūlūnīd coinage underlines their continued acknowledgment of the spiritual authority of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, even while asserting local independence.

The inner margin usually begins with the *basmala*, ("In the name of God"), followed by the mint formula, which identifies the type of coin, place, and date of issue: "بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمصر سنة سبع وسبعين ومئتين" This formula established the official authority under which the coin was minted, providing administrative authenticity.

- The Reverse Field Inscriptions:

The first three lines start by the name of God followed by the second part of the shahada "الله/ محمد" affirming the Prophethood of *Muḥammad*. The fourth line includes the name and title of the reigning caliph, in this case *al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh*, followed in some *dīnārs* by the title *al-Mufawwad ilā Allāh* (his son and heir) and, exceptionally, *al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh*, who was then heir-apparent but not yet caliph. This unusual accumulation of names reflects the complex hierarchy of Ṭūlūnīd- 'Abbāsīd relations in 277 AH and served as a visible expression of loyalty to the caliphal line. In other *dīnārs* followed by the name of the local ruler or governor *Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad*. Their inclusion reflected the hierarchical structure of authority between the 'Abbāsīd caliphate and the Ṭūlūnīd administration.

- The Reverse Margin

The marginal legend often carries distortion from the *Qur'ānic* verse number 33 in *Sūrat al-Taūbah*, verse number 28 *Sūrat al-Faṭḥ* and the ninth verse of *Sūrat Al-Ṣaff* reads, "محمد رسول الله", أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون.

This *Qur'ānic* formulas served as a politico-religious proclamation of divine support and legitimacy for the ruling power. On Ṭūlūnīd coins, the verse sometimes appeared in abbreviated or slightly modified form, reflecting space constraints or aesthetic adaptation rather than textual distortion.

6. Conclusion

The three Mallawi *dīnārs* are exceptional evidence of *Ṭūlūnīd* Egypt's political self-representation, and how *Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad* negotiated the balance between *Ṭūlūnīd* autonomy and 'Abbāsīd legitimacy in 277 AH / 890–891 AD as the following:

- *Dīnār* no. 417 reaffirms *Ṭūlūnīd* allegiance while emphasizing *Khumārawayh*'s authority.
- *Dīnār* no. 418 experiments with an unusual epithet "*al-Mufawwaḍ ilā-llāh*", pointing to an ideological innovation in *Ṭūlūnīd* coinage.
- *Dīnār* no. 422 expresses the moment of transition between *al-Mu'tamid* and *al-Mu'taḍid*, confirming *Khumārawayh*'s strategic balancing act.

Far beyond commerce, these coins served as ideological tools, illustrating loyalty, anticipating succession, and confirming legitimacy. These *dīnārs* enrich our understanding of *Ṭūlūnīd* numismatics and the broader political complexities of the late third AH/ninth AD century.

7. End Note

¹ Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 AH / 1406 AD), 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad. *Tārīkh al-'Ibar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada' wa-al-Khabar fī Ayyām al-'Arab wa-al-'Ajam wa-al-Barbar wa-man 'Āsarahum min Dhawī al-Sulṭān al-Akbar* / [The History of Examples and the Register of Beginnings and Events Concerning the Days of the Arabs, the Non-Arabs, and the Berbers, and Their Powerful Contemporaries], Part 4. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992, p. 298; Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 AH / 1233 AD), 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* / [The Complete in History], Vol. 5, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1982, p. 367; Ibn Taghrī Birdī (d. 874 AH / 1470 AD), Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsīn. *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhira* / [The Shining Stars Concerning the Kings of Egypt and Cairo], Vol. 1, Dār al-Kutub, 2016, p. 419.

² Al-Balawī (d. after 330 AH / 941 AD), Abū Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh. *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*. Ed. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, Maṭba'at al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī, Dimashq, 1358 AH / 1939 AD, p. 42; Ḥasan, Aḥmad. *Ḥaḍārat Miṣr al-Islāmiyya fī al-'Aṣr al-Ṭūlūnī* / [Islamic Civilization in Egypt during the Ṭūlūnīd Period], Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, Cairo, 2014, p. 59.

³ Balog, Paul. The Coinage of the Tulunids, The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1964, pp. 43-45; Treadwell, L. The Numismatic Evidence for the Reign of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (254 – 270/868-883), University of Oxford, vol. 25, 2017, pp.14-40.

⁴ Mallawi Museum was established in 1961AD and officially inaugurated on 23 June 1962 AD during the presidency of *Gamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir*. It was founded to house artifacts discovered in the nearby archaeological zones of *Ṭūnā al-Jabal* and Hermopolis (al-*Ashmūnayn*), as well as collections from Tell al-*Amārna* and other sites representing the Pharaonic, Graeco-Roman, Coptic, and Islamic periods.

- Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MOTA) (2016). Mallawi Museum official reopening report. Cairo: MOTA Publications.

⁵ These *dīnārs* were part of a collection discovered during excavations conducted in the city of *Manqabād*, one of the oldest integrated urban sites in Upper Egypt. It is located about 9 km north of the city of *Asyūt*, and its ruins extend over an area of approximately 83 feddans. The site was registered among the Islamic and Coptic antiquities under Decree No. 128 of 1989 AD. The current name *Manqabād* is derived from its original Pharaonic name *Mankabut*, meaning “the store of sacred vessels.” Excavations at *Manqabād* began in 1975 AD, revealing numerous religious and civil structures, including the remains of a mosque, a church, domestic buildings, and Coptic houses, in addition to military structures — most notably the remains of a defensive wall surrounding the area.

- ‘Abd al-‘Āl, A. S. *Dirāsāt li-majmū‘at al-fakhār al-muktaṣafah bi-minṭaqat āthār Manqabād bi-Asyūt*/ [A Study of the Pottery Assemblage Discovered at the Archaeological Site of Manqabād Asyut], AAKJ, vol. 15, October 2012, p. 224.

⁶ Lowick, N. *Coinage and History of the Islamic World*, London, 1990, pp. 93; Miles, G.C. *Early Islamic Gold Coinage and Its Political Meaning*. The American Numismatic Society, 22(4), 1950, pp. 291–314; Becker, C. *Coinage and Legitimacy: Tulunid Egypt under Abbasid Overlordship*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 2009, pp. 215–236.

⁷ Bacharach, J. *The Career of Khumarawayh ibn Ahmad ibn Tulun*, ARC, Vol. 30, Egypt, 1993, pp. 151–166.

⁸ Stern, M. *The Coins of the Tulunids*, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, 13, 1973, pp. 123–142.

⁹ Balog, *The Coinage of the Tulunids*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁰ These coins were studied and photographed after obtaining the approval of the Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the Museums Sector on 21 November 2024.

¹¹ Lane-Poole, S. *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in The British Museum 1, The Coins of Eastern Khaleefehs*, London, 1875, no. 7; Qāzān, Wīliyam. *al-Maskūkāt al-Islāmiyya, Majmū‘a Khāṣṣa*. Bayrūt/ [Personal Collection of Islamic numismatics], Beirut, 1983, Pl. no. 1.

¹² The *Ikhshīdiyya* “*Ikhshīdī*” dynasty was a Muslim Turkic-origin dynasty that ruled Egypt and parts of Syria under nominal ‘*Abbāsīd*’ suzerainty. Founded by *Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd* (323–358 AH/ 935–969 AD), a military commander of Turkic origin appointed by the ‘*Abbāsīd*’ caliph *al-Rāḍī* as governor of Egypt in 935 AD. The title “*al-Ikhshīd*” was granted by the caliph and originally meant “prince” or “ruler” in the old Sogdian language, symbolizing autonomy and prestige.

- Bianquis, T. “*Ikhshīdids*.”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed., Vol. 3, 1991, pp. 1066–1069.

¹³ Hamed, Doaa. Two Rare Tulunid Coins (Publish and Study for The First Time), SHAK, vol. 31, June 2024, p. 942.

¹⁴ Al-Nabarawy, Rwayda. A Rare Ṭūlūnīd dirham minted in Misr 265 AH, JINCE, Issue No. 1, 2018, p. 47.

¹⁵ The *Ziyādiyya* or Ziyadid dynasty (204–408 AH/ 819–1018 AD), was established around 819 AD by Muḥammad ibn *Ziyād*, who was appointed by the ‘*Abbāsīd* Caliph *al-Ma’mūn* as governor of Yemen. Muḥammad ibn *Ziyād* built and developed *Zabīd*, which became one of the most important cultural and political centers in Yemen and the entire Red Sea region.

- Smith, R. “*Ziyādids*”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed., Vol. 11, 1991, pp. 522–523.

¹⁶ The *Ṭāhirīd* dynasty was the first semi-independent Iranian Muslim dynasty under the nominal authority of the ‘*Abbāsīd* Caliphate. Founded by *Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn*, a distinguished general who helped the caliph *al-Ma’mūn* secure victory in the civil war (the Fourth Fitna, 811–813 AD). As a reward, *al-Ma’mūn* appointed him governor of *Khurāsān* in 821 CE, making *Ṭāhir* effectively autonomous while maintaining loyalty to Baghdad.

- Bosworth, E. *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual*. Edinburgh University Press, 1966.

¹⁷ The *Sāmānids* were a Persian Sunni dynasty that rose to prominence in eastern Iran and Central Asia during the 9th–10th centuries 204–389 AH/ 819–999 AD. They descended from Sāmān Khudā, a nobleman from Balkh who converted to Islam under the early ‘*Abbāsīds*. The dynasty was established when *al-Ma’mūn*, the ‘*Abbāsīd* caliph, rewarded *Sāmān*’s descendants for their loyalty by granting them governorships in Transoxiana (819 CE). The *Sāmānids* gradually became virtually independent, though they maintained nominal allegiance to the ‘*Abbāsīd* Caliphate.

- Bosworth, E. “*Sāmānids*”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed., Vol. 8, 2012, pp. 1025–1030.

¹⁸ The *Ḥamdānids* were an Arab dynasty that ruled northern Iraq (Mosul) and later northern Syria (Aleppo) during the decline of ‘*Abbāsīd* central authority (277–395 AH / 890–1004 AD). The dynasty originated from the *Banū Taghlib*, an ancient Arab tribe settled in Upper Mesopotamia. Its founder, *Ḥamdān ibn Ḥamdūn*, rose to prominence in the late 9th century, and his sons subsequently established the family’s political power.

- Canard, M. “*Ḥamdānids*”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed., Vol. 3, 1971, pp. 146–151.

¹⁹ The *Banū Mirdās* were an Arab tribal dynasty that ruled Aleppo and parts of northern Syria during the 11th century 415–473 AH/ 1024–1080 AD, in the power vacuum that followed the fall of the *Ḥamdānids* and the weakening of the ‘*Abbāsīd* Caliphate. *Ṣāliḥ ibn Mirdās*, a powerful chieftain of the *Banū Kilāb*, established his rule in Aleppo in 1024 CE, after defeating the local

forces loyal to the *Fāṭimid* Caliphate. The dynasty initially controlled Aleppo, *Ḥimṣ* (Homs), *Ḥamāh*, and parts of the *Jazīrah* (Upper Mesopotamia). Though nominally loyal to the Fatimids, the *Mirdāsids* often acted independently, balancing between Fatimid Egypt and the Byzantine Empire to preserve autonomy.

- Canard, M. “*Mirdāsids*”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed., Vol. 7, 1971, pp. 130–134.

²⁰ The *Qarmatī* (Qarmatian) movement began as a radical *Ismāʿīlī* revolutionary sect within the broader *Shīʿī* tradition (286–470 AH/ 899–1077 AD). It originated in *Kūfa* (Iraq) in the late 9th century and spread to Eastern Arabia, where it developed into an independent theocratic state. The movement’s name derives from *Ḥamdān* Qarmat, one of the early *Ismāʿīlī* missionaries (*dāʿīs*) in southern Iraq. Around 899 AD, *Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī*, originally from *Jannāba* (in Persia), led a successful uprising in *al-Baḥrayn* (Eastern Arabia) and established an autonomous Qarmatian state centered in *al-Aḥsāʾ*.

- Wilferd, Madelung. “*Qarmatīs*”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed., Vol. 4, 1990, pp. 660–665.

²¹ The *Banū Jīh* were a local Iranian ruling family that governed parts of *Sīstān* and *Makrān* after the decline of the early *ʿAbbāsīd* authority in eastern Iran 9th–10th centuries AD. Their emergence is tied to the fragmentation of the Saffarid Empire (founded by *Yaʿqūb ibn al-Layth al-Ṣaffār*). Like other small dynasties in eastern Iran during the 9th–10th centuries, they exercised semi-independent authority, often acknowledging overlordship from stronger neighbors (such as the Saffarids or Samanids).

- Bosworth, E. “*Sīstān*”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed., Vol. 9, pp. 660–666.

²² The *Banū Sāmāʾ* were an Arab tribal dynasty that ruled over Eastern Arabia (historically known as *al-Baḥrayn*) before the rise of the *Qarmatīs* in the late 9th century (mid-3rd–5th centuries AH/ 866–1076 AD). Their rule represents an early phase of Arab-Islamic local autonomy in the Persian Gulf region following the decline of strong *ʿAbbāsīd* control. The family likely belonged to the *ʿAbd al-Qays* tribe, a prominent Arab group of Eastern Arabia, which played a major political and economic role in the Gulf’s early Islamic period.

- Madelung, W. “*al-Baḥrayn*”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed., Vol. 1, 1990, pp. 998–1003.

²³ The Seljuk Empire (*Saljūq* Dynasty), They converted to Sunni Islam in the 10th century and migrated westward into Khurasan and Iran (429–590 AH/ 1037–1194 AD). Under Tughril Beg (r. 1037–1063), they defeated the Ghaznavids and entered Persia, establishing themselves as protectors of the *ʿAbbāsīd* caliphs in Baghdad. The Seljuk Empire became one of the most powerful Islamic empires of the medieval period, stretching from Central Asia and Iran to Syria and Anatolia.

- Bosworth, E. The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual, Edinburgh University Press, 1996.

²⁴ The title *Atābeg* (Atabek) originated under the Seljuk Turks in the 11th century AD. It referred to a high-ranking Turkic military commander or nobleman appointed as guardian and tutor (*atā*) of a young Seljuk prince (*beg*). These Atabegs were entrusted with governing provinces on behalf of the Seljuk sultan (5th–8th centuries AH/ 11th–14th centuries AD), while educating the prince in administration and warfare. Over time, many Atabegs consolidated regional power, turning their governorships into independent dynasties.

- Bosworth, C. E. “*Atābak*”, Encyclopedia of Islam, Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed., Vol. 1, 1990, pp. 735–737.

²⁵ The *Banū Jastān* were an Iranian Daylamite dynasty that ruled parts of Daylam (modern Gilan and Zanjan provinces, Iran) (2nd–5th centuries AH/9–11th century AD). They rose to prominence in the late 8th century AD, during the weakening of direct ‘*Abbāsīd* control in northern Iran. Their founder, *Jastān ibn Vahsūdān*, established authority over Daylam around (175 AH/791 AD). They were one of several local Iranian dynasties—alongside the *Bāvandids*, Karenids, and Zaydid Imams who preserved pre-Islamic traditions and maintained local autonomy after the Arab conquest.

- Madelung, W. “*The Jastānids of Daylam*”, Encyclopedia of Islam, Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed., Vol. 2, 1975, pp. 618–619.

²⁶ The Ghaznavids were a Persianate Turkic dynasty that originated from slave-soldiers (*ghilmān*) in the Samanid Empire of Transoxiana (367–582 AH/ 977–1186 AD). The dynasty was founded by *Sebüktigin*, a Turkish general who became governor of Ghazna under the Samanids and declared independence around 977 AD. His son *Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (r. 998–1030 AD) transformed the small principality into a vast empire, stretching from Rayy (Iran) to Lahore (India).

- Heidemann, Stefan. "The Merger of Two Currency Zones in Early Islam: The Byzantine and Sasanian Denarius and the Formation of the Islamic Dīnār." In *Money in the Medieval Islamic World*, edited by Jarbel Rodriguez, 2015, pp. 21–56.

²⁷ The *Ilkhānīd* “*Al-Ilkhānīyūn*” was a Mongol khanate founded in the 13th century in the southwestern territories of the Mongol Empire. It was ruled by the *Ilkhāns* and was known as the “Land of Iran”. *Ilkhānīd* coins often featured inscriptions in both Arabic (or Kufic script) and Mongolian script. They frequently included the names of the ruling *Ilkhān* and the caliph, as well as the minting location and date. The style of inscriptions was influential and was sometimes adopted by other states. For example, the Kufic script style on some Mamluk dirhams was completely like the style used on the dirhams of the Ilkhanid Sultan *Abū Saīd Bahader Khan* (r. 1316–1335 AD).

- Mansour, Atef. "A Rare Dirham in the Name of the Mamluk Sultan Al-Mansūr Muḥammad Minted in Mawsil (763 AH), ABGAD, vol. 5, 2010, pp. 80-83; Jackson, P. The Mongols and the Islamic World: From Conquest to Conversion. Yale University Press, 2017, pp. 72-74.

²⁸ Faraj Allāh, Aḥmad Yūsuf. *al-Āyāt Al-Qur'āniyya 'alā al-Maskūkāt al-Islāmiyya: Dirāsa Muqārana/* [Qur'ānic Verses on Islamic Coins: A Comparative Study], First Edition, al-Riyadh, 2003, pp. 91–97; 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Ġamal. "Dīnār ṭulūnī nādir ḍarb Miṣr 265 H", *ANSL*, no. 39, 2005, p. 12 .

²⁹ "Sīstān" was originally known as *Sakastān*, settled by the Saka (Scythian) tribes around the 2nd–1st centuries BCE. Under the Sasanian Empire (224–651 AD), it was governed by a *marzbān* (frontier governor). The region's capital, Zarang, became a key frontier post of the Sasanian east. The Muslims conquered *Sijistān* during the caliphate of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (r. 644–656 CE). The province became part of the Umayyad and later 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, but often retained local rulers. *Sijistān* was important for controlling the route to India and Khorasan

- Frye, N. *The Golden Age of Persia: The Arabs in the East*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975.

³⁰ Al-'sh, Muḥammad Abū al-Faraj. *al-Nuqūd al-'Arabiyya al-Islāmiyya al-Mahfūẓa fī Mathaf Qaṭar al-Waṭanī*, vol.1. al-Doha, 1984, p. 53, no. 2, p. 95.

³¹ Muhit, M., & Rabbi, M. Abbasid gold coins preserved in the Bangladesh National Museum: Identification, inscription analysis, and historical significance. *International Journal of Humanities, Literature and Arts*, 7(1), 2024, pp. 9- 22.

³² Bates, L. History, Geography and Numismatics in the First Century of Islamic Coinage, *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 65, 1986, pp. 284–285.

³³ Walker, J. A Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum, London, 1956, no. 2; Fahmī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *Mawsū'at al-Nuqūd al-'Arabiyya wa-'Ilm al-Nimyāt (Fajr al-Sikka al-'Arabiyya)* / [Encyclopaedia of Arab Coins and Numismatics (The Dawn of Arab Coinage)], Vol. 1, Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, 1965, p. 98.

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³⁵ Al-Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad (d. 821 AH / 1418 AD). *Āthār al-Anāfa fī Ma'ālim al-Khilāfa/* [Monuments of Nobility in the Institutions of the Caliphate], Vol. 1. Edited by 'Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad. 'Ālam al-Kutub, Bayrūt, 2000, p. 262.

³⁶ Grabar, Oleg. The Coinage of the Tulunids, *ANS*, New York, 1957, p.113.

³⁷ Miles, C. The Numismatic History of the Tulunids, American Numismatic Society, 1951. Provides examples of Ṭulūnīd dīnārs bearing this shortened Qur'ānic text.

- Album, Stephen, Checklist of Islamic Coins, 3rd ed., 2011. Lists Tulunid coins of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn and his successors with the inscription: “*Muḥammad rasūl Allāh arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqq li-yuḏhirahu ‘alā al-dīn kullihī*”

- Walker, J. A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins, British Museum, 1956, p.260. Notes that this formula became a standard inscription on post-reform Islamic coinage.

³⁸ The Mamluk Sultanate was a powerful state that ruled Egypt, the Levant, and the Hejaz from the mid-13th to early 16th centuries. It was ruled by a military caste of freed slave soldiers known as Mamluks. Mamluk coinage is a well-studied area of numismatics. Mamluk coins often bear inscriptions in Kufic script. The coins are a valuable source for studying the different phases of the sultanate, including the *Bahrī* and *Burgī* Mamluk periods. Coins were minted in various metals, including gold (*dīnārs*), silver (dirhams), and copper (fils). The design of the coins evolved over the centuries, but generally included the name and titles of the ruling sultan.

- Warren C. Schultz & Çev: Ayşe Dudu Kuşçu. Ayyubid and Mamluk Coins Preserved in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Journal of Near Eastern Studies, January 2009, p. 60.

³⁹ The Salghurids were a dynasty of Turkmen origin that ruled Fars (in present-day Iran) from the mid-12th to the mid-13th century. The title "Atabeg" means "guardian of the prince," and the Salghurids were initially vassals of the Seljuk and later the Khwarazmian empires before eventually being subjugated by the Mongols. The Salghurids minted their own coins. Like other dynasties of the era, their coins likely included inscriptions identifying the ruling Atabeg and other relevant political and religious figures. Information gathered from coins, such as economic and political data, helps provide a more complete picture of the Salghurid dynasty.

- Warren, Çev: Ayşe Dudu Kuşçu. Ayyubid and Mamluk Coins, p. 62.

⁴⁰ Abd al-Rahman, Samih. *Al-Waḥdāt al-Naqdiyya al-Mamlūkiyya* / [The Mamluk Monetary Units], Jidda, 1985, p. 54; al-Nibrawī, Raafat. *Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmiyya mundhu Bidāyat al-Qarn al-Sādis ḥattā Nihāyat al-Qarn al-Tāsi ‘ al-Hijrī* / [Islamic Coinage from the Early Sixth to the Late Ninth Century Hijri], First edition, Cairo, 2000, p. 47; Ibrahim. *Dīnār Ṭulūnī*, p. 13.

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Athariyya Fanniyya/ [A Unique Tulunid Dīnār Bearing the Name of Hārūn ibn Khumārawayh, minted in the Year 286 AH, with No Mint Name Inscribed: An Archaeological and Artistic Study], JHLS, Vol. 11, Issue 5, 2016, pp. 1339–1352.

⁴³ *Al-Mufawwad ilā Allāh*, Abū Aḥmad Ismāʿīl bin Jaʿfar al-Mūtawakkil, (designated heir, 256–278 AH / 870–891 AD), Brother of *al-Muʿtamid*; officially named heir apparent (*walī al-ʿahd*) with the title *al-Mufawwad ilā Allāh* (“He to whom authority is entrusted”), His appointment was a compromise intended to balance factions within the court after the death of their father *al-Mūtawakkil*, While formally heir, he was politically sidelined by his other brother *al-Muwaffaq*, who exercised actual control as regent and military commander, Died in (278 AH/ 891AD) before ever ascending the throne.

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⁴⁴ Kennedy, N. “*al-Muʿtamid ʿalā ʿIla(h)*.” In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., edited by P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs, et al., vol. 6 (P–Sh), Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993, 765–66.

⁴⁵ Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 AH / 922 AD), Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr. *Tārīkh al-Umam wa-l-Mulūk*. al-Qāhira / [The History of the Nations and Kings], Cairo, 1966, vol. 7, p. 599; Al-Balawī (d. after 330 AH / 941 AD), Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*/ [The Life of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn], Edited by Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, Dimashq, 1358 AH / 1939 AD, p. 42; Ibrāhīm. *Dīnār Ṭūlūnī*, p. 11.

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⁴⁸ Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH / 1505 AD), Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. *Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ* / [History of the Caliphs], n.d., p. 264; Al-Yaʿqūbī. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*/ [The History of al-Yaʿqūbī], Vol. 2. Liden, 1883, p. 619; Abū Khalīl, Shawqī. *Aṭlas al-Tārīkh al-ʿArabī al-Islāmī*/ [Atlas of Arab–Islamic History], Dār al-Fikr, 2005, p. 170; Shams al-Din, Ayat Hassan. A Unique Ṭūlūnīd Dirham Named after Khumarawayh bin Ahmed Coined in Hims 278 A.H, JAAHS, vol. 6, no. 27, May 2021, pp. 742–745.

⁴⁹ Kennedy, "al-Muʿtamid ʿAlā ʿIlaḥ", pp. 765.

⁵⁰ Heidemann, S. The Representation of Caliphal Power in 'Abbāsīd Egypt. *Der Islam*, 75(2), 1998, pp. 245–272.

⁵¹ The 'Abbāsīd caliph Al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh, his full name was Aḥmad b. Ja'far al-Mūṭawakkil (r. 256–279 AH/ 870–892 AD), he was the son of caliph al-Mūṭawakkil (r. 847–861). Proclaimed caliph after his brother al-Mu'tazz was deposed and killed. He was nominally caliph in Baghdad, but political and military authority shifted to his brother al-Muwaffaq, who acted as regent and commander-in-chief. His reign symbolizes the transformation of the caliph into a symbolic figure, while power lay with generals and provincial rulers. Died in (279 AH/892 AD) and was succeeded by his nephew al-Mu'taḍid.

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دراسة مسكوكيه لدنانير طولونية نادرة من عام ٢٧٧ هـ تحمل أسماء ثلاثة خلفاء عباسيين بمجموعة متحف ملوي

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الملخص:

يتناول البحث دراسة لثلاثة دنانير ذهبية نادرة وغير منشورة سابقاً، محفوظة في متحف ملوي (المنيا - مصر)، ضربت في عهد خمارويه بن أحمد (270-282 هـ / 884-896 م)، ثاني حكام الدولة الطولونية. وقد فهرست هذه الدنانير بمتحف ملوي تحت الأرقام 417 و 418 و 422، وتمثل هذه الدنانير أهمية استثنائية لما تحمله من سمات كتابية بارزة وإشارات مباشرة إلى ثلاثة من الخلفاء العباسيين وهم: المعتمد (256-279 هـ / 870-892 م)، والمعتضد (279-289 هـ / 892-902 م)، والمفوض إلى الله (ولي العهد الاسمي، 256-278 هـ / 875-891 م). كما تتضمن هذه النقود آيات قرآنية تؤكد على الشرعية الإلهية والسلطة السياسية. يتراوح وزنها بين 3.8 و 4.2 غرام، مع بعض الانحرافات الطفيفة عن المعيار العباسي للدينار (4.25 غ). ومن خلال التحليل التفصيلي للنقوش بالترجمة الصوتية والترجمة الحرفية والمقارنة، يضع هذا البحث دنانير ملوي في إطار التاريخ النقدي الإسلامي الأوسع، واستراتيجيات الشرعية في مصر الطولونية. وتبرز النتائج التوتر القائم بين استقلالية الأقاليم والسلطة المركزية أثناء خلافة العباسية، كما تظهر الدور الرمزي للنقود بوصفها وسيلة للتبادل الاقتصادي وأداة سياسية للتعبير عن القوة والشرعية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: العصر الطولوني، دينار، خمارويه، المعتمد، المعتضد، المفوض الي الله