

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

"The silver and copper coins of Prince 'Īsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Khālīd al-Ma'muni, minted at the Armenia mints (206-208AH/ 821-823AD) "

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Abstract:

This research examines the silver and copper coins minted under Emir Isa ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Khalid al-Ma'muni (206-208AH/821-823AD) at the mints of Armenia during his governorship. The extant corpus of his coinage is limited to two denominations: dirhams and fulus. The study has classified four distinct types of dirhams struck at the Armenia mint, along with four additional types produced at the Arran mint. Furthermore, certain copper fulus bearing the date 208AH/ 830AD, whose mint location remains unspecified, have been identified and categorized into two distinct types. The significance of this numismatic investigation lies in its ability to compensate for the historical sources' inadequate coverage of al-Ma'muni's appointment, dismissal, and the events of his era. Consequently, this study employs the coins minted during his rule as primary evidence to illuminate historical events and information absent from traditional historical accounts. The research challenges stem from the paucity of historical sources addressing Armenia and its governors, highlighting the need for specialized academic studies in Islamic numismatics for this region. While Dr. Aram Vardanyan compiled a catalog of Islamic coins minted in Armenia "Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia", his work was limited to deciphering select coin inscriptions, with some remaining unread, and lacked analytical examination of the numismatic evidence. This research focuses on analyzing the silver and copper coins issued by Emir Isa al-Ma'muni, which to our knowledge and based on available evidence, have not been previously studied or examined by scholars. Through systematic analysis of the dirhams and fulus minted at the Armenia and Arran mints, the study has yielded significant findings. Most notably, it establishes that the Emir governed Armenia in 206AH/ 821AD and 208AH/ 823AD information undocumented in historical sources, including al-Ya'qubi's works, which fail to record his appointment or dismissal. Furthermore, the research reveals the existence of a structured monetary system reflecting a degree of administrative autonomy in financial policies. As such, this study constitutes a novel scholarly contribution to the field of Islamic numismatics, particularly for this historically obscure period. It serves as a crucial primary source for understanding the political and economic contexts of the era, while simultaneously enriching Arabic academic literature in the domain of Islamic coinage studies. The study also corrected a rare silver dirham published by a researcher that was mistakenly attributed to Prince Issa al-Ma'mun. In light of the evidence, it was proven that the dirham was attributed to another prince. The numismatic evidence provides substantive documentation where textual sources are silent, offering new insights into the administrative and economic structures of Armenia under Abbasid rule.

KEYWORDS: Silver coins, Copper coins, Armenia, Armenian Mints, Isa bin Mohamed bin Abi Khalid al-Ma'mūnīn.

1. |INTRODUCTION

Armenia (Arminiyya) was a vast and strategically significant region located between Azerbaijan, al-Jazira, and Arran. The territory was partially incorporated into the Islamic world (Dār al-Islām), while other

sections remained under Byzantine control (Dār al-Rūm). Among its most prominent cities were Dabil (the ancient capital), Khilāt, Barkarī, and Arzan. Historically, the region was divided into two main sectors: Greater Armenia, which encompassed the northern areas, and Lesser Armenia, which

comprised the southern parts⁽¹⁾. The name 'Armenia' derives from Greek nomenclature (Ἀρμενία). The Persians referred to the region as 'Armanestān' (ارمنستان), while Jewish sources identified it as 'the land of Ararat' (بلاد ارارات), invoking the biblical association with Mount Ararat⁽²⁾, Armenia is characterized as a predominantly mountainous territory of exceptional natural abundance. This description, found in classical Islamic geographical texts, reflects several key historical and environmental realities⁽³⁾.

Armenia was renowned for its formidable mountain fortresses and life-sustaining rivers most notably the Araxes (Aras) River and stood as a powerful kingdom in the pre-Islamic era. This characterization is substantiated by multiple historical and geographical sources⁽⁴⁾, Arran (Caucasian Albania) emerged as the earliest organized kingdom within the Armenian cultural sphere, predating even the Urartian state⁽⁵⁾, Armenia held immense strategic significance in early Islamic history, particularly during the early Abbasid period (8th–9th centuries AD), due to its geopolitically sensitive location between the

Byzantine Empire and the Abbasid Caliphate. Serving as both a buffer zone and a vital trade corridor, Armenia played a crucial role in the military, economic, and diplomatic dynamics of the medieval Islamic world⁽⁶⁾. It served as a vital military and commercial gateway, enabling the Caliphs to monitor Byzantine movements and threaten their strategic depth. Additionally, it functioned as a critical transit hub between the Levant (Bilad al-Sham), Persia, Azerbaijan, and the Jazira region⁽⁷⁾, The Abbasids implemented a distinct administrative system for Armenia, designating it as an autonomous unit within the provincial framework of the state. Its governance was entrusted to governors appointed by the Caliph, selected for their competence and loyalty. The Armenian administrative system was characterized by a dual structure, combining an Arab emir on one hand and local Armenian nobles (Batrik/Պաշտօնիկ) or princes on the other. This reflected a delicate balance between central authority and regional identity⁽⁸⁾, This enabled the state to maintain its influence and effectively administer multi-ethnic, multi-lingual regions within a cohesive centralized political system⁽⁹⁾.

(1) Al-Hamawi, Y. S. (1977). *Mu'jam al-buldān* [Dictionary of countries], (Vol. 1), Dar Sader, Beirut, PP.159-161.

(2) Al-Mudawwar, M. (n.d.). *Al-Arman 'Abr al-Tārīkh* [The Armenians Through History], Dar Nobel, 2nd ed, Damascus, Syria, P. 491.

(3) Khorenatsi, M. (1999). *Tārīkh al-Arman* [History of the Armenians], (N. Khallīlī, Trans), Ashbīlīyah for Printing and Publishing. Damascus, 1st ed, Syria, P. 52, 53.

(4) Al-Balādhurī, A. Y. (1978). *Kitab Futūh al-buldān* [The Conquests of the Lands], Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, Beirut, Lebanon, P 185, 197.

(5) Al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, P. 161.

(6) Al-Nūrī, H. A & Al-Mūsawī, M. F. (2020). *Armenia wa-dawru-hā fī al-siyāsah al-dawliyyah min al-qarn al-sābi' qabl al-mīlād ḥattā 'ām 224 M* [Armenia and its role in international politics from the 7th century BC to

224AD], Journal of the College of Education, University of Wasit Iraq, 41(1), P. 97.

(7) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, I. M. (1927). *Al-masālik wa-al-mamālik* [Routes and Realms], Printed in Leiden by Brill, P 180, 181; Ibn al-Faqīh, A. Ibn. M. (1885). *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān* [Abridged Book of Lands], Brill Press, Leiden, P 286, 288; Al-Qalqashandī, A. B. A (1987). *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī ṣinā'at al-inshā'* [The dawn of the blind in the craft of composition] (M. H. Shams al-Dīn et al., Eds.), Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, Vol.4, Beirut, P. 353.

(8) Tir-Gevondyan, A. (2007). *Dirāsāt istishrāqiyya ḥawla al-'alāqāt al-Armaniyya al-'Arabiyya* [Orientalist studies on Arab- Armenian relations], (A. Keshishian, Trans.), Dār al-Nahj, 1st ed, P.65, 67.

(9) Al-Tā'ī, S. A. (2018). *Siyāsāt ta'yīn wulāt Armīniyā fī al-'aṣr al-'Abbāsī al-awwal 132–227 AH / 749–841 AD* [The policy of appointing governors of Armenia in the early Abbasid period], Majallat Dirāsāt Tārīkhiyya [Journal of

Armenia⁽¹⁰⁾ **Figure(A)** witnessed brief periods of rule by governors who exercised authority in the name of the Caliphate. Among them was Emir⁽¹¹⁾ 'Īsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Khālīd al-Ma'mūnī, who governed Armenia between 206–208AH/821–823AD. However, this phase suffers from limited documentation in traditional historical sources such as the works of al-Ya'qūbī and al-Ṭabarī, which omit precise details about Emir 'Īsā's appointment, tenure, or dismissal. Consequently, the coins minted during his rule constitute nearly the sole primary evidence attesting to his political and administrative presence in the region. The governorship of Emir 'Īsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Khālīd al-Ma'mūnī (206–208 AH/821–823AD)⁽¹²⁾ holds particular significance in the history of Islamic Armenia. Politically, it marked a transitional phase in Abbasid governance, shifting from a traditional provincial administration (wilāya) toward a more autonomous system under Abbasid princely rule. Economically, this period saw notable developments in the monetary system, evidenced by the diversity

of coinage and the proliferation of mints. Below is an analysis of the Emir and his silver (dirhams) and copper (fulūs) coins struck at the mints of Armenia and Arrān during this era.



Figure (A): The map of Armenia in the Abbasid Era (132- 271AH/ 750-885AD) Source: <https://2u.pw/HBM72>

2. 'Īsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Khālīd al-Ma'mūnī

Zambauer⁽¹³⁾ mentioned that 'Īsā bin Mohamed bin Abi Khalid al-Ma'muni assumed the rule of Armenia from 205AH to 209 AH. Al-Yaqoub⁽¹⁴⁾, also mentioned that 'Īsā bin Abi Khalid assumed the leadership of the army during the reign of Caliph al-Ma'mun. Al-Ya'qubi⁽¹⁵⁾, added that on the sixth of Muharram in 203AH, the commanders of the military pledged

Historical Studies], University of Basra, College of Education for Women, Issue (25), PP 274-280.

(10)<https://2u.pw/HBM72>

(11)The term *Amīr* (Arabic: أمير) linguistically denotes "one who holds command and authority." It functioned as both an administrative title and honorific designation within Islamic governance structures. During the Prophet's era (peace be upon him), the title specifically referred to either political governors exercising executive authority (*wilāya* 'alā al-ḥukm) or military commanders leading expeditions (*riyāsat al-jaysh*). In the Abbasid administrative framework, the title marked provincial governors (*wulāt*) operating under the broader Caliphate system. These regional rulers maintained formal allegiance to the Abbasid Caliph despite varying degrees of de facto autonomy, a relationship materially evidenced through, See: Al-Baghdādī, Ṣ. A. 'A. (1954). *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilā' 'alā asmā' al-amkinah wa-al-biqā'* (Vol. 2) [Observatories for knowing names of places and locations]. (A. M. al-Bijāwī, Ed.). Dār al-Ma'rifāh,

PP.112-115; Al-Basha, H. (1989)., *Al-alqab al-islamiyya fi al-tarikh wa al-watha'iq wa al-athar* [Islamic titles in history, documents, and antiquities], Al-Dar al-Fanniya lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzi, PP. 179-211; Barakat, M. (2000). *Al-alqab wa al-waza'if al-uthmaniyya* [Ottoman titles and functions]. Dar Gharib for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, PP. 104- 109.

(12)Al-Tabari, M. J.(1979). *Tarikh al-Tabari: Tarikh al-rusul wa al-muluk* [The history of al-Tabari: History of the prophets and kings], Dar al-Ma'arif, 2nd ed, Vol. 8, Cairo, Egypt, P. 580.601.

(13)Zambaur, E. (1951). *Mu'jam al-Ansab wa al-Usar al-Hakima fi al-Tarikh al-Islami* (Dictionary of Lineages and Ruling Families in Islamic History), Translated by Zaki Muhammad Hassan, Hassan Ahmad Mahmoud, et al., Vol.1, Egypt, P. 274.

(14) Al-Ya'qubi, A. A. (1883). *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* (History of Al-Ya'qubi), Vol. 2, P. 545.

(15)Al-Ya'qubi, *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi*, PP. 545-546.

allegiance to Ibrahim bin al-Mahdi, known as Ibn Shakla, and called for his caliphate. Ibrahim settled in al-Rusafa and prayed with the people in Baghdad in the mosque of the city and camped in Kaslawani, with him were al-Fadl bin al-Rabi', 'Isa bin Mohamed bin Abi Khalid, Sa'id bin al-Sahour, and Alwalit. He was appointed as caliph, and all went well for him as people and the military obeyed him. Ibrahim was very black and had a mole on his face. They called him Anqoud (cluster of grapes). However, the military deposed Ibrahim and called for Al-Ma'mun, so 'Isa bin Abi Khalid arrested Asad Al-Harbi and took one of his sons, killed both and crucified them⁽¹⁶⁾.

'Isa took over Armenia and Azerbaijan and Al-Ma'mun ordered him to equip them and give them provisions from his money, so 'Isa bin Mohamed equipped them from his own money, and they were from Drau As-Salam (the city of peace), in order to fight Babak. 'Isa took with him all the soldiers who participated in the sedition and asked them, and the leaders of the country, to fight Babak. Babak, however, defeated 'Isa and his army and fought 'Isa, so Al-Ma'mun removed 'Isa from the rule of Armenia and appointed Zurayq bin Mohamed bin Sadaqa Al-Azdi⁽¹⁷⁾ instead. Al-Ya'qubi did not specify the date of 'Isa's assumption of Armenia, nor did he mention the date of his removal from it and the assumption of Zurayq.

We have received from the coins that 'Isa bin Mohamed bin Abi Khalid Al-Ma'mun only dirhams and Fulus, and we have not

received dinars that 'Isa minted in Armenia. Therefore, we will first discuss the dirhams and classify them into models, as well as the Fulus.

3. First: Silver Coins" Dirhams"

'Isa al-Mamouni minted his dirhams in the mints of Armenia and the city of Arran. We will discuss the Armenian dirhams first, then the dirhams of the city of Aran, as follows:

3.1. Dirhams struck in Armenian mint

We can classify the dirhams that reached us and were struck by 'Isa bin Mohamed bin Abi Khalid al-Ma'muni at the Armenian mint⁽¹⁸⁾ into four models:

3.1.1. The First Style

The general shape of this model is characterized by its inclusion of central writings around which there are writings in one margin on the face and back. As for the face, there are no circles separating the central writings from the margin, but the margin is surrounded by two parallel concentric circles. The inner one is made of granules and the outer one is linear, between them are five small circles distributed over the distance between them. A circle surrounds the writings in the center of the back, and a circle also surrounds the writings in the margin. The writings in this model are as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse
Center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	عيسى المأموني محمد رسول الله أبنا بن محمد

(16)Al-Ya'qubi, *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi*, P. 563.

(17)Al-Ya'qubi, *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi*, P. 563.

(18) **Armenia**, a region between Azerbaijan and the Rum. It has many cities, castles, and villages, and most of its inhabitants are Christians. It has many wonders, and Mount Al-Harith and *Al-Huwairith*, which no one

can climb. There are a thousand cities in Armenia on the Al-Ras River, and it has a lake with fortified castles. The author of *Tuhfat Al-Ghara'ib* (wonders) narrated that in the land of Armenia there is a fire house with a roof made of mortar and a copper gutter, and under the gutter is a large marble basin.

Translation	There is no god but Allah alone. He has no partner.	ʿIsā al-Mamouni Mohamed Messenger of Allah Abgha bin Mohamed
Margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بأرمينية سنة ست ومايتين (19)	محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Translation	In the name of Allah Coined in Armenia in the year six and two hundred 206 AH	Mohamed is the Messenger of God, he sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it.

Obverse

Reverse



Plate (1): Dirham minted in Armenia in 206AH, weighing 2.65 grams, quoted from Baldwin's, Auctions Ltd. (2004). Islamic Coins, Auction 8 in London, No.143.

https://archive.org/details/islamiccoinauctionoobald_4/page/14/mode/2up

Vardanyan, A. R. (2011). Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia, Yerevan, No.80, P47.

(Study for the first time)

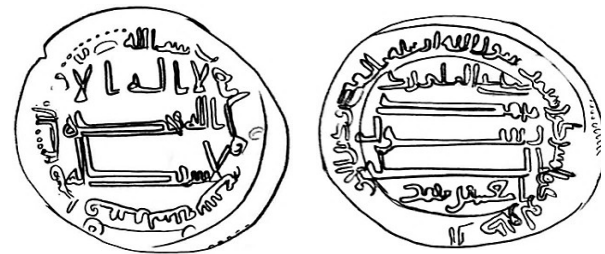


Figure (1) Illustration: Detailed drawing of the inscriptions and decorations on the Upper Dirham.

(the work of the researcher)

The writings in the centre of the face consist of three lines including the full “**The Shahada**” (Islamic testimony of faith) testimony of monotheism: “**There is no god- but Allah alone- He has no partner.**” The testimony of monotheism is incomplete: “**There is no god but Allah alone,**” in writings on the back of a Byzantine Arab dirham in the name of Al-Hajjaj bin Yusuf, minted in Nishapur in 77AH⁽²⁰⁾. However, the full testimony of monotheism appeared in the centre of the face of Umayyad dinars and dirhams minted since 77AH⁽²¹⁾. The testimony of monotheism continued to be recorded on Islamic coins throughout the Umayyad era, then the Abbasid, Tulunid, Ikhshidid, Fatimid, Ayyubid, Mamluk, and other states of the East and West of the Islamic world⁽²²⁾.

The incomplete Basmala (**In the name of Allah**) is mentioned in the margin of the face, followed by the style of currency,

(19) Fardanian's reading of all the pieces mentioned in the study has been corrected, as he mistakenly read the hundreds digit of the minting date as "مائتين" Upon careful review, it became clear to us that it was "مايتين".

(20) Ibn al-Athir mentioned that his name was Ali bin Sadaqah, while al-Tabari mentioned that his name was Sadaqah bin Ali, known as Zurayq, while Al-Ya'qubi mentioned that his name was Zurayq bin Mohamed bin Sadaqah al-Azdi. Ibn al-Athir, A. A (1987). *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh* (The Complete History), revised by Muhammad Yusuf al-Daqqaq, 1st ed, Vol. 5, Beirut.

(21) Al-Ush, A. (1984). *Al-nuqud al-arabiya al-islamiya*

al-mahfouza fi mathaf Qatar al-watani (Arab Islamic coins preserved in the Qatar National Museum), 1st ed, Vol. 1, Doha, PP. 125-126.

(22) For more details and information about the testimony of monotheism, See: Al-Ush, *Al-nuqud al-arabiya al-islamiya*, PP. 125-560; Kazan, W. (1983). *Al-islamiy, A.* (Islamic coins), Beirut; Lane-Poole, S. (1875). *Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum*, Vol 1-X, London; Lavoix, H. (1896). *Catalogue Des Monnaies Musulmanes de La Bibliothèque Nationale* (Catalogue of Muslim Coins in the National Library), Vol 3, Paris.

which is a **dirham**, then the place of minting, which is **Armenia**⁽²³⁾.

After Armenia, in the writings of the margin of the face, comes the date of minting, which is **206AH**. In the center of the back, there are five lines of writing. The first model includes the name of **‘Īsā Al-Ma’muni**, who is ‘Īsā bin Mohamed bin Abi Khalid Al-Ma’muni. The lines from the second to the fourth contain the Mohamedan message, with each word abbreviated in a line like this: **“Mohamed is the Messenger of God.”** The Mohamedan message came in this form on the back of an Arab Sassanian dirham bearing the name of Al-Hajjaj bin Yusuf, minted in Bishapur in the year 77AH⁽²⁴⁾.

The name **Abgha bin Mohamed** was engraved on the last line of the writings of the center of the back. We were able to read the first word, which is Abgha, but Vardanian⁽²⁵⁾, was not able to read it. We did not find any mention of this name in the historical sources. Perhaps he was the deputy of Emir ‘Īsā al-Mamouni in ruling Armenia.

The margin of the back contains a Quranic quote from **Surat At-Tawbah** (verse 33) and **Surat As-Saff** (verse 9)⁽²⁶⁾,

﴿هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظَاهِرَهُ عَلَىٰ آلِينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ﴾ which reads: **“Mohamed is the Messenger of Allah. He has sent him with**

guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it.” The interpretation of this verse is that God Almighty refuses to do anything but perfect His religion, even though the spiteful polytheists hate it. So, he sent our Master Mohamed (peace be upon him) with the true and correct religion, which is the religion of Islam, to make it prevail over all other religions. This verse was not written on the coins as it appears in the Holy Book of Allah, but it was engraved like this: **“Mohamed is the Messenger of Allah. He sent him instead of “He is the One who sent His Messenger,”** which appears in the Holy Quran⁽²⁷⁾.

This model is unique from the other three models minted in Armenia by Emir ‘Īsā Al-Ma’muni in the texts of the inscriptions, their arrangement, and the general form together. Below the inscriptions in the center of the back is the name of Abgha bin Mohamed. A dirham of Baldwin’s width⁽²⁸⁾, belongs to this model, minted in the city of Armenia in 206AH⁽²⁹⁾, referred to by Vardanyan **Plate(1) Figure(1)**.

3.1.2. The second Style

The general shape of the face and back of this model is similar to the general shape of the face and back of the first model,

(23)Al-Qazwini, Z. M. (n.d). *Athar al-Bilad wa Akhbar al- Ibad* (Monuments of The Wonders of the Countries and the Stories of the People), Beirut, PP. 495-496.

(24)Walker, J. (1948). *A catalogue of Muhammadan coins in the British Museum*, Vol. 1, London, P. 119, No. 232; Al-Ush, Al-nuqud al-arabiya al-islamiya, vol. 1, p. 96, No. 132-134. For more details on the Mohamedan message, See: Shamma, S. (1995). *Ahdāth ‘Asr al-Ma’mūn kamā tarwihā al-ḥuqūq* [Events of the Era of al-Ma’mūn as Narrated by Coins], Irbid, Jordan, P. 276.

(25)Al-Qurtubī A. A. (1967). *Al-Jami’ li Ahkam Al-Quran*, (comprehensive rulings of the Koran) 3rd ed, vol. 8, Cairo, P. 121; Ibn Kathir, I. A (1968)., *Tafsir Ibn*

Kathir (Interpretation of Ibn Kathir), 1st ed, vol. 2, Cairo, P. 374.

(26)The Holy Quran, Surat At-Tawbah, verse 33. and Surat As-Saff, verse 9.

(27)Yusuf, F.A. (2003). *Al-ayat al-quraniya ‘ala al-maskukat al-islamiya dirasa muqarana* (Quranic verses on Islamic coins, A comparative study) 1st ed, Riyadh, PP. 45-64.

(28)Baldwin's, Auctions Ltd. (2004). *Islamic Coins*, Auction 8 in London, No.143.

https://archive.org/details/islamiccoinauti00bald_4/page/14/mode/2up

(29)Vardanyan, A. R. (2011). *Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia*, Yerevan, No.80, P. 47.

except that the writings in the center of the back are surrounded by a circle of granules, but the writings in this model are as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse
Center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له عبد وبه	المؤمنون عيسى محمد رسول الله محمد بن عبد الله
Translation	There is no god but Allah alone. He has no partner Abdweih	ʿĪsā al-Maʿmuni Mohamed Messenger of Allah Mohamed bin Abdullah
Margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بأرمينية سنة سبع ومايتين	محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Translation	In the name of Allah Coined in Armenia in the year seven and two hundred 207	Mohamed is the Messenger of God, he sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it.

Obverse



Reverse



Plate (2) Dirham minted in Armenia in 207AH, weighing 2.71 grams, quoted from Baldwin's Auction Ltd Islamic Coins, Auction 13,(2007) Lot. 131.

https://archive.org/details/islamiccoinatuctionobald_9/page/14/mode/2up

Vardanyan, A. R. (2011). Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia, Yerevan, No.81, P47.

(Study for the first time)



Figure (2) Illustration: Detailed drawing of the inscriptions and decorations on the Upper Dirham.

(The work of the researcher)

The writings in the centre of the face consist of four lines, the first three of which include the full **the Shahada (Islamic testimony of faith)** testimony of monotheism, and the fourth line contains the word **Abdweih**. He may be the person responsible for the Armenian mint or the name of one of the great leaders of Armenia or the name of one of the officials in Armenia, but Vardanian⁽³⁰⁾ mentions that he is Abdweih Al-Azdi, perhaps a local ruler. Yet, we believe that 'Īsā Al-Ma'muni is the ruler of Armenia, and that Mohamed ibn Abdullah is the deputy ruler, so we do not agree with what Vardanian mentioned regarding Abdweih. The incomplete **Basmala** is in the margin of the face followed by the style of currency, **dirham**, then the place and date of minting, which were **Armenia in the year 207 AH**.

The writings on the centre of the back are in five lines. The first line includes the name of the Emir, which is **Al-Ma'muni Issa**, i.e. 'Īsā Al-Ma'muni. The following three lines, from the second to the fourth line, contain the abbreviated Mohamedan message, with one word on each line: "**Mohamed-**

(30)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia*, P.125.

Messenger- of Allah." The fifth and final line contains the name of **Mohamed bin Abdullah**, who is the deputy or assistant of Emir 'Īsā Al-Mamouni⁽³¹⁾.

The Quranic quote from **Surat At-Tawbah** and **Surat As-Saff** is included on the margin of the back. This model is unique from the other three models minted by Emir 'Īsā Al-Mamouni at an Armenian mint in the writings on the centre of the back, surrounded by a circle of granules. There is the name **Abdweih** below the writings on the centre of the face, and **Mohamed bin Abdullah Al-Kalbi** below the writings on the centre of the back. The name of the ruler was recorded as follows: "**Al-Mamouni 'Īsā**"⁽³²⁾.

This style includes a **dirham minted in Armenia in 207AH**, it was presented by Baldwin's **Plate(2) Figure(2)** and referred to by Vardanian⁽³³⁾.

3.1.3. The Third Style

The general shape of this model is characterized by its inclusion of central writings around which writings revolve in one margin on the face and back. As for the face, the marginal writings are surrounded by two circles between which there is a decoration consisting of two small rings, followed by a slightly larger ring repeated alternately three times, then the writings in the center of the back are surrounded by a circle and another circle surrounds the marginal writings. The writings in this

model are as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse
Center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	المأمون عيسى محمد رسول الله محمد بن عبد الله
Translation	There is no god But Allah alone. He has no partner	'Īsā al-Ma'muni Mohamed Messenger of Allah Mohamed bin Abdullah
Margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بأرمينية سنة سبع ومائتين	محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Translation	In the name of Allah Coined in Armenia in the year seven and two hundred 207	Mohamed is the Messenger of God, he sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it.

Obverse



Reverse



Plate (3): A dirham minted in the city of Arminiya in 207AH, weighing 2.66 grams, quoted from Stephen Album Rare coins, Auction 39,2021, Lot 166.

<https://www.numisbids.com/sale/4421/lot/166>

(Study for the first time)

(31)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia*, P.124.

(32)Baldwin's Auctions Ltd. (n.d.). *Islamic Coins Auction 13*, Lot 131. Retrieved April 19, 2025, from

<https://www.baldwin.co.uk>.

(33)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.81, P.47; weighing 2.71 grams.



Figure (3) Illustration: Detailed drawing of the inscriptions and decorations on the Upper Dirham

(the work of the researcher)

The Third model is the only one of the dirhams minted in Armenia during the reign of Al-Ma'muni 'Īsā and similar to this model in the texts of the writings, except that this model is devoid of the word Abdweih found in the centre of the face of the second model. It also differs from it in the number and shape of the small rings on the face, as this model has two small rings adjacent to each other, followed at a distance by a slightly larger ring that is repeated alternately three times, while in the second model there are five small rings distributed. This model includes a dirham minted in Armenia in 207AH, published by Stephen Albom, *Plate(3) Figure(3)*⁽³⁴⁾. This model was not mentioned by Vardanian and is a new addition that has never been studied before.

3.1.4. The Fourth Style

The general shape of this model is characterized by its inclusion of central writings around which writings revolve in one margin on both the face and the back. As for the face, there are no circles separating the central writings from the margin, but the marginal writings are surrounded by three parallel circles. There is a wider space between the outer and middle circles than that between the inner and middle circles. The

wider space is interspersed with three groups of small circles, each group consisting of two small adjacent circles. At a short distance, there is one larger circle. As for the back, a circle surrounds the central writings, which also surrounds the marginal writings, but there are six small circles distributed in the space between the writings from above and between the circle. The writings of this model are as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse
Center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	عيسى محمد رسول الله المأموني
Translation	There is no god but Allah alone. He has no partner.	'Īsā Mohamed Messenger of Allah Al-Mamouni
Margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بأرمينية سنة ثمان ومائتين	محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Translation	In the name of Allah Coined in Armenia in the year eight and two hundred 208	Mohamed is the Messenger of God, he sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it.

Obverse

Reverse



Plate (4): A dirham minted in Armenia in 208AH, weighing 5.72 grams, quoted from Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia*, P48, No.82.

(Study for the first time)

(34)Stephen Albom Rare Coins. (2020). *Important Islamic and world coins* [Auction catalog] (Auction 39, Lot 166). Santa Rosa, [Coin, 2.66g).



Figure (4) Illustration: Detailed drawing of the inscriptions and decorations on the Upper Dirham
(the work of the researcher)

The writings in the centre of the obverse consist of three parallel lines that include **the Shahada (Islamic testimony of faith)** full testimony of monotheism. The margin of the obverse includes the incomplete **Basmala**, followed by the style of coin, then the place and date of minting; Armenia in 208AH.

The writings in the centre of the back are in five lines. The first and fifth lines include the name of the Emir, which is "**ʿĪsā Al-Maʿmuni**", while the three lines from the second to the fourth contain the Mohamedan message abbreviated as follows: "**Mohamed - Messenger -Allah**" and the margin of the back includes the Quranic quote from **Surat At-Tawbah and Surat As-Saff**.

This model is unique from other models minted in Armenia by Emir ʿĪsā al-Mamouni in its general shape, texts of its writings, and their arrangement together. This model is unique from previous ones in the shapes of the circles and their decoration, which came in three groups, each group has three circles, while in previous models they came as six small circles distributed on the face. This model differs from them in the presence of six small circles distributed above the

writings on the margin of the back.

This model includes a dirham minted in Armenia in 208AH, weighing 5.72 grams, which is in the collection of the late Samir Shama⁽³⁵⁾, and was referred to by Vardanian **Plate(4) Figure(4)**⁽³⁶⁾. Thus, it becomes clear to us in light of the above that Emir ʿĪsā al-Maʿmuni ruled Armenia between the years 206AH and 208AH, and not as Zambauer mentioned that he ruled between the years 205AH and 209AH⁽³⁷⁾ as previously mentioned.

The evidence that Zambauer's view was incorrect is the dirhams minted in Armenia and the city of Aran during the period mentioned by Zambauer. He claimed that Emir ʿĪsā al-Maʿmuni ruled Armenia during it; from the years 205AH to 209AH. From what was mentioned about these dirhams, we can say that in 206AH, Sawada bin Abdul Hamid⁽³⁸⁾ ruled Armenia before ʿĪsā al-Maʿmuni took over, Sadaqa bin Ali al-Azdi took over the rule of Armenia after ʿĪsā al-Maʿmuni in 209AH⁽³⁹⁾. In the city of Aran, Mohamed bin Abdullah al-Kalbi⁽⁴⁰⁾ ruled in the year 208AH, after ʿĪsā al-Maʿmuni and Sadaqa bin Ali ruled after him from 208 to 209AH. Ahmad bin Abdul Ala⁽⁴¹⁾, took over the rule of the city of Aran after Sadaqa in the same last year; 209AH.

There is no doubt that this material and archaeological evidence proves the incorrectness of what Zambauer mentioned. Also, Al-Ya'qubi mentioned that the one who appointed ʿĪsā Al-Maʿmuni to rule Armenia was Caliph Al-Maʿmun, but he did not specify the date of his appointment. Al-

(35)Shammā, S. (1995).) *Aḥdāth ʿaṣr al-Maʿmūn ka-mā tarwihā al-nuqūd* (The Time of Al-Maʿmun in the light numismatic evidence), No.626, London.

(36)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.82, P.48; Shammā, ʿAḥdāth ʿAṣr al-Maʿmūn, No. 453, 454, PP. 548, weighing 5.72 grams.

(37)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.79, P.47.

(38)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.83, P.48.

(39)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.157, p.75.

(40)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.161, P.76.

(41)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.102, P.76.

Ya'qubi also mentioned that Caliph Al-Ma'mun was the one who dismissed Emir 'Īsā Al-Ma'muni after being defeated by Babak and escaping. He appointed Emir Sadaqa bin Ali Al-Azdi to Armenia instead. Al-Ya'qubi did not specify the date of the appointment nor the date of the dismissal.

4. Dirhams struck in Arrān mint

We have received many dirhams minted by Emir 'Īsā Al-Ma'muni at the mint of the city of Aran⁽⁴²⁾, and we can classify them into four models:

4.1. The Frist Style

The general shape of this model is characterized by its inclusion of central writings around which there are writings in one margin on both the face and the back. As for the face, there are no circles separating the central writings from the margin, but the marginal writings are surrounded by four parallel circles. The area between the two outer circles and the one that follows them from the inside is a wider area than that between the other circles.

This area is interspersed with three groups of small circles distributed over this area. Each group consists of two small, tangent circles, and at a distance from them there is one circle that is somewhat larger in size. As for the back, two parallel circles surround the central writings, and a circle surrounds the marginal writings. There are six small circles distributed in the area above the writings and the circle from the inside.

(42)Arran (with a fatha on the initial hamza, a stressed ra, and ending with alif and nun): A non-Arabic name denoting a vast province encompassing numerous territories. It is situated between Azerbaijan and a river known as "al-Rass," which serves as the geographical boundary between Azerbaijan and Aran. Nasr mentioned that Aran belongs to the districts of Armenia. Coinage in Aran commenced during the Umayyad period, continued

The writings of this model are as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse
Center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	عيسى المأموني محمد رسول الله محمد بن عبد الله الكليبي
Translation	There is no god but Allah alone. He has no partner.	'Īsā Al-Ma'mun Mohamed Messenger of Allah Mohamed ibn Abdullah al-Kalbi
Margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة أران سنة سبع ومائتين	محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Translation	In the name of Allah Coined in the city of Aran in the year two hundred and seven 207	Mohamed is the Messenger of God, he sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it.

Obverse



Reverse



Plate (5): Dirham minted in the city of Arrān in 207AH, weighing 2.90 grams, quoted from Stephen Album, Rare coins, Auction 23, spt 2015, Lot 192.

<https://www.numisbids.com/sale/1194/lot/192>

(Study for the first time)

throughout the Abbasid era, and extended into the Ilkhanid period, underscoring the economic and political significance of this region in Islamic history. See: Al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, P. 170; Zambaur, E. von. (1968). *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, wiesbaden, P.39; Diler, O. (2009). *Islamic mints*. Istanbul, P.103,104.

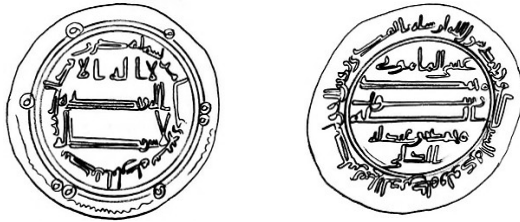


Figure (5) Illustration: Detailed drawing of the inscriptions and decorations on the Upper Dirham

(The work of the researcher)

The writings on the center of the face are in three lines, including the full testimony of monotheism. The incomplete Basmala and the place and date of minting are in the margin of the face, which are the city of Aran and the year 207AH.

The writings on the center of the back consist of six lines. The first line contains the name of Emir 'Īsā al-Ma'muni⁽⁴³⁾. The next three lines, from the second to the fourth, contain the Mohamedan message, each word abbreviated in a line like this: "Mohamed - Messenger -Allah." The fifth line contains the name: **Mohamed bin Abdullah**. The fifth line contains al-Kalbi, meaning that his name is **Mohamed bin Abdullah**, and he is the deputy of Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni⁽⁴⁴⁾.

On the margin of the back there is a Quranic quote from **Surat al-Tawbah** and **Surat al-Saff**. This model is unique from the other three models that Emir 'Īsā al-Ma'muni minted in the city of Aran, as this

model includes the name of the deputy of the Emir, Mohamed bin Abdullah al-Kalbi. Many patterns belong to this model, including a dirham published by Stephen Albom⁽⁴⁵⁾, **Plate(5) Figure(5)**, that was not previously studied and was not studied by Vardanian. A second pattern is also attributed to this model, published by Samir Shama⁽⁴⁶⁾, minted in the city of Arran in 207AH⁽⁴⁷⁾, to which Vardanian referred⁽⁴⁸⁾. Two other patterns also belong to this model, the first published by Markov, and the other published by Vasmer⁽⁴⁹⁾.

4.2. The second Style:

It is similar to the first model in general form, texts of its writings and their arrangement, except for the writings in the center of the back, as follows:

Obverse		Reverse
Center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	عيسى المأمونى محمد رسول الله محمد بن عبد الله
	There is no god but Allah alone. He has no partner.	'Īsā Al-Ma'mun Mohamed Messenger of Allah Mohamed ibn Abdullah
	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة اران سنة سبع ومائتين	محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Margin		

(43)Shamma, 'Ahdāth 'Aṣr al-Ma'mūn, P. 276.

(44)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, P.124.

(45)Stephen Albom (2014). *Islamic and world coins: The California collection* [Auction catalog] (Auction 23, Lot 192). Santa Rosa, CA: Stephen Albom Rare Coins, weighing 2.9 grams.

(46)Shamma, 'Ahdāth 'Aṣr al-Ma'mūn, No.172, p45.

(47)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.155, P.74.

(48)*Katalog Monet Imperatrichesko go gos Ermitazat 1,2 St Petersburg*, 1896, No751.

(49)Vasmer, R. (1931). *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter Von Armenien unter den Abbasiden, Von as Saffach bis Zur Kronung Aschts Wien*, No.871, p750-887; Shamma, 'Ahdāth 'Aṣr al-Ma'mūn, No. 421, P. 534.

Translation	In the name of Allah Coined in the city of Aran in the year two hundred and seven 207	Mohamed is the Messenger of God, he sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it.
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Obverse



Reverse



Plate (6): Dirham minted in the city of Arrān in 207AH, weighing 2.31 grams, quoted from Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia*, P74, No. 156.

(Study for the first time)



Figure (6) Illustration: Detailed drawing of the inscriptions and decorations on the Upper Dirham

(The work of the researcher)

This model is unique from the other three models minted by Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni in the city of Aran in that the name of the Emir's deputy is "Mohamed bin Abdullah" in the fifth line of the writings in the center of the back. Some patters are attributed to this model, minted in the city of

Aran in 207AH, including pattern⁽⁵⁰⁾, preserved in the Hermitage Museum **Plate(6) Figure(6)**, referred to by Vardanian⁽⁵¹⁾, There are some models published by Nuremberg⁽⁵²⁾, and Tiesenhausen⁽⁵³⁾, referred to by Samir Shama⁽⁵⁴⁾.

4.3. The Third Style:

It is similar to the first model in general form, texts and arrangement of the writings, except for the writings in the center of the back, as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse
Center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	عيسى المأموني محمد رسول الله محمد بن عبد الله
Translation	There is no god but Allah alone. He has no partner.	'Īsā Al-Ma'mun Mohamed Messenger of Allah Mohamed ibn Abdullah
Margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة أران سنة سبع ومائتين	محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Translation	In the name of Allah Coined in the city of Aran in the year two hundred and seven 207	Mohamed is the Messenger of God, he sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it.

The writings in the center of the back are in five lines. The first line includes the name of **Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni**. The next three lines contain the **Mohamedan message**, abbreviating each word in a line, and in the last two lines Mohamed. It is clear that Ibn Mohamed is related to 'Īsā al-Mamouni

(50)The State Hermitage Museum. (n.d.). *Islamic coin* (Inventory No. OH-B-M-172).

(51)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.156, P.74.

(52)Tornberg, C. J. (1848). *Numi Cufici regii numamobhylacii Holmiensis Ubasaliae* [The coins of the

royal Cufic mint of Stockholm and Uppsala]. Uppsala.

(53)Tiesenhausen, *B Moneti Vostoshnavo Khalifato*, St Petersburg, 1873.

(54)Shamma, *Ahdāth 'Aṣr al-Ma'mūn*, No. 422, P. 534.

because he is the son of Mohamed, and his name is 'Īsā bin Mohamed bin Abi Bakr al-Mamouni. Ibn Mohamed is a continuation of the name of Emir 'Īsā.

This model is unique from the other three models minted by Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni at the Aran Mint in 207AH in the presence of the rest of the Emir's name, which is Ibn Mohamed, in the fifth and last line of the writings in the center of the back. This model was not mentioned by Vardanian.

Some models minted in the city of Aran in the year 207AH belong to this model and were referred to by Samir Shama ⁽⁵⁵⁾.

4.4. The Fourth Style

It is similar to the first model in general form, the texts of its writings and their arrangement, except for the writings on the margin of the face and the center of the back, as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse
Center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	عيسى محمد رسول الله المأموني
Translation	There is no god but Allah alone. He has no partner.	'Īsā Mohamed Messenger of Allah Al-Mamouni
Margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة اران سنة ثمان مائتين	محمد رسول الله أرسله بألهدي ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Translation	In the name of Allah Coined in arran in the year eight and two hundred 208	Mohamed is the Messenger of God, he sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it.

The writings on the margin of the face began with the **incomplete Basmala**, then the style of coin, and finally the place and date of minting, which are the city of **Aran** in **208AH**. The writings on the center of the back are in four lines. The first line contains the name of Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni, and the next three lines, which are from the second line to the fourth line, contain the Mohamedan message, abbreviating each word in a line, like the third model.

This model is unique from the other three models struck by al-Mamouni in that the writings on the center of the back are in four lines instead of six in the first model and five in the second and third models. This model is also unique in that it does not include the name of Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni's deputy. This model includes a dirham struck in the city of Aran in the year 208AH, to which Samir Shama referred ⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Clearly, Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni minted dirhams in the city of Aran during the years 206AH and 208AH. Zambauer is incorrect, as the dirhams of the city of Aran, along with the Armenian dirhams minted by Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni in these two mints, prove that Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni ruled Armenia from the year 206AH to the year 208AH, not as Zambauer mentioned. Al-Ya'qubi did not specify the date of al-Mamouni's assumption of Armenia and the date of his dismissal from its rule.

It is worth noting that one researcher published a dirham minted in Arran, dated 220AH, erroneously attributing this dirham to Emir Isa ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Khalid al-Ma'muni. It is preserved in his private collection in Dubai, United Arab

(55)Shamma, 'Ahdāth 'Aṣr al-Ma'mūn, No. 423, P. 534.

(56)Shamma, 'Ahdāth 'Aṣr al-Ma'mūn, No. 424, P. 534.

Emirates⁽⁵⁷⁾

After studying and verifying, we found that this dirham is attributed to Prince Hassan bin Ali Al-Badisi Al-Ma'mouni. Vardanyan pointed to similar coins bearing the minting date of 227 AH, This is also evidence that Prince Al-Hasan Al-Ma'muni ruled Aran until the year 227 AH.⁽⁵⁸⁾ It also bears the name of Bishr bin Urwa, in addition to several other reasons. It is not logical for Prince Isa ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Khalid to mint coins after the end of his thirteen-year reign. This error may have occurred due to the similarity in the names of some princes who ruled Armenia, as well as the scarcity of historical sources discussing Armenia.

5. Second: The Copper Coins" fulus"

The Copper coins (fulus) are an important source for historical studies, particularly in the region of Armenia, especially during the Abbasid era, given the region's significant role in shaping a historical period with far-reaching influence. The importance of studying fulus stems from numerous reasons, including the wealth of information they provide details not recorded on other coinage due to their lack of centralized minting. This allowed governors and state officials to exploit the opportunity by inscribing their names and documenting many events that were difficult to record on the state's official currency. Additionally, fulus played a key role in facilitating financial transactions.

Despite this, fulus have not received sufficient attention in specialized academic studies for various historical reasons: their

susceptibility to damage, the low economic value of their base metal, and the lack of interest in preserving them. Some falses minted by Emir Issa al-Mamouni in 208AH reached us the place of its minting was not mentioned. Yet, we can classify these coins into two models, The attribution of these coins to the Armenia mint is substantiated by two primary factors: firstly, the reverse margin bears the striking date of 208 AH/823 AD, which corresponds precisely to the governorship of Emir Isa al-Ma'muni in Armenia (206-208AH/ 821-823AD). Secondly, the coins record names of individuals - such as Muhammad ibn Salem appearing on the studied fals specimens - who were likely mint supervisors, with their names appearing in the same stylistic manner as the Emir's name on the dirhams. This epigraphic consistency, combined with the precise chronological alignment, firmly establishes these coins as products of the Armenian mint during this specific historical period, reflecting the administrative protocols of provincial coinage production under Abbasid authority.

5.1. The First Style

The general shape of the face of this model is characterized by the fact that it includes only central writings surrounded by three parallel circles, the inner and middle circles of granules, and the granules of the inner circle are larger than the granules of the middle circle. There is a wider space between the outer and middle circles than that between the inner and middle circles, and the wider space is interspersed with five small rings distributed over that space. As for the general shape of the back, its writings are surrounded by a circle, and no circles

(57) Publish by Dr. Fahd Mohammed Rashid Al-Saadi
Article title: the rare Abbasid dirham minted in Arran in

220AH. <https://2u.pw/j418U>

(58) Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.180,181, P.83.

separate the writings of the center from the margin. The writings of this model are as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse
Center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له ع	محمد محمد رسول الله بن سالم
Translation	There is no god But Allah alone without partner.Ayn	Mohamed Mohamed Messenger of Allah Bin Salem
Margin	[بسم الله ما أمر به الأمير عيسى المأموني سنة ثمان ومايتين
Translation	In the name of Allah ordered by Emir 'Isā al-Mamouni in the year two hundred and eight 208



Plate (7): fals minted in 208 AH, quoted from Zeno: No. 304124.

(Study for the first time)



Figure (7) Illustration: Detailed drawing of the inscriptions and decorations on the Upper fils

(The work of the researcher)

The writings on the center of the face consist of four lines. The first three lines include the full testimony of monotheism, as follows: **“There is no god but Allah alone, with no partner for Him.”** The fourth and final line contains writing that resembles the word **“Aziz”** عزيز (governor) **“Or the letter 'Ayn' approximately”**, Perhaps this name was the supervisor of the mint in which this fils was coined, and the name of one of the public figures of Emir 'Isā al-Mamouni. The writings on the center of the back consist of five lines. The first and fifth lines include the name **“Mohamed bin Salem.”** The other three lines, from the second to the fourth, contain the abbreviated Mohamedan message, as follows: **“Mohamed – Messenger – of Allah”**.

The writings on the margin include the incomplete *Basmala*, then the order to mint the fals, followed by the title and name of Emir 'Isā al-Mamouni, and finally the date of minting, which is the year two hundred and eight, as follows: **“[In the name of Allah, as ordered by Emir 'Isā al-Mamouni in the year two hundred and eight.”**

This model is unique from the second model in the writings on the fourth line, which here appear in the form of the letter ‘ayn or ghayn’. and in the fourth model the letter ‘ayn’ ع. Maybe it is the first letter of the name of the supervisor of the mint Or'Ayn(ع) most likely represents an abbreviation for the name Prince 'Isā al-Ma'muni, With regard to the engraving of the letter(ع) on the coins, scholars and researchers have adopted two main

interpretations of these letters⁽⁵⁹⁾. The first view suggests that these letters have an economic significance, representing the first letters of certain words that indicate the quality of the coin's alloy. This reflects the state's concern with regulating the minting process and ensuring the quality of the coins⁽⁶⁰⁾. The second view posits that these letters represent the initials of prominent figures, such as the governors and officials who oversaw the minting house, or perhaps the names of the supervisors, engravers, or judges responsible for supervising the coin production process. Therefore, it can be concluded that these letters carry multiple meanings, reflecting the economic and administrative aspects of the coin minting period⁽⁶¹⁾.

Also, the writings on the center of the face are decorated in the form of a radiating circle of eight rays, which is in the second model. It is not clear in this model, and this model does not have a circle surrounding the writings in the center of the back as is the case in the second model. Also, this model does not have a small circle above the writings in the margin of the back as in the second model. Therefore, this model is new and is a new addition to the coins of Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni minted in 208AH. A fils minted in 208AH in the name of Emir 'Īsā al-Mamouni is attributed to this model. Zeno displayed it **Plate (7) Figure (7)**⁽⁶²⁾.

5.2. The Second Style

It is similar to the first model in the general shape of the face except for the last two lines with the central writings which came here with the letter 'ayn' and the decoration inside this writing. The back includes a central writing around which revolves a writing in one margin and surrounds the central writings with a circle. The marginal writings are surrounded by another circle, but between this circle and the top of the marginal writings there are six small circles dispersed. Writings of this model were mentioned as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse
Center	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له ع	محمد محمد رسول الله بن سالم
Translation	There is no god but Allah alone. without partner.Ayn	Mohamed Mohamed Messenger of Allah Bin Salem
Margin	بسم الله مما أمر به الأمير عيسى المأموني سنة ثمان ومائتين
Translation	In the name of Allah, as ordered by Emir Issa al- Mamouni in the year two hundred and eight 208

(59)Desouki, A. M. (2019). *Naqud Tughaan Shah Hakim al-Salajiqat fi Wast Khurasan* (465–475H /1072–1082M)[The coins of Tughan Shah, ruler of the Seljuks in Central Khorasan (465–475 AH / 1072–1082 AD)]. *Journal of Islamic Numismatics*, Issues 2, P.46.
(60)Rogers, E. T. (1877). *Coins of the Tuluni dynasty*,

London, p. 15.

(61)Hameed, A. A. (1982). *lirumuz ealii almaskukat al'iislamia* (The symbols on Islamic coins), *Majallat al-Masakukat* (Journal of Numismatics), Issues 12–13, 52. Baghdad. P. 52.

(62) Zeno. No. 304124.

Obverse



Reverse



Plate (8): A fals minted in 208AH, weighing 2.89 grams quoted from Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia*, P116, No. 262.

(Study for the first time)

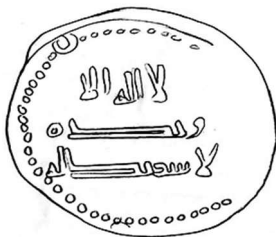


Figure (8) Illustration: Detailed drawing of the inscriptions and decorations on the Upper files

(The work of the researcher)

The writings of the face consist of four lines with the first three lines the full testimony of monotheism like this: **“There is no god but Allah alone without partner”** and in the fourth model the letter ‘ayn’ع. Maybe it is the first letter of the name of the supervisor of the mint Or'Ayn(ع) most likely represents an abbreviation for the name Prince ‘Īsā al-Ma’muni, and above these central writings is a decoration in the form of a circle from which eight rays emerge.

The writings on the center of the back are in five lines like the first model, and in the margin there is an incomplete Basmala, then the phrase “what I command,” meaning the one who ordered the minting of this fals,

which is Emir ‘Īsā al-Mamouni, followed by the date of minting, which is the year 208 AH, thus: **“In the name of Allah, what Emir ‘Īsā al-Mamouni ordered in the year 208 AH.”** This model is unique from the first model in the presence of the radiant decoration above the writings on the face, and the back surrounds its writings with two circles, not one circle as in the first model. One of these circles surrounds the writings on the center, the other with the writings on the margin. The model is also unique and distinguished from the first model in the presence of six small circles distributed above the writings on the margin of the back and inside the circle. These circles are not present in the first model. A fals **Plate(8) Figure(8)** preserved in the collection of Alexander Akopyan in Moscow belongs to this model, and Vardinian referred to it⁽⁶³⁾.

6. Conclusion and Results

We have concluded, in light of the dirhams and Fulus that reached us, which were minted by Prince ‘Īsā al-Ma’muni at the Armenian mints in Armenia and Aran, the following results and additions:

- ❖ The dirhams minted by Emir ‘Īsā al-Ma’muni in the Armenian mints and the city of Aran proved that Emir ‘Īsā ruled Armenia during the years 206 AH and 208AH. This was not mentioned in historical sources such as Al-Ya’qubi who mentioned that Caliph al-Ma’mun was the one who appointed ‘Īsā al-Ma’muni over Armenia and did not specify the date of his

(63)Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, No.262, P.116.

appointment or dismissal from it. This is a true addition to the research.

- ❖ The study corrected what Zambauer mentioned; that Emir 'Īsā bin Mohamed bin Abi Khalid al-Ma'muni assumed power from the year 205 AH until the year 209 AH, which is an error as explained.
- ❖ The first model of the filses minted by Emir 'Īsā in 208 AH is a new model and represents an addition to the filses minted by this Emir which does not bear the place of minting.
- ❖ It has been concluded that Emir 'Īsā bin Mohamed bin Abi Khalid al-Ma'muni minted dirhams and filses only. He minted dirhams in the mints of Armenia and the city of Aran, and filses in 208AH. He did not record the place of minting on them, which was not customary for the rulers of Armenia.
- ❖ Armenian dirhams were classified into three models, the dirhams of the city of Aran into four models, and filses into two models.
- ❖ We read the first name from the writings of the fifth and last line in the center of the back of the first model of the three minted by Emir 'Īsā in Armenia as Abgha, while Vardanian was unable to read this.
- ❖ A dirham from Aran dated 207 AH and minted in 208AH. These two had not been studied before and were not mentioned by Vardanian.
- ❖ The study you mentioned provides a detailed analysis of the names recorded on the coins of Emir Isa ibn Muhammad ibn

Abi Khalid Al-Ma'muni, interpreting their significance in light of historical sources and references, Such as Abga bin Muhammad, **Abdawayh**, Muhammad bin Abdullah, and Muhammad bin Salem.

- ❖ This study concludes that the letter 'ayn (ع) appearing on the fulus minted under Emir Isa al-Ma'muni most likely represents an abbreviation of his name, 'Isa, as it corresponds to the initial letter of his given name. This interpretation is supported by a thorough analysis of coin inscriptions and the administrative conventions observed in Abbasid mints, where the use of initial letters as nominal abbreviations was a common practice. Comparative evidence from contemporaneous coinage further reinforces this hypothesis, demonstrating similar patterns of monogrammatic abbreviations denoting rulers or officials. Thus, the 'ayn symbol likely functioned as a distinctive signature or mint mark associated with Emir Isa al-Ma'muni's coinage, serving both administrative and authoritative purposes.
- ❖ Fardanian's reading of all the pieces mentioned in the study has been corrected, as he mistakenly read the hundreds digit of the minting date as "مائتين" Upon careful review, it became clear to us that it was "مائتين".
- ❖ The study corrected what was mentioned by a researcher who published a dirham minted in Arran, dated 220AH, erroneously attributing it to Prince Isa ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Khalid Al-Ma'muni. It is preserved

in his private collection in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, Through research, it became clear that it is attributed to Prince Al-Hasan Al-Badisi Al-Ma'muni.

- ❖ The attribution of these coins to the Armenia mint is substantiated by two primary factors: firstly, the reverse margin bears the striking date of 208 AH/823AD, which corresponds precisely to the governorship of Emir Isa al-Ma'muni in Armenia (206-208AH/ 821-823AD). Secondly, the coins record names of individuals - such as Muhammad ibn Salem appearing on the studied fals specimens- who were likely mint supervisors, with their names appearing in the same stylistic manner as the Emir's name on the dirhams. This epigraphic consistency, combined with the precise chronological alignment, firmly establishes these coins as products of the Armenian mint during this specific historical period, reflecting the administrative protocols of provincial coinage production under Abbasid authority.

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نُقُودُ الْأَمِيرِ عَيْسَى بْنِ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ أَبِي خَالِدٍ الْمَأْمُونِيِّ الْفِضِّيَّةِ وَالنَّحَاسِيَّةِ الْمَضْرُوبَةِ بِدُورِ سَكِّ أَرْمِينِيَا (206-208هـ / 821-823 م)

مُلَخَّصُ الْبَحْثِ:

يَتَنَاوَلُ هَذَا الْبَحْثُ دِرَاسَةَ نُقُودِ الْأَمِيرِ عَيْسَى بْنِ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ أَبِي خَالِدٍ الْمَأْمُونِيِّ (206-208هـ / 821-823م) الْفِضِّيَّةِ وَالنَّحَاسِيَّةِ، الْمَضْرُوبَةِ بِدُورِ سَكِّ النُّقُودِ فِي أَرْمِينِيَا خِلَالَ فَتْرَةٍ وَلَآئِيَةٍ. وَقَدْ اقْتَصَرَ مَا وَصَلْنَا مِنْ نُقُودِهِ عَلَى فِئَتِي الدَّرَاهِمِ وَالْفُلُوسِ فَقَطْ، إِذْ تَمَّ تَصْنِيفُ أَرْبَعَةِ طُرُزٍ مِنَ الدَّرَاهِمِ تَمَّ سَكُّهَا فِي دَارِ ضَرْبِ أَرْمِينِيَا، إِلَى جَانِبِ أَرْبَعَةِ طُرُزٍ أُخْرَى مِنَ الدَّرَاهِمِ ضُرِبَتْ فِي دَارِ سَكِّ أَرَانَ، كَمَا وَصَلْنَا بَعْضَ الْفُلُوسِ الَّتِي أَمَرَ الْأَمِيرُ عَيْسَى الْمَأْمُونِيُّ بِضَرْبِهَا وَتَحْمِلُ تَارِيخَ 208هـ / 823م، دُونَ أَنْ يُحَدِّدَ مَكَانَ سَكِّهَا، وَقَدْ أُمِكنَ تَصْنِيفُ هَذِهِ الْفُلُوسِ إِلَى طَرَزَيْنِ.

وَتَكْمُنُ أَهَمِّيَّةُ دِرَاسَةِ نُقُودِ الْأَمِيرِ عَيْسَى بْنِ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ أَبِي خَالِدٍ الْمَأْمُونِيِّ خِلَالَ فَتْرَةِ حُكْمِهِ فِي أَرْمِينِيَا فِي أَنَّ الْمَصَادِرَ التَّارِيخِيَّةَ تَنَاوَلَتْهَا بِشَكْلٍ غَيْرِ كَافٍ مِنْ حَيْثُ تَوَلَّيْتَهُ وَعَزَلَهُ وَمُخْتَلِفِ أَحْدَاثِ عَصْرِهِ، لِذَلِكَ سَوْفَ تَعْتَمِدُ هَذِهِ الدِّرَاسَةُ عَلَى النُّقُودِ الَّتِي ضُرِبَتْ فِي عَهْدِهِ كَمَصْدَرٍ رَئِيسِيٍّ لِلِقَاءِ الضُّوءِ عَلَى الْأَحْدَاثِ وَالْمَعْلُومَاتِ التَّارِيخِيَّةِ الَّتِي حَدَّثَتْ فِي عَهْدِهِ وَلَمْ تَذْكُرْهَا الْمَصَادِرُ التَّارِيخِيَّةُ. وَتَبَرُّزُ صُعُوبَةِ الْبَحْثِ فِي قِلَّةِ الْمَصَادِرِ التَّارِيخِيَّةِ الَّتِي تَنَاوَلَتْ مَنَاطِقَ أَرْمِينِيَا وَأَمْرَاءَهَا. وَأَنَّ هَذِهِ الْمَنَاطِقَ تَحْتَاجُ إِلَى الْمَزِيدِ مِنَ الدِّرَاسَاتِ الْأَكَادِمِيَّةِ الْمُتَخَصِّصَةِ خَاصَّةً فِي مَجَالِ عِلْمِ النُّقُودِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ، وَأَنَّ مَا قَامَ بِهِ الدُّكْتُورُ أَرَامُ فَارْذَانِيَانُ مِنْ إِعْدَادِ كِتَالُوجٍ خَاصٍّ بِالنُّقُودِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ الْمَضْرُوبَةِ فِي أَرْمِينِيَا "Islamic Coins Struck in Historic Armenia" اقْتَصَرَ عَلَى قِرَاءَةِ بَعْضِ الْكِتَابَاتِ الْمُسَجَّلَةِ عَلَى هَذِهِ النُّقُودِ وَحَاوَلَ قِرَاءَةَ الْبَعْضِ الْآخَرِ وَلَمْ يَتِمَّكَّنْ مِنْ قِرَاءَتِهَا، وَكَذَلِكَ لَمْ يَقْدَمْ دِرَاسَةً تَحْلِيلِيَّةً لِهَذِهِ النُّقُودِ الْمَوْجُودَةِ فِي هَذَا الْكِتَالُوجِ.

وَيُعْنَى هَذَا الْبَحْثُ بِدِرَاسَةِ وَتَحْلِيلِ النُّقُودِ الْفِضِّيَّةِ وَالنَّحَاسِيَّةِ الَّتِي ضَرْبَهَا الْأَمِيرُ عَيْسَى بْنُ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ أَبِي خَالِدٍ الْمَأْمُونِيُّ حَيْثُ لَمْ يُسَبَقْ دِرَاسَتُهَا أَوْ تَحْلِيلُهَا مِنْ قَبْلِ الْبَاحِثِينَ وَذَلِكَ عَلَى حَدِّ عِلْمِنَا وَفِي ضَوْءِ مَا وَصَلْنَا، وَمِنْ خِلَالِ تَحْلِيلِ الدَّرَاهِمِ وَالْفُلُوسِ الَّتِي سَكَّهَا الْأَمِيرُ عَيْسَى الْمَأْمُونِيُّ فِي دُورِ سَكِّ أَرْمِينِيَا وَأَرَانَ، تَوَصَّلَتِ الدِّرَاسَةُ إِلَى نَتَائِجٍ مُهِمَّةٍ، مِنْ أَبْرَزِهَا: إِثْبَاتُ أَنَّ الْأَمِيرَ قَدْ تَوَلَّى حُكْمَ أَرْمِينِيَا فِي عَامِي 206هـ / 821م، وَ208هـ / 823م، وَهِيَ مَعْلُومَةٌ لَمْ تُذَكَّرْ فِي الْمَصَادِرِ التَّارِيخِيَّةِ، بِمَا فِيهَا مَوْلَفَاتُ الْبِعْثُوقِيِّ، الَّتِي لَمْ تُوثَّقْ تَارِيخُ تَعْيِينِهِ أَوْ عَزَلِهِ. كَذَلِكَ صَحَّحَتِ الدِّرَاسَةُ دِرْهَمًا فِضِّيًّا نَادِرًا نَشَرَهُ أَحَدُ الْبَاحِثِينَ تَمَّ نِسْبَتُهُ بِالْخَطِّ إِلَى الْأَمِيرِ عَيْسَى الْمَأْمُونِيِّ وَذَلِكَ فِي ضَوْءِ الْأَدِلَّةِ تَمَّ إِثْبَاتُ أَنَّ الدِرْهَمَ يَنْسَبُ إِلَى أَمِيرٍ آخَرَ وَكَذَلِكَ كَشَفَتِ الدِّرَاسَةُ عَنْ وُجُودِ نِظَامٍ نَقْدِيٍّ مُنْظَمٍ يَعْكُسُ دَرَجَةً مِنَ الْاِسْتِقْلَالِ الْإِدَارِيِّ فِي السِّيَاسَاتِ الْمَالِيَّةِ. وَمِنْ تَمَّ يُعَدُّ هَذَا الْبَحْثُ إِسْهَامًا عِلْمِيًّا جَدِيدًا فِي حَقْلِ عِلْمِ الْمَسْكُوكَاتِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ بِصِفَةِ عَامَّةٍ لِفَتْرَةِ تَارِيخِيَّةٍ تَكْتَنِفُهَا الضَّبَابِيَّةُ وَالْغُمُوضُ، حَيْثُ تُشَكِّلُ هَذِهِ الدِّرَاسَةُ مَصْدَرًا أَوَّلِيًّا بِالْأَمْرِ الْأَهْمِيَّةِ لِفَهْمِ السِّيَاقَاتِ السِّيَاسِيَّةِ وَالْاِقْتِصَادِيَّةِ فِي تِلْكَ الْحَقَبَةِ، كَمَا تُمَثِّلُ إِضَافَةً إِلَى الْمَكْتَبَةِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ فِي مَجَالِ الدِّرَاسَاتِ الْمَسْكُوكَاتِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ.

الكَلِمَاتُ الْمِفْتَاحِيَّةُ: النُّقُودُ الْفِضِّيَّةُ، النُّقُودُ النَّحَاسِيَّةُ، أَرْمِينِيَا، دُورُ سَكِّ أَرْمِينِيَا- الْأَمِيرُ عَيْسَى بْنُ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ أَبِي خَالِدٍ الْمَأْمُونِيُّ.