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# 'AKKO III

THE 1991–1998 EXCAVATIONS

THE LATE PERIODS

PART 2: THE KNIGHTS' HOTEL SITE,  
THE MESSIKA PLOT AND MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES



DANNY SYON AND AYELET TATCHER

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*Back Cover:* The sea at 'Akko (photographer, Daphna Stern); inset: ampulla and molds from the Crusader-period pilgrim-souvenir workshop (photographer, Danny Syon)

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABSA	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
AIHV	Association internationale pour l'histoire du verre
AJPA	<i>American Journal of Physical Anthropology</i>
'Akko I	E.J. Stern. 'Akko I: <i>The 1991–1998 Excavations; The Crusader-Period Pottery</i> (IAA Reports 51). Jerusalem.
'Akko II	M. Hartal, D. Syon, E. Stern and A. Tatcher. 'Akko II: <i>The 1991–1998 Excavations: The Early Periods</i> (IAA Reports 60). Jerusalem.
ANSMN	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
ARCE	American Research Center in Egypt
BAIAS	<i>Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society</i>
BAMA	British Academy Monographs in Archaeology
BAR Int. S.	British Archaeological Reports (International Series)
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt
BSAJ	<i>British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem</i>
CIEPO	Comité International des Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes
DAFI	<i>Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran</i>
DOC 3	P. Grierson. <i>Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection 3: Leo III to Nicephorus III. 717–1081</i> . Washington, D.C. 1973
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
ESI	<i>Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i>
HA	<i>Ḥadashot Arkheologiyot</i>
HA–ESI	<i>Ḥadashot Arkheologiyot–Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i> (from 1999)
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IGLSyr	<i>Inscriptions Grecs et Latines de la Syrie</i>
IJNA	<i>International Journal of Nautical Archaeology</i>
INJ	<i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i>

<i>INR</i>	<i>Israel Numismatic Research</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEMAHs</i>	<i>Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies</i>
<i>JERI</i>	<i>Journal of Excavation Reports in Israel</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JGS</i>	<i>Journal of Glass Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>LA</i>	<i>Liber Annuus</i>
<i>MA</i>	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>MDAIA</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>The Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NEAEHL</i>	E. Stern and A. Lewinson-Gilboa eds. <i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> 1–4. Jerusalem 1993.
<i>NNM</i>	<i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>
<i>OIP</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
<i>PAS</i>	<i>The Portable Antiquities Scheme</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>QDAP</i>	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
<i>SAOC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i>
<i>SBF</i>	<i>Studium Biblicum Franciscanum</i>
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i> . Leiden 1923–
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

## CHAPTER 29

### EARLY ISLAMIC, MEDIEVAL AND OTTOMAN COINS FROM THE HOSPITALLER COMPOUND, THE KNIGHTS' HOTEL SITE AND THE MESSIKA PLOT

DANNY SYON

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the coins from the Early Islamic to Ottoman periods found in the three excavations discussed in this volume.<sup>1</sup> The 50 Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine coins from these excavations were published in 'Akko II (Syon 2016), and a further 107 coins were unidentified (Table 29.1).<sup>2</sup> The Crusader-period coins (70; Catalogue A), which include both locally minted coins and those of European origin, are catalogued separately from the Islamic coins (61; Catalogue B), which include Umayyad to Ottoman coins. A detailed description of the numismatic material from the three excavation sites together is presented first, followed by a summary of the stratigraphic context of the finds at each site, and a discussion of the thirteenth-century currency in 'Akko.

Most of the coins are in a rather poor state of preservation. Some, such as the thin billon *deniers* of both European and local origin, are corroded, and others, mostly the Zangid and Ayyubid *fulus*, are heavily worn from use. Most of the identifiable coins in the assemblage comprise well-known coin types of the periods under consideration. A remarkable similarity is noted between the numismatic material from 'Akko and that

**Table 29.1. The Coins from the Three Excavations**

<i>Period</i>	<i>Hospitaller Compound (including the Hammam)</i>	<i>Knights' Hotel Site</i>	<i>Messika Plot</i>	<i>Total</i>
Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine	22	28		50
Early Islamic	3	8	4	15
Medieval (11th–13th c.)	8	88	3	99
Mamluk (14th c.)		1		1
Ottoman	7	6	3	16
<i>Total identified</i>	40	131	10	181
Unidentified	55	45	7	107
<i>Total</i>	95	176	17	288

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Robert Kool for improving a draft of this chapter, and to Ariel Berman for his help identifying some of the Islamic coins. This report was written in 2006 and partly updated in 2015 and 2023 with new references; the numbers of coins retrieved from the various sites mentioned as sources of parallels in this report are up to date as of 2006.

<sup>2</sup> The Crusader coins from the Courthouse Site were published previously (see Preface; Syon 1997).

of C.N. Johns' excavations in 'Atlit (Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999), including similar processes of corrosion and leaching; therefore, that publication was extensively relied upon here as a source for parallels, and its organization was largely adopted.

Systematic prospecting for coins using a metal detector was conducted on a daily basis at short time intervals during excavations at the Knights' Hotel Site and the Messika Plot, and occasionally during excavations in the Hospitaller Compound. This approach allowed accurate documentation of the provenance of many of the coins.

## THE 'CHRISTIAN' COINS

The 70 Crusader-period coins and tokens originated in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Lordship of Sidon, the County of Tripoli and the Kingdom of Cyprus, as well as farther away, in the Byzantine Empire and Europe.<sup>3</sup>

### *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*

*Baldwin III.* A rather poorly preserved coin (Cat. No. A1) retrieved from a thirteenth-century context may be attributed to Baldwin III of Jerusalem (1143–1163 CE). Such *deniers* have rarely been reported from 'Akko. Metcalf (1995) reported two such *deniers* from 'Akko and as many as 46 from Caesarea; no such coins were found in 'Atlit, a site occupied by the Crusaders only in the thirteenth century. The *BALDVINVS deniers* occur quite frequently in twelfth-century, inland urban Frankish sites, such as Jerusalem and Tiberias, and rural sites in their hinterlands, which were not resettled by a Frankish population after 1187 CE (Kool 2021).

*'Amalricus' Deniers.* A coin of relatively fine style (Cat. No. A2), weighing 0.92 g, appears to belong to Amaury I (1163–1174 CE). Ten *mauvais deniers* in the name of Amalricus (Cat. Nos. A3–A12), of rather poor quality, are assigned to the late twelfth–first quarter of the thirteenth centuries, following Metcalf (1995:66–71; 2000–2002:239). These coins were probably minted in 'Akko as an immobilized type to supply currency following the Third Crusade, initially perhaps by Henry of Champagne (1192–1197 CE) and certainly later by Aimery de Lusignan (1197–1205 CE).

Eight *'Amalricus' deniers* from 'Akko were listed by Metcalf (1975:142–143, Nos. 6–13), of which Nos. 6–8 are good-quality coins undoubtedly of Amaury I's time, while the others are of rather poor quality and may be later imitations. It has been suggested that one of the poor-quality *'Amalricus' deniers* from 'Akko, a coin that remained in circulation well into the thirteenth century, may have been a genuine twelfth-century coin of Amaury, minted in a poor standard (Kool 2002:79–81). Two other *'Amalricus' deniers*

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<sup>3</sup> Unreferenced parallels from other excavations in 'Akko and from Caesarea are drawn from Metcalf's (1995) synthetic work, while parallels from 'Atlit are drawn from Metcalf, Kool and Berman's (1999) study. The parallels mentioned here are not an exhaustive review of the relevant literature.

(unpublished), were found in the excavation at the Courthouse Site in 'Akko (see Tatcher 1998:13).<sup>4</sup> Fifty such coins are reported from Caesarea and one from 'Atlit.

*Henry de Champagne.* Five copper *pougeoises* (Cat. Nos. A13–A17) of Henry de Champagne (1192–1197 CE), minted in 'Akko, join another five specimens of this type found in various excavations in the city.<sup>5</sup> Four coins of this type were found at Caesarea and one at Khirbat el-Qabra, near Karmi'el, in Galilee (Stern 2006). No such coins were found in 'Atlit.

*Jean de Brienne.* A coin of Jean de Brienne (Cat. No. A18), minted by the Crusaders in large quantities during the short occupation of Damietta, Egypt (1219–1221 CE), was the last royal *denier* of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Metcalf (1995:83) suggested that they were minted in 'Akko, listing three such coins from that city; however, this possibility seems unlikely as such coins were found in greater numbers in Caesarea (7) and 'Atlit (14) than in 'Akko. Coins of Jean de Brienne are generally found in appreciable numbers in thirteenth-century contexts in coastal sites of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the northern principalities (Kool 2021).

#### *Other Crusader Coinages*

The coins included in this category were minted in the northern Crusader cities of Sidon and Tripoli. The absence of coins from Beirut and Antioch is noteworthy, although they are generally rare at sites within Israel; two coins of Beirut, struck from the same pair of dies, were found at the Courthouse Site in 'Akko (Syon 1997:88–89).

*Sidon.* Two coins of the Lordship of Sidon (Cat. Nos. A19–A20) join four such coins known from previous excavations in 'Akko (see Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999), while two such coins are reported from Caesarea and seven from 'Atlit.

*Tripoli.* Nine coins of the County of Tripoli (Cat. Nos. A21–A29) join 19 such coins from other excavations in 'Akko, 38 from 'Atlit and ten from Caesarea (Metcalf 1975).

#### *Europe and the East (Table 29.2)*

This group of 20 coins includes two from the eleventh century, which probably arrived in 'Akko with the First Crusade. One is a coin of Lucca (Cat. No. A38), dated later than 1040 CE, among the most commonly used Crusader currencies in the early years of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (it is part of a coin group known as the 'preferred coinages'; Metcalf 1995:14–16). Six other coins of Lucca are known from previous excavations in 'Akko, and 66 such coins were found in Caesarea (38 reported in Metcalf 1995:358–359 and 28 in Metcalf and Holland 1994–1999:156), while none were found in 'Atlit. These coins seem

<sup>4</sup> The two coins are kept in the IAA National Coin Database (IAA 49288–9).

<sup>5</sup> Listed in the IAA National Coin Database .

**Table 29.2. Chronology and Provenance of Coins from Europe and the East**

<i>Period</i>	<i>Western Europe</i>	<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>	<i>Eastern Mediterranean</i>
11th c.	1 (Lucca)		1 (Byzantine Empire)
12th c.	3 (France)		
13th c.	11 (France, Italy, Sicily)	2 (Germany[?], Serbia)	2 (Rhodes, Armenia)

to have been in circulation throughout the entire twelfth century, possibly as royal issues, as indicated by their widespread occurrence in both rural and urban settlements occupied at the time of the First Kingdom of Jerusalem (Kool 2013a:196–197).<sup>6</sup> An anonymous Byzantine *folles* (Cat. No. A59), dated c. 1050 CE, may have been deposited in ‘Akko before the crusades (see below). A large number of these anonymous *folles* are known from Israel, most from the north.<sup>7</sup>

Three twelfth-century French coins were found, one of which, a coin of Melgueil (Cat. No. A33), is among the ‘preferred coinages’ (Metcalf 1995:20). One other such coin was recorded from ‘Akko,<sup>8</sup> five are known from Caesarea and none from ‘Atlit. A coin from Burgundy (Cat. No. A34)—a fairly common type—is known from two examples from ‘Akko and 12 from Caesarea (three reported in Metcalf 1995:360 and nine in Metcalf and Holland 1994–1999:158). The third, and much rarer type of twelfth-century French coin is a coin of Celles (Cat. No. A36)—only the second such coin to be found in ‘Akko (see Syon 1997:89, No. 2). A coin of this type was also unearthed in the Crusader *burgus* of Safed (Kool 2015:91\*–92\*). These appear regularly in coin hoards with substantial quantities of Burgundian currency, dated to the first decades of the thirteenth century CE (Metcalf 1995:174).

The repertoire of thirteenth-century coins from the three excavations sites is more varied. These include three royal *gros tournois* of Philip III (Cat. Nos. A30–A32), one of which was particularly well preserved. Previously reported French *gros tournois* from Israel comprise one coin of Philip IV found in ‘Akko and three (of Louis IX and Philip III) in ‘Atlit. Also related to this group is a feudal coin from Déols (Cat. No. A37), an example of which was also found in ‘Atlit and another in Caesarea. A coin from Besançon (Cat. No. A35), found in a mixed context with mainly Hellenistic-period finds, dates to the twelfth or thirteenth century; it appears to have no local parallels.

Two Venetian *quartolo* (Cat. Nos. A39, A40) join three others, one from previous excavations in ‘Akko, one from Caesarea and one from ‘Atlit. Four Sicilian *deniers* (Cat. Nos. A41–A44) join 15 such coins previously unearthed in ‘Akko, 17 from Caesarea (13 reported in Metcalf 1995:358–359 and four in Metcalf and Holland 1994–1999:160–161) and 12 from ‘Atlit.

<sup>6</sup> Many of the coins unearthed in these excavations remain unpublished.

<sup>7</sup> Listed in the IAA National Coin Database.

<sup>8</sup> This coin was found in an excavation at the Naval Academy, conducted by Ayelet Tatcher (Permit No. A-2942; IAA 102934; unpublished).

A coin from Germany(?) (Cat. No. A45), which could not be precisely identified, is uncommon in the region; coins from the German territories of the Holy Roman Empire and its eastern satellites have occasionally been retrieved from ‘Akko and other sites of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Kool, Paszkiewicz and Stern 2013). This example, although found in a thirteenth-century context, may in fact represent a residual find, possibly of the eleventh–twelfth centuries. Two unusual coin finds, a late thirteenth-century coin from Serbia (Cat. No. A58) and an anonymous copper coin from Rhodes (Cat. No. A60) most likely arrived in the city with pilgrims; the latter coin was minted at the time of Templar domination of the island before 1310 CE and is possibly connected to the activity of the Templar order in ‘Akko.

An Armenian coin (Cat. No. A61) is a quite rare find, known from 20 other occurrences within the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Kool, pers. comm.), two of which may have come from ‘Akko (Metcalf 1995). The presence of these coins in the region likely testifies to the close alliance between the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and Armenia.

#### *Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus*

Twelve coins of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus (Cat. Nos. A46–A57) include one of Guy de Lusignan (1192–1194 CE), another of Hugh I (1205–1218 CE) and the remainder of Henry I (1218–1253 CE). Twenty-one such coins were previously reported from ‘Akko, including 19 mentioned by Metcalf (1995), an unpublished coin of Hugh I from the city’s eastern moat<sup>9</sup> and a coin of Henry I from the Courthouse Site (Syon 1997:88); 17 such coins are known from Caesarea and 56 from ‘Atlit.

#### *Unidentified Crusader-Period Deniers*

Five *deniers* in a very poor state of preservation could not be attributed to any specific coin type (Cat. Nos. A62–A66). Traces of a cross *pattée* seen on four of the coins suggest that they are *deniers* of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, although a European origin cannot be ruled out.

#### *Lead Tokens*

Four lead tokens (Cat. Nos. A67–A70) belong to a large group of such finds previously discovered at other sites in ‘Akko and usually thought to have been minted in the city (Syon 1994–1999, and see further references therein; Kool 2013b).

While tokens are generally considered a currency of local usage with limited geographic distribution (Kool 2013b), three of the finds from ‘Akko (Cat. Nos. A68–A70) may be of distant origin, perhaps originating in Tripoli, as suggested by the letter B on two of them (Cat. Nos. A68, A69) and the 12-rayed star on another one (Cat. No. A70). The letter B possibly stands for the name of the counts of Tripoli, Bohemund, and the 12-rayed star resembles the six- and eight-rayed stars appearing on the *deniers* of Tripoli. A similar attribution was proposed for a token with an eight-rayed star from ‘Atlit (Metcalf, Kool

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<sup>9</sup> The registration number of the unpublished coin is IAA 82771.

and Berman 1999:124\*, No. 215). This suggestion is in agreement with the observation that the coins of Tripoli became standard currency in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem by the mid-thirteenth century. However, it is also possible that these tokens were of a different provenance. The letter B is also known from anonymous coins minted on Rhodes under the Templars, beginning in 1249 CE (see above, Cat. No A60; Schlumberger 1877:216–221), which bear the Paleologan emblem composed of four times the letter B, while eight-rayed stars appear on lead tokens from Spain (Crusafont i Sabater, Labrot and Moll i Mercadal 1996:119, Nos. 79, 80).

Lead tokens were made in 'Akko, as evidenced by a casting sprue from the Hospitaller Compound (see Chapter 10: No. 49) and a mold found in the city as a stray find (Syon 1994–1999).

## THE ISLAMIC COINS

### *The Pre-Crusader Periods*

These finds include eight Umayyad coins, comprising a residual coin found in a mixed context (Cat. No. B1) and seven coins retrieved from Early Islamic contexts (Cat. Nos. B2–B8), two of which (Cat. Nos. B2, B3) were minted in 'Akko. Coins of the Abbasid period comprise two that were found in mixed contexts and four from a probable Early Islamic context; two of these coins (Cat. Nos. B9, B10) were certainly minted in 'Akko, and another two (Cat. Nos. B12, B13) may have been minted in the city. A Fatimid *dirham* (Cat. No. B15) is the only evidence of currency from the period immediately preceding the Crusader conquest of the region and, to the best of my knowledge, the only Fatimid coin known from 'Akko to date.

Nine coins of the Umayyad–Fatimid periods found among the Crusader-period remains in 'Atlit may have been residual, from an earlier phase of settlement at the site, or early coins that remained in use during the time of Frankish rule (Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999:106\*).

### *The Crusader Period*

Twenty-nine coins (Cat. Nos. B16–B41, B43–B45) are from the periods of Zangid, Ayyubid and Mamluk rule, concurrent with the Crusader occupation of 'Akko; these finds offer a glimpse into economic interactions between the city's Frankish population and the surrounding Islamic world. The finding of 51 such coins in 'Atlit, about half of which were minted in the period predating the construction of the Crusader castle and faubourg, leaves little doubt that such coins circulated as valid copper currency among the thirteenth-century Crusader population (see below; see also Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999:107\*).

Ten Zangid coins from the present excavations (Cat. Nos. B16–B25) are types very similar to the eight coins of this dynasty uncovered in 'Atlit (Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999: Nos. 237–244). Nine Ayyubid coins (Cat. Nos. B26–B34) represent five different rulers, while there is some uncertainty about the Ayyubid or Mamluk affiliation of two other coins (Cat. Nos. B35, B36). In 'Atlit, 43 coins of eleven different Ayyubid rulers



were identified (Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999: Nos. 245–287). One of the Ayyubid coins from ‘Akko (Cat. No. B26) is of the ruler Al-Naṣir Salāḥ al-Dīn Yusuf b. Ayyub (Saladin), a type which was not found in ‘Atlit. Five Mamluk coins (Cat. Nos. B37–B41) of two different rulers, Baybars I and Qala’un, were found, compared to 18 coins of the same two rulers from ‘Atlit (Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999: Nos. 294–311). Three additional Mamluk coins (Cat. Nos. B43–B45) are attributed to this period on grounds of probability.

It is noteworthy that at ‘Atlit there are six coins of the Rum-Seljuks, the Sharifs of Mecca and the Mongols (Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999: Nos. 288–293), which are not attested at ‘Akko. This is due, in part at least, to the fact that the faubourg at ‘Atlit was destroyed as early as 1265, with a subsequent Mamluk presence.

### *The Post-Crusader Period*

Only one fourteenth-century Mamluk coin (Cat. No. B42) is securely attributed to the period between ‘Akko’s capture by the Mamluks in 1291 CE and the mid-sixteenth century. The sparse yield for such a lengthy period is in accordance with the historical sources, stating that ‘Akko was left desolate at this time. Fourteenth-century Mamluk coins are common at local sites occupied during that century. Three sixteenth-century coins (Cat. Nos. B46–B48) and two Ottoman coins from the seventeenth century (Cat. Nos. B49, B50) are most likely connected to the period of rule of Fakhr al-Dīn (1586–1635 CE). The presence of coins of the post-Crusader period at ‘Atlit is easier to explain than at ‘Akko, given the continued occupation at the former site.

The latest finds from ‘Akko (Cat. Nos. B51–B61) comprise eleven Ottoman coins that are mostly from contexts post-dating the mid-eighteenth century, or surface finds. One was clearly intrusive in a thirteenth-century locus, and quite possibly fell into the excavation trench from the section.

## **THE STRATIGRAPHIC CONTEXT**

As the three excavations discussed here yielded very different numbers of coins (Table 29.1), each is described separately.

### *The Hospitaller Compound*

The overall number of identified coins retrieved from this excavation (40) is disappointingly low given the immense scale of the site and its construction remains (see Chapters 2–7). Twenty-two pre-Islamic coins were described elsewhere (Syon 2016). Three Early Islamic coins are presented here (Cat. Nos. B1, B11, B14), which originated in mixed contexts and are of little significance, as Umayyad and Abbasid coins are well-known from ‘Akko. Of the eight Crusader-period coins, seven are Crusader or European (Cat. Nos. A6, A18–A20, A33, A35, A37) and one is Ayyubid (Cat. No. B31). All were found in Crusader contexts and, with two exceptions (Cat. Nos. B33, B35), all date to the thirteenth century. Cat. No. A35 is a coin of Besançon found in the Pillared Hall in a mixed context with mostly Hellenistic finds.

Five post-Crusader-period coins found in the Hospitaller Compound consist of one Mamluk or early Ottoman coin (Cat. No. B46) and four of undoubtedly Ottoman date. Most of these came from uncertain contexts. Two of an early Ottoman date (Cat. Nos. B47, B49) probably reflect activity under the ruler Fakhr al-Dīn, in the late sixteenth–early seventeenth century (see Chapters 1, 3).

#### *The Knights' Hotel Site*

This site yielded the largest number of identifiable coins (131), of which 28 Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine coins were previously published (Syon 2016).

*The Early Islamic Period.* Of the eight coins of this period, seven are anonymous Umayyad *fulus* (Cat. Nos. B2–B8) and one (B15) is a Fatimid billon half *dirham* (Table 29.3). Four, possibly five, of the Umayyad coins come from contexts clearly attributable to this period (see Chapter 16), while the remainder are from mixed contexts.

**Table 29.3. Context of the Early Islamic-Period Coins from the Knights' Hotel Site**

<i>Period</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Context</i>
Umayyad (8th c.)	C	403	B5	Umayyad architectural remains and pottery and a possible Hellenistic coin
	F	841	B4	Sterile sand atop a Crusader-period floor
		848	B3	Probe in Floor 818. Possibly an Umayyad context, also containing three Hellenistic and Roman coins
		853	B6	Unclear
		861	B2	Umayyad architectural remains and pottery
			B7	
			B8	
Fatimid (11th c.)	A	151	B15	Mixed, including a 2nd–3rd c. CE coin

*The Crusader Period.* This site yielded 88 Crusader-period coins, of which 17 date to the eleventh–twelfth centuries and 71 to the thirteenth, including both ‘Christian’ and Islamic coins. The evidence from the stratigraphy, architecture and small finds from all the excavation areas of this site demonstrate that the surviving remains date predominantly to the thirteenth century (see Chapter 16). Considering that the eleventh–twelfth-century coins were also found in thirteenth-century contexts, it can be concluded that these old coins were still circulating, together with recent coins, at the end of the Crusader period (see below).

Also of note are five immobilized Amalricus *deniers* (Cat. Nos. A5, A7, A8, A10, A12) found together as a hoard (L168) near a pillar base in Area A (see Chapter 16: Fig. 16.16), possibly part of a foundation deposit of a large, perhaps public, building, on which construction began after 1191 CE.

*The Post-Crusader Periods.* One fourteenth-century Mamluk coin (Cat. No. B42) originated in the thick sand layer covering the Crusader-period ruins. Three Ottoman coins originated

in well-stratified contexts of the period in Areas B and H (Cat. Nos. B50, B52, B53),<sup>10</sup> one in the sand layer above the Crusader remains (Cat. No. B57) and another on the surface (B56); Cat. No. B51 is an intrusive find from a Crusader context.

#### *The Messika Plot*

This excavation yielded four Early Islamic, ninth-century coins (Cat. Nos. B9, B10, B12, B13) found together in an underground tunnel (L17) below building remains of the Crusader period, along with pottery of the period, dating the tunnel to the Early Islamic period (see Chapter 26).

Three Crusader-period coins: a Venetian *quartolo* (Cat. No. A40), a Cypriot *denier* dated to 1192–1194 CE (Cat. No. A46) and a copper *fals* of the Ayyubid ruler al-‘Adil I (1199–1218 CE; Cat. No. B28), were retrieved from a thick ash layer associated with the final destruction of the city in 1291 CE, suggesting that they were still in use at that time, although they were minted almost a century earlier.

The Ottoman-period coins comprise two surface finds (Cat Nos. B54, B59) and another somewhat surprising coin (Cat. No. B48), uncovered near the surface, which is an early Ottoman issue, probably of Sulayman I (1520–1566 CE) from a period when ‘Akko is believed to have been largely abandoned, apart from the harbor; it may have arrived at the site somewhat later, during the time of Fakhr al-Dīn.

### **DISCUSSION: CURRENCY IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ‘AKKO**

A number of conclusions can be drawn regarding coin circulation and the composition of currency in ‘Akko in the period spanning the end of the Third Crusade in 1191 CE and the fall of the city to the Mamluks in 1291 CE. At present, there is meager evidence for Crusader currency in ‘Akko during the twelfth century, and it is hoped that future excavations, especially outside the present-day old city, will shed further light on this period. The number of thirteenth-century coins from the three sites is also disappointingly low, considering that ‘Akko was the largest and most politically and economically important urban center of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem at that time. Unlike the detailed analysis of the chronology and the economic function of the various types of currencies made possible by the large coin assemblage from ‘Atlit, the small number of finds from ‘Akko permit only a general discussion. The currency certainly underwent changes over one hundred years, and the sample of Crusader material from ‘Akko offers a glimpse of the beginning of this period, based on the finds from L135 at the Knights’ Hotel Site, and more detailed information of the end of the period based on the numerous coins retrieved from the destruction level of 1291 CE.

A comparative study of sites that were occupied in the thirteenth century is beyond the scope of this paper (see Kool 2013a). However, striking similarities were revealed between the currencies in ‘Akko and ‘Atlit, which might imply that although ‘Akko was the most important city in the thirteenth century, it did not differ much from other centers

<sup>10</sup> The excavations in Areas B and H were published separately (Syon and Tatcher 2000).

along the coast in the way it conducted its economic transactions. Perhaps because of the disappointingly few coins found in such a large and important urban center as thirteenth-century 'Akko, there is nothing in the finds here to substantiate the claim made by the authors of the 'Atlit report (Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999:94\*) that 'Atlit was of secondary monetary significance.

The thirteenth-century currency from the three excavations comprises local and European coins (Christian) and Islamic coins (Fig. 29.1); the eleventh-century Byzantine *folles* (Cat. No. A59) is not included here, as its presence among the remains of the thirteenth-century ampulla workshop suggests that it was scrap metal and no longer considered currency. On the other hand, the eleventh-century coin of Lucca (Cat. No. A38) was found in a context clearly attributable to the thirteenth century and there is reason to believe that it belonged to a type that may have been very long-lived (Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999:100\*).

#### *The Frankish Use of Islamic Copper Currency*

During excavations, Crusader *deniers* and Islamic *fulus* were retrieved from thick layers of ash overlaying floors of the Crusader period at the Knights' Hotel Site and the Messika Plot, which can be attributed to the last day of Crusader 'Akko in May 1291. These finds

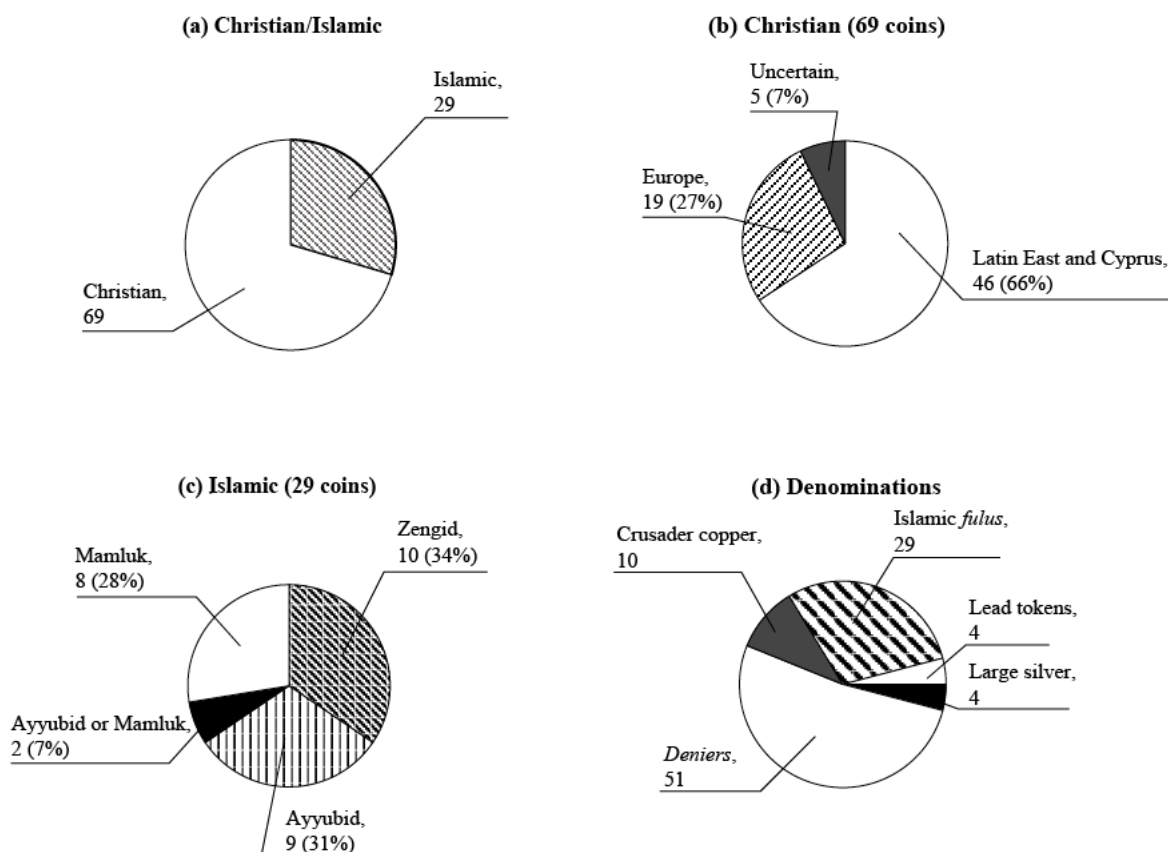


Fig. 29.1. The composition of thirteenth-century currency from the excavations in 'Akko, according to issuers (a-c) and denominations (d).

clearly testify that the Frankish population regularly used contemporaneous Islamic copper currency along with Crusader coinage (Fig. 29.1), a possibility previously only speculated upon. Evidence for the use of Zangid, Ayyubid and Mamluk copper *fulus* by the Crusaders had only been available from 'Atlit (Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999:95\*) and Vadum Jacob (Chastelet) on the Jordan River (Kool 2002:84–85).<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, it has been widely established that Islamic gold and silver currency was used and imitated by the Crusaders. Fatimid gold *dinars* and Ayyubid silver *dirhams* are routinely found in coin hoards of that period, and sometimes in excavations, and their use by the Crusaders is also amply documented in historical sources (Metcalf 1995:43–51, 98–106).

For reasons that remain unclear, the Crusaders in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem hardly minted copper coins, except for the *pougeoises* of 'Akko, which are well-represented among the present material (Cat. Nos. A13–A16, possibly A17). This is in contrast with other Crusader states north of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, such as Antioch, Tripoli and Edessa, which produced copper coinage locally in abundance. Evidently, in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, copper *fulus* filled the need for coins of lower value than the ubiquitous billon *deniers*. The importance of such Islamic coinage is emphasized by the fact that twelfth-century Zangid and Ayyubid *fulus* remained in circulation as late as 1291 CE despite their much-worn state. Still, most of the twelfth-century Islamic coins uncovered *in situ* were in early thirteenth-century contexts. The use of these old copper coins by the Crusaders is comparable to their use of lead tokens as substitute money (see below). Contemporaneous Mamluk coins were also used, such as coins of Baybars I and Qala'un (Cat. Nos. B37, B40) that were found among destruction layers from 1291 CE.

### *The Coin Denominations*

The assemblages of coins and tokens from 'Akko comprise all the known coin types made of base metals (billon, copper, lead; Fig. 29.1d), probably reflecting the original proportions of such coins in circulation in the Crusader period. The absence of coins made of precious metals, such as gold *bezants* and *dinars* and silver *drachmas* and *dirhams*, does not imply anything about their importance in the currency of the time (see above); gold coins in particular are rarely recovered in excavations of all periods, as they have a low loss/recovery ratio.<sup>12</sup> The absence of silver *drachmas*, the local Crusader imitations of Islamic silver coins, is compensated by the presence of three French royal *gros tournois* of Philip III, representing the silver denomination. The Crusader *deniers* comprise just over 50% of the currency from 'Akko, with most of the remainder made up of copper denominations and the rest of lead tokens and a few silver coins.

<sup>11</sup> Assertions by these authors that Islamic copper currency was used by the Frankish population were based in part on unpublished information from the 'Akko excavations presented in this volume (see Kool 2013a).

<sup>12</sup> Gold coins did not exchange hands very often, and if lost or misplaced, their recovery would be attempted.

### *The Lead Tokens*

It is unlikely that the lead tokens constituted an official part of the Crusader currency system; they were more likely a *de facto* currency of the time, although their value and iconography remain unclear (Kool 2013b). Great numbers of such tokens are known to have been produced throughout Europe at the time (Mitchiner 1988; for data from France, see Labrot 1989; for data from Spain, see Crusafont i Sabater, Labrot and Moll i Mercadal 1996). In the Latin East, they were issued locally in most settlements, including rather small ones, such as Belmont Castle (Metcalf 2000:84) and Vadum Jacob (Kool 2001; 2002:83–84); the lead tokens from the latter site were designed as imitations of *deniers*, clearly meant to serve as official coinage in this particular instance. The tokens found at other sites may have simply been the product of local initiatives to address needs as they arose for low-value denominations, as illustrated by a crude mold for manufacturing lead tokens found in ‘Akko (Syon 1994–1999).

### *European Coins*

The five French feudal coins found in the present assemblages (as opposed to 14 from ‘Atlit), date to the second half of the twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries (Cat. Nos. A33–A37); one of these coins, the coin from Burgundy (Cat. No. A34), was found in L135 of the ampulla workshop at the Knights’ Hotel Site—an early thirteenth-century context. Thus, it seems that no French feudal coins arrived in ‘Akko after c. 1230 CE. The French feudal coin from Berry (Cat. No. A36), dating from the last quarter of the twelfth century, was found immediately atop a floor that burned in 1291 CE (L623), indicating that at least some of these coins remained in circulation through the end of Crusader occupation of the city.

The four coins from Sicily (Cat. Nos. A41–A44) represent the three reigns over the Island known from the thirteenth century: Frederick II, Conrad I and Charles I, covering the time range of 1245–1282 CE. At ‘Atlit, on the other hand, ten of the eleven Sicilian coins were from the reign of Frederick II (1209–1249 CE) and only one from the reign of Charles I (1266–1285 CE). While it is not surprising to find the two Venetian *quartolo* (Cat. Nos. A39, A40) in a late thirteenth-century context, the more exotic European coins, from Germany (Cat. No. A45), Serbia (Cat. No. A58), Rhodes (Cat. No. A60) and Armenia (Cat. No. A61), are best seen as having arrived with pilgrims, for whom ‘Akko was the port of entry to the Holy Land.

## CATALOGUE A: THE CHRISTIAN COINS

HC = Hospitaller Compound; KH = Knights' Hotel Site; MP = Messika Plot.

Coins marked with an asterisk are illustrated in Figs. 29.2–29.4

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM													
Baldwin III(?), billon <i>denier</i>													
A1	KHA	131	1152	0.38	18		[---] Cross <i>pattée</i>	[---] Tower of David(?)	1143–1163	Jerusalem	Cf. Metcalf 1995: Pl. 10		49336
Amaury (1163–1174 CE), billon <i>denier</i>													
A2*	KHA	139	1212	0.92	17	↖	AMALRICVS REX Cross <i>pattée</i> , pellets in quadrants 2, 3	+D[IRVSAL[EM The Holy Sepulchre		Jerusalem	Cf. Metcalf 1995: No. 175		49337
Immobalized 'Amalricus' (up to 1235 CE?), billon <i>deniers</i>													
A3	KHA	139	1219	0.54	17	↓	AMALRICVS REX Cross <i>pattée</i> , annulets in quadrants 2, 3	+D[IRVSAL[EM The Holy Sepulchre		'Akko(?)	Cf. Metcalf 1995: No. 194	Broken	49343
A4	KHA	139	1213	0.72	17	←	[AMALRIC]VS REX As No. 3	As No. 3		Same	Cf. Metcalf 1995: Nos. 188–192		49342
A5	KHA	168	1464	0.51	17	↖	[+AM]ALRICVS REX Cross <i>pattée</i> , annulets in quadrants 2, 3	[---] As No. 3		Same	Cf. Metcalf 1995: No. 194		49345
A6	HC Courtyard	12034	121117	0.31	16		As No. 3	As No. 3		Same			48274
A7	KHA	168	1463	0.41	17	←	[+AM]AL[RICVS REX] Cross <i>pattée</i> , pellet in quadrant 3	As No. 3		Same			49344

Catalogue A: The Christian Coins (cont.)

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A8	KH A	168	1465	0.56	18	↘	+AMA[LRICVS RĒ] X <sub>o</sub> Cross <i>pattée</i> , annulets in quadrants 1, 4	As No. 3		Same	Cf. Metcalf 1995: No. 175		49346
A9	KH A	140	1230	0.36	17		[---] Cross <i>pattée</i>	As No. 3		Same			49341
A10	KH A	168	1466	0.44	17	→	---]LRIC[--- Cross <i>pattée</i> (traces)	DE Iē[RVSALēM]		Same			49347
A11	KH G	922	4362	0.26	15		[AMAL]RICVS [---] Cross <i>pattée</i>	As No. 3		Same			66494
A12	KH A	168	1462	0.36	17		[---] Cross <i>pattée</i>	As No. 3		Same			49338
							<b>Henry de Champagne, copper <i>pougeoise</i></b>						
A13*	KH A	125	1106	0.80	17	↙	+COMēS HENRICVS Cross <i>pattée</i> , pellet in each quadrant	+PVGēS D'ACCON Fleur-de-lys	1192–1197	'Akko	Metcalf 1995: Nos. 199–200		49350
A14*	KH A	131	1224	1.08	18	↙	As No. 13 Annulet in each quadrant	As No. 13	Same	Same	Same		49348
A15	KH A	164	1415	1.35	16	↑	[+]COMēS hē [NRICVS] Cross <i>pattée</i> , one annulet visible in quadrant 4	[+PVGēS D'] ACCO[N] Fleur-de-lys (traces)	Same	Same	Same		49349
A16	KH F	808	3306	1.16	19	↑	XCO[MēS] HENRICVS ( <i>sic</i> ) Cross <i>pattée</i> , pellet in each quadrant	[---] Fleur-de-lys (traces)	Same	Same	Metcalf 1995: Nos. 199–200.		66478
							<b>Henry de Champagne(?) copper <i>pougeoise</i></b>						
A17	KH D	651	2503	1.06	17		Unidentifiable	Fleur-de-lys(?) (traces)			Cf. Metcalf 1995: Nos. 199–200		49382



Catalogue A: The Christian Coins (cont.)

Cut No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
<b>The Fifth Crusade</b>													
<b>Jean de Brienne, billon denier</b>													
A18*	HC Courtyard	12018	120414	0.34	16	↖	+ [IOh]ε[SI] REX[!] Cross pattée, annulets in quadrants 2, 3	DA[MIATA] Head facing	1219–1221	*Akko(?)	Metcalf 1995: No. 203		48273
<b>OTHER CRUSADER STATES</b>													
<b>Sidon</b>													
<b>Balian Grenier, billon denier</b>													
A19*	HC Courtyard	12027	120917	0.57	16	→	+ D•εN•I•εR Cross pattée	+ D•εS•ε•T•ε Colonnaded building with cupola	1229–1240		Metcalf 1995: Nos. 213–214		48275
A20	HC Courtyard	16020	160484	0.44	16	↙	+ D•εN•I•εR As No. 19	+ D•ε[S•ε•T•ε] As No. 19	Same		Same		102627
<b>Tripoli</b>													
<b>Bohemond I or IV (1233–1251), billon denier</b>													
A21*	KH A	130	1178	0.45	15	↙	[+BAHV]ND COIIS (sic) Cross pattée	+ CIVITAS TRIPOLI Eight-rayed star, with pellets between the rays			Metcalf 1995: Nos. 547–554 (var.)		49339
A22	KH G	904	4344	0.47	16	↑	[+BOA]MVND COMS Cross pattée, pellet in quadrant 1	+ CIVITAS TRIPOL Six-rayed star with annulets			Metcalf 1995: No. 543		66497
A23*	KH D	646	2491	0.41	15	↓	[+BA]MVND* COM[S] Cross pattée, 3 pellets in quadrant 2	CI[VIT]AS T] RIPOL* Eight-rayed star, with annulets between the rays			Metcalf 1995: Nos. 547–554		49384
A24	KH A	131	1141	0.36	15	↓	+B[AMVND*COM]S As No. 23	[---] As No. 23			Same		49340
A25	KH D	603	2109	0.26	15		[---] As No. 23	[CIVIT]AS TRIPOL*] As No. 23			Same		49383

Catalogue A: The Christian Coins (cont.)

Cut No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A26	KHF	808	3429	0.52	15	↗	[+BAMVND']COMS As No. 23	[CIVITAS TR]IPOL As No. 23.			Same		66482
A27	KHG	922	4363	0.32	16		[+BAMVND'] COM[S] As No. 23	[C]IVITAS T[RIPOL'] As No. 23			Same	Broken	66499
A28	KHE	720	3076	0.27	15		+BA[...] As No. 23	As No. 23, details unidentifiable			Same		66455
A29	KHG	922	4364A	0.40	16		[---] As No. 23	[CIVITAS TR]IPOL As No. 23			Same	Perforated	66500
WESTERN EUROPE													
FRANCE, ROYAL													
A30*	KHA	130	1198	3.74	26	↙	<b>Philip III (1270–1285 CE), <i>R. gros tournois</i></b> In two concentric lines: +PHILIPPVS REX/ BHDICTVS SIT HOM :DNI: NRI: DEI: IHU: X PI Cross	+TVRONVS CIVIS 12 Fleur-de-lys in margin; Châtel (immobilized type)	1270–1285	Tours	Hengel 1997: 1.212.08		49360
A31	KHA	160	1385	2.39	25	↓	As No. 30	[---] As No. 30					49358
A32	KHA	131	1186	2.89	26		[---] As No. 30	All details obliterated				Broken	49359
FRANCE, FEUDAL													
Melgueil, billon denier													
A33	HC Northern Moat	27003	270087	0.30	13		[RAMVND]ω Pale with two pennons	[NALBONA] Four open annulets	12th c.	Melgueil (Languedoc)	Poey d'Avant 1858–1862: No. 3843		102632
Bourgogne													
Hugh III, billon denier													
A34	KHA	135	1165	0.41	18	←	+VGO DVX BYR[G:DIE] Double Crozier	+DIVIONEN2IS Cross	1162–1193	Dijon	Cox 1933:25; Poey d'Avant 1858–1862: No. 5676		49335

Catalogue A: The Christian Coins (cont.)

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A35*	HC Pillared Hall(?)	n/a	110258	0.74	16		<b>Promartyr Etienne, billon denier</b> +BISVNTIVM Cross <i>pattée</i>	[P]THOMAR[TIR] Hand with two outstretched fingers	12th–13th c.	Besançon	Poey d'Avant 1858–1862: No. 537		48276
							<b>Berry</b> <b>Robert I, billon denier</b>						
A36	KH D	623	2506	0.36	17	↑	+ROB'DE CēLES Cross <i>pattée</i> (traces)	Helmeted head (immobilized type)	1178–1189	Celles (Selles-sur-Cher)	Poey d'Avant 1858–1862: No. 2056		49379
							<b>Lordship of Déols–Châteauroux</b> <b>Guillaume I, billon denier</b>						
A37*	HC Courtyard	13047	130787	0.43	18		[GVIL]EPMV[S] Cross, fleurs-de-lys in quadrants 2, 3	Six-pointed star; between the rays: [DE]DOLI	1203–1233	Déols	Poey d'Avant 1858–1862: No. 1961	Broken	48272
							<b>ITALY</b> <b>Lucca, billon denier</b>						
A38*	KH D	644	2439	0.70	17		+IHPERATOR In center: H	+EWRICVS Circularly arranged: LVCA; pellet in center	after 1040	Lucca	Metcalf 1995: Nos. 11–17, Pl. 15:f		49380
							<b>Lorenzo Tiepolo, quartolo</b>						
A39*	KH E	707	3058	0.68	16	↙	+LA•TVPL DVX In center, circularly arranged: V•N•C•E•	+F•T MARCVS• Cross with fleurs-de-lys in the four quadrants	1268–1275	Venice	Papadopoli 1893, I:113, Nos. 5, 6		66457
							<b>Unidentified Doge, quartolo</b>						
A40	MP	24	235	0.51	17		[---] As No. 39	As No. 39	13th c.	Venice			49317
							<b>Frederick II (1197–1250 CE), billon denier</b>						
A41*	KH G	922	4314	0.52	18	→	+•IERSL'ET[•SIC] IL'R Cross <i>pattée</i> with crescents in each quadrant	+F•ROMANORVM• Ligature: IMPR	1245(?)	Brindisi	Spahr 1976: No. 135; Travaini 1993: No. 40		66498

Catalogue A: The Christian Coins (cont.)

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
<b>Conrad I (1250–1254 CE), billon denier</b>													
A42	KH F	816	3363	0.46	14	→	[+COWR]ADVSA• Cross <i>pattee</i> , pellets in quadrants 1, 4	[+•IERL'ET•SICIL'] In center: RX under Ω	1250–1254	Messina	Spahr 1976: No. 155; Travaini 1993: No. 52		66483
A43*	KH F	826	3635	0.61	16	↙	[+]IERVSALeM In center: C•O / r, suspension mark above	+•ET SICIL'•REX• Cross <i>pattee</i>	1250–1254	Brindisi	Travaini 1993: No. 54 (var.: shape of the E and pellets on either side)		66484
<b>Charles I, billon denier</b>													
A44*	KH D	605	2281	0.56	15	↑	+DVCAT. APVL'PRCPAT CA Cross <i>pommée</i> , annulets in 4 quadrants	[---] In center: •KAR•	1266–1282	Brindisi or Messina	Spahr 1976: No. 36; Travaini 1993: No. 94		49386
<b>GERMANY(?) Swabia(?), billon denier</b>													
A45*	KH F	809	3330	0.37	17		Inscription(?): unidentifiable. Eagle facing, head l., with outspread wings; on chest, coat of arms	Apparently blank	c. 1200–1250(?)			Heavily corroded	66485
<b>KINGDOM OF CYPRUS</b>													
<b>Guy de Lusignan, billon denier</b>													
A46	MP	26	215	0.60	17	↙	+ [ReX GV]IDO Gate; inside: cross	[+De] CIP[RO] Cross <i>pattee</i> , pellets in quadrants 1, 4, crescents in quadrants 2, 3	1192–1194		Metcalf 1995: No. 629 (var.: cross instead of star in gate)		49316
<b>Hugh I, billon denier</b>													
A47	KH D	646	2465	0.55	17		[hV]GO [ReX] Cross <i>pattee</i> (traces)	[+CYPRI] Gateway (traces)	1205–1218		Metcalf 1995: Nos. 634 or 635	Burnt	49381

Catalogue A: The Christian Coins (cont.)

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
<b>Henry I, billion denier</b>													
A48	KH A	130	1131	0.41	17	↙	[---] Gate; two battlements	+R̄EX C[YPR] Cross <i>pattée</i> , annulets in quadrants 2,3, crescents in quadrants 1, 4	1218–1253		Metcalf 1995: No. 638		49351
A49	KH A	130	1139	0.47	17	↘	+H̄ENRICVS: Cross <i>pattée</i> , crescent visible in quadrant 2	Worn	Same		Metcalf 1995: No. 639	Perforated	49352
A50	KH A	164	1370	0.29	15	↑	[---] Cross <i>pattée</i> , pellets in quadrants 1, 4, crescents in quadrants 2, 3	[---] Gate	Same				49354
A51	KH A	131	1142	0.53	16	→	+H̄ENRICVS: Cross <i>pattée</i> , pellets in quadrants 2, 3, crescents in quadrants 1, 4	+R̄J̄EX[CYPRI] Gateway with three battlements	Same			Pellets and crescents in different order	66863
A52	KH A	132	1431	0.60	17	↑	+H̄ENRICVS: Cross <i>pattée</i>	[---] Gateway with one battlement	Same		Metcalf 1995: No. 639 (varO absent in published example)		49353
A53	KH F	816	3421	0.52	16	↖	[H̄ENRI]CV[S:] Cross <i>pattée</i>	As No. 51, +R̄EX CY[PRI]	Same				66480
A54	KH G	922	4378	0.51	17	↙	As No. 52	As No. 51, +R̄EX CYPRI	Same				66496
A55	KH F	842	3500	0.53	15	↖	As No. 52	As No. 51, +R̄EX[:CYP]RI	Same				66481
A56	KH F	808	3305	0.46	16	↘	As No. 52	As No. 51, R̄EX CYPRI (no cross)	Same				66479
A57*	KH E	709	3013	1.47	18		+H̄ENRICVS: Cross <i>pattée</i>	Wall and gate, across gate: R̄EX	Same		Metcalf 1995: Nos. 658–661		66456

Catalogue A: The Christian Coins (cont.)

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
EASTERN EUROPE													
							<b>Stefan Dragutin, <i>Æ</i> <i>denar de croce</i></b>						
A58*	KH D	603	1924	1.62	20	↘	SSTEFANV On l. the king; on r. St. Stephen	V[ROSIVS]/REX Christ enthroned; to l. [IC], to r. XC and three pellets	1276–1316	Serbia, Rodnik(?)	Metcalf 1979: Pl. 7:4		49385
BYZANTINE EMPIRE													
							<b>Anonymous <i>folles</i></b>						
A59*	KH A	132	1164	3.39	21	↑	Christ, nimbate, on square-backed throne	[B]ASIL[EUS]/ BASIL[EI] Below: ornament	c. 1050		DOC 3/2:685–686, Class D		49334
A60*	KH A	132	1406	1.38	18	↑	Cross, with the letter B in each quadrant	Cross, with the letter B in each quadrant	1249–1307	Rhodes	Schlumberger 1877:216–221, Pl. VIII:23		49361
CILICIAN ARMENIA													
							<b>Levon I or II</b>						
A61	KH E	709	3186	1.95	19		[---] Type unidentifiable	[---] Type unidentifiable	1199–1226 or 1270–1289	Sis	Cf. Bedoukian 1962: <i>passim</i>		66454
UNCERTAIN													
							<b>Crusader, <i>billon denier</i></b>						
A62	KH D	634	2411	0.46	15		.....]REX. Cross <i>pattée</i>	All details obliterated	12th–13th c.	Jerusalem or Cyprus			49378
A63	KH G	922	4364	0.38	16		Cross <i>pattée</i> (traces)	As No. 62					66495
A64	KH A	132	1129	0.26	14		As No. 63	As No. 62					49355
A65	KH A	140	1228	0.36	15		As No. 63	As No. 62				Corroded	49357

Catalogue A: The Christian Coins (cont.)

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A66	KH A	132	1153				No details visible	Crusader(?), billon <i>denier</i> No details visible	12th–13th c.			Fragment	49356
LEAD TOKENS													
A67*	KH G	913	4256	2.71	19		Cross	Blank	13th c. CE(?)	'Akko(?)			66501
A68*	KH F	809	3381	1.96	15	→	B (Bohemund?)	Boucranium(?)	13th c. CE(?)	'Akko/ Tripoli(?)			66487
A69	KH D	624	2229	2.45	15	↓	The letter B(?)	Boucranium(?)	13th c. CE(?)	Same			49387
A70	KH F	826	3442	1.34	17		12 rayed star	12-rayed star	13th c. CE(?)	Same			66486

## CATALOGUE B: ISLAMIC COINS

All denominations are copper-alloy *fulus*, unless stated otherwise.  
 Coins marked with an asterisk are illustrated in Fig. 29.4.

UMAYYAD										
Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint
B1	HC Courtyard	13064	131039	3.20	16		[---] Center: ...الله	Unidentifiable	7-8th c.	
B2*	KH F	861	3621	4.76	20	1	لا اله الا الله وحده Center: ...الله	Unmayyad anonymous (8th c. CE) Around: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفس بعلكا Center: محمد رسول الله		'Akka
B3*	KH F	848	3545	4.58	19	↓	Same	Same		
B4	KH F	841	3522	2.34	21	↖	[---] Center: ...الله وحده لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له	محمد [رسول] الله Center: محمد رسول الله		
B5	KH C	403	1738	1.66	18		لا اله الا الله... Center: ...الله	Inscription (traces)		
B6	KH F	853	3634	1.75	19		Unidentifiable	[---] Center: محمد رسول الله		
B7	KH F	861	3633	4.23	14		Inscription (traces)	Animal(?)		
B8*	KH F	861	3627	2.94	13	9	[لا اله الا الله] Center: ...الله [وحده]	Center: محمد Fish/illegible inscription		Beisan
ABBASID										
								Ibrahim b. Hamran c. AH 200/816 CE		
B9	MP	17	184	3.00	20	4	Around: [الفس بعلكا...] Center: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له	Around: مما امر به الإمبر إبراهيم بن حمران Center: محمد رسول الله		'Akka

Ilisch 1993: Nos.  
403-409

Ilisch 1993: Nos.  
274-276

Ilisch 1993: No.  
411



Catalogue B: Islamic Coins (cont.)

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
B10	MP	17	213	2.20	19	↗	Around: [ضرب] هنا القنص بعكا... Center: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له	Around: معا [.....] حمران Center: same		*Akka	Ilisch 1993: No. 411		49313
9th c. CE													
B11*	HC Courtyard	13066	131056	3.03	17	↑	Around: ...الرب... Center: لا اله الا الله وحده	[---] Center: رسل الله		Tabariyya(?)	Cf. Ilisch 1993: Nos. 317–318		48278
B12	MP	17	186	1.84	20	↑	Around: ...الله...  Abbasid(?)	Center: رسل الله		*Akka(?)			49312
B13	MP	17	214	1.85	18		Around and in center: traces of Arabic inscription	Around and in center: traces of Arabic inscription		*Akka(?)			49314
B14	HC Courtyard	13047	130836	1.55	14	1	Inscription (traces)	Inscription (traces)					48277
FATIMID													
Al-Mustansir(?), billon <i>dirham</i>													
B15	KHA	151	1319	1.55	15		Around: traces of Arabic inscription Center: .. لا اله	Illegible inscription in two circles; pellet in center	1036–1094	Misir	Cf. Miles 1951: No. 388		49332
ZANGID													
Nur al-Din Mahmud (AH 541–569/1146–1174 CE)													
B16*	KHA	135	1179	4.29	24	↑	Around: off flan Center: الملك العدل	[---] Center: محمود بن زنكي		Dimashq(?)	Edhem 1894: Nos. 155–158		49328
B17	KHA	135	1243	5.22	25	↗	[---] Center: الملك العدل	[---] Center: [م]مود [بن زنكي]		Same	Same		49329
B18	KHA	135	1176	4.23	23	↑	Around and in center: traces of Arabic inscription	[---] Center: محمود بن زنكي		Same	Same		49327

## Catalogue B: Islamic Coins (cont.)

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
B19	KH E	708	3102	5.30	24	↓	Al-Salah Isma'il (AH 569-577/1173-1184 CE) [---] Center: الملك اصيلح \ اسمعيل	[---] Center: ابن الملك العادل محمود		Same	Same		66452
B20	KH A	135	1175	4.65	24		Same	Around: الف[س]... بم[ش]... Center: illegible		Same	Same		49326
B21	KH F	817	3395	3.68	23	↓	As No. 19	As No. 19		Same	Same		66477
B22	KH A	166	1391	1.93	18		Around and in center: traces of Arabic inscription	Around and in center: traces of Arabic inscription		Same	Same	Perforated	49333
B23	KH D	602	1965	6.51	23		Traces of Arabic inscription	Al-Salah Isma'il(?) [---] Center: ... الملك ...		Same	Same		49374
B24	KH A	130	1135	3.36	25		Around and in center: traces of Arabic inscription	Zangid (1146-1184 CE) Around and in center: traces of Arabic inscription		Same			49324
B25	KH A	122	1244	2.11	23		Same	Same		Same		Broken	49323
AYYUBID													
B26	KH A	140	1226	4.33	24		Around: ... الدين... Center: الملك \ الناصر	Salah al-Din Around: مشق[...] سنه[...] Center: illegible	1190-1193	Same	Same		49331
B27	KH D	646	2501	4.73	21		Al-'Adh I (AH 596-615/1199-1218 CE) Around: ... مانية... Center: illegible	[---] Center: ابو بكر ابو ب		Same	Same		49377
B28	MP	21	159	2.68	22	↘	Around: traces Center: [العدل]	Around and in center: traces		Same			49315
B29	KH E	702	3178	4.78	21	↗	Around and in center: traces of Arabic inscription	[---] Center: ابو بكر بن \ [الوب]		Same			66453

Catalogue B: Islamic Coins (cont.)

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
B30	KH G	922	4380	4.30	24		Around and in center: traces of Arabic inscription	[---] Center: ب... [...]	1211–1213	Same	Cf. Balog 1980: Nos. 322–324		66493
							Al-Zahir Ghazi						
B31	HC North Hall	27017	270478	3.80	22	↗	[---] Center: الملك \ الظاهر	[---] Center: الامم \ الناصر	1206–1215	Halab	Cf. Balog 1980: Nos. 670f		102641
							Al-'Aziz Muhammad						
B32	KH D	618	2252	2.65	23	↖	[---] Center, in octalobe: الملك \ العزيز	[---] Center, in octalobe: الامم ...	1216–1236	Halab	Balog 1980: No. 720		49376
							Al-Kamil Muhammad						
B33	KH A	132	1445	2.27	18	←	Center: محمد بن الملك الكامل (أبي بكر)	Center: الامم المنصور [...] [...]	1226–1237	Al-Qahirah	Balog 1980: No. 419		49325
							Ayyubid(?)						
B34	KH D	616	2091	1.22	18		Traces of Arabic inscription	Traces of Arabic inscription	13th c.(?)				49375
							Ayyubid or Mamluk						
B35	KH A	136	1234	1.90	17		Traces of Arabic inscription	Traces of Arabic inscription	13th c.				49330
B36	KH F	838	3506		15		Same	Same	13th c.				
MAMLUK													
							Baybars I (AH 658–676/1260–1277 CE)						
B37	KH G	922	4381	1.26	20	↗	Traces of Arabic inscription; below: lion	Center: [رسول الله]		Dimashq	Cf. Balog 1964: No. 98		66503
							Baybars I(?)						
B38	KH F	809	3362	3.00	13		Lion advancing r.	Hexagram(?); traces of inscription(?)		Dimashq(?)			66488

## Catalogue B: Islamic Coins (cont.)

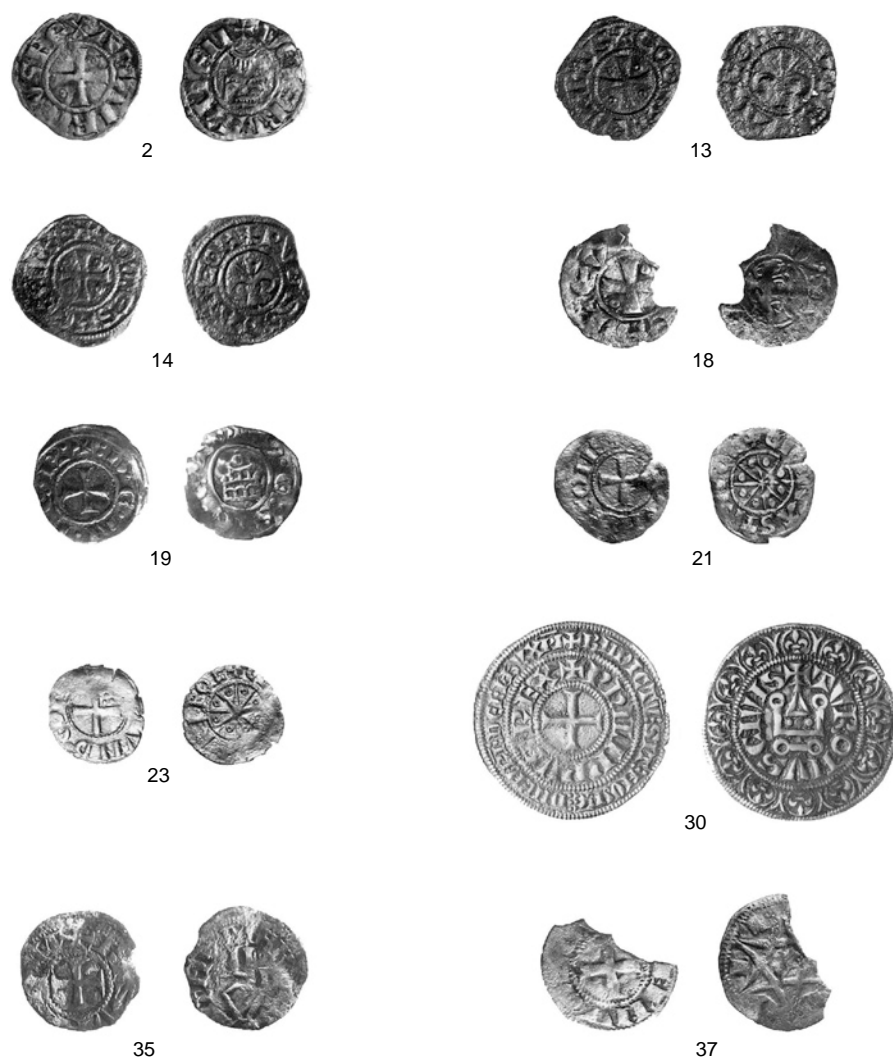
Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
B39	KH D	603	2094	0.53	17		Traces of Arabic inscription	Traces of Arabic inscription					49388
B40*							<b>Qala'un (AH 678–689/1279–1290 CE)</b>						
	KH D	650	2498	0.68	16		Traces of Arabic inscription	In hexagram: قالاون		Dimashq(?)	For inscr. cf. Balog 1964: No. 138		66449
B41	KH D	645	2437	0.67	15		Geometric pattern	Unidentifiable				Identified by A. Berman	49389
							<b>Al-Mansur 'Ala al-Din 'Ali(?)</b>						
B42	KH F	802	3311	1.69	16		Traces of Arabic inscription	قسع و...	1377	Dimashq		Identified by A. Berman	66489
							<b>Mamluk (13th–14th c.)</b>						
B43	KH D	645	2474	1.63	15		Traces of Arabic inscription	خرب... بحمه (?)		Hamah			49390
B44	KH E	708	3100	1.95	16	↑	Same	Inscription (traces)					66458
B45	KH G	906	4232	1.18	15		As No. 43	Same					66502
							<b>Mamluk or Ottoman</b>						
B46	HC Pillared Hall	40000	400001	6.54	15	↗	Unidentifiable	Geometric pattern: grille(?)	14–15th c.				102642
<b>OTTOMAN</b>													
							<b>Murad II or Sulayman I</b>						

Catalogue B: Islamic Coins (cont.)

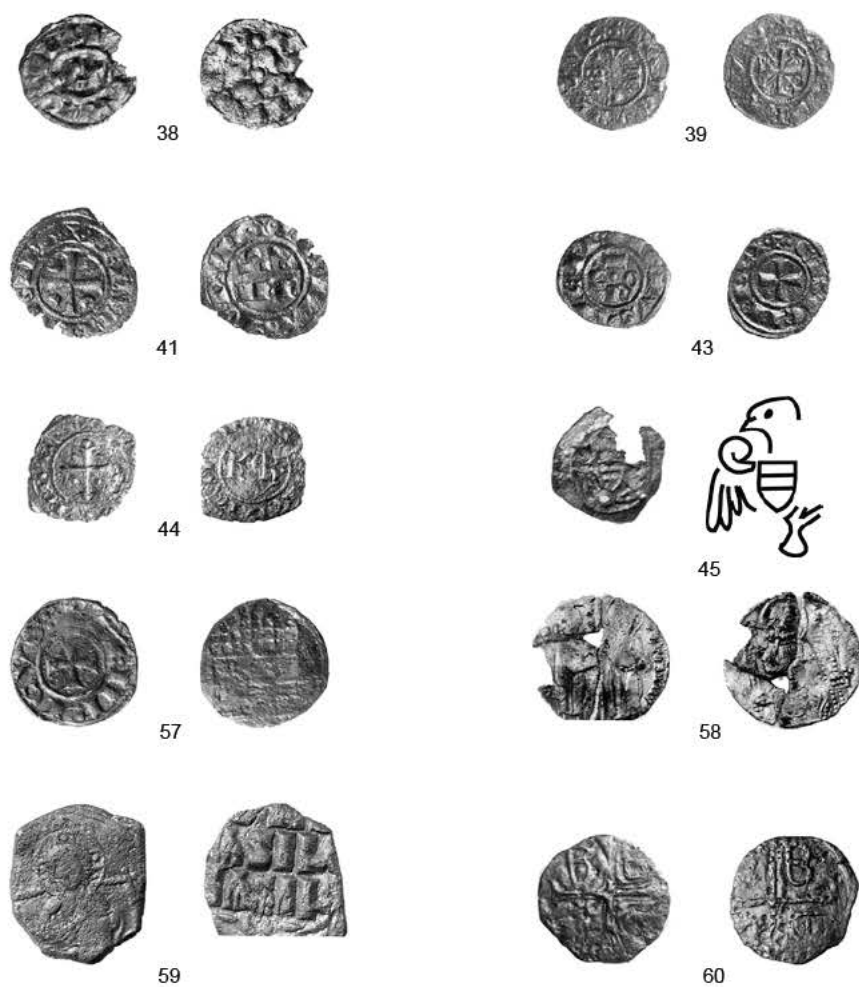
Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
B47	HC Courtyard	12010	120182	5.19	18		Arabic inscription	Grille	1421–1566	Turkey	Cf. Pere 1968: No. 76; Valentine 1911:14, No. 26		48281
B48	MP	3	107	8.05	18		Traces of Arabic inscription	Sulayman I(?) Arabesque	1520–1566				49319
B49	HC	-	250143	1.91	19	↑	Tughra	Sulayman II (1687–1691 CE), <i>Æ mangir</i> ضرب قسطنطينيه ١٠٩٩		Qustantiniya	Pere 1968: No. 471		102639
B50	KH H	526	4111	0.25	11		Unidentifiable	Ottoman, <i>R para</i> (?) [عز] نصر \ [ه] بعصر	17th c.(?)	Misir			66505
B51	KH A	132	1130	0.38	15	↑	Tughra	Mahmud I (1730–1754 CE), <i>R para</i> ضرب في قسطنطينيه ١١٤٣		Qustantiniya	Cf. Pere 1968: No. 578		49362
B52	KH H	514	4105	0.13	13		Tughra	‘Abdulhamid I (1774–1789 CE), <i>R akce</i> Blank		Qustantiniya	Cf. Pere 1968: No. 682		66504
B53	KH B	302	1506		18		Traces of Arabic inscription	Ottoman(?) Traces of Arabic inscription	18th c.(?)				---
B54	MP	Surface	103	0.69	14		Traces of Arabic inscription	Traces of Arabic inscription	18th–19th c.				49318

Catalogue B: Islamic Coins (cont.)

Cat No.	Excavation Site and Area	Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (CE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
B55	HC Pillared Hall	11029	110351	0.09	12		Blank	Mahmud II (1808–1839 CE) Traces of marginal inscription		Misr	Cf. Pere 1968: No. 845	<i>Æ akce</i>	48280
B56	KH D	602	1933	0.61	20	↑	Tughra in wreath	ضرب في ١٢٥١٢٢٣ قسطنطينيه	1831	Qustantiniya	Cf. Pere 1968: No. 828	<i>š para</i> , broken	66450
B57	KH A	105	1007	1.13	21	↑	Tughra in wreath	ضرب في ١٢٦١٢٢٣ قسطنطينيه	1833	Qustantiniya	Cf. Pere 1968: No. 827	<i>š paralik</i>	49363
B58	HC Latrines	27001	270024	1.26	20	↑	Tughra	ضرب في ١٢٩١٢٢٣ قسطنطينيه	1836	Qustantiniya	Pere 1968: No. 828	<i>Æ noktali</i>	102635
B59	MP	Surface	109	1.14	19		Traces of tughra	‘Abdulmejid (1839–1861 CE), <i>R</i> قسطنطينيه ١٢[٥٥]		Qustantiniya	Cf. Pere 1968: No. 888		49320
B60	Hammam	14006	140001		30	↑	Tughra	‘Abdulaziz (1861–1876 CE) ضرب في مصر ١٢٧٧٨	1863	Misr			---
B61	Hammam	43016	430054	2.73	23		Tughra	In center: <sup>٥</sup> أز نصره Around: <sup>٥</sup> قسطنطينيه سنه ١٢٧٧٧ \		Qustantiniya	Pere 1968: No. 948	<i>Æ 5 paralik</i>	102647



0 2  
Fig. 29.2. Christian coins.



0 2  
Fig. 29.3. Christian coins.



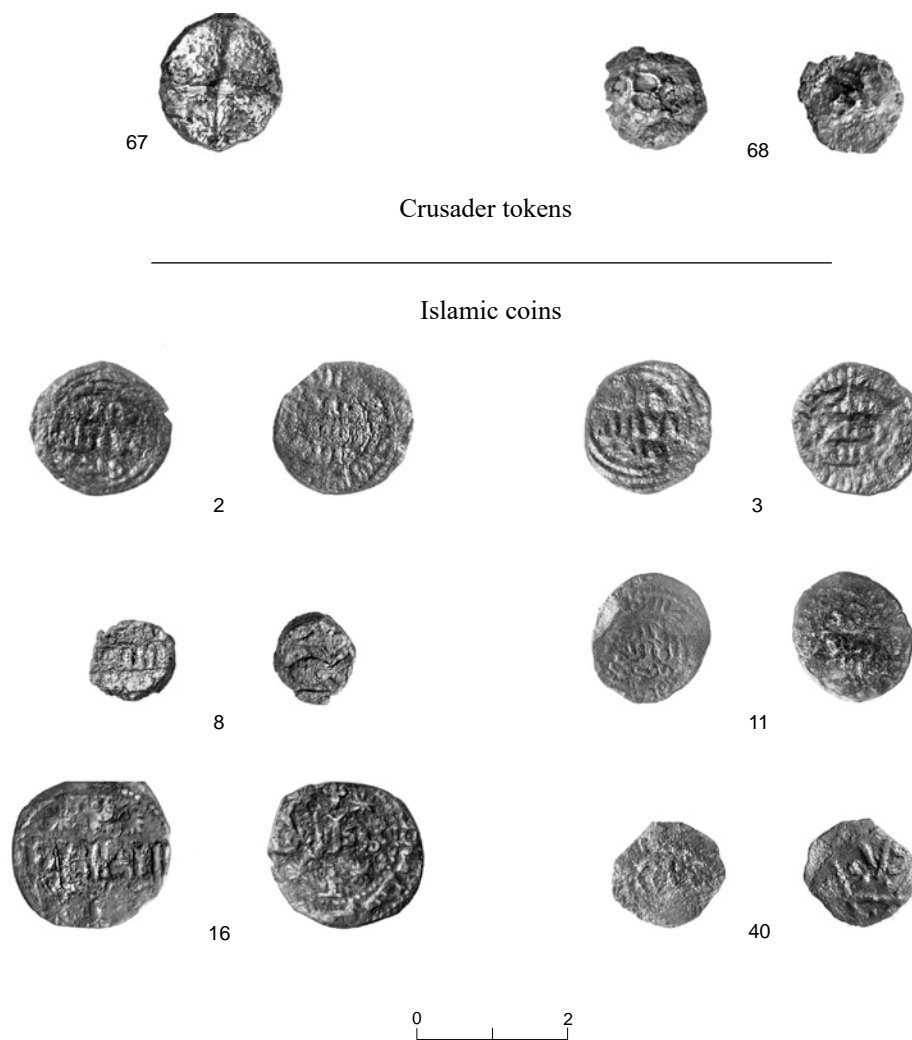


Fig. 29.4. Crusader lead tokens and Islamic coins.

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