

COINS FROM THE 1971 EXCAVATIONS AT HESHBON

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The present study abounds in contrasts when compared with the previous study of the coins from the 1968 excavations.¹ Most of the previous coins were identified through the inconvenience of photographs; the present identifications were made by handling the actual coins.² Whereas no two coins were alike in the 1968 finds, the present finds abound in duplicates and are more than four times as many in number. This is partly due to a hoard of 66 silver pieces found in Area C.

The present proportion of quantity to quality, however, is not better than that of 1968. Aside from the hoard, the 121 coins yielded only 49 specimens worth considering in this report. Though mostly obliterated, 54 of the remaining 72 are somehow recognizable by type and workmanship, but fall short of being attributed to specific rulers.³ The rest are worn beyond recognition and look like flans.

¹ *AUSS*, 9 (1971), 147-160 (hereinafter called previous report). That report contains 46 coins, numbered 1-46. The present list contains 187 coins, numbered 47-233.

² Thanks are due to the Department of Antiquities of the H. K. of Jordan for lending its share of the coins for study and publication.

³ In the following list, the first numeral is the publication number while the excavator's registry number and findspot are presented in parentheses.

No. 162 (387, D.6:5) is Nabataean; Nos. 163 (637, F.T.-6:7), 164 (1103, C.1:35), and 165 (1115, A.1:55/57) are Imperial Roman; Nos. 166 (397, A.2:18), 167 (398, A.2:18), 168 (405, D.1:41), 169 (407, D.6:15), 170 (518, A.2:18), 171 (616, F.T.-6:2), 172 (849, A.1:58), 173 (851, A.1:58), 174 (854, B.2:1), 175 (855, B.3:13), 176 (856, B.4:1), 177 (914, D.6:37), 178 (1019, C.4:41), and 179 (1079, D.6:33g) are Roman *aes* IV type (smaller module) and seem to belong to the 4th-5th cent.; No. 180 (850, A.1:58) is a Byzantine *nummus*; No. 181 (947, D.6:33c) is *Umayyad*; Nos. 182 (381, C.4:30), 183 (414, A.5:1), 184 (515, D.5:3), 185 (546, A.2:23), 186 (1011, C.1 general clean-up), 187 (1031, D.6:31), 188 (1078, D.6:33g), 189 (1080, D.6:33g), 190 (1097, D.6:36), and 191 (1141, D.6:33e) are probably *Ayyūbid*; Nos. 192 (512, B.2:1), 193 (513, C.4:11), 194 (516, D.6:5), 195 (562, D.5:6), 196 (603, C.5:3), 197 (913, D.5:5a), 198 (940, D.5:5e), 199 (944, D.6:33c), 200 (948, D.6:33c), 201 (949, D.6:33c), 202 (951, D.6:33c), 203 (1021, C.5:3), 204 (1023, D.5:5d), 205 (1024, D.5:5f), 206 (1030, D.5:5f), 207 (1082, D.6:33b), 208 (1083, D.6:33b), 209 (1084, D.6:33h), 210 (1085, D.6:33h), 211 (1089, D.6:33e), 212 (1098, D.5:5f), 213 (1099, D.5:5f), and 214 (1140,

Some of the pre-Islamic coins are rather rare, e.g., a Nabataean *leptos* (No. 51) of the long-haired Rabbel II (A.D. 71-106), two procuratorial *lepta* of Judaea (Nos. 52, 53), an Aelia Capitolina *sestertius* (No. 54) from the joint principate of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (A.D. 161-169), the reverse showing Astarte in her temple which stood at the site in Jerusalem later occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and a *sestertius* (No. 56) of Herennius Etruscus (ca. A.D. 250). No. 55 is an odd specimen of Philip I (243-249). It bears no marks of circulation. Moreover, the wide and raised margin, coupled with unusual thickness, gives it the appearance of a medallion (if not an ancient imitation).

The Islamic coins are all of the conventional type *fulūs*—with the exception of two silver *dirhamayn* (Nos. 81, 82) and the hoard of 66 silver pieces found in Area C. Two pictorial-type Umayyad *filṣayn* were found (Nos. 65, 66); one such *filṣ* was found in 1968 (No. 21 in the previous report). Nonetheless, the overall condition of the Islamic coins is mediocre. Many are badly damaged and the ones in better condition are as problematic in most cases where part of a horizontal legend falls outside the flan. Marginal legends fall mostly outside the flan in many specimens that bear them. This suffices for the general description.

Maccabean

47. (1015—C.1:45, a hard-packed *huwwar*-layer, interpreted as an Early-Roman fill containing pottery that extended from the late Iron Age to the Early Roman period.) Alexander Jannaeus, 103-76 B.C.

D.6:33e) are certainly *Mamlūk*; No. 215 (1142, D.6:33h) is possibly early Ottoman (see below); and Nos. 216 (389, A.2 surface clean-up), 217 (413, A.5:1), 218 (548, B.1:17), 219 (661, C.5:3), 220 (938, D.5:5e), 221 (946, D.6:33c), 222 (1012, C.1 general clean-up), 223 (1013, C.1 general clean-up), 224 (1016, C.3 surface clean-up), 225 (1017, C.4 surface clean-up), 226 (1022, D.2 E. balk clean-up), 227 (1025, D.5:5f), 228 (1026, D.5:5f), 229 (1027, D.5:5f), 230 (1028, D.5.5f), 231 (1029, D.5:5f), 232 (1088, D.6:33e), and 233 (1092, D.6:33f) are worn beyond recognition.

Editor's note: Coin No. 215 identified as possibly early Ottoman by A. Terian, was examined also by George C. Miles, Curator of Islamic Coins of the American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. In a letter to Siegfried H. Horn of May 25, 1972, he says that the type seems to be unknown, but that it must be either late Seljuk of Rum or early Ottoman.

Obv. Obliterated.

Rev. Traces of a circle, anchor within.

48. (1090—D.6:33e, the 5th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)^{3a}
Similar to the preceding, but of poorer condition.

Nabataean

49. (1014—C.1:41, an Early Roman earth layer.) Aretas IV, 9 B.C.—A.D. 40.
Similar to No. 2 in the previous report.
50. (1018—C.4, surface clean-up.)
Similar to the preceding.
51. (1102—B.4:43, a thick, striated plaster layer.) Rabbil II, A.D. 71-106.
Obv. Head of Rabbil r., laureate, with long hair.
Rev. Similar to No. 3 in the previous report.

Provincial Roman (Judea)

52. (1118—B.3:28, a soil layer.) M. Ambibulus, A.D. 9-12.
Obv. Ear of barley; traces of border.
Rev. Palm tree with two bunches of fruit; traces of border.
53. (1100—D.5:5f, the 5th layer in the silt of a cistern.)^{3b} Pontius Pilate, A.D. 29/30.
Obv. Three ears of barley, around: [IOT]ΔΙΑΚΑΙΚΑΠΟ[C].
Rev. Obliterated.⁴
54. (636—F, Tomb 6, Locus 7, i.e., the 3d Locus on the south side.)
Aelia Capitolina; Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, A.D. 161-169.
Obv. Busts of Aurelius (161-180) r. and Verus (161-169) l., both bearded and laureate; around: IMP CAES ANTONINO . . .
Rev. Temple of Astarte showing four columns, pediment, central arch, and the goddess standing l. within, wearing turreted crown and chiton, resting l. hand on spear, r. hand holding uncertain object, and r. bare leg raised on something; COL AEL CAP in exergue.⁵

^{3a} Editor's note: Sixteen coins came from Cistern D.6:33, in which the debris appeared to consist of nine layers, labeled a-i, with an apparent break between layers e and f. However, the coin evidence does not support the assumption that the layers had been accumulated in a chronological sequence. *Mamlūk* coins came from the 3d and 6th layers (c and f), *Ayyūbid* coins from the 2d and the 6th-9th layers (b and f-i), an *Umayyad* coin from the 3d layer (c), and a Roman and a Maccabean coin from the 5th layer (e).

^{3b} Editor's note: The remarks made in connection with coins from Cistern D.6:33 (see note 3a) apply appropriately also to the coins found in Cistern D.5:5, where the silt consisted of five distinguishable layers (b-f). Only the last two of them produced identifiable coins: in layer e one *Ayyūbid* and eight *Mamlūk* coins were found, and in layer f one coin of the Procurator Pontius Pilate and two *Mamlūk* coins. Evidently the silt built up in *Mamlūk* times, although two earlier coins found their way into the cistern during that period.

⁴ Dated year 16 of Tiberius; cf. A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins* (4th ed.; Jerusalem, 1965), p. 56, No. 131.

⁵ See George F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine: Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea* (London, 1914), p. 89, No. 40.

Late Roman

55. (1224—F, Tomb 5, Locus 3, the modernly disturbed grave Trough 6 of the northern arcosolium of the Swinging Door Tomb.) Philip I, A.D. 243-249 (medallion?).
 Obv. Bust of Philippus Arabus r., bearded, laureate, and draped; around: IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG.
 Rev. Laetitia standing l., holding wreath in l. and rudder in r. hand; around: LAET FVNDATA; SC in the field.
56. (429—D.6:15, a fill layer of mixed debris.) Herennius Etruscus, ca. A.D. 250.⁹
 Obv. Bust of Herennius Etruscus r., bareheaded and draped; around: EPENN ETPOV MEKV ΔEKIOC KECAP.
 Rev. Eagle perched on palm branch, head l.; around: ΔHMAPX EEOVCAC; SC in exergue.
57. (391—B.2:1, surface soil.) Valerian I, A.D. 253-260.
 Obv. Bust of Valerian I r., radiate and draped; around: IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS P F AVG.
 Rev. Helmeted Mars standing r. with spear, emperor standing l. with scepter; obliterated inscr. around.
58. (1091—D.6:33e, the 5th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) Maximian, A.D. 296-305.
 Obv. Bust of Maximian r., radiate and draped; around: MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.
 Rev. Similar to No. 9 in the previous report, but around: CONCORDIA M[IL]I-TVM; in the field: HA (Heraclea).
59. (1225—F, Tomb 5, Locus 3, the modernly disturbed grave Trough 6 of the northern arcosolium of the Swinging Door Tomb.) Constantine II, A.D. 337-340.
 Obv. Bust of Constantine II r., with pearl-diadem and cuirass; around: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C; pierced.
 Rev. Plan of Roman camp, Sol standing in the middle above; l.: VIRT; r.: EXERC; beneath: T.S.A. (Thessalonica); pierced.
60. (1076—A.5:23, firepit). Constans I, A.D. 343-350.
 Obv. Head of Constans I r., around: CONSTA
 Rev. Within wreath: VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX; beneath: SMAN (Antioch).
61. (655—B.4:6, surface soil.)
 Similar to the preceding.
62. (537—D.5:6, a layer of destruction tumble.) Valentinian II, A.D. 375-392.
 Similar to No. 12 in the previous report.
63. (570—C.1:33, a Byzantine soil fill.) Honorius, A.D. 395-423.
 Similar to No. 15 in the previous report.

Byzantine

64. (1188—C.4:2, a late-Islamic wall near the surface.) *Nummus* of Justinian I, A.D. 527-565.

⁹ Son of Decius, 249-251; cf. Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* (London, 1899), pp. 225, 226.

Obv. Bust of Justinian I facing, with cuirass.

Rev. Δ (mark of value—1 *nummus*).

Umayyad (661-750)

65. (514—C.4:23, a late-Islamic soil layer.)

Obv. Jerboa facing l.; border.

Rev. *Muhammad*; border.

66. (945—D.6:33c, the 3d layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)

Obv. Similar to the preceding, but traces of inscr. around.

Rev. Obliterated.

67. (606—D.6:26, an occupation surface.)

Similar to No. 23 in the previous report.

Ayyūbid (1171-1342)⁷

68. (1148—D.6:33g, the 7th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) Aḏ-Zāhir Ghāzī (Ḥalab Branch), 1186-1216.

Obv. Within double octagram (the inner dotted): *Al-Imām / an-Nāṣir*; between octagram and outer dotted circle: . . . / *ilah.. / illā / 'llah / . . .*

Rev. Similar, within: *Al-Malik / aḏ-Zāhir*; obliterated inscr. around.

69. (1150—D.6:33i, the 9th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)

Obv. *Al-Imām a/n-Nāṣir Amīr / al-Mu'minīn*.

Rev. *Ghāzī / . . .*; arabesque beneath.

70. (1094—D.6:33g, the 7th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) Al-'Adil, 1196-1218.

Similar to No. 28 in the previous report.

71. (1087—D.6:33f, the 6th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) Al-Manṣūr Muḥammad I or II (Ḥamāh Branch), 1191-1220 or 1244-1284.

Obv. Within triple hexagram (the middle dotted): *Al-Malik / aṣ-Ṣalīh*.

Rev. Similar, within: *Al-Malik / al-Manṣūr*.

72. (1095—D.6:33h, the 8th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)

Similar to the preceding.

73. (942—D.5:5e, the 4th layer in the silt of a cistern.)

Similar to No. 29 in the previous report.

74. (1020—C.5:3, a late-Islamic fill.) Al-'Azīz Muḥammad (Ḥalab Branch), 1216-1236.

Obv. *Al-Imām / an-Nāṣir / al-Malik al-'Adil / [Abū] Bakr*.

Rev. Within double octagram (the inner dotted): . . . / *al-'Aziz*.

75. (1096—D.6:33h, the 8th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) Al-Kāmil Muḥammad (Egyptian Branch), 1218-1238.

Obv. Obliterated.

Rev. Within double square (the outer dotted): *Al-Malik al-Kāmil bi-Amr Allah*.

76. (1086—D.6:33h, the 8th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) An-Nāṣir Ṣalāh ad-Dīn Yūsuf (Ḥalab Branch), 1236-1260.

Obv. Within triple hexagram (the middle dotted): *Al-Imām / al-Musta'ṣim*; traces of border.

Rev. Similar, within: *Al-Malik / an-Nāṣir*.

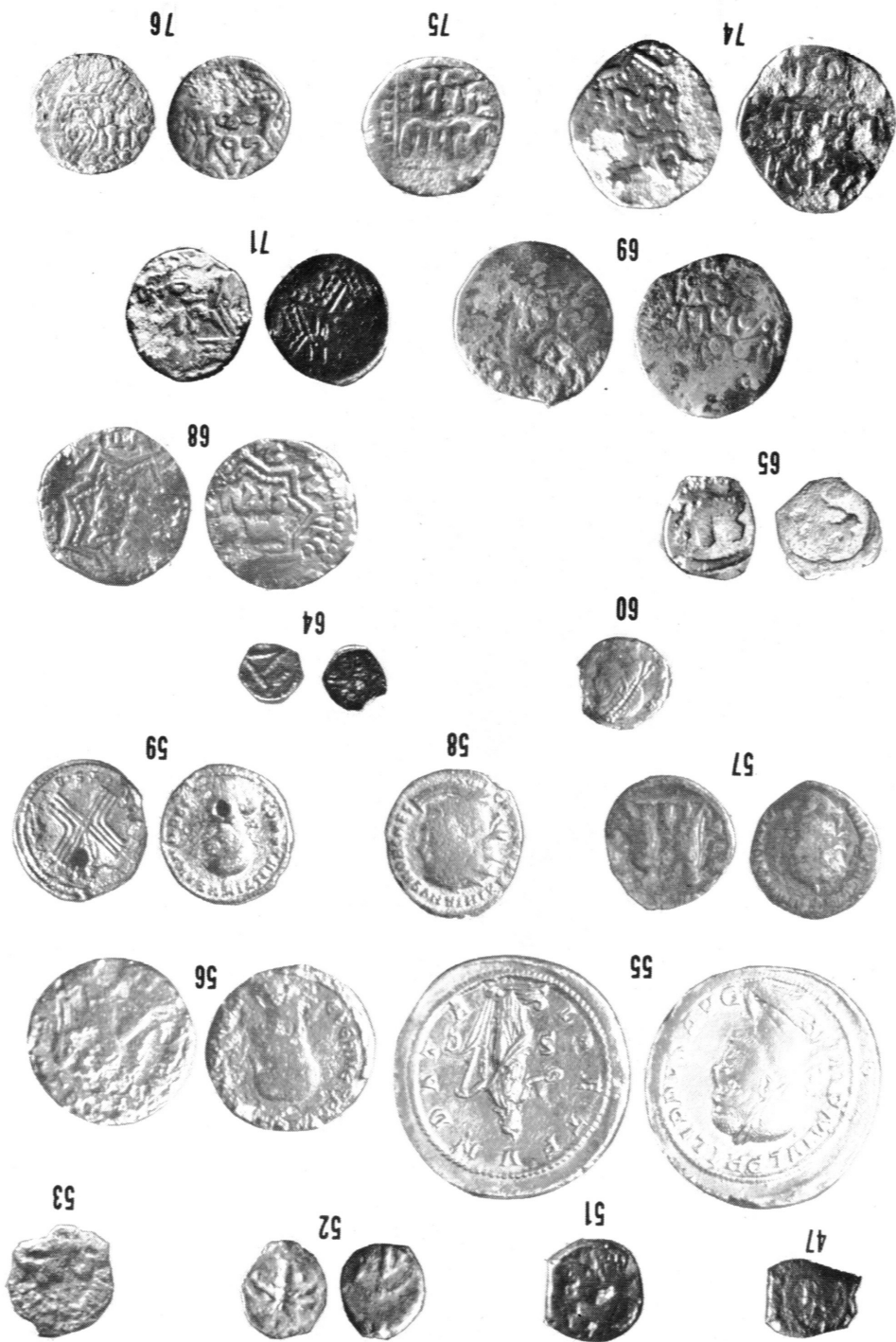
⁷ End of the Ḥamāh Branch.

77. (1081—D.6:33b, the 2d layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) Aş-Şāliḥ Isma'īl (Damascus Branch), 1237-1245.
 Obv. *Al-Malik aš-Şāliḥ / Isma'īl*; illegible inscr. between two dotted circles around.
 Rev. *Ibn al-Malik / al-'Adil Muḥammad*; illegible inscr. between two dotted circles around.
78. (1077—D.6:33g, the 7th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) Aş-Şāliḥ Ayyūb (Egyptian Branch), 1240-1249.
 Obv. . . . / *al-Musta'şim / [bi]-'llah Ab[ū 'l-. . .]*.
 Rev. . . . / *[Niḍi]m ad-Dīn Ayyūb*; traces of dotted square.

Mamlūk (1250-1517)^a

79. (943—D.5:5e, the 4th layer in the silt of a cistern.) Az-Zāhir Bibars, 1260-1277.
 Obv. Obliterated.
 Rev. Lion facing l.; above: *Al-Malik*; beneath: *Bibars*.
80. (1101—D.5:5f, the 5th layer in the silt of a cistern.) An-Nāşir Muḥammad, 1293-1294, 1299-1309, 1310-1341.
 Similar to No. 39 in the previous report.
81. (950—D.6:33c, the 3d layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) *Dirham* (2.12 gm.) of aş-Şāliḥ Isma'īl, 1342-1345.
 Obv. *[Lā] ilah illā 'llah / [Muḥammad] Rasūl Allah / [ārsa]lahu bi-'l-hudā / [wa dīn] al-ḥaḳ*.
 Rev. . . . / *as-Sultān al-Ma[lik] / aš-Şāliḥ 'Imād ad-[Dunya] / wa 'd-Dīn Isma'īl . . . / an-Nāşir Muḥammad*.
82. (952—D.6:33c, the 3d layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)
 Similar to the preceding (2.59 gm.).
83. (366—C.4:24, a late-Islamic soil layer.) Al-Aşraf Şha'bān, 1363-1377.
 Obv. *[As-Sul]tān al-Malik / [al-Aşraf] Şha'bān / . . .*; double border (the outer dotted).
 Rev. Within hexagram of two triangles: *Ṭarāblu/s*.
84. (436—B.4:5, surface soil.)
 Obv. Within oval: *Bin Ḥasan*; around: *As-Sultān al-Malik al-Aşraf*.
 Rev. Within arabesque: *Duriba / bi-Dimashḳ / . . .*; double border (the outer dotted).
85. (912—D.5:5f, the 5th layer in the silt of a cistern.)
 Similar to the preceding.
86. (953—D.6:33c, the 3d layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)
 Similar to the preceding.
- 87-89. (911, 939, 1139—D.5:5e, the 4th layer in the silt of a cistern.) Al-Manşūr 'Alā' ad-Dīn 'Alī, 1377-1381.
 Similar to No. 42 in the previous report.
90. (1093—D.6:33f, the 6th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)
 Similar to the preceding.
- 91-93. (935, 936, 941—D.5:5e, the 4th layer in the silt of a cistern.) Az-Zāhir

^a Baḥrī Mamlūk (1250-1382), Burḍjī Mamlūk (1382-1517).





Barḳūk, 1382-1399.

Obv. . . . / *as-Sultān al-Malik / Barḳūk*; two straight lines across the field.

Rev. Within hexagram of two triangles: *Ḍuriba / bi-Dimashk*.

94. (581—C.5:1, surface soil. The coin lay in a Byzantine lamp.)

Similar to the preceding.

95. (937—D.5:5e, the 4th layer in the silt of a cistern.)

Similar to No. 44 in the previous report.

The Hoard

It could be said that a number of coins accumulated in a *locus* may be treated as a hoard. In this case, Nos. 53, 73, 79, 80, 85, 87-89, 91-93, and 95 above, all found in D.5:5 and Nos. 58, 66, 68-72, 75-78, 81, and 82, found in D.6:33, could be counted as additional hoards. But such a consideration has its limitations. Accumulated hoards cover a wide chronological range and are of little value for interpretation of stratigraphy. Such hoards are built up haphazardly, i.e., coins dropped in cisterns or carried off by drains, sunk through soft soil from higher strata on account of their own weight, etc.

The hoard under consideration is a savings hoard found in a sealed *locus* (C.4:37, a late-Islamic layer). It is reminiscent of the remarks made by the satirical playwright Aristophanes in ca. 400 B.C.:

The public has often given us the appearance of treating our wisest and best citizens in the same way as it treats old and new coins. We do not use the latter . . . though they are of purer metal . . . we prefer to use bad copper pieces, struck and embossed in the very worst way.⁹

These remarks are true *heri et hodie et in saecula*—and so they were in the 1270s when an occupant of the “north building” of Square 4 in Area C died, leaving behind his savings. The coins, consisting of bronze cores with silver coatings, were kept in an earthen lamp and hid in a little niche under the west end of a column drum used as a horizontal bench along the south wall. Apparently, no other member of the household knew about the scant savings which consisted of 66 pieces—32 *dirhams* and 34 *half-dirhams* identified as follows:

⁹ *Frogs*, 718-26; quoted by Lloyd R. Laing, *Coins and Archaeology* (New York, 1970), p. 53.

Ayyūbid

96. (460) *Dirham* (2.79 gm.) of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (Egyptian Branch), 1240-1249.
 Obv. Within double square (the outer dotted): *Al-Imām / al-Mustaʿsim / bi-ʾllah Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd / Allah Amīr al-Muʾminīn*; in segments between square and double border (the outer dotted): *Al-Ḳāhira / sanat ārbaʿa wa / . . .* ([64]⁴ A.H.).
 Rev. Similar, within: *Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ / Niḍīm ad-Dīn Ayyūb / . . .*; in segments: *Muḥammad Rasūl Allah ārsalahu / bi-ʾl-hudā / . . .*

Mamlūk

97. (494) *Dirham* (2.86 gm.) of al-Mansūr Nūr ad-Dīn ʿAlī, 1257-1259.
 Obv. Within a pattern similar to the preceding: *Al-Im[ām] / al-Mustaʿ[sim] / [sim] / bi-ʾllah Amīr . . .*; in segments: *Bi-sm Allah / . . .*
 Rev. Similar, within: *Al-Malik al-Mansūr / Nūr ad-Dīn ʿAlī / Ibn Aybak*; obliterated inscr. in segments.
98. (447) Half-dirham (1.47 gm.).
 Similar to No. 36 in the previous report.
- 99-128. *Dirhams*¹⁰ of aḡ-Ẓāhir Bibars, 1260-1277.
 Obv. 108. *Amīr al-Muʾminīn / al-Imām al-Mustanṣir bi-ʾllah / Abū ʾl-Ḳasm Aḥmad Bin / al-Imām aḡ-Ẓāhir*.
 116, 119, 122, 123 (pierced), 126, 127. Similar to the preceding, but the beginning *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* is at the end.
 106, 124. Similar to the preceding, but add to l. and r. margin: *Ḍuriba bi-ʾl-Ḳāhira*; double border (the outer dotted).¹¹
 121. *Ḍuriba bi-Dimashḡ / al-Imām al-Ḥākim / bi-Amr Allah Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās / Aḥmad Amīr al-Muʾminīn*; similar border.
 99, 103, 114, 118. *Al-Imām al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allah / Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad / Amīr al-Muʾminīn*; similar border.
 100-102, 104, 105, 107, 109-113, 115, 117, 120, 125, 128. *Lā ilah illā ʾllah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / ārsalahu bi-ʾl-hudā*; the mint and date as a marginal inscr. surround the obv. legend in four lines as follows:

¹⁰ In the following list (also in that given in note 16) the first numeral presents the publication number, while the excavator's registry number and the weight in grams for each of the 30 *dirhams* are given in parentheses.

99 (446, 3.39 gm.), 100 (448, 2.71), 101 (449, 2.42), 102 (451, 2.58), 103 (452, 2.93), 104 (454, 2.76), 105 (456, 2.98), 106 (457, 2.84), 107 (458, 3.07), 108 (462, 2.95), 109 (463, 3.38), 110 (464, 2.10), 111 (465, 2.68), 112 (446, 2.92), 113 (467, 2.74), 114 (468, 2.84), 115 (470, 2.72), 116 (471, 2.91), 117 (472, 2.79), 118 (474, 2.90), 119 (476, 3.11), 120 (479, 2.83), 121 (480, 2.90), 122 (481, 2.52), 123 (483, 2.72), 124 (486, 2.75), 125 (488, 2.82), 126 (489, 2.81), 127 (492, 2.73), 128 (496, 2.95).

¹¹ The undated coins, according to S. L. Poole, are "conterminous with the short duration of El-Mustanṣir's Khalifate, or 659-661 [1260-1262]" (*Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* [London, 1879], IV, 142, n.). It should be noted that coins bearing these dates have been found; see *infra*. nn. 12 and 13.

Beginning from 1.: *Ḍuriba bi-'l-Ḳā/hira sanat sittīn / . . .* ([6]60 A.H.).¹³

Ḍuriba bi-'l-Ḳā/hira sanat āḥad wa sittīn / wa sit-mi'āa / wa dīn al-haḳ (661 A.H.).¹³

Beginning from top: *Ḍuriba bi-'l-Ḳāhira / sanat ḳḥamsa / wa sittīn / . . .* ([6]65 A.H.).¹⁴

Ḍuriba bi-'l-Ḳāhira / sanat sab'a / wa sittīn / . . . ([6]67 A.H.).¹⁵

Rev. *Aṣ-Ṣāliḥī / as-Sultān al-Malik / aḏ-Ḍāhir Rukn ad-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn / Bibars Ḳasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn*; beneath, lion facing 1.; similar border (the rev. of the *dirhams* is identical; however, the heads of some lions are larger and the tails of others are raised higher).

129-161. *Half-dirhams*¹⁶ of *aḏ-Ḍāhir Bibars*.

Obv. 133, 144, 152. *Lā ilah illā 'llah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah*; around: . . . *ḍuriba* . . .

149, 155, 160. *Al-Imām / al-Ḥākim*; around: *Bi-sm Allah* . . .

129, 138, 140, 143, 145, 153. *Al-Imām / al-Mustanṣir bi-'llah*; around: *Lā ilah illā 'llah Muḥammad Rasūl Allah*.

Rev. Type A: *Al-Malik / aḏ-Ḍāhir*; beneath, lion facing 1.

Obv. 136, 147, 148, 150, 151, 154, 156, 157, 159, 161. *Al-Imām / al-Mustanṣir bi-'llah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.

Rev. Type B: *As-Sultān / al-Malik aḏ-Ḍāhir*; beneath, lion facing 1.

Obv. 130-132, 137, 141, 158. *Al-Imām al-Mustanṣir bi-'llah / Abū 'l-Ḳasīm Aḥmad Bin / al-Imām aḏ-Ḍāhir*; 137 begins with an additional *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.

134, 135, 139, 142, 146. *Lā ilah illā 'llah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / ārsalahu bi-'l-hudā*; around: . . . *ḍuriba* . . .

Rev. Type C: *As-Sultān al-Malik / aḏ-Ḍāhir Rukn ad-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn / Bibars Ḳasīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn*; beneath, lion facing 1.

Like S. L. Poole, "I have endeavored in vain to discover any system in the weights of the Memlook coins."¹⁷ The *dirhams* of

¹³ Only the datable Nos. are given: 115, 128 (1261/2).

¹⁴ No. 109 (1262/3).

¹⁵ Nos. 100, 125 (1266/7).

¹⁶ Nos. 110, 117 (1268/9).

¹⁷ See note 11 for explanation of numbers.

129 (450, 1.40 gm.), 130 (453, 1.98), 131 (455, 1.82), 132 (459, 1.45), 133 (461, 0.94), 134 (469, 1.28), 135 (473, 1.60), 136 (475, 1.43), 137 (477, 1.33), 138 (478, 0.96), 139 (482, 2.37), 140 (484, 1.55), 141 (485, 1.76), 142 (487, 1.67), 143 (490, 1.45), 144 (491, 1.29), 145 (493, 1.21), 146 (495, 1.29), 147 (497, 1.69), 148 (498, 1.41), 149 (499, 1.07), 150 (500, 0.99), 151 (501, 1.25), 152 (502, 0.91), 153 (503, 1.24), 154 (504, 1.44), 155 (505, 1.58), 156 (506, 1.49), 157 (507, 1.64), 158 (508, 1.05), 159 (509, 1.35), 160 (1009, 0.84), 161 (1010, 1.55). On both sides all have traces of double borders of which the outer is dotted.

¹⁷ "The first impression one derives from a study of the Memlook coins is that no two examples are alike in weight . . . but the worn condition of most of the coins may account in part for this irregularity. Still, with every allow-

Bibars range from 2.10-3.39 gm. (av. 2.73 gm.) and the *half-dirhams* from 0.84-2.37 gm. (av. 1.54 gm.). But when the three reverse types (A-C) of the *half-dirhams* are considered separately, the range is not so broad. Type A ranges from 0.84-1.55 gm. (av. 1.20 gm.); type B from 0.99-1.69 gm. av. (1.42 gm.); and type C from 1.05-2.37 gm. (av. 1.60 gm.). Figs. 1 and 2 illustrate this; the symmetry in Fig. 2 is noteworthy.

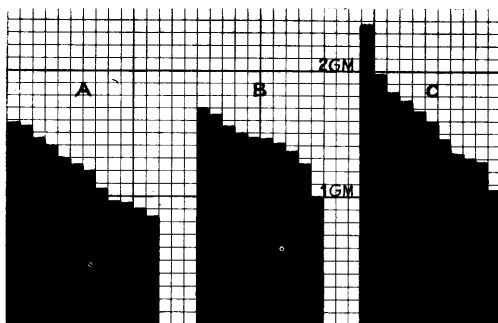


Fig. 1. Graphs showing the weight of each coin in the three reverse types (A, 12 coins; B, 10 coins; C, 11 coins) of Bibars' *half dirhams*

The *dirhams* of Bibars present a variety of obverses and only one type of reverse. The obverse types are of little help to ascertain their chronology since all the datable ones have the same obverse. The rest are represented by a few specimens that do not warrant a comparative study. The *half-dirhams* also present a variety of obverses, but three types of reverses emerge (A-C). These are appropriately divided into 12, 10, and 11 coins. This satisfactory distribution enables a study of their weight system to determine which of the three types is the oldest (assuming the simple principle that coins longer in circulation lost more of

ance for friction, it is impossible to discover any standard weight for either the *deenars* [gold] or the *dirhems* [silver] . . . there are all varieties of weights . . . for *dirhems* between 7 and 88 grains. From such vague data . . . it is difficult to see how any system of standard, in one metal or two, can be discovered" (Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, pp xxi-xxii).

their weight than those with a shorter period of circulation). In the absence of dates on the *half-dirhams*, an application of this metrological theory is appropriate to ascertain the chronology of the three types. It shows that at the time when the coins were hoarded, type A had lost about 25% of its weight and type B about 12% of its weight in comparison with type C. The comparison suggests that A is chronologically the earliest type. Aside from the metrological evidence, the clustering of *tituli* from *al-Malik az-Zāhir*, in A, to *as-Sultān*¹⁸ *al-Malik az-Zāhir* in B, and to *as-Sultān*

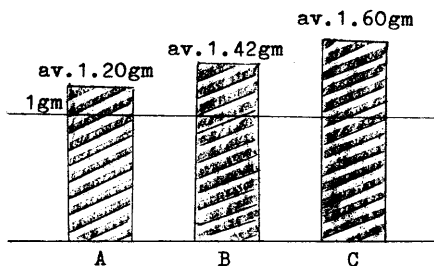


Fig. 2. Graphs showing the average weight of each of the three types of *half-dirhams* of Bibars

al-Malik az-Zāhir Rukn ad-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Bibars Kaṣīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn in C (though the latter appears on the earliest *dirhams*) is noteworthy.

Like the rest of the *Ayyūbid* and *Mamlūk* coins from the various strata, the hoard makes it evident that the *Ayyūbid* coins were almost driven out by the *Mamlūk* coins soon after the rise of the latter dynasty in the middle of the 13th cent. (notice the ratio of 1 to 65). The *Ayyūbid* coin (No. 96) dates from 1246/7 and the latest datable *Mamlūk* coins (Nos. 110, 117) are from 1268/9, suggesting that the hoard was last hidden sometime in the early 1270s.

A disappointment persists: none of the coins hitherto found bears any of the ancient mint names of Transjordan. The obliterated margins of most Islamic coins have no legible traces of mint names. Of the *Ayyūbid* coins, No. 96 was struck at Cairo,

¹⁸ Bibars was the first *Mamlūk* ruler to use this title on coins.

as were the *Mamlūk dirhams*—with the exception of No. 121 which was struck at Damascus. As for the *Mamlūk fulūs*, No. 83 was struck at Tripoli (Lebanon), and Nos. 84-86 and 91-94 at Damascus.

If the coins from the 1971 excavations were to be tabulated as were those from the 1968 excavations, a considerable increase in the number of coins would be seen; however, the pattern of distribution would remain the same as that of Table 1 (p. 157) in the previous report. There are no coins from before the 1st cent. B.C. and none from after the 15th cent. A.D.¹⁹ Likewise, there are no coins from the intervening 9th-12th cents. which comprise the *Abbasid* period. Consequently, the conclusions drawn in the previous report remain unchanged.

¹⁹ A possible exception is the somewhat doubtful Ottoman coin 215 (see n. 3).

Postscript. Please correct the following errors in my article "Coins from the 1968 Excavations at Heshbon," *AUSS*, 9 (1971), 147-160: page 148, line 1 read (No. 7) instead of (No. 8); page 148, line 5 read (No. 8) instead of (No. 9); page 150, line 23 read (year 18 . . .) instead of (year 17 . . .).