

Tokens of Hellenistic Athens : lead tokens in the Archeological Institute of the University of Göttingen. Part 1, The Haller von Hallerstein collection and other greek tokens with no provenance information

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TOKENS OF HELLENISTIC ATHENS.
LEAD TOKENS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN: PART 1.
THE HALLER VON HALLERSTEIN COLLECTION
AND OTHER GREEK TOKENS WITH
NO PROVENANCE INFORMATION

PLATES 13–15

1. Introduction

This is the first of two papers dedicated to the lead tokens of the Coin Collection of the Göttingen University Museum.¹ Tokens are monetiform objects made of clay or metals such as bronze and lead, which populate excavation find records and storeroom inventories. Nevertheless research has only sporadically occupied itself with tokens and this «lacuna» stands in inverse proportion to the significant role of these objects in the cultural, political and economic life of the Graeco-Roman World

The tokens in the Göttingen University Collection are lacking secure provenance information (common for museum collections). This disadvantage can be overcome by comparing the material to objects of the same category from well-documented find contexts. Furthermore, it is significant that major personalities of 19th century Greek archaeology: Haller von Hallerstein and Theodor von Heldreich, are connected to two lots in the Göttingen Collection. The latter's collection will be presented in the second paper. The former's collection is included in here, alongside a further 46 tokens with no acquisition records, selected because of their Athenian origin.

¹ The paper and the relevant research were performed as part of the *Token Communities in the Ancient Mediterranean* Research Project, funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement n. 678042. The author is grateful to Dr. D. Graepler, curator of the collections of the Archaeological Institute at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen for access to the Museum's archives and for permission to study and publish the material and also to Associate Professor C. Rowan support, guidance, critically reading earlier versions of the paper and for cataloguing the Roman specimens. Ideas presented here have benefited from the discussion and valuable criticism from Professor Emeritus J.H. Kroll (Oxford) and Professor E. Csapo (Sydney and Warwick). I thank them all.

Given the lack of archaeological context, scholarly interpretations of tokens have derived from the designs these pieces carried. The present paper, along with others published as a result of the project «Token Communities in the Ancient Mediterranean», constitutes a major advance in the discipline: this is the first in depth assessment of these objects focusing on their roles in various aspects of societal life and ultimately providing an interpretation of how these objects enabled and actively contributed to community life in antiquity.²

The precise uses of tokens are still uncertain. The tokens from Rome and the Roman world in general, often called tesserae, have been related to a variety of uses both public and private. For the Roman tesserae possible uses include: entrance to festivals, games, vouchers to be exchanged for meals, connected to inns, entrance tickets to baths, used in distributions to be exchanged for grain or for some gift, or issued by a merchant to be exchanged with a service or good in the merchant's own shop.³ The broad range of suggestions results from the legends that the tesserae quite often carry on one hand and the steadily increasing number of known and well documented excavation contexts on the other.⁴

Excavations in Athens have proved that tokens (gr. *symbola*) were already in use in the city in the Hellenistic Period. Aristophanes' plays, the text of *Athenaion Politeia* and some sporadic fragments of historians, such as Philochoros, give precious insights into the roles tokens played in Athens. All these aspects will be discussed further throughout the paper.

Research has from its beginnings brought Athenian tokens and Roman tokens into comparison.⁵ The better studied and better documented pieces of Rome helped understanding of the functions of Athenian tokens by means of analogy. On the other hand it has been considered and supported by an authority no less than M.I. Rostovtzeff that it was the cultural encounter with Greek civilization, and especially with Athenian culture in the period of the late Republic, which marked the beginnings of tesserae in the Roman world.⁶

But in the Late Classical and Hellenistic Period Athenian tokens were public, issued by the *polis*, and were used in the Council, the Assembly, the Courts for the assignment of jurors to court rooms and for jury pay, as *theōrika* for festivals and as vouchers probably for welfare allowance, such as the *diobelía* and many more cases of state pay.⁷ Tokens were also employed in the procedures of the Athenian Empire with *symbola* exchanged as credentials for ambassadors who carried

² C. ROWAN, ERC Starting Grant 2015. Research Proposal Part B1. Token Communities in the Ancient Mediterranean.

³ K. REGLING, Pauly-Wissowa's Real Encyklopädie vol. V A.1 (Stuttgart, 1934) s.v. tessera cols. 851–854 and in particular 851–852.

⁴ A typical example are the tesserae excavated in the Baths of Fregellae: L. PEDRONI, Tessere plumbee dalle terme di Fregellae, *Bollettino di Numismatica* 28–29, 1997, pp. 203–210.

⁵ CROSBY 1964, pp. 76–77.

⁶ M.I. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Römische Bleitesserae. Ein Beitrag zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 9. I would like to thank Clare Rowan for the reference.

⁷ BENNDORF 1875, pp. 596–612.

them, as attested in the Kleinias Decree.⁸ Comparative analysis from different parts of the Hellenistic world shows the continuity and the deep influence of the «Athens trend»: the phenomenon of state issued tokens for the workings of the *polis* government.⁹

The assumption that these were state issued tokens is corroborated by find spots. In the Athenian Agora excavations a significant concentration of lead tokens was found in particular in and around the *Tholos*, the headquarters of the *prytaneis*, the executive committee of the Boule (the Council of the Five Hundred), indicating the Council as distributor of tokens.¹⁰ Furthermore, clay tokens marked with letters on one side originate from the area of the Pnyx, indicating that they were used in the Assembly.¹¹

⁸ IG I³ 34; SEG 60,78 and 59, 48. Cf. J.H. KROLL – F.W. MITCHEL, Clay tokens stamped with the names of Athenian Military Commanders, *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 95.

⁹ Tokens distributed at the Assembly to be exchanged for attendance pay at Iasos: PH. GAUTHIER, L'inscription d'Iasos relative à l'ekklesiastikon, *BCH* 114, 1990, pp. 417–443; three triangular bronze tokens bearing a letter inlaid in silver excavated in the Amphiaraios sanctuary in Oropos: V. PETRAKOS, Ο Ωρωπός και το Ιερόν του Αμφιαράου, (Βιβλιοθήκη της Εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 1968), p. 126 no. 37 pl. 50 could be used for the deme assembly; in the same sanctuary three lead plates inscribed «Amphiaraios sanctuary» enabled the entrance to the sanctuary: PETRAKOS 1968, *op. cit.* p. 126 no. 38 pl. 50; bronze tokens carrying the ethnic of the Eleans were excavated in the city of Elis as well as in the sanctuary of Olympia: H. BAITINGER – B. EDER – K. HERMANN, Hellenistische Stimmarten aus Elis und Olympia: Neue Forschungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Hauptstadt und Heiligtum, *JdI* 116, 2001, pp. 163–257; the clay tokens for the assembly of Mantinea: I.N. SVORONOS, Τα Πήλινα Εισιτήρια του Θεάτρου της Μαντινείας, *JIAN* 3, 1900, pp. 197–228; a lead token, probably a theatre ticket excavated in the Late Classical theatre of Pherae with types of Ennodia, the city goddess: A. DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU – A. MOUSTAKA, Συμβολή στην Μελέτη της Νομισματικής Κυκλοφορίας στην Πόλη των Φερών κατά την Ελληνιστική Εποχή, in: L. ΚΥΠΡΑΙΟΥ (ed.), *Coins in the Thessalian region: mints, circulation, iconography, history: ancient, byzantine, modern: proceedings of the Third Scientific Meeting. Obolos 7* (Athens, 2004), p. 508 pl. 1b; Fourteen Bronze tokens bearing a stamp with the ethnic of the polis of Antigonea excavated in Antigonea: D. BUDINA, «Antigonée», in: *Iliria. Revistë arkeologjike. L'Illyrie: La Ville Illyrienne. Édition spéciale en français à l'occasion du Premier Colloque des Études Illyriennes, 15–21 Septembre 1972 (Tirana 1972)*, pp. 269–378 and in particular pp. 275–276, fig. on p. 276. Many thanks to my colleagues Stamatoula Makrypodí and Basili Bereti for pointing out the cases of Pherae and Antigonea respectively.

¹⁰ Very near the Tholos: CROSBY 1964, p. 96 L90, p. 94 L79; p. 101 L158, p. 129 C19 (ten out of the 12 clay tokens with the eagle); very near the Bouleuterion Propylon (porch): *ibid.*, p. 115 L292, p. 110 L249 (IL117); very near the Bouleuterion: *ibid.* p. 112 L263 (one uninventoried), p. 112 L264 (IL158 from deposit F 12 : 4); in the Bouleuterion Plateia (Square): *ibid.* p. 104 L191, p. 112 L263 (IL699), p. 113 L273, p. 115 L291 (IL127–128); very near the Metroon: *ibid.* p. 88 L18, p. 108 L235 north room of the Metroon: *ibid.* p. 98 L117;

¹¹ ST. MAKRYPODI, Tokens inside and outside excavation context: Seeking the Origin. Examples of Clay tokens from the Collections of the Athens Numismatic Museum, in A. CRISÀ – M. GKIKAKI – C. ROWAN (eds.), *Tokens: Cultures, Connections, Communities. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 57* (London, 2019), pp. 27–40.

2. History of the Hallerstein Collection of lead tokens in the University Museum Göttingen

That 24 of the 98 lead tokens housed in the Coin Collection of the University Museum Göttingen had once belonged to Carl Haller von Hallerstein is documented by a small piece of paper carefully glued onto an A4 paper sheet and stored in the archives of the University Museum (*Fig. 1*).¹² The text, written with ink in handwriting typical of Germans in the 19th century, reads (transl. engl.): «In the excavations of the Temple of Zeus on Aegina and the Temple of Apollo in Bassai [they] were collected by the architect von Haller». A note written in pencil below states that the tokens were bought by the officer Gemming from Nuremberg. Carl Haller von Hallerstein was a Bavarian aristocrat and a well-known philhellene of the early 19th century. He was an architect, an archaeologist and an excavator.¹³ He was member of an international research team that excavated the pediment sculptures of the Aphaia Temple (at the time erroneously considered to be the temple of Zeus) and transported them to Zante, where they were auctioned. In the same year the same team discovered the frieze of the Apollo Temple in Bassai (Arcadia, Peloponnese), which was also offered for sale in an auction. Haller was an extremely prolific designer and painter of monuments, sites and scenery. He died in 1817 in Ampelakia, a thriving village of Thessaly. Ten months after his death a thorough inventory of his belongings was carried out in the home he was renting in Athens, at all probability in Patisia, a neighbourhood to the north of the city centre. The inventory took 18 days because of the quantity of the objects. The text survives, written in Italian and covering 59 pages. Among the objects catalogued there were two small boxes containing coins, of which one was made of leather and sealed. Neither of them were opened. There were also a parcel marked as «Coins», four bags sealed with wax and 15 bags containing 55 coins, some of which bore indications of their origin and mint: Larissa, Aegina, Philipp II, Thessaly, Corinth. The general impression of the inventoried objects, which in addition to coins also included some marble pieces and casts and a few antiquities, is that Haller only occasionally functioned as collector.¹⁴

¹² BENNDORF 1875, p. 584 preserves also the same information.

¹³ On Carl Haller von Hallerstein's life and work: H.-G. BANKEL, *Carl Haller von Hallerstein in Griechenland 1810–1817, Architekt, Zeichner, Bauforscher* (Berlin, 1986); B.F. VON HALLER – TH. SCHAUERTE (eds.), *Von Nürnberg nach Hellas. Carl Haller von Hallerstein zum 200. Todestag* (Bersching, 2017).

¹⁴ Κ. ΜΠΑΡΟΥΤΑΣ, *Η απογραφή των αντικειμένων του Haller von Hallerstein στην κατοικία του στην Αθήνα μετά τον θάνατο του (1817)*, *Ta Istorika* 64, October 2016, pp. 242–257 and in particular: pp. 252–253.

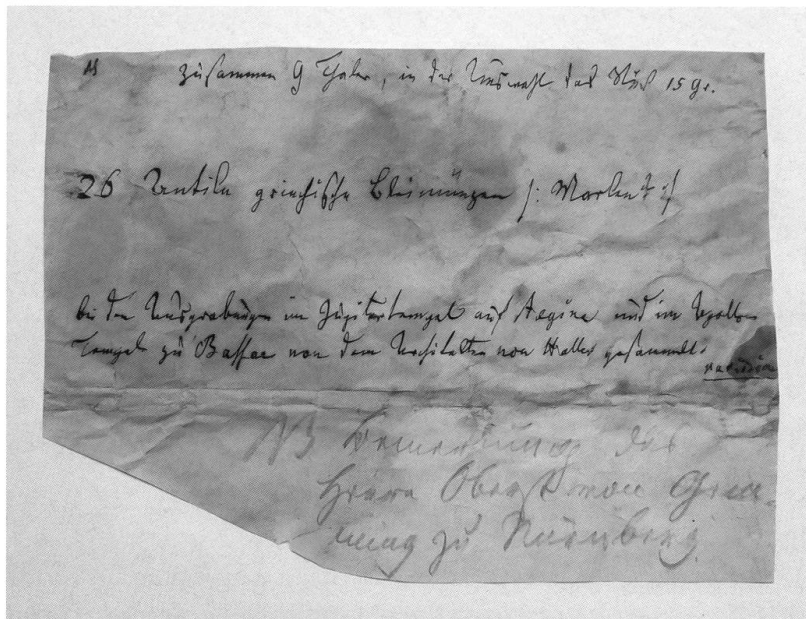


Fig. 1 Handwritten note that accompanied the donation of the Hallerstein tokens collection to the Archaeological Institute of Göttingen (Archives of the Archaeological Institute of Göttingen, Photo by the author).

The handwritten note in the University Museum Göttingen associates the tokens with two illustrious monuments: Aphaia and the Apollo Temple in Bassai. But it is equally possible that Haller acquired the lead tokens through his social connections to passionate collectors of his time, such as Louis François Sebastian Fauvel (1753–1831)¹⁵ and Georg Cristian Gropius (1776–1850).¹⁶ The former is known to have possessed a substantial collection of tokens.¹⁷ The latter was in charge of the inventorying process in Haller’s Athenian residence.

The tickets that accompany Hallerstein’s lead tokens, numbered from no. 1 to no. 26, helped bring the collection in the correct order.¹⁸ The tickets bear the same handwriting as the text written with ink mentioning Aphaia and Bassai. Tokens no. 9, with the design of a turtle, and no. 14, with the design of centaur, have been lost, though the ticket for no. 14 is still preserved (Fig. 2).

¹⁵ On Fauvel’s workings in Greece: K. ΣΙΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα (1700–1800). Δημόσιος και ιδιωτικός Βίος, λαϊκός πολιτισμός, Εκκλησία και οικονομική Ζωή, από τα περιηγητικά χρονικά vol. B* (Athens, 1973), pp. 439–446, 458–468; K. ΣΙΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα (1810–1821). Δημόσιος και ιδιωτικός Βίος, λαϊκός πολιτισμός, Εκκλησία και οικονομική Ζωή, από τα περιηγητικά χρονικά vol. Γ2* (Athens, 1975), pp. 132–150, 572–582; L. BESCHI, *La casa di L. S. Fauvel, primo museo ateniese*, *ArchEph* 140, 2001, pp. 72–120.

¹⁶ CHR. CALLMER, *Georg Christian Gropius als Agent, Konsul und Archäologe in Griechenland 1803–1850* (Lund, 1982).

¹⁷ BENNDORF 1875, p. 583.

¹⁸ This is the numbering used in the catalogue published here with this paper.

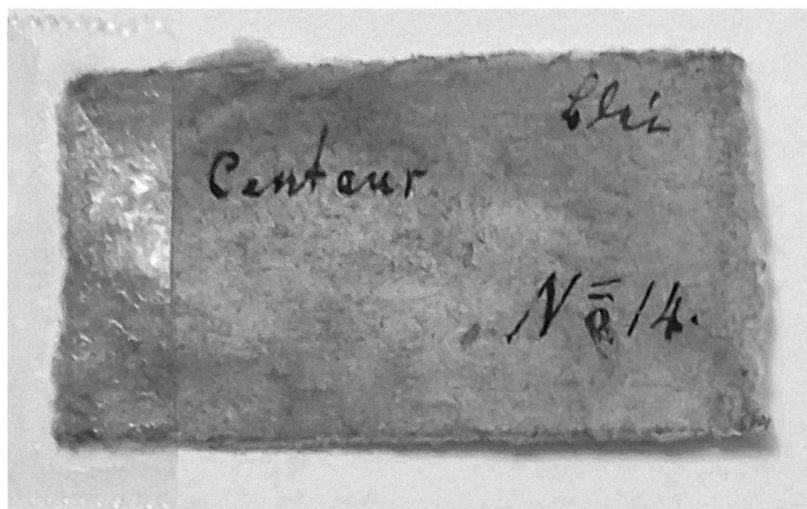


Fig. 2 The handwritten ticket of the lead token with a centaur, no. 14
(Archives of the Archaeological Institute of Göttingen, Photo by the author).

All 26 tokens were first published by Otto Benndorf in 1875, arranged in a random order and with a sketch of the famous «Cart of Dionysus» token (**cat. no. 21**).¹⁹ They were subsequently published by Georg Hubo in 1887 in the order as numbered by the tickets.²⁰ The latter gave a description of the centaur token now lost: the creature was seen jumping to the right with his left hand holding a shield in front of his chest and holding a rock above his head with his right, about to fling it to right (**cat. no. 14**). It seems that the two tokens were removed on purpose, because of their iconography and its meaningful associations. The turtle would have referred to Aphaia, because the turtle is the badge on the coins of Aegina. And the centaur would have referred to the Apollo temple at Bassai, because the Centauromachy was depicted on the cella frieze.

Thorough research on the 24 extant pieces proves that five of them are Roman (**cat. nos. 8, 15-16, 22-23**) and at least one is Ephesian (**cat. no. 24**). This finding makes the information given about Aphaia and Bassai seem less plausible. The rest are most probably Athenian in provenance. For most it has been possible to give exact parallels. In some cases (**cat. nos. 2, 5, 7, 11, 18, 25**) parallels are drawn only from Achilleus Postolakas', Arthur Engel's and Ioannes Svoronos' publications of the Athens Numismatic Museum inventories and not from Margaret Crosby's publication of the tokens excavated in the Athenian Agora after the 1930s. Parts of the von Hallerstein Collection are therefore typical of the early 19th century collections. The conditions under which this collection was formed are similar to the circumstances – mostly purchases and exchanges – which formed the earliest part of the token collection in the Numismatic Museum in Athens.

¹⁹ BENNDORF 1875, pp. 612–613. BENNDORF 1875, p. 608 argued that this was the ship of the Panathenaic Procession.

²⁰ HUBO 1887, pp. 50–52.

In addition to the 26 (24+2) tokens of the von Hallerstein Collection, 47 unprovenanced pieces of the University Museum Göttingen are presented here. They must be Athenian on account of their style and iconography and it has been thought fitting to consider them together with the Hallerstein pieces, the majority of which are Athenian.

3. *The official character of Athenian tokens*

Tokens in Classical Athens had official uses, as previously acknowledged by A. Dumont and I.N. Svoronos.²¹ These official uses can be summarized as: tokens employed in the allotment procedures of the democracy as a protection measure against corruption in the selection of officials, in the allotment of participating magistrates to seating areas, and as vouchers to be exchanged for state pay as a result of civil service.²²

Symbola often bear symbolic designs. On one piece a citizen dressed in a himation and labeled *Dēmos* (δημος, the citizenry, the citizen body) is seen crowning a seated maternal figure, who can be interpreted as *Politeia*, the personification of democratic governance (*Fig. 3*).²³ The fine and minuscule image finds its closest parallel in the relief crowning the text of the «Law against Tyranny» also called the «anti-tyranny decree».²⁴ The decree was set up in a conspicuous place in the Agora and was exposed to common view. The role and function of the token has yet to be determined. Nevertheless one thing is certain: it served an official function and its official function was complemented by the symbolism of the image-message, which immediately came across to the users of the tokens.²⁵ Single male heads – some of them labeled ΔΗΜΟΣ or ΔΗΜ and others unlabeled – can also plausibly be interpreted as personifications of the *Dēmos*. Short-cut hair and a well-trimmed beard clearly refers to the idealized depictions of citizens, well known through grave monuments of the 4th century BC.²⁶ Such tokens with the

²¹ A. DUMONT, *De Plumbeis apud Graecos Tesseris* (Paris, 1870), pp. 13 and 31-49; I.N. SVORONOS, *Περί των Εισιτηρίων των Αρχαίων, Μέρος Α', Εισιτήρια του Λυκούργειου Διονυσιακού Θεάτρου και της Κλεισθένειας Εκκλησίας των Αθηναίων*, *JIAN* 1, 1898, pp. 45–120; SVORONOS 1900.

²² CROSBY 1964, p. 77.

²³ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 95.163: https://collections.mfa.org/search/objects/*/95.163 (accessed 13/8/2019). For the meaning of *politeia* and *democratia* in Classical Athens and for the negative connotations of *democratia*: P. CARTLEDGE, *Democracy, the Origins of: Contribution to a Debate*, in: K.A. RAAFLAUB – J. OBER – R.W. WALLACE, *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley, 2007), pp. 163–166.

²⁴ Agora Museum I 6524: BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, pp. 134–135 no. 28; P.J. RHODES – R. OSBORNE, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 388–392, no. 79.

²⁵ Compare C. Rowan's thoughts on tokens bearing the imperial image: C. ROWAN, *The imperial image in media of mechanical reproduction: the Tokens of Rome*, in: A. RUSSELL – M. HELLSTRÖM, *The Social Dynamics of Roman Imperial Imagery* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 247-274.

²⁶ J. BERGEMANN, *Demos und Thanatos: Untersuchungen zum Wertsystem der Polis im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jh. v.Chr. und zur Funktion der gleichzeitigen Grabbauten* (München, 1997), pp. 76–80.

generic representation of a male head as the Dēmos are known not only in lead but also in clay. The clay tokens with the Dēmos head have been excavated on the Pnyx and can be plausibly related to the workings of the Assembly.²⁷



Fig. 3 Lead Athenian token. Uniface. Demos personified crowning Democratia.
17 mm diameter. Catharine Page Perkins Fund,
Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Acc. no 95.163).

The above discussion helps demonstrate the symbolic aspects of images that seem simple and familiar and give an idea of the extent to which personifications were employed on Athenian tokens. Single heads – this time female – are encountered on two specimens in Hallerstein’s collection (**nos. 2 and 13**). They are remarkable for their beauty and elegance, although the surface of no. 2 is corroded and the lower part of the face of no. 13 is struck off-flan. The classical beauty of the facial features, the playful curls and the roll of hair around the face betray the famous prototype: Euainetos’ Arethusa. This was a coin type of the late fifth century BC, created in Syracuse by Euainetos for the silver decadrachms of the city; the image had a remarkable «afterlife» because it inspired numerous civic mints in Sicily, South Italy and mainland Greece. Each time the Nymph was re-interpreted as the civic goddess.²⁸ Tokens inspired by this image have not been identified before. Designs of female heads with the legend ΒΟΛΗ or ΒΟΥΛΗ (*hē Boulē*, feminine

²⁷ G.R. DAVIDSON – D. BURR THOMPSON, *Small Objects from the Pnyx: I. Hesperia Supplement VII* (Baltimore, 1943), pp. 107–108, no. 14 (T 134); MAKRYPODI 2019, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp. 28–29, figs. 4–6.

²⁸ H. NICOLET-PIERRE, *L’Aréthuse d’Evainetos et sa descendance*, in: *Vrai ou faux? Copier, imiter, falsifier* (Paris, 1988), pp. 151–161.

singular noun) inspired more or less from the Syracusan design help identify the goddess as the personification of the Council. By the late fifth century and continuing well into the fourth century personifications of virtues and abstract ideas, especially of notions related to prosperity, became common in the art of Athens.²⁹ Personifications related to Athenian governance and the constitution also became increasingly popular.³⁰ The origins of the latter may be traced to literature and especially to allegory employed in comedy. In Aristophanes' *Equites* (42), first presented in the mid-420s, the person of *Demos Puknites* stands for the People, especially when in the Assembly. The personifications of Demos and the Boule (Council) on tokens exemplified ideals and models for the workings of the Athenian government. Their exact use is impossible to determine but they should not be confined only to the Assembly and the Council. A token excavated in the Athenian Agora and dated on account of excavation context to the early fourth century BC displays a female head of the type of Euainetos' Arethusa on one side, just like nos. 2 and 13 of the Göttingen University Museum, and a helmeted Athena head, the divine mistress of the city, on the other. This pairing is particularly significant and indicates a state function (*Fig. 4*).³¹



Fig. 4 Lead Athenian token, excavated in the Athenian Agora. Side A: Head of Boule personified, r. Side B: Helmeted Athena head l. 17 mm. diameter. Agora Museum 1040 (Courtesy of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

²⁹ E. STAFFORD, *Worshipping Virtues. Personification and the divine in Ancient Greece* (London, 2000).

³⁰ O. TZACHOU-ALEXANDRI, Πολιτικές Προσωποποιήσεις, in: O. PALAGIA – W.D.E. COULSON – T.L. SHEAR JR. – H.A. SHAPIRO – F.J. FROST (eds.), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 55–72; O. TZACHOU-ALEXANDRI, *Personifications of Democracy*, in: J. OBER – C.W. HEDRICK (eds.), *Democratia. A conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 149–155.

³¹ CROSBY 1964, p. 93, L67 (IL1040).

Catalogue no. 27 is a lettered token bearing the letter Alpha. Lettered tokens – series of twenty-five letters – are connected to the workings of the Council, the Law courts and the Assembly. The twenty-five letters signify seating areas and in particular benches. The wooden benches on which citizens participating in the Assembly sat are attested in the Aristophanes' Assembly Women. They are likewise attested for the Jurors' Courts and the Council.³²

The earliest testimony for assignment to seating areas by letter is delivered by the *atthidograph* Philochoros. Philochoros records that the members of the Council began sitting by letter in the year when Glaukippos was *archon eponymos* (410/409 BC).³³ The full significance of the novelty can be considered in the light of the oligarchic coup of the Four Hundred.³⁴ The random seating by letters guaranteed that potential conspirators would be dispersed and could not form blocks.³⁵ The relevant lines tell us that they were allotted by chance (ἐν τῷ γράμματι ᾧ ἂν λάχῃσι) and also that the Council members took their oath from the seat where they were allotted.³⁶ The success of the system as well as the incident with Anytos, who in 409 BC bribed the judges,³⁷ must have also prompted its application to the jury system. There are indications that this should have happened not much later than 410/409 BC.³⁸

The series of lettered tokens – made of bronze – belong to series of twenty five letters: the twenty four letters of the alphabet plus the *sampi*.³⁹ These lettered tokens have been first presented by I.N. Svoronos in 1898.⁴⁰ After the discovery of the «ballot-deposit», a hoard containing various sort of equipment for the law courts, they have been plausibly explained as tokens assigning the jury to their seating place inside the court room.⁴¹ This interpretation has never been seriously

³² Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 86–87; M.H. HANSEN, The Athenian Ecclesia and the Assembly Place on the Pnyx, GRBS 23, 1982, p. 244 = M.H. HANSEN, The Athenian Ecclesia. A collection of Articles 1976–83 (Copenhagen, 1983), p. 28. The connection between the wooden benches in the Assembly and the allotment of the participants has already been suggested by BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 71 with n. 16.

³³ Philochoros FGrHist 328 F 140.

³⁴ P.J. RHODES, The Athenian Boule (Oxford, 1972), p. 192.

³⁵ R. TORDOFF, Memory and the Rhetoric of Soteria in Aristophanes' Assembly Women. Histos Supplement 6 (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2017), pp. 166–167, fn. 39.

³⁶ Philochoros FGrHist 328 F 140 = *Schol.* Aristophanes, *Ploutos* line 972; BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, pp. 65, 155–156, source no. 73; K. SHEEDY, Some Notes on Athenian Bronze Tokens and Bronze Coinage in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC, in: A. CRISÀ – M. GIKAKI – C. ROWAN (eds.), Tokens: Cultures, Connections, Communities. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 57 (London, 2019), p. 20.

³⁷ *Athenaion Politeia* 27.5; BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, pp. 33–34 and 190 cat. no. 181

³⁸ BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, pp. 71 and 155–156 cat. no. 73; SHEEDY 2019, *op. cit.* (note 36).

³⁹ I.N. SVORONOS, Les Monnaies d'Athènes (Munich, 1923–1926), pl. 100–102; BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, pp. 67–72; MAKRYPODI 2019, *op. cit.* (note 11).

⁴⁰ SVORONOS 1898, *op. cit.* (note 21).

⁴¹ H.A. THOMPSON, Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1953, Hesperia 23, 1954, pp. 58–59; BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 68.

contested and in fact has been extended to cover the Council and the Assembly.⁴² Lettered tokens made of lead excavated in the Agora could also have originally belonged to series of twenty-five, although the «sampi» has not yet been found among them.⁴³ Margaret Crosby assumed that the lead lettered tokens had the same function as their bronze (and clay) counterparts. The bronze lettered tokens are dated on account of excavation context, overstrikes, as well as style, to the fourth century BC.⁴⁴ The earliest lead lettered tokens excavated in the Athenian Agora and published by Margaret Crosby can be dated as early as the third century BC. Indeed the broken-bar Alpha lead token in Göttingen (**cat. no. 27**) indicates a Hellenistic date. Bronze was substituted for lead possibly because of the lower price of the latter and its low melting point it could have much more easily been «recycled». The low number of lettered tokens discovered so far indicates that they were systematically withdrawn and restruck.⁴⁵

When and where were the seating places allotted? After a long procedure of successive lotteries the jurors who were selected for duty proceeded to the entrance of the court. By the entrance «a man selected by lot» handed out the «official *symbolon*» and a staff to each juror (*Athenaion Politeia* 65,2).⁴⁶ The text specifies neither the *symbolon*'s role nor what this *symbolon* looked like. The assignment to a seating area was either a result of an allotment which is not mentioned, or the «man selected by lot» drew by chance the letter – one out of the twenty-five – which assigned each juror to a specific seating area in the room.⁴⁷ The earliest contemporary mention of the juror's *symbolon* is in Aristophanes' *Ploutos* (lines 277–78). Here Karion, while exchanging insults with the Chorus leader, says: «Your letter has been allotted to judge in the grave. Go. Charon is handing out the *symbolon*».⁴⁸ The «letter» is one of ten sections (A to K, ten sections for each tribe) assigned for life to each citizen-judge and inscribed on his allotment plate

⁴² A.L. BOEGEHOLD 1960, pp. 393–401; RHODES 1981, p. 704, commentary to *Athenaion Politeia* 63.4; BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 16. Boegehold's interpretation referred to two series of bronze tokens: SVORONOS 1898, *op. cit.* (note 21), series Β'α' and Γ'α'= SVORONOS 1923–1926, *op. cit.* (note 39), pl. 100, 29–41 and pl. 101, 1–24, which were originally interpreted by Svoronos as theatre tickets. Boegehold's interpretation of the *symbola* was soon extended to further series of bronze tokens: BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, pp. 67–76.

⁴³ Cf. CROSBY 1964, pp. 87–88 L1–L22.

⁴⁴ BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 72 T1–T2; p. 73 T5–T6.

⁴⁵ Cf. C. Rowan, Lead token moulds from Rome and Ostia, in: A. CRISÀ – M. GKIKAKI – C. ROWAN (eds.), *Tokens: Cultures, Connections, Communities*. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 57 (London, 2019), p. 97.

⁴⁶ RHODES 1981, pp. 711–712, commentary to *Athenaion Politeia* 65.2.

⁴⁷ BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 34. Boegehold goes on to explain that the reason that the twenty-five is the divisor of 200, 400, 500, 1,000 the number of jurors usually manning a court.

⁴⁸ Cf. Schol. Aristophanes, *Ploutos*, line 277=BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, pp. 154–155, source no. 71.

(*pinakion*).⁴⁹ and the «*symbolon*» (token) is one of the twenty-five letters, which randomly assigned the citizen-judges to their seats.⁵⁰

The jurors handed over these *symbola* upon receiving their two ballots: one with a solid hub (not guilty) and another with a pierced hub (guilty) (*Athenaion Politeia* 68.2).⁵¹ Yet another *symbolon* was issued to the jurors when casting their votes (*Athenaion Politeia* 68.2). The text emphasises that the *symbolon* is not issued unless they vote.⁵² This *symbolon*, «made of bronze and bearing the letter gamma», is to be exchanged for their pay. Tokens made nevertheless of lead, not bronze, have been identified early in research with this particular *symbolon* exchanged for pay.⁵³

The jury dole was raised by Kleon in 425 from 2 to 3 obols and remained fixed for the entire fourth century BC.⁵⁴ This is surprising compared to the dole for the Assembly goers, which sometime before the middle of the fourth century BC was raised to one drachma.⁵⁵ There has been much discussion on the economics of jury pay. It has been a matter of debate, whether three obols were enough to attract a potential jury or if three obols were thought of as a dole for those who were not physically capable of more remunerative work and how the effectiveness of jury pay was related to the demographics of the Athenian Jury.⁵⁶ Research has reached the conclusion that it was the quality of the office and importance attached to the duty that made jury service so popular, so that no pay rise was needed to man the courts.⁵⁷

The custom of allotting seating areas must have been introduced to the Assembly by 392 BC, the year when the *Assembly Women* was presented for the first time.⁵⁸ This was a major step in the decision making and voting procedures of the Assembly. The citizens could not sit as they chose, thus forming blocks of friends and relations with allied interests. Praxagora, the protagonist in the *Assembly*

⁴⁹ J.H. KROLL, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972), pp. 91–94; RHODES 1981, p. 704, commentary to *Athenaion Politeia* 63.4.

⁵⁰ A.L. BOEGEHOLD, *Many Letters: Aristophanes Plutus 1166–67*, in: *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his Eightieth Birthday* (Durham, North Carolina, 1984), pp. 25–26; BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 154, source no. 70.

⁵¹ BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, pp. 82–90

⁵² RHODES 1981, p. 731.

⁵³ J.E. SANDYS, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens / a revised text, with an introduction, critical text and explanatory notes, testimonia and indices* (London, 1893), frontispiece; H. HOMMEL, *Heliaia: Untersuchungen zur Verfassung und Prozessordnung des athenischen Volksgerichts, insbesondere zum Schlussteil der Athenaion Politeia des Aristoteles*, *Philologus Supplementband XIX, Heft 2*, 1927, p. 25.

⁵⁴ W.T. LOOMIS, *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation in Classical Athens* (Ann Arbor, 1998), pp. 15–17 cat. nos. 10–11; RHODES 1981, p. 691, commentary to *Athenaion Politeia* 62.2.

⁵⁵ LOOMIS 1998, *op. cit.* (note 54), pp. 23–24, cat. no. 23.

⁵⁶ A.H.M. JONES, *Athenian Democracy* (Oxford, 1957), p. 124; M.M. MARKLE, *Jury Pay and Assembly Pay at Athens*, in P.A. CARTLEDGE – F.D. HARVEY (eds.), *Crux. Essays presented to G.E.M de Ste. Croix on his 75th Birthday* (London, 1985), pp. 282–289.

⁵⁷ S. TODD, *Lady Chatterley's lover and the Attic Orators: The Social Composition of the Athenian Jury*, *JHS* 110, 1990, pp. 146–173 *cf.* A. LANNI, *Spectator sport or serious politics? Οι περιεστρηκότες and the Athenian Lawcourts*, *JHS* 117, 1997, pp. 183–189.

⁵⁸ A. SOMMERSTEIN, *Aristophanes Ecclesiazusae* (Warminster, 1998), pp. 5–8.

Women, contradicts herself: at one time she explains to her husband, Blepyros, the allotment procedure of the citizens to dining areas according to letters, when her socialist state will be established (lines 675–690)⁵⁹ and at another time in a conspiratorial act she and her comrades plan to sit «en bloc» (lines 21–23, cf. 86–87) in the Assembly and seize the power with a «coup d'état».⁶⁰ The Assembly lettered tokens can now be seen in the clay pieces with various devices on the obverse and lettered reverses, which are now known to originate from the Pnyx.⁶¹

Athenian token finds of the 20th century mainly derive from the excavations of the Athenian Agora. There a particularly important concentration of *symbola* was detected on the site of the Bouleuterion and the Tholos, where the legislative and the executive organs of the Athenian state respectively once held office. The finds obviously signal the Bouleuterion and the Tholos as distribution centres of *symbola*. At the end of a prytany list of the tribe Aigeis in the year 341/0 BC, praise is voted for three tribal representatives (*prytaneis*) by members of their tribe, because «they managed well and fairly the control of entry into the Assembly (*syllogēs tou dēmou*) and the provision of the *symbola*».⁶² A token with a comic mask facing front has been excavated near the Bouleuterion Propylon (cf. **cat. no. 65**). Tokens with tragic masks and bearing the legend ΠΙΕΝ were related by I.N. Svoronos to the Council of Five Hundred.⁶³ The long list of token types excavated at the site of the Bouleuterion and the Tholos includes, most prominently state devices and in particular the Panathenaic Amphora⁶⁴ and the facing owl framed by two olive branches, which will be discussed below.⁶⁵

4. Athenian tokens and their connections to Athenian coinage

A typical feature of Athenian tokens is that they bear images and designs known from contemporary Late Classical and Hellenistic coinage and this suggests that coins ought to be regarded as the model for tokens. The bronze coinage issued by the general Timotheus while campaigning in the North Aegean in the late 360s is considered to be either inspired by tokens or a series that instigated the use of tokens. Much ambiguity surrounds Timotheus' issue, which in some cases has been described as tokens issued «in lieu of ration money» and in other cases as «emergency coinage».⁶⁶

⁵⁹ BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 153, no. 64.

⁶⁰ TORDOFF 2017, *op. cit.* (note 35), pp. 166–167, fn. 39. Cf. BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 34.

⁶¹ MAKRYPODI 2019, *op. cit.* (note 11), 29–34, figs. 7–25.

⁶² IG II² 1749; SEG 45, 155; SEG 46, 244.

⁶³ SVORONOS 1900, p. 336 nos. 208–214. For a different interpretation see: GKIKAKI 2020, forthcoming.

⁶⁴ CROSBY 1964, p. 101 L158.

⁶⁵ CROSBY 1964, p. 100 L144. Cf. note 10 above for summary of the relevant find spots.

⁶⁶ K. SHEEDY, The Emergency Coinage of Timotheus (364–362 B.C.), in: U. WARTENBERG – M. AMANDRY (eds.), KAIROS. Contributions to Greek Numismatics in Honor of Basil Demetriadi (New York, 2015), pp. 203–223 with previous bibliography.

Furthermore the idea that tokens could have – under certain circumstances – assumed the function of money has never been fully repudiated, while recently J.H. Kroll summarised the argumentation for the small bronze tokens being *symbola* and not *kollyboi*, the sub-division of the chalkous and the smallest denomination of the Athenian coinage.⁶⁷ On the other hand a verse from the comic poet Hermippos seems to fuel the debate because it reads: «I will get the *symbolon* from the shopkeepers’ (Pollux 9,71: παρὰ τῶν καπήλων λίψομαι τὸ σύμβολον).⁶⁸ There is nevertheless one conspicuous dissimilarity when it comes to tokens and coins. Tokens were employed – and even today in the digital world of the Blockchain are employed – in singular transactions. On the contrary money enjoys universal validity and can be exchanged in unlimited number of transactions.⁶⁹

The pairing of a divine head with a distinctive faunal species makes **cat. no. 17** a coin-like token. This lead token with Athena head right and owl standing left finds its closest parallels in the issue of Athenian bronzes of the radical democracy established in Athens after the liberation of the polis by Demetrios Poliorketes in 307 BC. The issue is of exceptional quality in terms of engraving and alloy and of particular magnitude.⁷⁰ It seems rather improbable that the token could have passed as a coin, also because its flan is smaller than the coins and it lacks the legend «A – ΗΘ». An official token could be a better alternative.

Among the Hellenistic lead tokens in the Göttingen University Museum some designs – the Gorgoneion, the owl standing right, the owl in wreath, the *kernos*, Zeus with thunderbolt – bear similarities to well-known contemporary coin types of Athens. The iconographic verisimilitude can be explained when considering that the designs in question are derived from an official repertoire of images, shared by a number of official media – coins, bronze allotment plates, ballots, weights and measures, seals.⁷¹

The Gorgoneion (**cat. nos. 31-32**) bears obvious connections to the polis of Athens, its history and identity as well as to the polis’ divine patroness. In myth, the sight of the Gorgoneion, the Medousa Gorgo’s head, could turn the viewer in stone. It belonged to the armed Athena’s attire and was worn by the goddess

⁶⁷ J.H. KROLL, Small Bronze Tokens from the Athenian Agora. *Symbola* or *Kollyboi*?, in: U. WARTENBERG – M. AMANDRY (eds.), *KAIROS. Contributions to Greek Numismatics in Honor of Basil Demetriadi* (New York, 2015), pp. 107–116, p. 1.

⁶⁸ CROSBY 1964, PH. GAUTHIER, *Symbola: les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy, 1972), pp. 69–70; KROLL 2015, *op. cit.* (note 67), pp. 111–112.

⁶⁹ W. BUBELIS, Tokens and Imitation in Ancient Athens, *Marburger Beiträge zur Antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 28, 2010, p. 178; C. ROWAN, Token Characteristics: Some preliminary thoughts, Post at the blog of the ERC project «Token Communities in the Ancient Mediterranean», published online 16 June, 2017 (available https://blogs.warwick.ac.uk/numismatics/entry/token_characteristics_some, last accessed 17/8/2018); B. MAURER, The politics of token economics, then and now, in: A. CRISÀ – M. GKIKAKI – C. ROWAN (eds.), *Tokens: Cultures, Connections, Communities*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 57 (London, 2019), pp. 223, 226.

⁷⁰ KROLL – WALKER 1993, pp. 32–33 and 44 no. 50.

⁷¹ BUBELIS 2010, *op. cit.* (note 69), pp. 180–181.

on the Aegis on her breast.⁷² The Gorgoneion exemplified the special prestige of the polis. According to literary testimonia a gold Gorgoneion was part of the adornment of Athena Polias' xoanon. It was lost in the process of abandonment of Attica before Salamis and miraculously found in a subsequent search in the baggage gathered at the Peiraeus.⁷³ The two Gorgoneion tokens in the Göttingen University Collection are uniface, but the Gorgoneion is often paired with designs of particular significance: with a male head right inscribed *Dēmos* (ΔΗΜ-ΟΣ),⁷⁴ divine attributes/symbols such as a lizard⁷⁵ or a snake⁷⁶, an owl standing front with wings spread and the legend [A] – ΘΕ,⁷⁷ a frontal facing owl framed by two olive sprays,⁷⁸ or even with a single letter. The lettered reverses obviously suggest an official use in the Council, the Courts or the Assembly.⁷⁹ Gorgoneion seals were stamped on bronze allotment plates (*pinakia*) for magisterial allotments and they have been identified as the primary seal placed on the *pinakia* upon manufacture, providing the original authorization and connected with citizenship.⁸⁰ The Gorgoneia on tokens could have been intended for payment and probably served as dikastic tickets, as has already been concluded by Margaret Crosby.⁸¹

The Gorgoneion is a significant type for the coinage of the polis. The Gorgoneion design appears on the very last issue of the heraldic archaic coinage (Wappenmünzen)⁸² and then makes a late appearance in the Hellenistic coinage of the polis.⁸³ It served as a symbol for the issue ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ – ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ of the Athenian New Style silver coinage, dated 98/97 BC.⁸⁴ It was also employed as the obverse of an Athenian bronze issue related to Marc Antony (42/1–39 BC).⁸⁵

Among the tokens of the Hallerstein Collection there is one with a small owl (**cat. no. 26**), standing frontally and framed by a wreath (the knot of the wreath is clearly seen beneath the owl). «Owl in wreath» can be considered as a variation of the design of the so called «triobol type» named after the reverse design of the mid-fourth century BC Athenian silver triobols, which show two olive

⁷² CH. DAREMBERG – E. SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, vol. II,2, G. GLOTZ s.v. Gorgones (Paris, 1896), pp. 1615–1629.

⁷³ Plutarch, *Themistocles* 10; J.H. KROLL, *The Ancient Image of Athena Polias*, in: *Studies in Athenian Sculpture, Architecture and Topography*. Presented to Homer Thompson. *Hesperia Suppl.* 20 (Princeton, 1982), pp. 65–76 and 203.

⁷⁴ ENGEL 1884, p. 7, no 27 (at the time in the collection of the Archaeological Society at Athens); SVORONOS 1900, *op. cit.* (note 21), p. 327, nos. 92–98.

⁷⁵ CROSBY 1964, p. 94 L77.

⁷⁶ CROSBY 1964, p. 94 L78.

⁷⁷ POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 342, no. 47; SVORONOS 1900, p. 326, no. 80.

⁷⁸ SVORONOS 1900, p. 326, no. 84 not depicted.

⁷⁹ ENGEL 1884, p. 7, no 32: letter E on the reverse; cf. BOEGEHOLD 1960; BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, pp. 67–72, 155 source no. 73 (Philochoros).

⁸⁰ KROLL 1972, *op. cit.* (note 49), pp. 43–44; RHODES 1981, p. 704, commentary to *Athenaion Politeia* 63.4; BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, pp. 59–60.

⁸¹ CROSBY 1964, p. 103.

⁸² J.H. KROLL, «From Wappenmünzen to Gorgoneia to Owls», *ANSMN* 26, 1981, pp. 10–15.

⁸³ S. KILLEN, PARASEMA. *Offizielle Symbole Griechischer Poleis und Bundesstaaten*. *Archäologische Forschungen* 36 (Berlin, 2017) p. 97.

⁸⁴ THOMPSON 1961, pp. 329–335 pls. 103–105; MØRKHOLM 1984, p. 32.

⁸⁵ KROLL – WALKER 1993, p. 102 no. 139.

sprays framing a frontal standing owl. This «triobol type» was purposefully and meaningfully employed for the bronze coinage issued by the general Timotheus while campaigning in Northern Greece and attempting to recapture Amphipolis.⁸⁶ By the late fourth century BC the two olive sprays had been modified to a wreath framing an owl standing right or left on the bronze triobols.⁸⁷ The triobol design was independently used as a stamp.

Soon after 388 BC when the polis began issuing bronze allotment plates (*pinakia*) for dikastic allotments the triobol-design was stamped next to the letter section (one of the ten letter sections, A–K, ten for each tribe to which citizens were allotted) on the jurors' *pinakia*. It has been assumed that this stamp is the one that qualified the citizen for allotment to jury service, because by metonymy the three-obol payment extended to the office.⁸⁸

The owl itself proves to be the most eloquent emblem of the polis of Athens. It represented the polis beyond its borders, because it is found on document reliefs outside Attica, clearly standing for Athens.⁸⁹ It surpassed by far all the other known emblems of the city in frequency of appearance and in the variety of official media it appeared on – coins, dikastic *pinakia*, ballots, document reliefs, weights and measures, amphoras.⁹⁰ The owl was introduced around 517–515 BC along with the head of Athena on coinage; it functioned from the beginning as the emblem of the city. The tokens with owl were already considered as official and for governmental use by A. Dumont, who catalogued twelve known specimens/varieties.⁹¹ Svoronos listed nineteen owl token types with legends referring to the city as the whole, the tribes, the council and even names of plays.⁹²

Two tokens in the Göttingen University Museum bear a *kernos*, yet another type derived from the official repertoire of civic designs (**cat. nos. 45 and 61**). *Kernos*, also called *plēmochoē* denotes a vase of biconical shape, often lidded.⁹³ The last day

⁸⁶ KROLL – WALKER 1993, no. 19, pp. 25–26; 35–37 and 39; SHEEDY 2015, *op. cit.* (note 66), p. 211 figs. 1–3.

⁸⁷ KROLL – WALKER 1993, nos. 52–54.

⁸⁸ KROLL 1972, *op. cit.* (note 49), pp. 41–43; RHODES 1981, p. 704, commentary to *Athenaion Politeia* 63.4.

⁸⁹ KILLEN 2017, *op. cit.* (note 83), pp. 101–102.

⁹⁰ KILLEN 2017, *op. cit.* (note 83), p. 106.

⁹¹ DUMONT 1870, *op. cit.* (note 21), pp. 67–78.

⁹² Tokens devices with an owl and various legends: SVORONOS 1900, p. 326 nos. 78–86 with the legend ΑΘΕ (*cf.* POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 340 no. 4), p. 327 no. 99 with the legend ΔΗΜΟ, p. 329 nos. 116 with the legend ΑΙ referring to the tribe Aiantis, pp. 329–330 nos. 126–129 with the legend ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣ (*cf.* POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 342 nos. 48–50) referring to the tribe Antiochis and nos. 130–133 with the legend ΑΝ referring either to the tribe Antiochis or to the tribe Antigonis (*cf.* ENGEL 1884, p. 5, nos. 8–9), p. 332 nos. 153–155 with the legend ΟΙΝΟ referring to the tribe Oineis (*cf.* CROSBY 1964, p. 100 L147), p. 333 no. 177 with the legend ΒΟΥΛΕ referring to Boule, p. 335 nos. 198–199 with the legend ΠΙΕΝ; *Cf.* the owl standing right and accompanied by the legend ΕΙΦΗΝΗΣΑ (reference to the goddess of ΕΙΦΗΝΗ, theatre piece?): SVORONOS 1900, p. 342, no. 283 with the legend ΕΙΦΗΝΗΚΑ, either a reference to Aristophanes' play or to the goddess Eirene. *Cf.* CROSBY 1964, pp. 100–101 nos. L144–L151 with an overview.

⁹³ On tokens the vase is mostly biconical with (ENGEL 1884, p. 19 nos. 190–191) or without a lid (ENGEL 1884, p. 19 no. 189), on a low (ENGEL 1884, p. 19 nos. 189–191) or on a

of the Eleusinian Mysteries was called *Plēmochoai*, named after these particular vases, which were used ceremonially.⁹⁴

The *kernos* was widely employed as a device on tokens, it was part of the official repertoire of images that were employed for a variety of purposes in Athenian public life and has been rightfully regarded as one of the emblems of the city. The allusion to Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, which were for Athens a source of pride during its entire history, made the *kernos* a very prestigious symbol.⁹⁵ It is found as a symbol on the letter-reverses of the bronze dikastic tokens of the Late Classical/Early Hellenistic Period as well as on the letter-reverses of lead lettered tokens.⁹⁶ Remarkable is the bronze token with a *kernos* on the reverse, accompanied by the legend ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ.⁹⁷ It is attested as countermark on a lead token of the letter series.⁹⁸ The *kernos* is depicted in a variety of ways: with ears of wheat through the handles,⁹⁹ in a wreath of wheat,¹⁰⁰ accompanied by a thyrsus,¹⁰¹ accompanied by an Eleusinian ring¹⁰² and variously inscribed.¹⁰³ The shape of the vase is mostly biconical with¹⁰⁴ or without a lid,¹⁰⁵ on a low¹⁰⁶ or on a high foot.¹⁰⁷

Just as for the Gorgoneion and the owl, the *kernos* is not unknown on Athenian coins. A *kernos* appears for the first time on the Athenian bronze hemiobols and chalkoi of the period following the evacuation of the Macedonian garrisons from the forts of Attica in 229 BC. «Kernos with wheat through the handles» for the hemiobols and «kernos in wreath» for the chalkoi are comparable to designs found on tokens. Because exact dates for the dikastic tokens escape us, it is almost impossible to confirm whether the *kernos* was first employed on tokens or on coinage. The *kernos* that appears as the symbol on the Athenian New Style silver issue of Mnaseas – Nestor of 91/0 BC stands too late in the Hellenistic chronology to help us reach a conclusion.¹⁰⁸

high foot (ENGEL 1884, p. 19 no. 183).

⁹⁴ L. DEUBNER, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), p. 91; G.E. MYLONAS, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961) p. 279.

⁹⁵ For Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries as source of Athenian pride: J. DAY, *The Glory of Athens. The Popular Tradition as reflected in the Panathenaicus of Aelius Aristides* (Chicago, 1980), pp. 15–38.

⁹⁶ The bronze dikastic: SVORONOS 1923–1926, *op. cit.* (note 39) pl. 102, 16–19 and 37–39; BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 76 T36; T37. For the lead lettered tokens: ENGEL 1884, p. 6 no. 17 and p. 7 no. 28.

⁹⁷ SVORONOS 1923–1926, *op. cit.* (note 39) pl. 102, 16–19 and 37–39; BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 76 T36–T37.

⁹⁸ CROSBY 1964, p. 87 L5.

⁹⁹ CROSBY 1964, p. 106 L204; ST. ELEUTHERATOU, *To Mouseio kai ē Anaskafē. Exh. Catalogue The New Acropolis Museum* (Athens, 2006), p. 111.

¹⁰⁰ POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 350, no. 199.

¹⁰¹ POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 349, no. 181.

¹⁰² POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 350, no. 201.

¹⁰³ POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 350 no. 201 with the legend II, p. 350 no. 190 with the legend H-Δ; ENGEL 1884, p. 19 no. 190 with the legend NI-K; no. 191 with the legend ΛY-A

¹⁰⁴ ENGEL 1884, p. 19 nos. 190–191

¹⁰⁵ ENGEL 1884, p. 19, no. 189.

¹⁰⁶ ENGEL 1884, p. 19, nos. 189–191.

¹⁰⁷ ENGEL 1884, p. 19, no. 183.

¹⁰⁸ MØRKHOLM 1984, p. 32.

Cat. no. 40 bears the design of Zeus carrying a thunderbolt, all within a wreath. Fulminating Zeus (without the wreath) is attested as the reverse of Athenian bronze triobols of the early 2nd century BC.¹⁰⁹ The simple «fulminating Zeus» is also found on a lead (or bronze?) token with the legend ΠΙΕΝ.¹¹⁰

It is evident that tokens do not simply copy coin devices. They may bear images that are quite often similar – but never exactly the same – as those on the lower denominations struck by the mint in Athens. In search for the tokens which would have been exchanged for the triobol pay, the owl framed by olive sprays and the owl framed by an olive wreath have been put forward.¹¹¹ In fact such types are often paired with various letters on the other side, a fact which rather suggests procedures of random allotment to seating areas of an official institution.¹¹² As indicated above, the owl and the *kernos* were devices employed not only on tokens or coinage but also on weights, measures, dikastic *pinakia*, ballots, and document reliefs. These devices would have played powerful roles in the public forums of the polis: the Council, the Courts, the Assembly. The great diversity of styles and slight deviations of what can be perceived as standard types are obviously due to the lack of established prototypes¹¹³ and the need for protection against manipulation and corruption.¹¹⁴

It is evident that the devices belonged to a repertoire of official devices/seals, which were shared by a certain number of parallel media. The most prominent of these media would have been the state seal. The earliest explicit reference for the Athenian state seal is the inscription IG II² 1408 (lines 11–13) dated to 398/397 BC. Here a wooden box (?) is mentioned, sealed with the public seal and containing anvils and dies, probably those used for the emergency gold issue of 407/406 BC.¹¹⁵ In the text of *Athenaion Politeia* (44, 1) we hear that the public seal along with the keys of the sanctuaries were guarded by the *epistatēs of the prytaneis* for the twenty-four hours that he was on duty.¹¹⁶ There is evidence from Aristophanes' *Equites* 947–959 that the public seal was, already in the mid-420s, a well-known feature of Athenian public life. It bore a particular symbolic content: it belonged to the Athenian people, it represented the people's power over the state, and could be entrusted to the most prominent man in the affairs of the state. What is more significant is the relative naivety of the design of this seal, as described in Aristophanes' *Equites*. It showed a fig leaf stuffed with beef-fat (= δῆμος, *dēmōs*). Here there is a play on the words δῆμος (= the people) and

¹⁰⁹ KROLL – WALKER 1993, pp. 64–65, nos. 82–84, dated to 196–190 BC.

¹¹⁰ SVORONOS 1900, p. 334, no. 181 (not illustrated). For discussion of the ΠΙΕΝ tokens: GKIKAKI 2020, forthcoming.

¹¹¹ CROSBY 1964, p. 103.

¹¹² ENGEL 1884, p. 7 no. 28; SHEEDY 2015, *op. cit.* (note 66), p. 216 fig. 8.

¹¹³ KROLL 1972, *op. cit.* (note 49), 44.

¹¹⁴ BUBELIS 2010, *op. cit.* (note 69), pp. 182–192.

¹¹⁵ D.M. LEWIS, *The Public Seal of Athens*, *Phoenix* 9, 1955, pp. 32–34; R. HAENSCH, *Das öffentliche Siegel der griechischen Staaten*, *Symposion 2003. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Wien, 2006) p. 257; Chr. PÉBARTHE, *Cité, démocratie et écriture. Histoire de l'alphabétisation d'Athènes à l'époque classique* (Paris, 2006), p. 297.

¹¹⁶ *Athenaion Politeia* 44.1; RHODES 1981, pp. 531–532.

δῆμός meaning fat – the words are spelled the same but with a differing intonation – and at the same time relating to *Dēmos*, the People, whose ring should naturally display its very particular emblem.¹¹⁷ This brings us to the theme of canting symbols, well known in numismatics and obviously also used on tokens, and the difficulty of decoding the meaning of their devices. Tokens were coding devices and to avoid any actual or possible fraudulent use, the polis was motivated to change designs over time, just as in the case described in *Equites*, where after the revelation that a fake emblem had been in use, the Demos bestows his trusted one with a new, now genuine, emblem.¹¹⁸

This brings us back to the difficulty of understanding the designs on tokens and plausibly relating them to functions as a result of the heterogeneity described. This probably explains the – only superficial – similarity to the coin types of other states, observed in Göttingen with the tokens of Pegasus (**cat. no. 1**) and trident (**cat. nos. 3** and **67** and **68**).

Many other token types derive from the design repertoire of the arts and in particular of the minor arts, such as seal engraving. They express the aesthetics of their time, and were not resistant to ideology and trends in politics and society. Types such as Pan standing left (**cat. no. 25**), a goat's head (**cat. no. 5**), and the figure taking off a shoe next to a tree (**cat. no. 69**) are amazing for the beauty of the design, which is enforced by the miniature size. The particular meaning of hippalektryon (**cat. no. 11**) and its symbolism is related to the Greek connections to Persian culture.¹¹⁹ The device is not uncommon in signet rings of the Archaic and Classical Period.¹²⁰

5. Tokens and *Theōrika*

Official devices – owls, gorgoneia, kernoi – helped forge communal identity and reinforced social cohesion. They embraced state ideology and integrated the habits and pursuits of the citizen body. Recurring occasions were structured by the practices of token distribution and exchange and enveloped in institutionalised imagery. These ideas apply also to festival tokens, *i.e.* tokens distributed as *theōrika*.

Cat. nos. 57 and **58** with the design of a Panathenaic amphora falls easily into the category of tokens that employ official devices. It is true that Panathenaic *amphorae* are well known on Athenian coinage of the Hellenistic period¹²¹ and on other official media.¹²² The Panathenaic amphora appeared as a novel type with

¹¹⁷ S. DOUGLAS OLSON, Aristophanes' *Equites* 947–959 and the Athenian Public Seal, *ZPE* 113, 1996, pp. 253–254.

¹¹⁸ BUBELIS 2010, *op. cit.* (note 69), p. 186.

¹¹⁹ I. SAGIV, Representations of Animals on Greek and Roman Engraved Gems: Meanings and Interpretations (Oxford, 2018), pp. 144–145.

¹²⁰ G.M.A. RICHTER, Catalogue of Engraved Gems Greek, Etruscan and Roman (New York, 1956 – Rome, 2006), p. 33, cat. no. 30.

¹²¹ KROLL – WALKER 1993, p. 62, no. 76; *ibid.* p. 65, no. 85; *ibid.* p. 76, no. 101; *ibid.* pp. 77–78, no. 105; *ibid.* p. 79, no. 108.

¹²² M. LANG, Part I: Weights and Measures, in: M. LANG – M. CROSBY, Weights, Measures and Tokens, *The Athenian Agora* vol. 10 (Princeton, 1964) pp. 5–8; KILLEN 2017,

the reorganisation of the festival in 198 BC, the first celebration after the alliance with Rome, in keeping with the general patriotic mood of the period.¹²³ Therefore the dating of the tokens in question to after 198 BC seems plausible. Nevertheless, the small diameter of approximately 1 cm and the low weight of 1–2 g., particularly for **cat. no. 58**, are typical of early Hellenistic tokens. Several other tokens of the Göttingen Museum exhibit these two features and qualify as early Hellenistic in date (**cat. no. 61** with kernos, **cat. no. 62** with askos / sea shell and **cat. no. 63** with winged *kerykeion* and the legend ΑΓΟΡ).

But again the finds from the Athenian Agora shed particular light on aspects, which would otherwise remain unknown to us: a Panathenaic amphora token was excavated only a few meters from the northwest corner of the building in and around which the only fragments of Hellenistic Panathenaic amphoras were found on the Agora.¹²⁴ The building has been considered to be a state arsenal, mainly on account of its architectural type.¹²⁵ Panathenaic amphoras on tokens can be depicted with a great variety of legends and a variety of adjunct objects, among others a Herm.¹²⁶ The two short lines next to the amphora on **cat. no. 58** should be particularly noted. They probably denote a numeric symbol, «two», a feature already attested on tokens.¹²⁷ It is reasonable to believe that the Panathenaic amphora tokens would have been used for food or gift distributions on the occasion of the Panathenaea.¹²⁸

Distributions for festivals, called *theōrika* had already existed in the fifth century BC as ad hoc – one off – payments. The fact is that *theōrika* began as regular distributions only after the Theoric Fund was instituted in the 350s, at the time when Eubulus was the head of the financial administration of the polis and with the establishment of a board known as «hoi epi to theorikon».¹²⁹ We hear also of the *kathesimon* (καθεσιμῶν), which in the second century BC was distributed to the members of the Council as a special payment for attending festivals.¹³⁰

The kernos tokens discussed earlier in connection to the official state devices fall easily into the category of festival tokens. The Athenian bronze coinage issued from the 350s with a distinct Eleusinian iconography was the festival money for the annual celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which attracted crowds

op. cit. (note 83), pp. 96–97.

¹²³ KROLL – WALKER 1993, p. 62, no. 76.

¹²⁴ CROSBY 1964, p. 101 under L157; R.L. POUNDER, A Hellenistic Arsenal in Athens, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, p. 246.

¹²⁵ H.A. THOMPSON – R.E. WHYCHERLEY, The Agora of Athens. The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Centre, *The Athenian Agora* vol. 14 (Princeton, 1972), p. 80 and 228; KROLL 1977, p. 145.

¹²⁶ ENGEL 1884, p. 19 no. 181.

¹²⁷ BRAUN 1970, p. 193, pl. 57 upper left; CROSBY 1964, pp. 89–90 L42a–b.

¹²⁸ GKIKAKI 2020, forthcoming.

¹²⁹ RHODES 1972, *op. cit.* (note 34), pp. 234–240; RHODES 1981, pp. 514–516. In fact Philinos and Theopompos, both contemporaries to Eubulus name him as the initiator: E. RUSCHENBUSCH, Die Einführung des Theorikon, *ZPE* 36, 1979, pp. 305–306 with references.

¹³⁰ SEG 63,4 with a list of the relevant inscriptions, all dated to the second century BC.

of international visitors.¹³¹ In the Early Hellenistic period the demands of the festival trade were covered by this fully fledged Athenian bronze coinage with Eleusinian types. By introducing bronze in the realm of currency, the earliest Athenian bronze coinage made its appearance, a true novelty in Athenian history.¹³² If the earliest appearance of a kernos on Athenian coins happened after 229 BC – as discussed above, then that date can serve as *terminus post quem* for the kernos tokens. Cheaper lead tokens could have substituted for bronze coins in transactions and enabled distributions on the occasion of the Eleusinian Mysteries. With the boundaries between tokens and coins acknowledged as fluid, tokens could operate as currency at a given place and time.¹³³

6. Tokens and festivals in Roman Imperial Athens

The «Theophoroumenē» tokens exhibit a finely engraved design of three comedy masks on pedestals and carry the title of one of Menander's plays: «Theophoroumenē» – meaning the girl possessed by a god.¹³⁴ Twelve specimens of the series have been found dispersed on the floors of the Stoa of Attalos. Although Margaret Crosby considered the tokens as entrance tickets to a theatre performance of this piece, what can be inferred by the transmission of the text, «Theophoroumenē» was not very popular. Theophoroumenē, and Menander's works in general preserve a rather impressive record in the visual arts of the Roman Imperial Period, especially in wall paintings and mosaics.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, the puzzle of the «Theophoroumenē» tokens persists because the rest of the tokens found along with those twelve specimens are securely associated to festival distributions. The significant number – four hundred seventy five tokens over thirty-three types – excavated around and near the Stoa of Attalos, on its floors and in a deposit dug in the floor containing Herulian debris as result of clean-up operations after the Herulian destruction (267 AD) testify that in the earlier part of the third century AD the building would have functioned as the seat of the Sacred Gerousia, the Council of the Elders charged with organising and administering festivals and that tokens for participation to festivals were distributed from there.¹³⁶

In Roman Athens the increasing oligarchisation of religious power brought about a significant change in the management of civic religion: already in the Hellenistic period and progressively into the Roman Imperial period, members of the Athenian elite competed for priesthoods. Priesthoods became lifelong offices

¹³¹ KROLL – WALKER 1993, p. 29.

¹³² KROLL – WALKER 1993, pp. 30–32 and 40–41 nos. 38–40.

¹³³ A. CRISÀ – M. GKIKAKI – C. ROWAN (eds.), *Tokens: Cultures, Connections, Communities*. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 57 (London, 2019), pp. 4–6.

¹³⁴ K.D. MYLONAS, *Αττικά Μολύβδινα Σύμβολα*, *ArchEphem* 1901, p. 119 no. 1; CROSBY 1964, p. 122 L329. a–f.

¹³⁵ S. NERVEGNA, *Menander in Antiquity. The Contexts of Reception* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 191 fn. 215. I thank Eric Csapo for this reference.

¹³⁶ CROSBY 1964, pp. 115–122.

and were connected to the financial means of the priests and priestesses, who acted as sponsors for festivals.¹³⁷

Distributions at festivals constituted an important part of the euergetism of the civic elite and played a significant role in civic life. Tokens were used as entrance tickets for festivals distributed by wealthy benefactors. They were also used to aid the distribution of gifts, in particular cash, in the context of festivals, as can be learnt by the legends on the tokens of Roman Ephesos.¹³⁸ The donors were prominent men of the city, who set up endowments enabling distributions to be made every year on the occasion of festivals. One of the best documented bequests was made in Ephesos in AD 104 by C. Vibius Salutaris, a wealthy Roman equestrian. It was a public act embodied in law and displayed on stone.¹³⁹ It created two civic rituals ratified by the Ephesian Demos and confirmed by the Roman governors. The first was a scheme of lotteries and cash distributions destined for the civic bodies of the city, which took place every year on Artemis' birthday, in the Artemision (the temple of Artemis), on the occasion of the Celebration of the Mysteries. The second involved the youth of the city taking part in a circular procession with thirty-one gold and silver statues. Analysis has shown that the implementation of the bequest with the long list of beneficiaries – more than 1,500 citizens arranged in tribes, the 450 members of the Boule, more than 300 members of the Gerousia received gifts – reinstated the social hierarchy of the city, re-enacted civic pride and identity and re-established the social framework, within which the youth of the city would soon be called upon to act.¹⁴⁰

Analogous but of a much smaller scale is the endowment made by Flavius Xenion, a Roman citizen of the senatorial order, stipulating distributions to priests and priestesses on the occasion of the Eleusinian Mysteries in a document known as the Eleusinian Endowment, dated to 165–182 (?) AD.¹⁴¹

Invitations, lotteries and distributions – all on the occasion of festivals – were performed via the intermediary of tokens. Margaret Crosby has demonstrated that Athenian tokens of the third century AD had a special connection to contemporary religious festivals, contests, processions, and celebrations with the participation of the Ephebes.¹⁴² The Athenian tokens would have been distributed to the Ephebes and other groups of participants to be exchanged for participation

¹³⁷ E. MUÑIZ GRIJALVO, *Elites and Religious Change in Roman Athens*, *Numen* 52, 2005, pp. 255–282; E.C.L. VAN DER VLIET, *Pride and Participation. Political practice, Euergetism and Oligarchisation in the Hellenistic Polis*, in: O.M. VAN NIJF – R. ALSTON – C.G. WILLIAMSON (eds.), *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (Leuven, 2011), pp. 155–183; A. ZUIDERHOEK, *Oligarchs and Benefactors. Elite Demography and Euergetism in the Greek east of the Roman Empire*, in: O.M. VAN NIJF – R. ALSTON – C.G. WILLIAMSON (eds.), *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (Leuven, 2011), pp. 185–195.

¹³⁸ C. KUHN, *Prosopographical Notes on Four Lead Tesserae from Roman Ephesos*, *ZPE* 190, 2014, pp. 137–140.

¹³⁹ I. Ephesos 1a, 27 (pp. 167–247).

¹⁴⁰ G. MACLEAN ROGERS, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos. Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (London, 1991), pp. 39–79 and 136–140.

¹⁴¹ IG II² 10192; SEG 35,106.

¹⁴² CROSBY 1964, pp. 116–117.

in the festive meal, as a payment for participating in the procession, for singing hymns or just as mementos analogous to the practices in Ephesos.¹⁴³ The name of the Sacred Gerousia (the Council of the Elders) is found on Athenian tokens. Established in AD 176 by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, the Sacred Gerousia was given responsibility for the conduct of festivals and in particular with the Great Panathenaea, the ancestral festival par excellence.¹⁴⁴ The Sacred Gerousia could and would have been the distributor of these tokens and the gifts that came with them. The first imperial letter concerned with the foundation of the Gerousia accords the revenues of certain estates from which to draw the capital for the maintenance of the festivals. The Emperors had endowed the Synedrion (Council) of the Gerousia with purchases, which enabled free distributions, but the relevant passage is corrupt and the meaning remains obscure.¹⁴⁵

Many more types of Athenian tokens of the second and third centuries AD can be interpreted as speaking symbols (canting types) of the names of the *agonothetai* (magistrates providing the money for and managing festivals and games).¹⁴⁶ The name ΚΛΩ[ΔΙΟΣ] in the exergue of a token bearing also the legend ΙΕΡΑΚ ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑC bears connections to Marcus Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus, one of the most generous and distinguished benefactors of the Severan period.¹⁴⁷ He was lavishly honoured by the Sacred Gerousia since his grain and money donations saved the city from famine, and he voluntarily undertook the agonothesia of the Panathenaea.¹⁴⁸ Tokens in Roman Athens would have been distributed by such generous sponsors in exchange for entrance and also for services and gifts in the broader framework of the City's festivals. The customary lack of names on Athenian tokens inhibits definite answers. But the analogy of the contemporary Ephesian tokens, whose abbreviated legends relate to distinguished benefactors, reveals the roles the tokens played in the administration of festivals and in particular in festival distributions.¹⁴⁹ The Secretary of the Council (ΓΡΑΜ ΒΟΥΛ) found as legend on Athenian tokens has been similarly interpreted by M. Crosby.¹⁵⁰

The overwhelming importance of the Great Panathenaea in the religious and social life of Roman Athens is evident by the overwhelmingly abundant references to the festival among the Athenian tokens: the Goddess is depicted in a variety of styles and ways; just her head, her bust or as a standing figure. A number of specimens excavated in the Athenian Agora and dated to the second and third centuries AD demonstrate a metonymic imagery of the Panathenaic Procession: Athena's bust on a ship, accompanied by a star – probably Sirius, the rise of which

¹⁴³ MACLEAN ROGERS 1991, *op. cit.* (note 140), p. 58–59. Note that in the Salutaris inscription «bronze coins» are mentioned as to be distributed to the Ephebes.

¹⁴⁴ J.H. OLIVER, The Sacred Gerousia. *Hesperia Supplements* 6 (Princeton, 1941), pp. 1–8 and 28–29. Financing of the Panathenaea by the Gerousia: *ibid.*, pp. 125–141 no. 31. The legend «Of the Sacred Gerousia» on tokens: CROSBY 1964, p. 109 L244 and pp. 118–119 L310.

¹⁴⁵ OLIVER 1941, *op. cit.* (note 144), pp. 1–8 and 108–120, no. 24 lines 30–32.

¹⁴⁶ CROSBY 1964, pp. 116–117

¹⁴⁷ CROSBY 1964, pp. 118–119 L310.

¹⁴⁸ OLIVER 1941, *op. cit.* (note 144), pp. 125–142 nos. 31 and 32.

¹⁴⁹ KUHN 2014, *op. cit.* (note 138), pp. 137–140.

¹⁵⁰ SVORONOS 1900, p. 337 nos. 230–231 pl. III, 24–25; CROSBY 1964, pp. 112–113.

marked the beginning of the procession.¹⁵¹ The lead token in the Hallerstein collection with the boukranion tied with fillets, referring to the typical sacrificial victim of the Panathenaea, is yet another type related to the Panathenaic Festival (**cat. no. 6**).¹⁵² Many more specimens of the same type and variations of it have been excavated in the Athenian Agora.¹⁵³

The Hallerstein collection contains one of the most appealing festival tokens of Roman Imperial Athens in regards to the design it carries (**cat. no. 21**). It shows a long, cross-shaped object, the *stylis* (ship's standard), set on a bell-shaped socket and carried on a cart, which is drawn to the right by two horses. In the upper right field is a ship's prow. The token was first published by O. Benndorf in 1875 with a sketch on an accompanying table and then again by G. Hubo in 1887. But it was thanks to M. Crosby's research and publication in 1964 that the design was correctly identified and a second specimen was added to the type. This second specimen was excavated in the Agora in a context of the Roman period and made possible the secure attribution of the Göttingen specimen to Roman Athens.¹⁵⁴

What is depicted here is the ship-cart of the procession in honour of Dionysus, which took place at the Great Dionysia. While this ship-cart is typical for the festival in the Classical period, the actual ships carried in the processions of the Anthesteria and the Great Panathenaea are only referred to later, in Roman Imperial Athens.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, imagery on the token created the necessary material frame-work to serve as a point of reference. The token signified the society's yearning for a connection to its own past and expressed the need to remember what was worthy to be remembered.¹⁵⁶

The design on the tokens demonstrates a sombre, descriptive and archaistic style with the almost exact representation of a ship's standard and the careful consideration of its size and scale to those of the horses. The ship's prow in the right field does not belong with certainty to the main representation and can be considered not an attribute but as a separate image or as an «image within the image».

¹⁵¹ CROSBY 1964, p. 111 L254, L255, L256. For the Panathenaic Procession: J. L. SHEAR, *Polis and Panathenaea: The History and Development of Athena's Festival* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 75, 122–123 and 143–166.

¹⁵² KROLL – WALKER 1993, pp. 120–126; J.H. KROLL, *The Athenian Imperials: Results of Recent Study*, in: J. NOLLÉ – B. OVERBECK – P. WEISS, *Internationales Kolloquium zur Kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung Kleinasien*, 27.–30. April in der Staatlichen Münzsammlung München. *Nomismata: Historisch-Numismatische Forschungen* 1 (Milano, 1997), pp. 61–68, Pls. I–V.

¹⁵³ CROSBY 1964, pp. 110 L251, 114 L286 – L287.

¹⁵⁴ CROSBY 1964, pp. 95–6, L88.

¹⁵⁵ E. CSAPO, «Parade Abuse», «From the wagons», in: C. W. MARSHALL – G. KOVACS (eds.), *Festschrift for Ian Storey. No Laughing Matter. Studies in Athenian Comedy* (London, 2012), pp. 27–41. I thank Eric Csapo for the reference.

¹⁵⁶ S. SWAIN, *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek World AD 50–250* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 65–100; S.E. ALCOCK, *The Reconfiguration of Memory in the Eastern Roman Empire*, in: S.E. Alcock – T.N. D'ATLROY – K.D. MORRISON – C.M. Sinopoli (eds.), *Empires. Perspectives from Archaeology and History* (Cambridge, 2001) pp. 323–350.

7. «*Ekklesiastika*» (*sic*) for grain distribution

Based on the analogy with Roman tesserae, which served for grain distributions, it has been assumed that tokens of Hellenistic and Roman Athens were also exchanged for grain.¹⁵⁷

In fact, there is concrete evidence that tokens were already distributed to be exchanged for grain in the Hellenistic period. A decree preserved on stone (IG II² 1272), dated to 267/266 BC, passed by the detachment of soldiers stationed at Eleusis, honors a certain Dion, who in this year when «was secretary to the treasurer of the granaries, was zealous in the provision of grain and the *ekklesiastika* given out for the grain».¹⁵⁸ *Ekklesiastika* is an adjective, obviously referring to *symbola*: *ekklesiastika symbola* would have been the tokens given out for the Assembly, about which we are informed through Attic comedy¹⁵⁹ and also the inscription of Iasos.¹⁶⁰ It can be inferred that by metonymy the term *ekklesiastika* came to be used for many other categories of tokens, probably because the assembly tokens would have been one of the oldest categories and because similar procedures applied in each case.

The Koropi hoard has been plausibly associated by I.N. Svoronos with grain distribution.¹⁶¹ It contained 93 uniface lead tokens: 82 with an owl standing right on an ear of wheat with one leaf, and the remaining 11 bearing a schematic floral motif. The tokens of the first group were struck from very well-engraved dies. On stylistic grounds the tokens have been dated between the last quarter of the third century and the first half of the second century BC.¹⁶² The type echoes the famous coin type of Panticapaeum in the Crimaea with the griffin «marching» prominently on an ear of wheat.¹⁶³ Crimaea was one of the major grain suppliers for the city after the defeat in the Peloponnesian war and for most of the fourth century BC.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁷ G. LAFAYE, s.v. tesserae, in: CH. DAREMBERG – E. SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments* vol. V (Paris, 1892), pp. 125–136, pp. 133–134; GÜLBAY–KIREÇ 2008, p. 12. On the Athens analogy: CROSBY 1964, p. 78. This view has now been discredited by: C. VIRLOUVET, *Tessera Frumentaria. Les procédures de distribution du blé à Rome à la fin de la République et au début de l'Empire* (Rome, 1995).

¹⁵⁸ CROSBY 1964, p. 78; SEG 57, 33.

¹⁵⁹ Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, line 297.

¹⁶⁰ I. Iasos 20; GAUTHIER 1990, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 417–443.

¹⁶¹ I.N. SVORONOS, Εύρημα Αττικών Μολύβδινων Συμβόλων, *JIAN* 8, 1905, p. 344.

¹⁶² E. RALLI, Θησαυρός Μολύβδινων Συμβόλων από το Κορωπί Αττικής, in: S. DROUGOU *et al.* (eds.), *Kermatia Filias. Timitikos tomos gia ton Ioanni Touratsoglou*, vol. 1 *Nomismatiki – Sfragistiki* (Athens, 2009), pp. 235–245.

¹⁶³ The gold staters of Panticapaeum: C.M. KRAAY, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley – Los Angeles, 1976), p. 252 nos. 911–912.

¹⁶⁴ A. MORENO, *Feeding the Democracy: The Athenian Grain Supply in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 145–208.

The similarity of the two types makes the theory of grain distribution even more probable.

Significant was the research done by M. Crosby on the *sitōnika* symbola. She tentatively identified fourteen token types as symbola for a free grain distribution, probably that attested in the decree IG II² 968, dated to 144/143 BC. The tokens are linked by their find spot – the gravel at the bottom of the southern branch of the Great Drain –;¹⁶⁵ five of the types show the image of an ear of wheat and they all bear the legend EP (in one case EPMI). According to M. Crosby, the different token types were for different sections of the population, probably one type for the members of each deme. In this case the legend may have referred to an official with the name Hermias or Hermippos responsible for the distribution of the tokens. A brief survey of the fourteen token types proves that most of them bear designs, which do not obviously lend themselves to the suggested interpretation. A caduceus appears on two different types, two others show a cornucopia combined with ears of wheat, there is also a type with a cluster of grapes, another with a tripod and another with a cicada.¹⁶⁶

Because of their designs, which combine ears of wheat with cornucopiae and poppies, more tokens excavated in the Athenian Agora have been put forward as probable candidates for use in grain distributions.¹⁶⁷ By analogy the types of cornucopiae accompanied by the legend K-S (**cat. no. 12**), two crossed cornucopiae with the crown of Isis in between (**cat. no. 59**), the poppy-head between two ears of wheat (**cat. no. 55**), and the bunch of grapes (**cat. nos. 51 and 52**) can also be associated with grain distributions. Even the type with the locust (**cat. no. 48**) can be considered in this context. The locust was the natural enemy of the harvest and the Athenians prayed to Apollo Parnopios to turn locust raids away (Pausanias 1,24,8). The image of the locust could have apotropaic functions just as its association with cult rituals was made solely with the aim of deterring its destructive presence.¹⁶⁸

The Athenian Agora tokens discussed above cannot be dated before the early Hellenistic Period, on the basis of their find context and small dimensions, as well as by their style. In the early Hellenistic Period and in particular from the later part of the fourth century BC onwards, the board of Sitōnia, men of wealth, experienced with public service and elected by vote, were designated to carry out the *sitōnia*. The Sitōnia was the public subscription for a grain purchasing fund and also the procedure of selling the public grain to citizens during periods of shortage or even providing free distributions. The fund, as is inferred by ancient

¹⁶⁵ Deposit C 18:14: CROSBY 1964, pp. 90–92 L43–56 and pp. 135–136.

¹⁶⁶ For the connection of caduceus to distributions of goods: M. GKIKAKI, Tokens in the Athenian Agora in the Third century AD: Advertising Prestige and Civic Identity in Roman Athens, in: A. CRISÀ – M. GKIKAKI – C. ROWAN (eds.), Tokens: Cultures, Connections, Communities. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 57 (London, 2019), pp. 131–132.

¹⁶⁷ SVORONOS 1900, nos. 159–166; CROSBY 1964, pp. 81–82, 102 L172.

¹⁶⁸ L. BODSON, IEPA ΖΩΙΑ. Contribution à l'étude de la place de l'animal dans la religion grecque ancienne (Bruxelles, 1975), pp. 13–15.

sources, was comprised of cash as well contributions in kind.¹⁶⁹ In the Hellenistic and especially in the Roman Imperial Period evidence for *ex officio* payments performed by the grain magistrates increases, although it has been suggested that liturgic payments for grain were not the rule but the exception.¹⁷⁰ To these we may add the major gifts of grain initiated in late fourth and early third century BC by Hellenistic rulers.¹⁷¹

The token bearing the image of Arsinoe Philadelphos (**cat. no. 37**) and inscribed with the first two letters of her epithet (ΦΙ) forms a particular case of tokens employed for grain distribution. The token must be dated to the Early Hellenistic Period because of its small diameter – 12 mm – and low weight – just 1,34 g. Generally, tokens that have a diameter of *ca* 10 mm or less, a weight of around a gram, and tend to be most commonly uniface, are typical of the Early Hellenistic period. There are many more examples in the Göttingen University Museum typical of the Early Hellenistic period (**cat. nos. 31, 37, 58, 59 and 62**). The Athenian token with the representation of a Hellenistic queen can be seen as destined to be exchanged for some kind of gift or donation and it should be considered against the backdrop of Athenian relations to Ptolemaic Egypt in the first half of the 3rd century BC. Analogous to the prolific coinage in the name of Arsinoe Philadelphos and with Arsinoe's portrait, inaugurated upon her death in 270 BC, the lead token with the full figure of the queen can be considered an instrument of Ptolemy Philadelphos' foreign policy, in accordance with the king's ingenious scheme to provide his sibling-wife a central role, not only for Ptolemaic foreign policy, but also in the dynasty's divinization.¹⁷²

In her right hand the queen holds a scepter¹⁷³, which was her well-known attribute, and with her left she holds a double cornucopiae, which served as her personal badge in all her official portraits, including those found on coins and

¹⁶⁹ G.J. OLIVER, *War, Food and Politics in Early Hellenistic Athens* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 217–224 with references.

¹⁷⁰ A. ZUIDERHOEK, *Feeding the Citizens. Municipal Grain Funds and Civic Benefactors in the Roman East*, in: R. ALSTON – O. M. VAN NIJF, *Feeding the Ancient Greek City* (Leuven, 2008), pp. 159–180 esp. 168–172.

¹⁷¹ Summarized with the table: OLIVER 2007, *op. cit.* (note 169), p. 231 table 9.1.

¹⁷² R. QUAEGBEUR, *Documents égyptiens anciens et nouveaux relatifs à Arsinoé Philadelphie*, in: H. MELAERTS (ed), *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au III^{ème} siècle avant notre ère. Actes du Colloque International, Bruxelles 10 mai 1995*, *Studia Hellenistica* 34 (Leuven, 1998), pp. 73–108; R.A. HAZZARD, *Imagination of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda* (Toronto, 2000); S. MÜLLER, *Das hellenistische Königspaar in der medialen Repräsentation: Ptolemaios II. And Arsinoe II* (Berlin, 2009), ST.G. CANEVA, *Arsinoe Divinizzata al Fianco del Re Vivente Tolemeo II: Uno Studio di Propaganda Greco-Egiziana 270–246*, *Historia Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 62, 2013, pp. 280–322; ST.G. CANEVA, *From Alexander to the Theoi Adelphoi: Foundation and Legitimation of a Dynasty* (Leuven – Paris – Bristol, 2016), pp. 129–178. *Cf.* The Chremonides' decree IG II² 686+687; SEG 59, 118 (269/268 BC) where Ptolemy II Philadelphos appears to be planning on the common freedom of the Greeks and taking into consideration his sister's inclination.

¹⁷³ D. SVENSON, *Darstellungen Hellenistischer Herrscher mit Götterattributen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), pp. 83–84.

Ptolemaic faience oinochoai.¹⁷⁴ Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 2, 497 B-C) recorded that the double cornucopiae was chosen by Ptolemy II and given to the images of Arsinoe to become the attribute of the queen's cult statues. After Arsinoe's death images of the queen were set up in all the sanctuaries of Egyptian deities across the kingdom. It is tempting to see the image on the token as the depiction of one of the queen's cult images.

Even more tantalizing is to consider the token in connection to the naval bases established in the Saronic Gulf on the borders of the Athenian state during the Chremonidean War (268–263/2 BC). The new communities were keen to have the image of Arsinoe on official media; *e.g.* the coinage of the newly re-founded town of Arsinoe-Methana on the coast of the Argolid across from the islands of Dokos and Hydra, bears the queen's portrait.¹⁷⁵

In the context of the grain donations to Athens in the Early Hellenistic period each particular token of these types would have been intended to be exchanged for grain. Beginning with Demetrios Poliorketes' donation of grain to Athens in 305/4, followed by Lysimachos' donation in the early 290s and another by Poliorketes in the mid-290's, instances of donations became increasingly prominent, with a major gift by Ptolemy II Philadelphos dated to 282 BC.¹⁷⁶ Instances when tokens were issued on the occasion of grain distributions and had designs and symbols appealing to the donor's royal ideology are attested from Athens. This is the case of the clay tokens with the Macedonian eagle standing on a basket, denoting the *medimnos*, corn-measure.¹⁷⁷ They were issued on the occasion of the gifts of grain by the Antigonids to Athens upon the establishment of the radical democracy in 307 BC.¹⁷⁸ Tokens bearing the legend ΚΑΙΣΑΡ and the image of Apollo, Octavian's divine patron, were issued on the occasion of the free grain distribution in 31 BC celebrating Octavian's victory at Actium and the spirit of reconciliation.¹⁷⁹

8. *Agorastika Symbola*

Tokens in Hellenistic Athens were termed *ekklesiastikon*, *sitonikon*, or *theorikon* according to their functions. *Agorastikon* also existed. The type is known through a number of specimens bearing the legends ΑΓΟΡ or ΑΓΟ or ΑΓ, which were

¹⁷⁴ G. LE RIDER – FR. DE CALLATAY, *Les Séleucides et les Ptolémées* (Paris, 2006), pp. 148–153 fig. 38 concerning the gold mnaeia and p. 37, 51, 148, 151, fig. 39 on the silver decadrachms; D. BURR THOMPSON, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience: Aspects of the Ruler-Cult* (Oxford, 1973) pp. 125–126, pls. I, II, LX, LXII

¹⁷⁵ A. MEADOWS, *The Coinage of Arsinoe-Methana*, BCH Supplement 57 (Athens, 2018) pp. 133–158.

¹⁷⁶ T.L. SHEAR JR., *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 BC*. *Hesperia Suppl.* 17 (Princeton, 1978), 3 ll. 43–55; OLIVER 2007, *op. cit.* (note 169), p. 231.

¹⁷⁷ CROSBY 1964, p. 129 C19.

¹⁷⁸ M. GKIKAKI, *Demetrios Poliorketes' tokens in Athens*. Presentation in the AIA Annual Meeting, Boston, 7 January 2018, Panel: Banal Objects with divine Power? Tokens, Deities and Cults in the Ancient Mediterranean. Publication in preparation.

¹⁷⁹ M.C. HOFF, *Augustus, Apollo and Athens*, *Museum Helveticum* 49, 1992, pp. 223–232.

published by A. Postolakas, A. Dumont, I.N. Svoronos and M. Crosby. Yet a further specimen is kept in the Göttingen University Museum (**cat. no. 63**). It measures 10 mm in diameter and weighs 1.09 g. It shows a winged *kerykeion* with the four letters ΑΓΟΡ distributed evenly on the token, above and below one of the two wings. As has been suggested by William Bubelis, two inscriptions are key to understanding the *agorastikon*. The earlier inscription is an honorific decree by the Cult Association of the *Mesogeioi* dated to 275/4 BC praising a benefactor (Polyeuktos, the son of Lyistratos of Bate) who in his capacity as «*archon* of the *Mesogeioi*» contributed significantly to a sacrificial meal in honour of Herakles: Polyeuktos distributed wine worth eight drachms to each participant and also gave an *agorastikon* to each participant.¹⁸⁰ The somewhat later inscription is a decree of the demesmen of Rhamnous dated to 262–240/39 BC. The demesmen instituted for themselves the *agorastikon* as a financial mechanism or institution, in order to finance the sacrifice for the newly founded festival in honour of «King Antigonos».¹⁸¹ From the text it can be inferred that funds for the sacrifice were secured by the means of the *agorastikon*. The two texts seem to complement each other and combined they shed light on our knowledge of the *agorastikon*: instituted to raise funds for financing the sacrifice on the latter occasion, distributed to the participants of a sacrifice by the benefactor – sponsor of this sacrifice on the former occasion, the *agorastikon* had obviously the form of a subscription.

Subscriptions are well attested in the epigraphic record, particularly in the third and second centuries BC. The ancient term for it is *epidosis*. The persons participating in the subscription enjoyed particular prestige and acknowledgement in the community, precisely because of their benevolence. Subscriptions of a grand scale involving building works presupposed pleas posted by the assembly and entailed the public and voluntary declaration of the contributing persons in front of the assembly. This public pronouncement set the example and more citizens were thus prompted to participate in the subscription. Although *metoikoi* are not completely absent from the lists, it is evident that subscriptions were the affair of citizens. Subscriptions helped find the necessary funds in times of financial hardship and helped strengthen the community's cohesion with the citizens supporting a collective project.¹⁸² L. Migeotte remarks that *epidosis* is primarily mentioned in connection to building projects in sanctuaries and far less in connection to festivals, sacrificial meals and communal meals, although such occasions do exist. On the contrary *agorastikon* is solely mentioned in connection to sacrificial meals, as demonstrated by the decrees mentioned above. In the honorific decree by the cult association of the *Mesogeioi* the same verb –

¹⁸⁰ IG II² 1245; SEG 63, 108; W. BUBELIS, The Agorastikon of Hellenistic Athens: not a market tax, ZPE 185, 2013, pp. 122–123.

¹⁸¹ It is unclear whether it is meant to be Antigonos Gonatas or Antigonos Doson, that's why the decree is broadly dated between 262 and 240/239 BC. Rhamnous II, no. 7; BUBELIS 2013, *op. cit.* (note 180), pp. 123–125; SEG 63,106.

¹⁸² L. MIGEOTTE, Citoyens, femmes et étrangers dans les souscriptions publiques des cités grecques, Échos du Monde Classique 36, 1992, pp. 293–308; L. MIGEOTTE, Les souscriptions dans les associations privées, in: P. FRÖHLICH – P. HAMON, Groupes et associations dans les cités grecques: III^e siècle av. J.-C. - II^e siècle ap. J.-C. . Actes de la table ronde de Paris, INHA, 19–20 juin 2009 (Genève, 2012), p. 126.

distributed, ἐμέρισεν – is used for the wine as well as the *agorastikon*, implying that the *agorastikon* did have a material aspect. This would have been the tokens. The *agorastika* tokens served as proof for their recipients – either that they have contributed financially themselves or that they were entitled to benefit from a donation. The token made them «enter the special group of the privileged few» and of course enabled entrance to the sacrificial meal.

The winged *kerykeion* of the *agorastikon* token in the Göttingen University Collection bears interesting connections to the communal purpose. It is the special attribute of the god Hermes, the god of distributions. It is in the god's theology to preside over all works that have to do with the good functioning of the polis in the broadest sense, from decision making to the realization of repartitions. It is possible that the designers and commissioners of the tokens in question had a particular aspect of the god in mind, as described in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. The god performs a sacrifice on the banks of the river Alpheios and divides the meat into twelve equal shares, equality which is formally guaranteed by their sortition by lottery, followed by their distribution.¹⁸³

By analogy, the banquet tesseræ of Palmyra functioned as entrance tickets to banquets in that city, banquets funded by a sponsor or a priest, or by a group of priests, or by a religious group. The designs on the two sides of the Palmyrene «religious dining tickets» are particular cases of «monuments in miniature» because they encode information regarding the events and in particular the meeting place, the rituals involved, the persons attending, and the hierarchy within the cult association or religious group.¹⁸⁴

Considering the *agorastika* as the Greek counterpart of the Palmyrene banqueting tesseræ, the difference in the designs selected is quite striking. The designs of the *agorastika* bear at first sight no connection at all to their purpose and function or a connection particularly difficult to decipher, to say the least. Besides the *kerykeion*, other designs are the owl¹⁸⁵ and the cicada.¹⁸⁶ These code-devices played the role of time-stamps, connected to particular event in space and time, auto-cancelling themselves after the event had passed and the conditions fulfilled, guaranteeing, thus, the exclusivity of the participants.¹⁸⁷ The community which had access to the *agorastikon* tokens entertained particular channels of communication and shared the same codes.

¹⁸³ D. JAILLARD, Configurations d'Hermès. Une «théogonie hermaïque». *Kernos Supplement 17* (Liège, 2007), pp. 237–241. GAUTHIER 1972, *op. cit.* (note 68), p. 69.

¹⁸⁴ R. RAJA, Staging «private» religion in Roman «public» Palmyra. The role of religious dining tickets (banqueting tesseræ), in: C. ANDO – J. RÜPKE, *Public and Private in ancient Mediterranean Law and Religion. Historical and Comparative Studies* (Berlin, 2015), pp. 182–184.

¹⁸⁵ SVORONOS 1900, p. 332 no. 163.

¹⁸⁶ SVORONOS 1900, p. 333 no. 164.

¹⁸⁷ BUBELIS 2010, *op. cit.* (note 69), pp. 182–189; BUBELIS 2013, *op. cit.* (note 180) p. 125. Note: token types bearing ΑΓΟΠΑΝΟΜΩΝ written in full and running around a central monogram can now be regarded as a separate category, as tokens obviously pertaining to the board of the *Agoranomoi* (SVORONOS 1900, p. 333 no. 165 pl. ΙΘ' (III) 9 and no. 166).

9. Concluding remarks

The publication of the Hallerstein Collection and the Collection of Athenian tokens in the Göttingen University Collection has made accessible artifacts that have been lying in obscurity for several decades. The Athenian *symbola* have been approached in a fully contextualized manner. The museum material has been analyzed in combination with material from known archaeological contexts.

Symbola played a central part in the Athenian Democracy: in the Courts, the Assembly, the Council, and in festivals. There were certain functions for tokens observed across time: the allotment of participating citizens to seating areas and the facilitation of pay, compensation, grain distribution and the distribution of gifts and food on the occasion of festivals.

In the Courts, the Assembly, the Council the distribution of tokens regulated participation by safeguarding the validity of the procedures taking place in the Athenian government. The non-leisured citizens ensured their participation in the government by securing for themselves not just participation but also remuneration for lost wages. Whether one sees the Athenian polis as fully institutionalized, with the Assembly and the courts standing at the centre of institutions, or one sees the polis as society with social differences and inequalities with the elite competing to gain the favour of the demos and to dominate politics and the networks within, procedures regulating access to tokens regulated competition and participation.¹⁸⁸

The above bears witness to the important roles played by tokens in defining Athenian citizenship, since only Athenian citizens had access to tokens and their associated privileges. Tokens were understood as part of their identity. Devices such as Athena, the owl, the cicada, the kernos highlighted the «national» character of tokens. Their distribution happened in networks – be that the democratic institutions, cult associations, festival communities or other equivalent forms – but their employment was completely novel and absolutely compliant to the participatory character of the Athenian Democracy. Tokens are remarkable for enabling the creation of communities and reinforcing feelings of cohesion and belonging.

¹⁸⁸ The views expressed by M.H. Hansen, on the one hand, and by J. Ober, on the other, in their works focusing on Late Classical Athens.

10. *Catalogue*

The tokens discussed in the catalogue are all Athenian, except otherwise indicated.

HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TOKENS.

1. (AS-Pb-011). Lead. 23 mm, 2,35 g. Uniface. Struck.

Pegasus right in circular incuse.

1st–3rd c. AD.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 613 no. 24; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 287 (1). Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 289, nos. 444–447; CROSBY 1964, p. 99 L137 (forepart of a winged horse); *ibid.* p. 114 L282 (the obverse). This is a type inspired by the coinage of Corinth. Pegasos is used as a symbol on the Athens New Style Silver issue of Aristion – Philon, 97/6 BC (MØRKHOLM 1984, p. 32).

2. (AS-Pb-052). Lead. 15 mm, 2,9 g. Uniface. Struck.

Boulē, the personification of the Council, shown as a female head right with her hair rolled up.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no. 8; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 288 (2).

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 354, no. 281 (both sides with a similar female head, inscribed ΒΟΛΗ on the obverse = BENNDORF 1875, no. 37 of the accompanying plate; POSTOLACCA 1868, pp. 267–277 nos. 159–182; ENGEL 1884, p. 14 no. 107 (a dikast's token with Kappa on the reverse). Similar heads inscribed ΒΟΛΗ (referring to the council): SVORONOS 1900, p. 334, nos. 173–176 pl. III,16. See also POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 271 no. 39 and SVORONOS 1900, p. 331, nos. 151–152 with a similar female head right on one side and the legend ΑΕ in circular incuse on the other.

3. (AS-Pb-027). Lead. 12 mm, 1,71 g. Uniface. Struck.

Trident with barbed prongs.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no 6; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 289 (3).

The trident type is reminiscent of the bronzes of Corinth. Similar to CROSBY 1964, p. 108 L230 (trident with barbed prongs). For another trident see CROSBY 1964, p. 108 L231

Similar (?) to POSTOLACCA 1868, 752–755 (not illustrated).

4. (AS-Pb-014). Lead. 10 mm, 1,31 g. Uniface. Struck.

Dolphin left winding its body around a stick. Above: ΔΙ.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no 11; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 290 (4). BENNDORF *loc. cit.* reads the inscription as ΑΙ. Dolphins are not uncommon on Hellenistic tokens POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 285, nos. 338–348 (these specimens have no legends); CROSBY 1964, p. 99 L125, but none of them is exactly the same type as the one here. The most proximate are POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 353, no. 257 (found in Piraeus); POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 285, no. 349 (found on Andros); ENGEL 1884, p. 17 no. 162 with a dolphin on trident, a

token type imitating the Athenian bronze hemiobols of the mid-first century BC, KROLL – WALKER 1993, pp. 98–99 no. 129. It is also attested as symbol on the New Style issue of Xenokles – Xarmoxenos II of 92/1 BC (MØRKHOLM 1984, p. 32).

5. (AS-Pb-020). Lead. 13 mm, 3,07 g. Uniface. Struck.
Goat's head right in circular incuse.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no 15; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 291 (5).

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 285, no. 353 goat's head left.

6. (AS-Pb-009). Lead. 15 mm, 2,39 g. Uniface. Struck.

Filleted Boukranion in circular incuse. 1st–3rd c. AD.

Boukrania are more usual in the Imperial Period (CROSBY 1964, p. 114 L286–287) but they also exist in the 3rd–1st c. BC. The iconography is related to sacrifices and festivals. Crosby thinks that the Boukrania tokens of the Athenian Agora had connections to the Panathenaea (CROSBY 1964, p. 110 L251).

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no 12; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 292 (6). Similar to: ENGEL 1884, p. 16 no. 143 (from the Heldreich Collection) and CROSBY 1964, p. 114 L 286 (Roman Imperial). Similar (?) to POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 352, nos. 238–243 (not illustrated); POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 284, no. 320 (not illustrated). See also: SVORONOS 1900, p. 335, no. 200 (Pl. III,44) and 201 (with the legend ΠΕΝ); CROSBY 1964, p. 102 L164 (Hellenistic); *ibid.* p. 110 L251 (Roman Imperial). Boukranion is used as symbol in the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ coinage (Triptolemos/piglet) of the 4th c. BC. Filleted Boukrania are also employed as obverse (KROLL – WALKER 1993, p. 139, no. 247) and reverse types (KROLL – WALKER 1993, p. 131, no. 185; p. 163, nos. 403–406). Zeus sacrificing on altar, upon which a boukranion is placed is associated to the cult of Zeus Polieus and the Boufonia (KROLL – WALKER 1993, p. 156, no. 357).

7. (AS-Pb-053). Lead. 12 mm, 1,28 g. Uniface. Struck.

Lion advancing right. Above: ΔΙΟ.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no 1; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 294 (7).

Similar to: POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 285, no. 362 (no legend, with star above); p. 285, no. 363 (no legend). For the inscription: SVORONOS 1900, p. 340, nos. 264–266 (referring to Zeus).

8. (AS-Pb-043). Roman token. Lead. 14 mm, 3,35 g, 12 h. Cast.

Side A: Bird standing right with wings closed.

Side B: Uncertain (lizard seen from above, or tree?)

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 613 no 23; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 294 (8).

9. Missing. No inventory number.

Landschildkröte.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 613 no. 21; HUBO 1887, 50.

10. (AS-Pb-054). Lead. 10 mm, 1,03 g. Uniface. Struck.

Owl standing right. In the exergue: Ligature consisting of Γ, Λ, Ο.
3rd-1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no. 17; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 296 (10).

Similar to ENGEL 1884, p. 17, no. 157 (different letters).

11. (AS-Pb-017). Lead. 15 mm, 2,82 g. Uniface. Struck

Hippalektryon standing right in circular incuse. Fantastic creature: a cock with the head of a horse. 3rd-1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, 612, no 18; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 297 (11).

No known parallels.

On POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 290, no. 458 the typical form of the Hippalektryon appears, as it is known from vase painting of the 6th and 5th c. BC: the head and forepart of a horse combined with the rear part of a cock and two pairs of legs - those of a horse and of a cock. The earliest literary testimony related to the Hippalektryon is in Aischylos' lost play *Myrmidonai*; Aristophanes later refers to it humorously in three of his works (Pax 1177; Av. 800; Ra. 932). On the Hippalektryon: H. LECHAT in *Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquites grecques et romaines* vol. 3.1 (1900) s.v. Hippalektryon, 186-188; LAMER, RE s.v. Hippalektryon VII.2 (1913) 1651-1656.

12. (AS-Pb-051). Lead. 11 mm, 1,25 g. Uniface. Struck.

Cornucopia left with the letter K on the left side and the letter S on the right side, all in a shallow incuse.

2nd-1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612, no 14; HUBO 1887, p. 50 no. 298 (12).

No exact parallels.

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 295, nos. 600-613 (various tokens with cornucopiae but none with these letters).

The inherent association of the cornucopia with abundance and the fact that it is found combined with ears of wheat or with a poppy head in a variety of ways makes it highly probable that tokens bearing a cornucopia with or without wheat were employed for wheat distributions. Opposed pairs of cornucopiae appear with a variety of items between them: an ear of wheat (POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 296, nos. 618 and 624 (only one side) = CROSBY 1964, p. 88, L21), or with a poppy head (POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 296, no. 619; CROSBY 1964, p. 103 L177 with a poppy head or a thyrsus) or with a kerykeion (POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 296 nos. 616-617). Ten tokens were excavated in the Agora bearing a cornucopia, framed by a pair of wheat ears and bearing the inscriptions E-P or EP (CROSBY 1964, p. 91 L49-50, excavated in the sandy fill of the Great Drain under the Roman bath.

The cornucopia is also found accompanied by inscriptions: ENGEL 1884, p. 19, no. 196 (cornucopia with the legend EIP-HNH, collection of the Archaeological Society); SVORONOS 1900, p. 338, no. 248 (cornucopia with ΦΙΛΙΚΤΗC APXIEPEYC running encircling the letter A); p. 339, no. 261 (not illustrated: Head of a goddess, probably Demeter / Δ-H Cornucopia); p. 242, nos. 286-287 (cornucopia with the legend EIP-HNH). EIPHNH might refer to the goddess, whose cult was established in the early 4th c. BC. The cornucopia is also used as a symbol in one of the coin issues of Athena with Corinthian Helmet / Owl right (KROLL - WALKER 1993, p. 47, no. 59) dated to the 260s BC. The cornucopia is used as a symbol in the AMMO- and DIO- issue of the Athenian New Style silver coinage of 148/7 BC (THOMPSON 1961, pp. 38-41 nos. 111-120), cornucopia with grain is the symbol of the ACHAIOS, ELÈ- and EUDE- issue of 128/7 BC (THOMPSON 1961, pp. 140-143 nos. 421-427

and the double cornucopia was used as the symbol on the APHRODISI-, DIOGE- and ATHE- issue of 152/1 BC (THOMPSON 1961, pp. 171–174 nos. 543–555).

13. (AS-Pb-002). Lead, 10 mm, 0,94 g. Uniface. Struck.
 Boulē, the personification of the Council, shown as a female head right with her hair rolled up.
 Lower part of her face is struck off the flan .
 3rd–1st c. BC.
 Hallerstein Collection.
 Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no. 2; HUBO 1887, p. 300 no. 13.
 For parallels see cat. no. 2 (AS-Pb-052).

14. Missing. No Inventory number.
 Centaur.
 Hallerstein Collection.
 Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no. 7; HUBO 1887, p. 300 no. 14.
 The type is known from Athenian as well as Roman tokens: CROSBY 1964, p. 94 L70 and TURS 2974.

15. (AS-Pb-040). Roman token. Lead. 15 mm, 3,31 g. 12 h. Cast.
 Side A: Bearded diademed head right.
 Side B: Victory advancing right holding a wreath in her right hand and palm branch over her left shoulder.
 Hallerstein Collection.
 Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 613 no. 20; HUBO 1887, p. 301 no. 15.
 TURS 1884. Rostovtzeff identified the bearded head as that of Hercules, but the image might equally have been intended to represent a male member of the imperial family.

16. (AS-Pb-025). Roman token. Lead. 14 mm, 2,26 g. Uniface. Cast.
 Six-pointed star with a dot between two of the rays.
 1st–3rd c. AD (?).
 Hallerstein Collection.
 Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no 5; HUBO 1887, p. 51 no 302 (16).

17. (AS-Pb-033). Lead. 13 mm, 2,29 g, 6 h. Struck.
 Side A: Helmeted head of Athena to right.
 Side B: Owl standing left.
 3rd c. BC.
 Hallerstein Collection
 Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 613 no. 26; HUBO 1887, p. 51 no. 303 (17). No exact parallels known. For side A: POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 274, nos. 100–107. For side B alone: POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 343, no. 64 (a token with five stamps, of which two depict a head of Pan and three show an owl standing left, each type struck from the same punch die).

18. (AS-Pb-013) Lead. 10 mm, 0,98 g. Struck.
 Side A: Griffin right in circular incuse
 Side B: Cock facing right.
 3rd–1st c. BC.
 Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 613 no. 19; HUBO 1887, p. 51 no. 304 (18).

For side A: ENGEL 1884, p. 21, no. 214 (the reverse); POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 289, nos. 441–442; CROSBY 1964, p. 99 L129–130. For side B: POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 287, nos. 391–395; CROSBY 1964, p. 98 L123.

19. (AS-Pb-018) 14 mm, 1,8 g. Uniface. Struck.

Chimaera.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 613 no. 22; HUBO 1887, p. 51 no. 305 (19).

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 289, no. 440 (not illustrated) and in Berlin, Antikensammlung the clay tokens TC7691 and TC 7692, both of them allegedly found in Corinth (unpublished).

20. (AS-Pb-010). 10 mm, 1,66 g. Uniface. Struck.

Wasp in circular incuse.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612, no 13; HUBO 1887, p. 51 no. 306 (20).

It is a wasp, recognisable by the fact that the wings extend beyond the body: M. DAVIES – J. KATHIRITHAMBY, *Greek Insects* (Oxford, 1986), Section 3, Bee/Wasp, pp. 47–83.

Similar to: POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 288, no. 427 (not illustrated).

21. (AS-Pb-030). Athenian token. Lead. 18 mm, 4,72 g. Uniface. Struck.

The cart of Dionysus from the Great Dionysia: Cart carrying a stylis and drawn by horses; in the field upper right: prow.

1st–3rd c. AD.

Hallerstein Collection.

This is the second of the only two known specimens, both from the same die.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612, no 4, no 51 on the accompanying table; HUBO 1887, p. 51 cat. no. 307 (21).

From the same die as CROSBY 1964, pp. 95–96 L88.

22. (AS-Pb-034). Roman Token. Lead. 14 mm, 2,25 g. Cast.

Side A: Hare crouching right.

Side B: Clasped hands holding laurel branches.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612, no 9; HUBO 1887, p. 51–52 no. 308 (22).

TURS 458 (Pl. IV, 3); OVERBECK 1995, 91–92.

23. (AS-Pb-038) Roman token, Diamond-shaped. Lead. 17x13 mm, 2,7 g. 3 h. Cast.

Side A: Diana, wearing hunting dress, standing left and holding bow and arrow (attributes not clear).

Side B: Hound running right.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: HUBO 1887, p. 52, no. 309 (23).

This type is not found in Rostovtzeff (though see TURS 2119 for a similar type), but a token of the same type was sold at auction: Classical Numismatic Group 55 (13 September 2000), lot 1201.

24. (AS-Pb-015). Lead. 13 mm, 1,45 g. Uniface. Struck.

Side A: Ram's head.

Side B: Sleeping dog.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: HUBO 1887, p. 52, no. 310 (24).

Probably from Ephesos. For the ram's head cf. Numismatik Naumann Auction 52, 2 April 2017, Lot 305, <https://www.bidder.ch/auctions/numismatiknaumann/browse?a=111&s=tessera> (last access 12 March 2019). (Parallel kindly offered by Clare Rowan). For an Athenian token with a ram's head: POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 284, no. 314. For the design on side B: POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 287 no. 406 (although it is identified as a serpent) and CROSBY 1964, p. 109 L241.

25. (AS-Pb-003). Lead. 9 mm, 2,71 g. Uniface. Struck.

Pan standing to left, holding shepherd's crook (*sedum*) in his left hand and an uncertain object in his raised right, before him to left, tree (?).

3rd–1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 612 no 3; HUBO 1887, p. 52, no. 311 (25).

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, pp. 278–279, nos. 204–209 (only 205 is illustrated).

26. (AS-Pb-021). Lead. 12 mm, 2,06 g. Uniface. Struck.

Small owl facing, in olive wreath.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Hallerstein Collection.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 613, no 25; HUBO 1887, p. 52, no. 312 (26).

Similar to CROSBY 1964, p. 94 L73. Examples of tokens with an owl framed by two olive sprays and accompanied by the legend AΘE or AΘH (this is the so-called triobol type, about which more in the text above): POSTOLACCA 1866, pp. 342–343, nos. 57–59 combined with lettered reverses (only 57 is illustrated); ENGEL 1884, p. 8 45 combined with a lettered reverse; CROSBY 1964, p. 100 L144 with no letter and no design whatsoever on the reverse). The design of the owl is well attested on tokens, for a general listing for owls on tokens: CROSBY 1964, p. 100.

.....
 Here you will find annexed unprovenanced pieces of the Göttingen Collection which can be plausibly attributed to Athens on account of their manufacture and the designs they carry.

Athenian tokens

27. (AS-Pb-099). Lead. 10 mm, 1,61 g. Uniface. Struck.

Broken-bar letter A (Alpha), with apices, in a shallow circular incuse.

3rd c. BC.

Similar to SVORONOS 1900, p. 322, nos. 12–12a (uniface); CROSBY 1964, p. 88 L21 (with a reverse showing an ear of wheat between two cornucopiae, crossed by a horizontal bar with split angular ends). See also SVORONOS 1900, p. 322 nos. 1–11 for an Alpha with a straight bar. A ligature consisting of a broken bar Alpha and Rho is found on the Athenian Agora token IL170: CROSBY 1964, p. 88, L23.

The lead tokens with single letters are thought to be the successors of their bronze

counterparts, which are mainly dated to the 4th c. BC. It is significant that lettered tokens exist in all three categories: bronze, lead and clay. Although they are mainly associated with procedures involving jurors on account of Aristotle's testimony (*Athenaion Politeia* 65.2 cf. BOEGEHOLD 1960, pp. 393–401), they could have been in fact employed in every instance where seating areas needed to be assigned.

28. (AS-Pb-101). Lead. 14 mm, 2,24 g. Uniface. Struck. Chunky flan, irregular around the edges.

Letters Δ (Delta) and Ι (Iota), in circular incuse.

3rd–1st c. BC.

The vertical bar of the Iota is shorter than the Delta. No known parallels. The legend should probably be interpreted as an abbreviation of a word beginning with these letters.

29. (AS-Pb-098). Lead. 13 mm, 3,60 g. Uniface. Struck.

Ligature of letter Ζ (Zēta), attached to monogram, consisting of letters Ρ (Rho) and Α (Alpha), in circular incuse.

3rd–1st c. BC or later.

No known parallels.

30. (AS-Pb-100). Lead. 15 mm, 1,75 g. Uniface. Struck.

Letters Λ and Ε of lunar style, in wreath.

3rd–1st c. BC.

The legend ΛΕ refers either to Leōs (=Dēmos) or – more probably – to the tribe Leontis. Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 273, no. 73 (not depicted). See POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 271, no. 39 and SVORONOS 1900, p. 331, nos. 151–152 inscribed ΛΕ in circular incuse and bearing a female head right – probably Boulē, the personification of the Council – on the reverse.

See also POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 276, no. 151 for a lion standing right with the legend ΛΕΩ on one side and a facing bearded head on the other. See SVORONOS 1900, pp. 327–328, nos. 103–109 inscribed ΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗ and depicting the tribal hero Leōs as a bearded man seated on a rock and crowned by Nikē.

31. (AS-Pb-066). Lead. 11 mm, 1,71 g. Uniface. Struck.

Gorgoneion (a representation of a Gorgon's head) with protruding tongue.

3rd–1st century BC (dating to early in this period given its weight and diameter).

Similar to SVORONOS 1900, p. 326, nos. 80 and 84 (the other side of both these tokens bears an owl). It could also be similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 275, no. 118 (not depicted.)

32. (AS-Pb-102). Lead. 12 mm, 1,01 g. Uniface. Struck. Thin, disc-like flan.

Gorgoneion.

3rd–1st c. BC.

For parallels see (AS-Pb-066) above.

33. (AS-Pb-069). Lead. 13 mm, 3,18 g. Uniface. Struck

Bearded male head in lion-skin headdress right. Heracles (?)

3rd–1st c. BC.

No known exact parallels. Similar to BOEGEHOLD *et al.* 1995, p. 76, T43 (B1644) a bronze token with bearded male head in wolf-skin right, of the same style and probably from the same die-engraver.

POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 281, nos. 254–261 records several types with the figure of Heracles.

34. (AS-Pb-068). Lead. 14 mm, 1,26 g. Uniface. Struck

Radiate head of Helios to right. 3rd–1st c. BC.

No exact parallels known.

A facing head of Helios is on both sides of an Athenian token, one of the sides is accompanied by the legend A-IA, probably referring to the tribe Aiantis: SVORONOS 1900, p. 329, no. 117. For the facing head of Helios on an Ephesian token see GÜLBAY – KIREÇ 2008, p. 135, no. 193.

A facing bust of Helios is the symbol on the Athenian New Style issue signed by the magistrates ΓΛΑΥ[...] and EXE[...] in 138/7 BC (THOMPSON 1961, pp. 84–89, 287–312).

35. (AS-Pb-067). 12 g, 1,94 mm. Uniface. Struck.

Youthful male head to right, with short, curly portrait.

1st c. BC–1st c. AD.

No known parallels.

36. (AS-Pb-075). Lead. 17 mm, 2,84 g. Uniface. Struck.

Athena Promachos, in archaistic style, striding to right, with a swallow-tailed mantle draped over her shoulders, hurling a thunderbolt (?) from her raised right hand and holding a shield with her left.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Probably similar to POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 345, nos. 93–94 (brandishing spear and shield, no 94 has an owl in the field). The type is attested on clay tokens SVORONOS 1905, p. 330, 30. It is also shown on the Athenian bronze coin issue of the 140s BC: KROLL – WALKER 1993, pp. 71–72, nos. 88–89.

37. (AS-Pb-063). Lead. 12 mm, 1,34 g. Uniface. Struck.

Arsinoe Philadelphos standing facing, holding a double cornucopiae with her left hand and a long scepter with her right; in the field to right: ΦΙ.

3rd c. BC.

No known parallels.

38. (AS-Pb-073). Lead. 15 mm, 2,38 g. Uniface. Struck.

Hermes/Mercury standing $\frac{3}{4}$ left, holding a kerykeion (?) with his right hand with his himation around his left arm; in the field to left, rosette of six petals; in the field to right, cornucopia (?).

1st–3rd c. AD.

No exact parallels. Hermes/Mercury is well attested on Athenian as well as Ephesian tokens. Athenian tokens of the Hellenistic period bear depictions of the god's xoanon: POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 351, no. 224 holding phiale and kerykeion, in the field right cicada, in the field left owl; CROSBY 1964, p. 96 L91 with kerykeion held vertically in right hand, in field upper left the letter Σ; CROSBY 1964, p. 96 L92 (with kerykeion in left hand, the letters ΔP retrograde in field right). Representations of the kerykeion (caduceus), the god's attribute, such as CROSBY 1964, p. 102 L170 and L171 are also dated to the Hellenistic period. On Athenian tokens of the Roman Imperial Period the god is inspired by the reverses of contemporary Athenian coins and is standing left with himation and caduceus in his left arm and money bag in his right hand (CROSBY 1964, p. 112 L263). A token with the same type is inscribed ΓΡΑΜ ΒΟΥΛΑ (SVORONOS 1900, p. 337 nos. 230–231), thus connecting the issue with the Secretary of the Council.

39. (AS-Pb-064). Lead. 13 mm, 1,68 g (broken). Uniface. Struck.
Satyr or Silenus dancing left, knees raised left, horsetail bouncing right, arms raised left and right.

3rd–1st c. BC.

No known parallels. Silenus' mask is used as device on tokens bearing the legend ΠΙΕΝ: SVORONOS 1900, p. 336, no. 214.

40. (AS-Pb-072). Lead. 12 mm, 1,87 g. Uniface. Struck.
Zeus nude, striding right, hurling a thunderbolt from his raised right hand and extending his left arm to right; all within an olive wreath.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 346, no. 97 (not illustrated).

41. (AS-Pb-062). Lead. 17 mm, 2,74 g (a little less than half of it is cut off). Uniface. Struck.
Bull facing right.

3rd–1st c. BC.

One almost exact, but unpublished parallel, is in the collection of the Department Coins and Medals of the British Museum.

42. (AS-Pb-076). Lead. 15 mm, 3,84 g. Uniface. Struck.

Bull's head facing.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 284, nos. 318–319. Bull's head is also found on the small bronze tokens: POSTOLAKAS 1880, pp. 23–24, nos. 108–113.

43. (AS-Pb-078). 12 mm, 2,38 g. Uniface. Struck.

Dolphin swimming right, in circular incuse.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 285, nos. 339–341.

A dolphin combined with a variety of objects is a recurrent device: with an amphora on POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 301, no. 767; with Pegasos on CROSBY 1964, p. 114 L282 (Roman Period); the dolphin can also be combined with a variety of designs on the other side, such as a laurel branch between a poppy head and the letter E (POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 290, no. 465).

44. (AS-Pb-079). Lead. 13 mm, 2,09 g. Uniface. Struck.

Goat standing right on ground line, in circular incuse.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Published: BENNDORF 1875, p. 613, no 19.

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 289, no. 439 (with a star in the field above). A goat standing left with head turned back right under an olive tree, upon which an owl is perched, is POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 345, no. 92.

45. (AS-Pb-090). Lead. 12 mm, 2,04 g, 3 h. Struck

Side A: Eagle facing right with open wings, in linear circle.

Side B: Kernos in circular incuse.

3rd–1st c. BC.

POSTOLACCA 1868 nos. 386–389 recorded tokens with eagles, but none are similar to the one on this token. Kernos on lead tokens: POSTOLACCA 1866, pp. 349–350, nos. 177–199; ENGEL 1884, p. 19 nos. 183, 187, and 189–191; CROSBY 1964, p. 106 L204.

46. (AS-Pb-016). Lead. 11 mm, 1,93 g. Uniface. Struck.
Dove right in circular incuse.
3rd-1st c. BC.
Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 287, no. 390 (not illustrated); CROSBY 1964, p. 98 L118 (dove facing left, with the addition of poppy head in front of the bird).
47. (AS-Pb-077). Lead. 9 mm, 1,26 g. Struck. Clipped edges.
Side A: Swan facing left.
Side B: Eight-petal rosette or star with eight rays in circular incuse.
3rd-1st c. BC (dating to early in this period given its small size).
No known parallels. The rosette is similar to ENGEL 1884, p. 13, no. 102 (6 mm, with head right on the reverse). See also the rosettes on the small bronze symbola: POSTOLAKAS 1880, p. 45, nos. 242-243.
48. (AS-Pb-107). Lead. 15 mm, 5,24 g. Uniface. Struck. The side of the flan shows that it had been previously folded.
Locust standing right.
3rd-1st c. BC.
Similar to ENGEL 1884, p. 17, no. 149 (the reverse); CROSBY 1964, p. 98 L122 (standing right, termed as a cicada). See also: POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 288, no. 419 (locust on ear of wheat, with letters A O); *ibid.* no. 420 (locust standing left with a kerykeion above it); *ibid.* no. 421 (two locusts placed in a heraldic fashion).
49. (AS-Pb-080). Lead. 14 mm, 1,91 g, 6 h. Struck.
Side A: Uncertain four-legged creature to left, possibly an insect like an ant, though ants have six legs, not four.
Side B: Bird or Siren facing right, in circular incuse.
3rd-1st c. BC.
No exact parallels. Devices of fantastic creatures, which cannot be identified with certainty with any living organisms, are often found on Hellenistic token. Similar to the design on the obverse is the ant carrying a farmer's tool on SVORONOS 1900, p. 340, no. 263, the tokens is inscribed Δ-H. Ants are also encountered on the lead tokens in the Kerameikos: BRAUN 1970, pl. 57 (96 and 123). The creature on the reverse of this token is very similar to that on **cat. no. 50** (AS-Pb-074) because it has the same small head and wide, flaring wings.
50. (AS-Pb-074). Lead. 16x11 mm, 4 mm thick, 4,54 g. Uniface. Struck. Almond-shaped flan
Flying creature with a bird's head - perhaps a Griffin or a Siren - facing to right; below, a thick ground line.
3rd-1st c. BC.
Similar to (AS-Pb-080) (side A). No exact parallels known.
51. (AS-Pb-081). Lead. 12 mm, 2,08 g. Uniface. Struck.
Bunch of grapes. Legend above: ETY or E – Y, separated letters
3rd-1st c. BC.
Similar to: POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 290-291, nos. 466-482; ENGEL 1884, p. 18, no. 174 (with a vineyard leaf on the other side); SVORONOS 1900, p. 325, nos 70-71 letter Π framing bunch of grapes; CROSBY 1964, p. 91 L48 (inscribed E-P), in the sand fill (deposit C 18:14) of the Great Drain, under the Roman bath – Crosby thinks this is a token for grain distribution;

ibid. p. 103 L175 (without inscription); p. 114 L288 (of the Roman Period). A bunch of grapes appears as a symbol on the New Style Silver issues of 115/4 BC with Mētrodoros and other magistrates (THOMPSON 1961, 629–647) and is also a widespread coin type for Hellenistic civic issues, such as those from Eretria, Histiaia, Locri Opuntii, and elsewhere.

52. (AS-Pb-082). Lead. 10 mm, 1,44 g. Uniface. Struck.

Bunch of grapes.

3rd–1st c. BC.

For parallels see (AS-Pb-081).

53. (AS-Pb-086). Lead. 14 mm, 3,64 g. Uniface. Struck.

Palmette composed of five petals framed by horn-like extension, which stem out of a ring.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 298, nos. 693–697. Compare also: POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 298, nos. 683–692 and 698–702; CROSBY 1964, pp. 106–107 L210–L212 with reference to a lead token excavated in Olynthus.

54. (AS-Pb-087). Lead. 16 mm, 3,27 g. Uniface. Struck.

Palmette composed of five petals, in an almost circular incuse.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 298, nos. 685–687. See also (AS-Pb-086).

55. (AS-Pb-085). Lead. 13 mm, 1,62 g. Uniface. Struck.

Poppy-head between two ears of wheat.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Similar to SVORONOS 1900, p. 339, no. 259 (inscribed Δ-H) and with obverse Demeter head right); CROSBY 1964, p. 107 L213; *ibid.* p. 115 L294 (inscribed ΔA and probably referring to ΔΑΔΟΥΧΟΣ, dated to the Roman Period). In the Athenian New Style coinage a poppy-head between two ears of wheat was used as a symbol by Lysandros-Oinophilos, who signed the fourth or fifth issue after that of Mithridates-Aristion (THOMPSON 1961, p. 309, nos. 1179–1180) and is also found on the associated bronzes of the early 70s (KROLL – WALKER 1993, p. 95, no 118; *ibid.* p. 100, nos. 133–134).

56. (AS-Pb-103). 10 mm, 1,03 g. Uniface. Struck.

Tendrils (?), in the field a small bunch of grapes and a small cicada.

3rd–1st c. BC.

No known parallels.

57. (AS-Pb-088). Lead. 13 mm, 2,62 g. Uniface. Struck. The flan is bevelled.

Panathenaic Amphora.

3rd–1st c. BC.

The handles are not visible, but the identification of a Panathenaic Amphora seems plausible because of the shape. Similar to POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 348, no. 154; CROSBY 1964, p. 101–102 L157–L161.

58. (AS-Pb-089). Lead. 10 mm, 1,47 g. Uniface. Struck

Panathenaic Amphora in circular incuse; two strokes on the right hand side.

3rd–1st c. BC.

The handles are not seen, but the identification of a Panathenaic Amphora seems plausible because of the shape. Two strokes next to the vase neck can be interpreted as numerical symbols or that they designate two obols. For numerical legends that designate obols, see: CROSBY 1964, pp. 89–90 L42a–b; BRAUN 1970, p. 193, pl. 57 upper left. See cat. no. 57 for parallels.

59. (AS-Pb-083). Lead. 9 mm, 1,03 g. Uniface. Struck.

Two crossed cornucopiae with the crown of Isis in between.

3rd–1st c. BC (early in this interval, because of diameter and weight).

The identification as the crown of Isis is not certain. Other possibilities would be a poppy head or an ear of wheat. For two cornucopiae framing a kerykeion: POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 295, no. 615. For two cornucopiae with a sign similar to a trident and the inscription E-P see: CROSBY 1964, L21 (the reverse). The Isis crown appears on Athenian tokens: CROSBY 1964, L199 (with the pileoi of Dioskouroi). The device makes the specimen a plausible candidate for a token exchanged for wheat.

60. (AS-Pb-084). Lead. 14 mm, 2,46 g. Uniface. Struck

Boeotian Helmet.

3rd–1st c. BC.

No known parallels.

Tokens bearing helmets are found on the Athenian Agora: CROSBY 1964, p. 104 L189–L192; KROLL 1977, p. 141 no 1. For the significance of pieces of armor on tokens see cat. no. 66 (AS-Pb-096).

61. (AS-Pb-091). Lead. 11 mm, 0,91 g. Uniface. Struck.

Kernos.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Similar to ENGEL 1884, p. 19, no. 183 from the Heldreich collection, possibly from the same die.

For parallels see cat. no. 45 (AS-Pb-090).

62. (AS-Pb-092). Lead. 8 mm, 0,54 g. Struck.

Side A: Globular vase, probably an askos.

Side B: sea shell

3rd–1st c. BC (early in this interval because of diameter and weight).

Parallels can be found among the small bronze tokens. For Side A: POSTOLAKAS 1880, p. 31, no. 164 (with askos on the reverse). For Side B: POSTOLAKAS 1880, p. 22, no. 99 (with sea shell on the reverse) and p. 26, no. 127 (with sea shell the reverse).

63. (AS-Pb-104). Lead. 10 mm, 1,09 g. Uniface. Struck.

Winged kerykeion, with A-Γ-O-P in the four quarters of the field.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Similar to POSTOLACCA 1866, p. 351 no. 228 and SVORONOS 1900, p. 332, nos. 159–160a and 161. See also CROSBY 1964, p. 102 L170 with a different arrangement of the letters.

64. (AS-Pb-070). Lead. 17 mm, 2,3 g., width: 12 mm. Uniface. Struck. Irregular shape of the flan.

Female comic theatre mask right, hair rolled up above the forehead, crowned with ears of wheat or stephane.

3rd–1st c. BC.

Cf. POSTOLACCA 1868, p. 299, nos. 717–719 (only 717 is illustrated).

65. (AS-Pb-105). Lead. 13 mm, 1,99 g. Uniface. Struck.

Comic theatre mask facing. The design is produced by a punch in approximately 6 mm of diameter.

3rd c. AD.

Similar to CROSBY 1964, p. 115, L292. Tokens with masks make a plausible candidate for «*theorika*», the *symbola* distributed for festivals, but they might have been used for a variety of other purposes as well (CROSBY 1964, pp. 81–82). The find spot of one of the two Agora specimens (IL 1162), very near the Bouleutērion Propylon, demonstrates clearly the official and public character of the roles these tokens played.

66. (AS-Pb-096). Lead. 15 mm, 3,96 g. Uniface. Struck.

Thorax (corselet) consisting of a breast plate and two tiers of lappets.

3rd–2nd c. BC.

Similar to: POSTOLACCA 1868, pp. 300–301, nos. 742–744; CROSBY 1964, p. 108 L227–L229. A similar token was found in a mixed hoard of coins and tokens. This hoard (Agora deposit A 18:8 = IGCH 157 and BUBELIS 2011, p. 185 with n. 45) consisted of 92 bronze coins, two silver coins and four lead tokens, of which one bore a corselet, one a shield with an Alpha blazon, one a strung bow and the fourth was catalogued as probably having a shield, but J.H. Kroll considered it to be a low-crested helmet (KROLL 1974, p. 202; KROLL 1977, p. 144). In the «Crossroads Well», where the large lot of the cavalry archive lead tables was discovered, 9 lead tokens were also found, one with a depiction of Nike, the other eight bearing pieces of armour, allocated as follows: one with a helmet, two with corselets, three with greaves and two with shields, of which the reverses had letters either A, or Γ or Δ. It has been postulated that the tokens of the «Crossroads Well» were employed for distributions of state armor (KROLL 1977, pp. 144–146).

67. (AS-Pb-093). Lead. 10 mm, 1,03 g. Uniface. Struck.

Filleted trident, in incuse. The shaft is crossed by two illegible objects, forming an X and with pointed ends.

3rd–1st c. BC.

For another trident with a shaft crossed by an X see: CROSBY 1964, p. 108 L231. Tridents are not uncommon on Athenian tokens, see cat. no. 3 (AS-Pb-027).

68. (AS-Pb-094). Lead. 11 mm, 1,03 g. Uniface. Struck.

Trident (the upper part), in circular incuse.

3rd–1st c. BC.

For parallels and commentary see cat. no. 3 (AS-Pb-027).

69. (AS-Pb-095). Lead. 14 mm, 2,50 g. Uniface. Struck.

Aphrodite (?) facing right, lifting her left knee and adjusting her sandal; in field to right, *tropaion*.

2nd c. BC.–1st c. AD. : This type seems to refer to either a literary or painted source, with its female protagonist doing something that would be understood by the ancient viewer; such types became more common on tokens beginning in the late Hellenistic period and continued on into Roman times.

CROSBY 1964, p. 93 L64 IL795 with nude figure facing right and lifting right foot, smaller figure or a herm to the right.

Abstract

Ancient tokens are small, unassuming, coin-like objects that were by the Greeks and Romans. In Athens tokens were called *symbola* and were continuously in use from the fourth century BC and continuously through the third century AD. They were state issued, bore official designs and facilitated the workings of the Athenian government. This paper presents the important collection of Athenian tokens of the Archaeological Institute at the University of Göttingen. The core of the collection is the twenty-six pieces, which once belonged to Haller von Hallerstein, German architect and nobleman, who played a central role in the excavations of the Apollo Temple at Bassai and of the Aphaia Temple on Aigina. The discussion of the history of the collection is followed by the assessment of the function of tokens in Athenian public life. The investigation of their function is approached in a fully contextualised way: literary sources, inscriptions, and both historical facts and archaeological evidence about Athenian culture are all brought into the discussion and set against the large number of token types and their varieties known from the collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum and the accurately documented find contexts of the tokens found in the Athenian Agora. This paper discusses the symbolic meaning of the personifications depicted on tokens; the roles of the lettered tokens in the Council, the Jurors' Courts and the Assembly: tokens serving as invitations, lotteries and distributions on the occasions of festivals; as well as tokens that were designed to be exchanged for grain. This paper expands existing debates as well as the state of the knowledge of the field. Next to the *ekklesiastika*, *sitonika* and *theorika*, which were already known, the *agorastika* *symbola* are enshrined in the history of the Athenian tokens.

Résumé

Les jetons décrits ici sont de petits objets, sans prétention, ressemblant à des pièces de monnaie, datant de l'Antiquité grecque et romaine. À Athènes, les jetons, appelés *symbola*, ont été utilisés à partir du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. et de façon continue jusqu'au III^e siècle après J.-C. Ils étaient émis par l'État, portaient des dessins officiels et facilitaient le fonctionnement du gouvernement athénien. Cet article présente l'importante collection de jetons athéniens de l'Institut archéologique de l'Université de Göttingen. Le cœur de la collection est constitué par les vingt-six pièces qui ont appartenu à Carl Haller von Hallerstein, aristocrate et architecte allemand, qui a joué un rôle central dans les fouilles des temples d'Apollon à Bassai et d'Aphaia à Égine. L'histoire de la collection est suivie d'une réflexion autour des fonctions de ces jetons dans la vie publique athénienne. Cette question de l'utilisation est abordée de manière contextualisée. L'auteur fait appel aux sources littéraires, aux inscriptions, aux faits historiques et aux données concernant la culture athénienne pour mettre en regard le grand nombre de types connus du Musée numismatique d'Athènes et les trouvailles documentées avec précision de l'Agora athénienne. En prenant en considération les débats existants ainsi que le dernier état des connaissances, cette étude revient ainsi sur la signification symbolique des personnifications représentées sur ces objets et sur

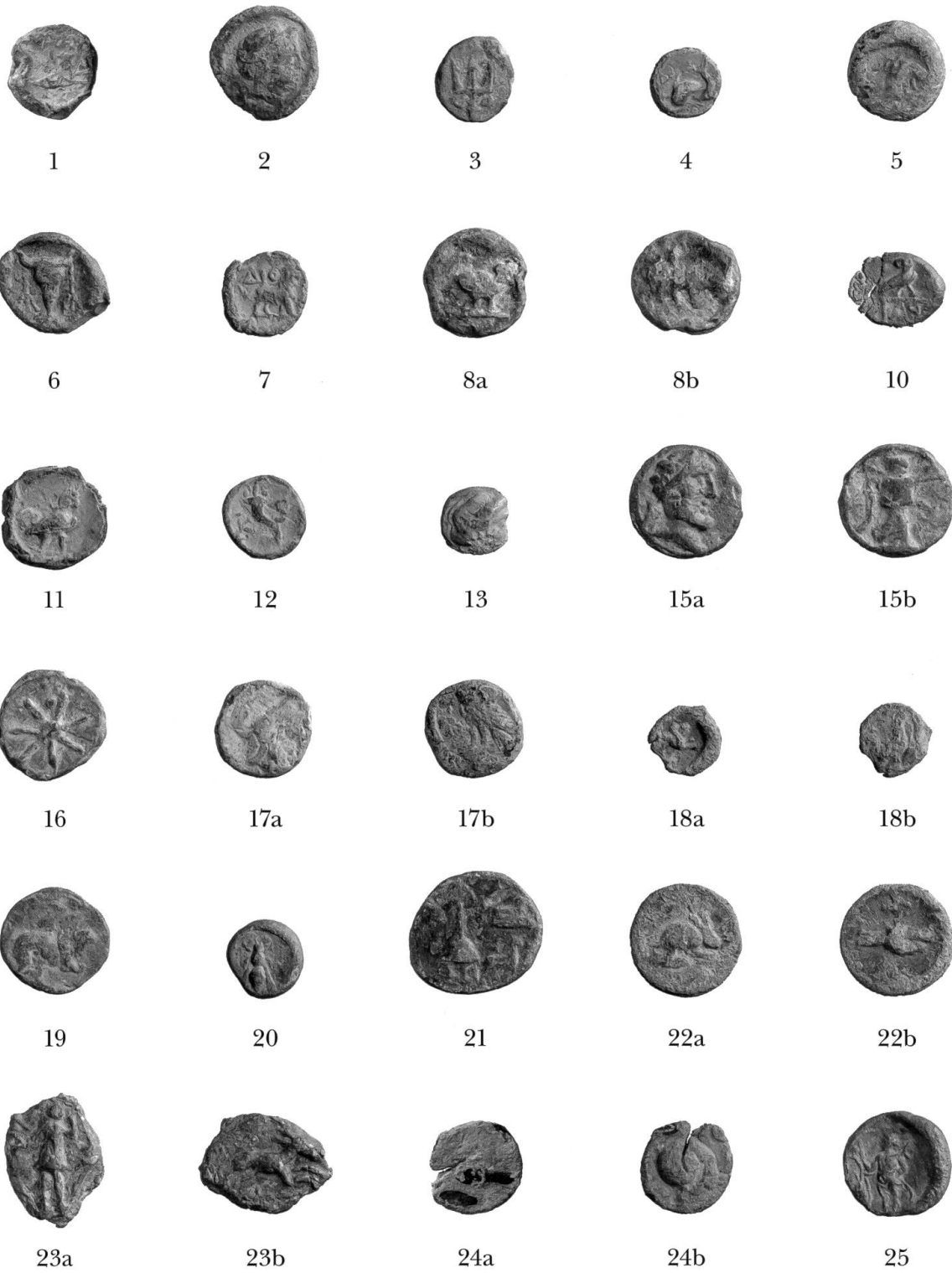
le rôle des jetons épigraphes au sein de la Boulè, de l'Héliée et de l'Ecclesia. Elle relève également l'existence de jetons servant aux invitations, aux loteries, aux distributions lors de festivals ou encore aux échanges contre du grain. Outre les *ekklesiastika*, les *sitonika* et les *theorika*, qui étaient déjà connues, les *agorastika* sont inscrits dans l'histoire des jetons athéniens.

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Mairi Gkikaki
 Tokens of hellenistic Athens

Lead tokens in the Archaeological Institute of the University of Göttingen, Photography Stephan Eckardt.



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45a



45b



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47a



47b



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49a



49b



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62a



62b



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