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**Tokens and Communities in the Roman  
Provinces: An Exploration of Egypt, Gaul and  
Britain**

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A thesis submitted for the fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics and Ancient History

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## **Declaration**

This thesis is the candidate's own work. This thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

The candidate has previously published discussion of the tokens of Antinous in the following paper:

Wilding, D. 2019. "Tokens of Antinous From the Roman Province of Egypt." In *Tokens: Cultures, Connections, Communities*, edited by A. Crisà, M. Gkikaki and C. Rowan 111–26. London: Royal Numismatic Society.

Discussion of these tokens in this thesis is minimal, and can be found on pages 88 and 104, with the relevant tokens comprising catalogue nos. 112-114, 185 and 186.

## **Abstract**

Tokens are a form of portable material culture that have been much neglected in recent scholarship of the Roman period (27 BC- AD 476). This thesis explores the presence and function of tokens in the Roman provinces of Egypt, Gaul and Britain in order to establish their contribution to daily life. It collates a corpus of tokens from these provinces for the first time, using published sources and museum collections. Analysis of findspots and immediate archaeological contexts, where available, are used to establish how and where tokens were used, and to identify areas where their use is limited. This, in conjunction with an assessment of token types demonstrates that tokens are specific to a locality, with functions pertaining to groups on a local scale. The imagery and inscriptions of tokens are also placed within their local context, whilst taking into account how they are linked into broader networks within the Roman empire and classical material culture.

## Abbreviations

**ANS** – American Numismatic Society.

**BMC Greek (Troas, Aeolis, Lesbos)** - Wroth, W. 1894. *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos*. London: British Museum Press.

**BMC Greek (Phrygia)** - Head, B. 1906. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia*. London: British Museum Press.

**BMC Greek (Ptolemies)** – Poole, R. S. 1883. *Catalogue of Greek Coins: The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.

**BMCRIT** – Thornton, M. K. (Unpublished manuscript) Roman Lead Tesserae in the British Museum.

**CAG 13/1** – Gateau, F. 1996. *Carte archéologique de la Gaule 13/1: L'Étang de Berre*. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

**CAG 13/5** – M.-P. Rothé and M. Heijmans. 2008. *Carte archéologique de la Gaule 13/5: Arles, Crau, Camargue*. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

**CAG 30/1** – J.-L. Fiches and A. Veyrac. 1997. *Carte archéologique de la Gaule 30/1: Nîmes*. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

**CAG 38/4** – Bertrand, F., D. Gonin, J.-P. Moyne and G. Varennes. 1994. *Carte archéologique de la Gaule 38/4: Isère*. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

**CAG 60** – Woimant, G.-P. 1995. *Carte archéologique de la Gaule 60: L'Oise*. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

**CAG 69/2** – Le Mer, A.-C. 2007. *Carte archéologique de la Gaule 69/2: Lyon*. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

**CAG 77/1** – Griffisch, J.-N. 2008. *Carte archéologique de la Gaule 77 : La Seine-et-Marne*. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

**CAG 8** – Nicolas, D. 2012. *Carte archéologique de la Gaule no. 8: Les Ardennes*. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

**CIL IV** – 1871. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. IV: Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae, Herculanenses Stabianae*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

**CIL VI** – 1876. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. VI: Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Latinae*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

**CIL VIII** – 1881. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. VIII: Inscriptiones Africae Latinae*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

**CIL IX** – 1883. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. IX: Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Samnii, Sabinorum, Piceni Latinae*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

**CIL XI** – 1888. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. XI: Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriae Latinae*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

**CIL XII** -1888. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. XII: Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

**CIL XIII** – 1899. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. XIII: Inscriptiones trium Galliarum et Germaniarum Latinae*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

**CIL XIV** – 1887. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. XIV: Inscriptiones Latii veteris Latinae*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

**CIL XV** - 1891. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. XV: Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum*. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

**FMRD V 1.1** – Gorecki, J. and H.-W. Ritter. 1994. *Die Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Deutschland. Abteilung V: Hessen, Band 1: Wiesbaden*. Berlin: WBG, Philipp von Zabern.

**FMRD VI.1** –Komnick, H., J. Heinrichs and B. Päßgen. 2008. *Die Fundmünzen in römischer Zeit in Deutschland: Abteilung VI: Nordrhein-Westfalen*. Berlin: WBG, Philipp von Zabern.

**FMRD VII.1-3** – Berger, F., H. Gebhardt and K. Kraft. 1980. *Die Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Deutschland. Abteilung VII: Niedersachsen, Band 1: Osnabrück, Band 2: Aurich, Band 3: Oldenburg*. Berlin: WBG, Philipp von Zabern.

**ILB 2** - Deman, A. and M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier. 2002. *Nouveau Recueil Des Inscriptions Latines de Belgique*. Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus.

**IRT** - J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins. 1952. *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. Rome: The British School at Rome.

**LIMC II** – 1984. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Vol. II: Aphrodisias – Athena*. Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag.

**LIMC VI** – 1992. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Vol. VI: Kentauroi et Kentaurides – Oiax*. Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag.

**LIMC VIII** – 1997. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Vol. VIII: Thespiades - Zodiacus et Supplementum*. Zurich and Dusseldorf: Artemis Verlag.

**PAS** – Portable Antiquities Scheme: <https://finds.org.uk/>

**RIB II.I** - Collingwood, R. G. and R. P. Wright (S. S. Frere, M. Roxan and R. S. O. Tomlin (eds.)). 1990. *The Roman inscriptions of Britain, Vol. I: Instrumentum domesticum. Fascicule 1: The military diplomata, metal ingots, tesserae, dies ; labels and lead sealings*. Stroud: Alan Sutton.

**RIB II.II** – Collingwood, R. G. and R. P. Wright (S. S. Frere and R. S. O. Tomlin (eds.)). 1991. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Volume II: Instrumentum Domesticum. Fascicule 2: Weights, gold vessels, silver vessels, bronze vessels, lead vessels, pewter vessels, shale vessels, glass vessels, spoons*. Stroud: Alan Sutton.

**RIB II.III** - Collingwood, R. G. and R. P. Wright (S. S. Frere and R. S. O. Tomlin (eds.)). 1991. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Volume II: Instrumentum Domesticum. Fascicule 3: Brooches, rings, gems bracelets, helmets, shields, weapons, iron tools, baldric fittings, votives in gold, silver and bronze, lead pipes,*

*roundels, sheets and other lead objects, stone roundels, pottery and bone roundels, other objects of bone.* Stroud: Alan Sutton.

**RIC I** - Mattingly, H. & E. A. Sydenham. 1923. *Roman Imperial Coinage I, Vol.1: Augustus to Vitellius.* London: Spink and Son.

**RIC I<sup>2</sup>** – Sutherland, C. H. V. and R. A. G. Carson (1984). *The Roman Imperial Coinage I: From 31BC to AD 69.* London: Spink and Son.

**RIC IV** - Mattingly, H., E. Sydenham & C. Sutherland. 1986. *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. IV: From Pertinax to Uranius Antoninus.* London: Spink and Son.

**RIC V.1** - Mattingly, H., E. Sydenham & P. Webb. 1968. *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. V: Part I, Valerian to Florian.* London: Spink and Son.

**RIC V.2** - Mattingly, H., E. Sydenham & P. Webb. 1968. *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. V: Part II, Probus to Amandus.* London: Spink and Son.

**RPC I** - Burnett, A., M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès. 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage, Vol. I: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69),* British Museum Press and The Bibliothèque Nationale de France: London and Paris.

**RPC II** - A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and I. Carradice. 1999. *Roman Provincial Coinage, Vol. II: From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96),* British Museum Press and The Bibliothèque Nationale de France: London and Paris.

**RPC III** – Amandry, M. and A. Burnett (eds.), J. Mairat, W. Metcalf, L. Bricault and M. Blet-Lemarquand. 2015. *Roman Provincial Coinage, Vol. III: From Nerva to Hadrian (AD 96–138),* British Museum Press and The Bibliothèque Nationale de France: London and Paris.

**RPC IV.4** – Howgego, C. 2005. *Roman provincial Coinage Vol IV.4: From Antoninus Pius to Commodus (AD 138–192): Egypt.* Online only: [https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?volume\\_id=7](https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?volume_id=7) .

**RPC VI** – Calomino, D and A. Burnett. 2017. *Roman provincial Coinage Vol VI: From Elagabalus to Maximinus Thrax (AD 218–238): Asia Minor and Egypt.* Online only: [https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?volume\\_id=11](https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?volume_id=11) .

**RPC IX** – Hostein, A. and J. Mairat. 2016. *Roman Provincial Coinage, Vol. IX: From Trajan Decius to Uranius Antoninus (AD 249–254)*, British Museum Press and The Bibliothèque Nationale de France: London and Paris.

**RRC** – Crawford, C. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage, 2 vols.*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**SNG Cop.** – 1982. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Copenhagen. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Volume 5: Ionia, Caria and Lydia*. West Milford, NJ: Sunrise Publications Inc.

**SNG Saroglos** – Psoma, S and I. Touratsoglou. 2005. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Greece Volume IV. The Numismatic Museum, Athens, The Petros Z. Saroglos Collection, Volume 1: Macedonia*. Athens: Academy of Athens.

**TURS** – Rostovtzeff, M. 1903. *Tesserarum urbis Romae et suburbi plumbeorum sylloge*. St. Petersburg: Commissionnaires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences.

# **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Tokens are an under-studied form of portable material culture that have contributed much to human society over the past 11,000 years, and are still used extensively in everyday life today. Despite the presence of thousands of specimens in museum collections, the extent to which tokens were utilised in the Roman period (27 BC – AD 476) has not been fully recognised either within numismatics or wider archaeological and historical scholarship. This class of object is often not recognised on archaeological excavations and in museum collections. Where it is, it is poorly defined and potentials regarding both its purpose and impact on quotidian community life are not fully explored. Furthermore, studies of Roman tokens to date focus on a particular site or area, with no attempt to collate material on an inter- or intra province basis. This thesis aims to address this lacuna through assembling and analysing a corpus of tokens from the provinces of Egypt, Gaul and Britain. These areas provide a sample of tokens from provinces of different character from across the Roman empire.

This chapter will highlight the previous studies on tokens, from their first conception in the Neolithic to their use in society today, in order to outline how and why they have been utilised throughout much of human history. Based upon this review, a definition of the term ‘token’ will follow. This is then followed by the methodology, in which the reasoning behind the choice of case studies will be explored, the aims of this thesis outlined, and an overview provided of the following chapters.

## **1.1. Literature Review**

### **1.1.1. Previous studies on tokens**

The following overview aims to summarise key scholarly work on tokens throughout the human past to highlight the variety of purposes that tokens are thought to have served, and to draw out differences in the use of tokens throughout time. This will also demonstrate how most studies do not address the above-mentioned lacunae. The literature pertaining to the case studies for this thesis (Egypt, Gaul and Britain) will be discussed within each chapter separately to clearly demonstrate where the contribution of this thesis sits within the scholarship relevant to each province. This will also better facilitate the collation of the corpus of tokens from these provinces, which involves detailed analysis of published and unpublished examples.

Previous studies have demonstrated that comparing the functions of tokens from different eras is not always useful. For example, Mitchiner and Skinner describe how in Medieval England tokens should be seen as a chit-for-service which did not circulate widely, while only tokens after the reformation were a straight monetary substitute.<sup>1</sup> Bubelis has also noted key differences in the use of tokens from Athens and the Post-Medieval period, and concluded that the two are not comparable.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it is clear that the function fulfilled by tokens changed according to time and place. Despite this, there is value in considering how tokens functioned in different periods, as demonstrated through a comparative conversation with Schmandt-Besserat and Maurer, scholars whose focus is on tokens in their earliest use in the Neolithic and modern day Bitcoin, respectively.<sup>3</sup> The use of tokens in later periods has occasionally informed the interpretation of ancient tokens in scholarship, and therefore the following chronological overview aims to encompass the various roles of tokens from their conception to the modern day.<sup>4</sup> Although not all uses of later tokens are relevant to the ancient past, this approach provides a framework in which to set the tokens analysed in this thesis.

The earliest tokens were used in the Near and Middle East as early as the ninth millennium BC, and were made from clay in a variety of three dimensional shapes, including cones and spheres.<sup>5</sup> Their development was a result of the change from hunter-gathering to farming practices, which required accounting systems to keep track of resources and aid in redistribution.<sup>6</sup> The implications for societal and human development are even more significant than this, given that it has been argued that these tokens were the precursor to writing and abstract number.<sup>7</sup>

Tokens were used to a significant extent in classical Athens, with their original appearance taking the form of two unique pieces, each inscribed with the name of a tribe, deme or public office, which were then fitted together to make a whole. The

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<sup>1</sup> Mitchiner and Skinner 1983, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Bubelis 2010: Post-Medieval tokens had a fiduciary value whereas Athenian tokens did not.

<sup>3</sup> Wilding et al 2017: Modern Bitcoin is essentially an accounting system, as were Neolithic tokens, and both play a role in the cohesion of communities and networks.

<sup>4</sup> See Bercham 1936 for a study which took into account later examples in the study of ancient tokens; Rostovtzeff 1905, 100 draws parallels between Roman tokens and tokens from Post-Medieval France.

<sup>5</sup> Schmandt-Besserat 1977, image 18 for different token types; Schmandt-Besserat 1991.

<sup>6</sup> Schmandt-Besserat 1991; Schmandt-Besserat 2019.

<sup>7</sup> Schmandt-Besserat 1991; Schmandt-Besserat 1992; Schmandt-Besserat 1996; Schmandt-Besserat 2010.

purpose of these tokens was to facilitate the allotment of offices.<sup>8</sup> The Greek word for tokens, σύμβολα (*symbola*) refers to this type of token, deriving from the verb συμβάλλειν (*symballein*), meaning ‘to bring closer’.<sup>9</sup> Other allotment tokens from Athens include the *pinakion* (4<sup>th</sup> century BC), originally made from boxwood and later from bronze, which were used in the allotment of jurors in the courts.<sup>10</sup> Tokens continued to be utilised in Athens throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and served a variety of functions. They were used to prove entitlement to state issued armour in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC; these tokens depicted a piece of armour on one side, and a letter on the other, which is interpreted as an indication of the size of the armour.<sup>11</sup> Others were made from clay in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and were stamped with the name of a military commander. The theory for their use pertains to identification of those associated with the named commander when carrying out duties away from Athens.<sup>12</sup> Crosby published c.900 tokens from the Athenian Agora, and noted that they were likely to have had different uses, including entry tickets to festivals and in the distribution of wheat.<sup>13</sup> As discussed in below, Crosby’s assignation of ‘tax receipts’ to some tokens may be a misattribution.<sup>14</sup> In many respects, tokens from Athens served an ‘official’ function, in that they were not issued by individuals in the private sphere, but instead functioned within the public realm.<sup>15</sup> It is notable that despite using the same imagery as coins, likely due to an established repertoire of official images, there is no monetised aspect to any Athenian tokens of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.<sup>16</sup>

In contrast, lead pieces from elsewhere in the Hellenistic period are often assigned a role as token coinage, usually linked to the need for an emergency issue. Barag summarised a number of lead series from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, and concluded that the Ptolemies, Seleucids, Hasmonaeans and Nabataeans all used them as lead coins.<sup>17</sup> An interpretation as coinage is favoured by Hoover for lead issues from Gaza, despite recognising that there was no obvious reason that lead coins might have been

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<sup>8</sup> Thompson 1951; Lang 1959.

<sup>9</sup> Gauthier 1972, 62-75.

<sup>10</sup> Kroll 1972, 1-2.

<sup>11</sup> Kroll and Mitchell 1977, 143; Schäfer 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Kroll and Mitchell 1980, 94.

<sup>13</sup> Crosby 1964, 80.

<sup>14</sup> Crosby 1964, 81.

<sup>15</sup> Crosby 1964, 77.

<sup>16</sup> Bubelis 2010, 182.

<sup>17</sup> Barag 1984.

required.<sup>18</sup> A single lead specimen, attributed to Marathus and probably dating to the 2nd century BC is identified as a lead coin based on the similarity of the imagery to coins struck in the city, as well as a possible need for emergency money due to invasions by the neighbouring kingdom of Aradus in 145 and 129 BC.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, two lead series from Coele Syria are believed to have functioned as an emergency money during the ‘War of the Sceptres’ in 103-101 BC, having evolved from a Ptolemaic bronze coinage of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy X.<sup>20</sup> Milne also identified lead tokens in the Ashmolean Museum as coinage from Syria.<sup>21</sup> However, ascertaining whether tokens were used as all-purpose coinage, or had a different function, is often not straightforward, and there are instances where alternative purposes have been suggested.

Nabataean lead pieces previously believed to be coins have been reassessed by Hoover, and based on factors such as their dissimilar appearance to contemporary coins, re-interpreted as tokens used for the distribution of largesse.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, a series of lead pieces from Tauric Chersonesos, dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, have been re-interpreted as tokens, following previous scholarship that suggested they were token coins.<sup>23</sup> Kovalenko argues that the series does not display the same characteristics as lead coins in the ancient world, as they bear neither date, ethnic nor denomination and do not carry images similar to that on the Chersonesian coinage.<sup>24</sup> This logic is flawed, as non-monetised tokens could carry similar images to coins in the ancient world, as was the case in Athens. Despite this, Kovalenko offers an interesting interpretation for these tokens, in which they are representative of an individual’s right to meat after a sacrifice at a religious festival, and were therefore connected to euergetic practices.<sup>25</sup> A series of tokens from Tyre, dating to 142-60 BC, depict Melqart of Tyre on one face, and have a legend meaning ‘consecrated and inviolable’ on the other. These are interpreted as pertaining to the Herculean quinquennial games of Tyre based upon the dates inscribed on the tokens.<sup>26</sup> There are

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<sup>18</sup> Hoover 2006a.

<sup>19</sup> Hoover 2009, 52 for iconographical comparison to coins of Marathus, 55 for emergency money.

<sup>20</sup> Hoover 2008, 83-84.

<sup>21</sup> Milne 1945.

<sup>22</sup> Hoover 2006b.

<sup>23</sup> Kovalenko 2002, 39-52 for reassessment. Rostovtzeff 1903 and Grandmezon 1977, 158 for assertion that the lead pieces are coins.

<sup>24</sup> Kovalenko 2002, 41.

<sup>25</sup> Kovalenko 2002, 50-52.

<sup>26</sup> Abou Diwan and Sawaya 2011, 274-280.

a variety of different uses that have been suggested for lead monetiform pieces in the Hellenistic period, including coins, tokens, seals, weights and trial pieces, although de Callataÿ rejects the idea of trial pieces.<sup>27</sup>

Studies of the Roman period have inferred a monetary function for lead tokens, such as the material from Roman Palestine, which includes lead city coins that mirror pieces perhaps used as currency, as well as two lead coins from Khirbet Qeiyafa.<sup>28</sup> Numerous lead pieces from 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Susa are also interpreted as lead coins, based on the similarity of their designs to the bronze coinage.<sup>29</sup> Large lead pieces from Spain were interpreted as a company coinage for those working in mining and oil production, although recent scholarship has discounted the mining aspect.<sup>30</sup> One study suggests they may have been used in the oil trade between Spain and Italy, although this is rejected by Stannard as this would date them to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, rather than the more probable 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.<sup>31</sup>

There is, however, a general trend towards consideration of non-monetary purposes for tokens in the Roman period. In Athens, tokens inscribed with the name of a play or festival (e.g. ΠΑΝΑ for the *Panathenia* and ΣΟΤΗΡΑ for the *Soteria*) have been assumed to be entrance tickets.<sup>32</sup> Others with the initials of individuals were perhaps used in a public distribution made by the named person, or as entrance tickets to games or festivals held by the individual.<sup>33</sup> As with Hellenistic Athens, there are many similarities between the imagery used on tokens and on contemporary coinage of the city.<sup>34</sup> The idea of tokens in Roman Athens facilitating euergetic practices has been developed further by Gkikaki, based on the fact that tokens were found in the Bouleuterion Plateia, an area where the elite could conspicuously perform their works.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, there were multiple occasions where it is plausible that tokens

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<sup>27</sup> de Callataÿ 2010 provides an overview of these categories, before exploring the concept of trial pieces.

<sup>28</sup> Farhi 2009-10 discusses lead city coins from Roman Palestine; Farhi 2013 covers pieces of lead mirror frame that were possibly used as currency, as well as two lead coins or tokens from Khirbet Qeiyafa. See also Milne 1908 and 1930 where lead tokens from Egypt as an unofficial coinage. This is discussed fully in section 2.4

<sup>29</sup> Le Rider 1959, 236-237.

<sup>30</sup> Paz García-Bellido 1986, 29; See Stannard et al 2019, 127 for explanation that the iconography previously interpreted as a miner holding a shovel is instead a *furnacator*.

<sup>31</sup> Chic García 1994; Stannard 2005, 2.

<sup>32</sup> Crosby 1964, 82-83. ΠΑΝΑ: Svoronos 272a. ΣΟΤΗΡΑ: Svoronos 275-276.

<sup>33</sup> Crosby 1964, 83.

<sup>34</sup> Crosby 1964, 83.

<sup>35</sup> Gkikaki 2019, 135.

facilitated euergetic distributions, for example, the sacrifices financed by the eponymous archon, the hoplite general or the prytanising tribe.<sup>36</sup>

The role played by tokens in facilitating the practice of euergetism is a theme that is paralleled in other eastern provinces in the Roman empire, most notably at Palmyra. The tokens from Palmyra were first published in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and have been much studied since.<sup>37</sup> These tokens are predominantly made from terracotta, but the corpus also includes specimens in iron, bronze, lead and glass. The accepted interpretation is that they were banqueting tickets for use at religious banquets, and Raja notes that the priest or priests holding the banquet would have paid for the occasion.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, Kuhn has demonstrated that the individuals named on four tokens from Ephesos were members of the civic elite, a demographic which was responsible for euergetic distributions or sponsoring games, and therefore tokens could reasonably have served to facilitate this.<sup>39</sup>

Tokens from Rome itself comprise a copper alloy series, many of which have been termed *spintriae*, as well as lead tokens in their thousands. These tokens have traditionally been studied separately according to their material, but recent research has highlighted the similarities between them.<sup>40</sup> The discussion of the purpose of *spintriae* has revolved largely around their sexualised imagery, even though the series is much more varied and exhibits imagery ranging from the portrait of the emperor to a monkey riding a camel.<sup>41</sup> The commonality of the series is the presence of numerals on the reverse, which range from one to 16, and Küter emphasises it is these numbers, rather than the imagery (from a repertoire commonly found in the Roman private sphere) that are more pertinent to discerning their function, a fact also noted by Bateson.<sup>42</sup> The most plausible interpretation to date is that they are gaming pieces, although no gaming board has yet been discovered that would fit the numerical upper limit of 16.<sup>43</sup> There is also some evidence for the utilisation of tokens by organisations

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<sup>36</sup> Gkikaki 2019, 135.

<sup>37</sup> Spoer 1905; Seyrig 1940; Ingholt et al 1955; Al-As'ad et al 2005; Raja 2015a; Raja 2015b; Raja 2016.

<sup>38</sup> Raja 2015a, 182.

<sup>39</sup> Kuhn 2014; see Gülbay and H. Kireç 2008 for catalogue of Ephesian types.

<sup>40</sup> Rowan *forthcoming*.

<sup>41</sup> Buttrey 1973; Küter 2019.

<sup>42</sup> Küter 2019, 90; Bateson 1991, 392.

<sup>43</sup> Küter 2019, 90.

such as the *iuvenes*, suggested by a corpus of copper alloy tokens that refer to Mitreius, a *magister* of a youth organisation.<sup>44</sup>

Lead tokens from Rome and Italy were catalogued by Rostovtzeff in 1903, with the collections of the BnF and the Munich coin cabinet published by Rostovtzeff and Prou, and Overbeck, respectively.<sup>45</sup> Other published collections include those of the Museo di Castelvechio, Verona, the Civic Numismatic Collection in Milan, the Museo Kircheriano in Rome, and the Kestner-Museum in Hanover.<sup>46</sup> A smattering of papers over the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century have focused on tokens from specific locations, such as those from the baths at Fregellae or the port at Ostia.<sup>47</sup> Others have addressed a subset, such as tokens bearing imperial portraits facilitating the distribution of largesse.<sup>48</sup> Thornton considered how the paucity of coinage in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD could have given rise to the use of lead tokens as ‘peasants money’ or coinage in Rome, but concludes that there is not enough evidence to support this.<sup>49</sup> A forthcoming study aims to reassess the token types from Rostovtzeff’s corpus and to place them within their wider context.<sup>50</sup> Another recent study focuses on the evidence for moulds, from which lead tokens were cast in Rome, and argues convincingly that tokens were used and their messages understood on a hyper-local level, perhaps in association with individual shops, bathhouses and festivals.<sup>51</sup> A series of bronze, square, uniface pieces were found in both Ostia and Minturnae. Their proximity to ports has resulted in an interpretation as ‘shipping *tesserae*’ in which they were possibly used as tallies for goods loaded from sea-going vessels into river boats.<sup>52</sup> Tokens continued to be utilised into the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD in the form of copper-alloy *contorniates*, many of which feature iconography pertaining to the games and circus, with some adapted to depict Christian imagery.<sup>53</sup>

The above studies highlight the wide range of functions performed by tokens in the ancient world, some of which pertained to their apparent use as emergency coinage,

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<sup>44</sup> Rowan *forthcoming*.

<sup>45</sup> Rostovtzeff 1903 (*TURS*); BnF: Rostovtzeff and Prou 1900; Munich coin cabinet: Overbeck 1995.

<sup>46</sup> Verona : Arzone and Marinello 2019 ; Milan: Overbeck 2001a; Rome: Ruggiero 1878; Hanover: Mlasowsky 1991.

<sup>47</sup> Fregellae: Pedroni 1997; Ostia: Spagnoli 2017; Stannard 2015.

<sup>48</sup> Mitchiner 1984.

<sup>49</sup> Thornton 1980.

<sup>50</sup> Rowan *forthcoming* 2022.

<sup>51</sup> Rowan 2019.

<sup>52</sup> Stannard 2015.

<sup>53</sup> Mondello 2019.

but the majority of which were more diverse. This is particularly notable in the Roman period, where very few studies have identified tokens to have a monetary function. This distinction between monetary and non-monetary uses is further discussed in section 1.2.3.

There is very little evidence for the use of tokens in the Early Medieval period, however, their presence is evident in the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods. The Kingdom of Jerusalem has yielded several hundred lead tokens as stray finds from over 30 sites, as well as a hoard of 435 tokens from Suba/Belmont castle, 54 from Caesarea and another group from the vicinity of Beirut.<sup>54</sup> These tokens are interpreted as token money used for small, local transactions, manufactured by anyone who had access to the raw materials and a basic workshop.<sup>55</sup> As mentioned above, other studies interpret Medieval tokens in England as a ‘chit for service’ that did not have a set monetary standard relating to the sterling farthing, and were not utilised as an all-purpose coinage.<sup>56</sup> A recent study of tokens from Holme Cultram Abbey, Yorkshire, similarly concludes that tokens at the site were given out as ‘credit’ in exchange for goods or services, to be redeemed later for another service or fee.<sup>57</sup> In some respects, this approach perhaps better describes the purpose of the token money from the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Tokens in the Post-Medieval period served a variety of functions, both of a monetary and non-monetary nature. The variety of non-monetary purposes is evident in the use of jetons, used to help keep accounts and named from the French *jeter*, to throw or cast. They were used on counting boards from the Medieval period through to the Post-Medieval period to assist in calculations, and represented a numerical value.<sup>58</sup> They are interesting examples of how the value that tokens represent can change, as the figure they represented was dependent on where they were placed on the board. Their utilisation started in the Medieval period, where they replaced coins that previously served the same purpose, and the same dies were often used for coins and jetons, with

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<sup>54</sup> Kool 2013, 294-295.

<sup>55</sup> Kool 2013, 302.

<sup>56</sup> Mitchiner and Skinner 1983, 29-30. See also 30-40 for overview of token use in the Medieval period in Europe.

<sup>57</sup> Rennicks 2019, 173.

<sup>58</sup> Mernick and Algar 2001, 213. Their place of manufacture moved throughout this period, from England to France, to Tournai, to Nuremberg.

jetons being centrally pierced to allow them to be immediately distinguished as such.<sup>59</sup> This example highlights the close relationship between coins and tokens, demonstrating how shared iconography is a frequent feature.

Communion tokens were used in Europe, some commonwealth countries and the US from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and were particularly prevalent in Scotland.<sup>60</sup> These tokens were issued to members of a church community who were deemed worthy enough to attend a closed communion. They represented an individual's right to access at this event, whilst on a personal level also representing the faith and virtue of those who were entitled to receive them. Other types of token that represented an individual's right to access include turnpike tokens, which gained the bearer access to one of the many turnpike, or toll roads, across England. These are discussed further in chapter 4 due to their common mis-attribution as Roman theatre tickets.

Tokens in the Post-Medieval period also had a commemorative function, exemplified by the silver tokens distributed by the French king to his court in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. As a material mnemonic, they served to strengthen the king's power through reminding the recipient of their loyalty and links to the monarch, achieved through iconography that was only understood within royal circles.<sup>61</sup> From the 18<sup>th</sup> century, love tokens also served to commemorate events, whether that was sailors embarking on a sea voyage, convicts being sent to the colonies, or quotidian events such as a birth or courtship. These were often adapted from coins, again demonstrating the fine line between these two types of object. Millmore has examined the social context of love tokens, with a focus on one that commemorated the mutiny on the ship the *Minotaur*, and demonstrates how they are material expressions of values such as a sense of belonging, affection and family duty.<sup>62</sup>

Monetary uses for tokens in the Post-Medieval period in England include copper alloy traders tokens issued in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the face of a shortage of low denomination coins.<sup>63</sup> The government did not produce small change as the effort involved in striking many low denominations resulted in less seignorage than it could make from striking

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<sup>59</sup> Mernick and Algar 2001, 215.

<sup>60</sup> Brook 1908; Kerr and Lamb 1946.

<sup>61</sup> Valin 2019.

<sup>62</sup> Millmore 2019.

<sup>63</sup> For an overview see Whiting 1971.

fewer higher denominations.<sup>64</sup> The tokens struck by traders were designed to supplement rather than replace any official coins, and were tied to the monetary system.<sup>65</sup> Work by Burnett has analysed who was striking these tokens, and concluded that it is wealthy and high status individuals, although not the most wealthy and prominent in society.<sup>66</sup>

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, shortages in silver meant that copper coins were used for larger transactions, which in turn led to shortages of copper coins.<sup>67</sup> This was exacerbated by the fact that the mint periodically stopped minting copper coins. Large companies, such as those involved in mining or cotton mills had large payrolls and did not have the necessary coins to pay their workers.<sup>68</sup> The Parys Mining company in Anglesey was one of the first to come up with a solution. As a copper mine, they had large quantities of copper and started to strike their own tokens, valued at one penny, with which to pay their staff.<sup>69</sup> These were redeemable in bulk for gold coins or a banknote at banks and were soon in wide circulation. They were made to standard, and as such tied to the monetary economy.

Whilst not an exhaustive overview, the above literature review has illustrated the variety of uses that tokens had in the past, encompassing use as tallies, tickets, mementoes, objects to confirm entitlement to be somewhere or gain access to goods, as well as objects with a monetary value, either tied into economies or as a ‘chit for service’. It emphasises the close links between tokens and coins, in both their form and iconography, and highlights where monetiform objects have been re-interpreted as tokens. This demonstrates the difficulties in dealing with this material, and reminds us that Crosby’s assertion in relation to the Athenian tokens that the ‘exact use of a particular token is often difficult to determine’ is a caveat that should be borne in mind when studying this material.<sup>70</sup> The above discussion, including the distinction between monetary and non-monetary uses will be employed in the below section (1.2) that defines tokens.

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<sup>64</sup> Burnett 2019, 190.

<sup>65</sup> Burnett 2019, 189.

<sup>66</sup> Burnett 2019.

<sup>67</sup> Selgin 2008, 20.

<sup>68</sup> Selgin 2008, 7-8.

<sup>69</sup> Selgin 2008, 42-49.

<sup>70</sup> Crosby 1964, 79.

The variety of uses outlined in the above overview are by no means all applicable to the tokens discussed in this thesis, but they do demonstrate trends in how scholarship understands tokens to have functioned. For example, the majority of studies of ancient tokens emphasise their non-monetary nature, and therefore a re-examination of the so-called lead token coinage of Egypt is explored in this thesis (section 2.4). The use of tokens for euergetic activities is a function that will be investigated for tokens in Gaul and Egypt, and it will be posited that a lack of personal euergetism in Roman Britain can perhaps account for the dearth of tokens in the province. Other uses, such as administration in ports will be considered where appropriate for tokens found on sites that had significant ports (e.g. Lyon – section 3.3). The function of tokens in later periods is useful to bear in mind, but not necessarily directly applicable to tokens in the ancient world, and will therefore sparingly inform interpretation.

### **1.1.2 Theoretical Approaches**

The above literature review outlines how tokens were used from their first conception to the modern day, however, it is apparent that explicitly theorised approaches are not frequently applied to the study of tokens. Several theoretical approaches are applicable to their study, and are utilised in this thesis to explore the place that tokens held in social and economic life in the Roman period. The key concepts of these approaches are discussed below.

Tokens have been neglected for reassessment within the ‘object turn’, a framework that emphasises the agency of objects, rather than perceiving them as passive objects manipulated by human will. These ideas came to prominence through the anthropologist Appadurai’s *The Social Life of Things*, and within that volume Kopytoff’s ‘The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process’ which highlight the complex relationship between humans and objects, that result in transformations of both human and artefact.<sup>71</sup> Kopytoff’s work demonstrates that objects can operate in different spheres and networks during their use-lives, and as such have the potential for their use and social perceptions to be renegotiated. This theoretical framework is applicable to tokens that have perhaps been reused, either as

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<sup>71</sup> Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Gell 1998 is the seminal work on the agency of art, a key and closely related aspect of the agency of tokens, given that they frequently bear iconography. See 2.3.2 for a case study of the complex entanglement of iconography, identity and tokens in Roman Egypt.

religious offerings (see section 2.2.8), or pierced for suspension and therefore curated (e.g. Egypt nos. 126, 137, 139, 141).

Globalisation is a framework that has been utilised in Roman Archaeology to emphasise connectivity and cultural exchange within the Roman world.<sup>72</sup> Its development was one of the responses to the dissatisfaction with the dominant paradigm of Romanisation, which emphasised the ‘top down’ influence of Roman culture at the expense of the indigenous experience.<sup>73</sup> This dichotomy between ‘Roman’ and ‘native’ furthermore neglected the complexities of cultural interactions. Glocalisation is an approach that perhaps sits within globalisation, although as an approach in its own right it is currently under-theorised.<sup>74</sup> Its key significance is that it explicitly posits that global elements can be transformed on local scales. It is increasingly utilised in Roman archaeology to acknowledge that material culture from the Roman milieu was adapted in different ways on local levels across the Roman empire.<sup>75</sup> Tokens, as objects that are found in all Roman provinces, would benefit from analysis utilising a glocalisation framework, particularly as their areas of circulation were specific to the locality or region where they were manufactured. This framework is especially apt as this thesis will demonstrate that the iconography and legends on tokens had relevance to the local communities who made them, despite the employment of iconographic and epigraphic conventions with wider relevance to the Roman milieu.

Anderson’s work on ‘imagined communities’ is another theoretical framework with applicability to the study of tokens.<sup>76</sup> He suggests that people are united by the factors that they have in common, which can lead to the creation of formalised communities, such as nations. These communities are imagined because it is not possible to know everyone within the group, and therefore individuals have their own perception of what the community is. Tokens, with their iconography and legends of local relevance which require local knowledge to read them, create and reinforce spheres of understanding. Their inherent properties of inclusion and exclusion develop or hinder

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<sup>72</sup> Pitts and Versluys 2014; Hingley 2005.

<sup>73</sup> Pitts and Versluys 2014, 19; Gardner 2013.

<sup>74</sup> Roudometof 2016.

<sup>75</sup> van Alten 2017 puts this theory in practice using two case studies focused on religious material culture.

<sup>76</sup> Anderson 1983.

unifying factors and they assist in the materialisation of ‘imagined communities’. For example, in the Roman period anyone who received a token as part of a euergetic distribution was a part of a community which benefitted from a higher-ranking individual’s patronage, even if they were not aware of every other person who had also received a token.

Theories of value are also applicable to the study of tokens due to the fact that in most instances tokens possess very little intrinsic value. Instead, the value of a token is its ability to represent something else, whether that is access to goods, services, or completion of a social action such as fulfilment of a vow in the Roman world. Definitions of value are not straightforward, and are further complicated by the ability of the value of objects to change over time or use-context.<sup>77</sup> Value is therefore contingent on circumstances such as the rarity of material within a given society, or on the object’s use.<sup>78</sup> In regards to tokens, their representative value is only understood within the community, or imagined community, within which it operates. Furthermore, the concept of ‘de-valuation’ is pertinent to the study of tokens, as they frequently are objects of one-time use. Once an object is discarded it is de-valued, or ‘discharged’.<sup>79</sup> In the case of tokens, this act of being discharged is likely to occur soon into its use-life, once it has fulfilled its representative aspect and is no longer valid. It is, however, possible for tokens to have or take on different forms of value. For example, tokens pierced for suspension and curated were presumably imbued with other forms of value, such as sentimental or religious beliefs.

This emphasis on the agency of objects and art, and the ways in which they are entangled with human agency have in some instances been applied to archaeology, but these perspectives have not, however, reached the field of numismatics to a significant extent.<sup>80</sup> These theoretical frameworks will therefore be utilised in this thesis, where applicable, to understand how tokens were able to play active social roles in the Roman period.

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<sup>77</sup> Crook 2019.

<sup>78</sup> Simmel 2011.

<sup>79</sup> Crook 2019.

<sup>80</sup> Archaeology: see Gosden and Marshall 1999; Olsen 2010. Numismatics: an exception to this is Kemmers and Myrberg 2011.

## 1.2. Defining ‘tokens’

### 1.2.1 Terminology from ancient sources

The term *tessera* (from the Greek τεσσαρες, meaning ‘four’) may have been used to refer to tokens in the Roman period, as well as the terms *missilia* and *nomismata*. There are accounts of emperors throwing, or distributing, such items to the crowd who could then exchange them for prizes or their allotment of grain.<sup>81</sup> *Missilia* refers to something that is thrown, while *nomismata* implies that the distributed item is monetiform.<sup>82</sup> Other sources describe little wooden balls that are distributed.<sup>83</sup> *Tessera* is the term that has been applied to tokens most frequently in recent scholarship, but the problem with the term is that its inherent meaning implies that it should refer to objects that are quadrangular. There are numerous instances in the ancient sources where it is used in reference to objects that fit this description.<sup>84</sup> Whether it applies to the round lead tokens from Rome and elsewhere in the empire, as discussed in section 1.1.1 above, is therefore unclear.<sup>85</sup> It seems most likely, however, that these numerous terms referred to either different objects that were distributed, or different types of distribution, and it is not possible to discern if any of the terms can be equated with the tokens discussed in this thesis.

### 1.2.2 Form and material

Tokens are not easily defined, however, it is apparent from the above literature review (section 1.1.1) that tokens are often *monetiform*. They have an appearance not dissimilar to money, although perhaps more aptly, they are most commonly similar to the form of money that is coinage.<sup>86</sup> Sometimes this appearance includes aspects that are the same as coins, such as manufacture from the same materials including copper alloy, or other metals that are not used in coinage, such as lead. Often, tokens are small and round in the same manner as coins, and frequently they share similar iconographies. The morphological exceptions to this are, however, numerous. Other

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<sup>81</sup> Suetonius, *Domitian* 4.5; Suetonius, *Augustus* 41.1 and 40.2, Suetonius, *Nero* 11.1.

<sup>82</sup> *Missilia*: for discussion of term and use in ancient texts describing distributions see Simon 2008; see e.g. Suetonius, *Domitian* 4.5. *Nomismata*: Harrison 2001, 304 for discussion; see e.g. Martial, *Epigrams*, 1.11.1; 1.26.3; 8.78.9 and 12.62.11.

<sup>83</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 66.25.4-5 and 67.4.4.

<sup>84</sup> Polybius, *The Histories* 6.34 where the term refers to a wooden tablet; Suetonius, *Augustus* 69.2 where it refers to dice.

<sup>85</sup> As discussed by Virlovet 1988; Turcan 1987, 52.

<sup>86</sup> The term monetiform itself is fraught with difficulties, as the form money takes is varied, ranging from dolphins in Olbia from 500-400 BC (see ANS 1944.100.14440) to spadelike *bubi* and knifelike *daobi* in the Late Spring and Autumn (722-481 BC) period China (See Horesh 2013, 21).

materials used for tokens include terracotta, as at Palmyra, and glass, as is the case for a possible token series from Egypt.<sup>87</sup> Tokens made from bone are also known; one example from Rome is in the form of a bone ring.<sup>88</sup> However, these cases are relatively rare, and tokens are most commonly made from lead. The variety of shapes is also apparent at Palmyra, where tokens are not only round, but also square, triangular, semi-circular, piriform, octagonal and trapezoidal.<sup>89</sup> They can have images and/or iconography on one or both faces, or in some instances might exhibit no surface features at all. In these cases, identification as a token relies on careful assessment of both the immediate and wider archaeological context (see section 4.2.1). In terms of size, whilst most tokens are a similar size to coins, some examples from Roman Spain are larger than most coins.<sup>90</sup> Tokens are less likely to adhere to a standard in terms of their weights or diameters, although as demonstrated by the post-medieval tokens issued by the Parys mining company (discussed in section 1.1.1) they can do so. Given the variety of forms that money can take, this variation in the appearance of tokens can still be encompassed in the term monetiform. In the same manner that money can have different appearances, but in the periods most relevant to this thesis (the Hellenistic, Classical and Roman periods) it most frequently takes the form of coinage, tokens also can have varied forms, but broadly speaking are monetiform, with most sharing commonalities with coinage specifically.

### **1.2.3. Uses of tokens**

The variety of uses for tokens outlined in the above literature review are varied, but they can be categorised into two groups: those that serve a monetary function and those that do not. If utilised in a monetary capacity, tokens usually must be linked to the monetary economy, as demonstrated by trade tokens and Parys Mining Company tokens in the Post-Medieval period, where they represented a denomination. A ‘chit-for-service’ could be exchanged for money, but did not have the same universally accepted monetary value of tokens that were explicitly linked to a set value. The exact way that ancient tokens with a supposed monetary purpose functioned has not been explicitly outlined in the scholarship, and therefore Mitchiner and Skinners’ aforementioned distinction between token use in the Medieval and Post-Medieval

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<sup>87</sup> Glass tokens from Egypt: see below.

<sup>88</sup> Overbeck 2001/2002.

<sup>89</sup> Seyrig et al 1955. Square: nos. 10a, 10b. Triangular: no. 206. Semi-circular: no. 66. Piriform: no. 33. Octagonal: no. 22. Trapezoidal: no. 452.

<sup>90</sup> Stannard 2011, no. 17 is 53mm, no. 18 is 51mm and no. 19 is 49mm.

periods can perhaps encompass the ancient world. Until studies demonstrate how tokens were tied into monetary economies they cannot be assumed to have had a monetary worth. The exception of course, are tokens that are repurposed as money.<sup>91</sup> At this juncture, it is worth acknowledging that fiat money, such as coins, could also be considered to be tokens in that they represent a monetary value, however coinage is a separate class of object, tied into a monetary system and usually issued under the main governing authority (see below).

The issuer of tokens is therefore a key aspect to their definition. The issuing authority of tokens is usually not the reigning power, although tokens from Rome bearing the portrait and name of emperors, and tokens of the 17<sup>th</sup> century French court, demonstrate that there are exceptions. Most of the issuers outlined in the literature review were private individuals, or corporations. This is emblematic of the ease with which tokens can be manufactured and used in society; they are not subject to the same regulations as state issued objects such as coinage. Issue under private individuals and local groups also results in areas of circulation smaller than that of coinage, due to the fact that the issuer is usually only recognised (and therefore can act as a guarantor for a token's value) in a smaller geographical area. This is reflected in the low quantities of tokens in the Roman period in comparison to, for example, coins, which circulated more widely.<sup>92</sup>

For tokens without a monetary value, the aspect that they represent is varied. It includes representation of an entitlement, for example to receive goods as with distributions in Rome, or to gain access to an area, as with Hellenistic and Roman banqueting and theatre tokens, or Post-Medieval communion tokens. In the ancient world this entitlement to goods or access to places was often linked to the practice of euergetism, where the entitlement was gifted. Tokens did not, therefore, represent a monetary value in the same manner that, for example, a purchased ticket might.

Tokens can also represent numerical values, as demonstrated by the use of jetons in the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods. In this case, the value that they represent changes dependent on where on the board they are placed. Tokens are able to represent

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<sup>91</sup> This was the case with telephone tokens in Italy, which in the 1970s came to circulate in lieu of coins which had the same value as the tokens.

<sup>92</sup> This is also applicable to pseudo coins, which were more numerous and circulated more widely than tokens. See Stannard 2005, 2011, 2019.

sentimental values and social relationships too, exemplified by the silver tokens distributed by French kings in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and love tokens. In the ancient world, tokens that were pierced and therefore assumed to be curated and worn, perhaps can be interpreted as representing intangible human values.<sup>93</sup> The commonality in all of the uses of these tokens is that the tokens themselves *represent something else*. This is also applicable to tokens with a monetary aspect, in that they do not have an inherent value, but instead represented an assigned value.

#### **1.2.4. Objects not within the remit of the term ‘token’**

A brief discussion of objects that do not fall under the definition of token is worthwhile in order to further delineate the field of study. The most archaeologically visible artefact type of similar form to Roman tokens are gaming counters.<sup>94</sup> Whilst they are tokens of sorts, in that they represent a value or a player on a gaming board, their association with gaming is often clear through discovery in sets, or their exhibiting one flat side which moved across a board, or an abraded surface indicative of this movement.<sup>95</sup> Gaming counters also demonstrate a wider range of materials than tokens, being often made from bone, glass, pottery, tile, stone and ivory whereas tokens were most commonly made of lead in the Roman period.<sup>96</sup> They are often plain or bear simple geometric decoration, whereas tokens nearly always exhibit iconography and/or legends.<sup>97</sup> They are also conceptually different to tokens as their value is relevant only to the game with which they used, whereas a token’s value has real world applicability. As such they operate in a different sphere to that of the tokens examined in this thesis.

The line between gaming counter and token has not, however, always been clear. A series of ivory counters for a game likely originating from Roman Egypt were thought to be theatre tickets in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a view that has persisted in more recent literature despite Rostovtzeff’s evidence that they were gaming counters.<sup>98</sup> The

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<sup>93</sup> This is sometimes the case with tokens from Egypt. See Egypt nos. 126, 137, 139, 141 and 154 in appendix below.

<sup>94</sup> Roman gaming counters are currently the subject of a PhD thesis being undertaken by Thomas Daniaux as part of the *Locus Ludi* project.

<sup>95</sup> Crummy 1983, 94 for discussion of abraded pottery counters.

<sup>96</sup> The range of materials used for counters is evident in most excavation reports e.g. Crummy 1983: Bone: 91, nos. 2226-2283. Glass: 92, nos. 2284-2294. Pottery: 93-95, nos. 2295-2383. Tile: 95-96, nos. 2483-2495 Stone: 96, 2496-2499. For ivory see: Rostovtzeff 1905a.

<sup>97</sup> For variety of studies on tokens from the Neolithic to the present day see Crisà, Gkikaki, and Rowan 2019. Most of the examples in this volume exhibit imagery and/or legends.

<sup>98</sup> Bieber 1961, 246-247. See Rostovtzeff 1905a.

confusion largely arose from the fact that the counters bear a numeral and inscription on one face, and an image on the other. These images sometimes depict theatre masks, which were interpreted by Bieber as pertaining to different types of performance, while the inscriptions referring to gods were thought to signal different sections of the theatre that were represented by statues of deities.<sup>99</sup> Rostovtzeff's reasoning for their use as gaming counters was based on the discovery of a complete set of fifteen found together in a box within a child's grave in Crimea, thereby demonstrating that they were not for distribution, but instead formed a set.<sup>100</sup> Current scholarship recognises these objects as gaming pieces, but this situation highlights the importance of knowing the immediate archaeological context of where objects such as tokens or gaming pieces are from, given that without this they are easily misinterpreted.<sup>101</sup> The use of bone counters as gaming pieces is also apparent in other areas of the Roman empire, where they are often less elaborate but still exhibit numerals.<sup>102</sup>

Similarly, inscribed pottery and lead roundels do not constitute tokens. In the case of pottery roundels, comprising sherds of pottery that were adapted into large circular counters, it is thought that they also served a purpose as gaming pieces.<sup>103</sup> A variety of functions, including gaming pieces and tags, have been suggested for large lead roundels, some of which are pierced and others of which have handwritten inscriptions in the form of letters or numerals.<sup>104</sup> The above objects are difficult to discern a use for, and further discussion to highlight these difficulties is found in chapter 4 'Discerning tokens in Roman Britain', which assesses the variety of objects that could have functioned as tokens.

Weights differ to tokens in that whilst they often exhibit iconography or inscriptions, their mass is more varied and they are usually considerably heavier. For example, the average mass of the tokens in the Collection Recamier (discussed in section 3.3) is 1.2g, the average mass of tokens from Egypt is 3.7g. The average mass of tokens from

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<sup>99</sup> Bieber 1961, 246-247.

<sup>100</sup> Rostovtzeff 1905a.

<sup>101</sup> Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1975; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1976; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1980; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1984; For a recent study of these Alexandrian bone counters see Bianchi 2015.

<sup>102</sup> *RIB* II.III, 105 ff.

<sup>103</sup> *RIB* II.III, 98.

<sup>104</sup> *RIB* II.III, 86-89.

Italy is 3.1 and from Athens is 4.6.<sup>105</sup> Tokens from across the Roman empire therefore weigh in the region of 1-5g, although with clear provincial differences. In contrast, lead weights exhibit a greater range of mass, with the majority much heavier than tokens. For example, of the lead weights on the Roman standard from the Athenian Agora the lightest is 29g (no.76) and the heaviest is 324g (no. 62).<sup>106</sup> Other key defining characteristics of weights are their greater diameter and thickness than tokens. Weights can, of course, be lighter than the example from Athens outlined above, and discerning whether an object is a weight or a token is not always unproblematic. Of the five discoidal lead weights from Springhead in Kent, two are within the range expected for tokens at 4.2g and 3.5g, and Schuster notes one of these may be a weight or a token.<sup>107</sup> In this instance the discs are blank or inscribed with rough markings, further complicating the picture (discussed more extensively in section 4.2.1). This example demonstrates that whilst weights may almost always be distinguished from tokens through greater mass or different morphology, as with other lead objects, in rare cases achieving a specific identification may be more problematic.

Another class of object with a superficial resemblance to tokens is lead sealings. Still's thesis outlines the key characteristic of lead sealings, and his typology categorises them into 10 types.<sup>108</sup> All types aside from numbers 4, 9, 10 are distinguished from tokens by the presence of a longitudinal perforation which once housed the attachment string and many have additional morphological differences. The types without the perforation have other diagnostic features that make them morphologically different to tokens in that they are either comprised from multiple plates or and/or have additional projections.<sup>109</sup> In contrast to sealings, tokens are neither longitudinally

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<sup>105</sup> Average weights for tokens from Egypt, Italy and Athens taken from data downloaded from Token Communities online database <https://coins.warwick.ac.uk/token-specimens/> accessed 5.4.2021.

Average weights for tokens from Collection Récamier from author's own data collected on research visits to the BnF in October 2018 and July 2019.

<sup>106</sup> Lang 1964, 31-32.

<sup>107</sup> Schuster 2011, 250, no. 199 may be a token; 251, fig.50 outlines the mass of the weights from the site, including the 5 discoidal weights.

<sup>108</sup> Still 1995, 35-52, and 53, fig. 1. His typology comprises: 1. Two-sided with different sized obverse and reverse with flange around flan. 2. Two-sided with various shapes of flan. 3. Two-sided with squared-off appearance having been chopped from a lead bar. 4. Two plates joined together by strip of metal. 5. One-sided with swelling on blank reverse. 6. One-sided with flat reverse. 7. Mould formed bars. 8. One-sided with central nipple. 9. One-sided with pedestal foot projection. 10. One-sided consisting of two plates.

<sup>109</sup> Nos. 4, 9, and 10.

pierced, do not feature additional swellings or projections, and are not formed from joined plates. In short, they exhibit no means of attachment.

Whilst tokens and coins share similarities in terms of their monetiform appearance, they also differ considerably. Coins are a form of money, and therefore they are struck to a standard which is guaranteed by the issuing authority. This is reflected in their appearance, as they bear a signifier of this guarantee, which in the Roman period was usually in the form of the name and portrait of the issuing authority.<sup>110</sup> This is not the case for tokens, where a standard is not necessary for them to fulfil their function, and therefore they do not have to bear the name or image of their issuing authority, although they sometimes do so.<sup>111</sup> Instead, tokens exhibit a greater variety of images and legends, and whilst in the Roman period they frequently draw their inspirations from and adapt coin reverse types, their designs are recognisably different. The fact that coins are made to a standard is also reflected in the uniformity of their diameters and/or weights according to their denomination. This uniformity is less likely to be present in tokens, especially in the Roman period. It has not, however, previously been the subject of detailed study and is therefore explored in section 2.4. Furthermore, because tokens are not struck to a standard, there is greater freedom in the materials used to manufacture them. For instance, a soft metal such as lead which damages easily is not a practical choice for a circulating coin with a guaranteed value, and therefore a standardised weight and/or diameter, but suffices for a token with no intrinsic value. Tokens can be made from the same materials as coins, such as copper-alloy or silver, but the evidence suggests that tokens made from or incorporating precious metals were not in circulation and instead formed votive deposits (see 3.2.3 and 3.2.8 below).

The fact that coins are a form of money also has implications for their conceptual differences to tokens. Tokens are usually not struck to a standard and therefore they lack the broad exchangeability of coinage. Whilst the area in which coinage is guaranteed may be limited geographically, coins may be exchanged for a wide range of goods and services, whereas tokens usually entitle the bearer to a specific item or service, or fulfil a specific role. This contributes to their usually very limited

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<sup>110</sup> Norena 2011, 248.

<sup>111</sup> See section 2.4.1 where a case study explores the Athena types from Oxyrhynchus and concludes that they were not struck to a standard.

geographic circulation, as they are not recognised beyond the area where that item or service is relevant. The specificity of the social circumstances and networks within which the token and user are enmeshed are therefore a key difference between tokens and coins. This is because tokens can only be guaranteed in the area where their issuer and what they represent is recognised, within their locality or ‘imagined community’. As they are usually issued by private individuals or groups this area is not likely to be extensive. Furthermore, the lack of broad exchangeability of tokens in comparison to coins is linked to concepts of their value. The perceived value of coins by a society differs to that of tokens, even though they both may not have an inherent value equal to their material. This is because, as discussed above, tokens lose their value after they have been redeemed for the thing or aspect that they represent. In contrast, the lack of restrictions on the goods or services which coins can buy means that they are exchanged multiple times.

Imitation coins are also disregarded as serving a token function, even though they are representative of a monetary value.<sup>112</sup> This is because in imitating coins they imitate another object with its own function, and their value is linked to that function. Imitation coins, like legitimate coins, can be exchanged multiple times, whereas a token can only normally be used once for its primary purpose. For the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, Bastien makes the distinction between cast coin copies that were likely produced by private individuals, and those that were struck in large quantities by organised workshops.<sup>113</sup> Large scale production indicates that imitation coins were produced to be exchanged in the same manner as all-purpose coinage for the same universal range of goods and services. This scenario is plausible given that it has been posited that often instances of increased use of imitation coins in the Roman period are reflective of times of relative prosperity where there may have been an increased desire for coins.<sup>114</sup> In contrast, as discussed above, tokens operate in limited spheres of exchange, only being valid for a specific item or service. Cast coin copies can still be distinguished from tokens even though they were not produced on the same large scale as struck imitations. This is because again, in copying coins, they were available for universal exchange in the same manner as coins and their perceived value was linked

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<sup>112</sup> Studies on counterfeit coins in the case study areas include Pilon 2004; Harper 2010.

<sup>113</sup> Bastien 1985, 144.

<sup>114</sup> Wigg-Wolf 2020, 237.

to that of coins. Lead coin copies from Piercebridge are discussed in section 4.3.2 to ascertain if they were deliberately manufactured for votive deposition, and whether that means they functioned as tokens. The conclusion reached is that the coin copies ritually maimed and deposited in the River Tees were not made solely for this purpose and therefore were not deposited as votive tokens.

Likewise, ‘irregular coinage’ (e.g. radiate copies struck on chopped sheet; cut halves) like those discussed by Marsden, or ‘plated coins’ and ‘*minimissimi*’ as analysed by Kiernan do not come under the remit of tokens, as it is not possible to know if the irregularity of these coins changed their function as all-purpose coinage.<sup>115</sup> Coin impressions and wax coins do not necessarily fall under the remit of ‘token’, but these are discussed further in chapter 3 (Gaul) and chapter 4 (Britain).<sup>116</sup>

### 1.2.5 Tokens and votives

Some of the tokens in this thesis fall under the sub-categorisation of ‘votive token’, and therefore some discussion is needed of the concept of votives in relation to that of tokens. Votive objects are generally defined as objects offered to a deity in fulfilment of a petitioner getting a desired outcome from their request to that deity. This result was known as the *solutio* and the votive offering was often in the form of a sacrificed animal, an altar, or other form of wealth such as coins.<sup>117</sup>

Votive objects are found in a range of forms across the Roman provinces, including as purpose-made miniaturised objects, mutilated or transformed objects, or other specifically ritual objects.<sup>118</sup> However, votive deposits also encompass a wide range of artefacts and ecofacts that have no specifically ritualised aspect to their form, material or function beyond their deposition in a clearly ritualised context e.g. watery places such as Piercebridge (see section 4.2.3), or within temples. Some tokens can be classified as votives on the same solely contextual basis, as aspects of their form such as monetiform shape, their material or their iconography are not on their own able to indicate a votive function.<sup>119</sup> However, there are cases where material or iconography

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<sup>115</sup> Kiernan 2009, 160-164; Marsden 2011.

<sup>116</sup> See Kiernan 2009, 158-160.

<sup>117</sup> Derks 1995, 115.

<sup>118</sup> Minitaire objects : Kiernan 2009 ; For discussion of different categories of votive object see Henry, Roberts and Roskams (2020).

<sup>119</sup> Tokens’ iconography does not reliably indicate their function. It has resulted in *spintriae* being assigned a function as brothel tokens, despite no archaeological or historical evidence to suggest that this is the case (see section 4.4.1).

can help to suggest a votive function alongside a ritualised context. For example, lead tokens from the temple at Digeon in Gaul were inset with a square of silver, and silver tokens were found in a well in Nîmes. In these instances it can be posited that the silver was included in these tokens in order to increase the value of the votive token and therefore the expenditure incurred by the act of deposition. Their manufacture from or inclusion of precious metals, whilst giving them an intrinsic value, does not preclude their having characteristics of base metal tokens, namely a representational aspect and single-purpose use. Tokens, whether made from precious or base metals, thus can be representative of fulfilment of a vow in the same manner as other votive objects. Their key characteristics e.g. monetiform without being a coin, indicate their sub-classification as votive tokens rather than as any other votive object.

#### **1.2.6. Summary and definition**

The key defining characteristic of tokens is that they are specifically representative. As such, they may represent an individual's entitlement to gain material goods, services, or access. Tokens may also represent non-tangible concepts such as the fulfilment of vow, or personal relationships. Whilst the specificity of exchange differentiates tokens from coins, this distinction is also demonstrated by the generally single use nature of tokens (at least in terms of primary use), and the provincial or local resolution at which they are recognised. Tokens are used in more contained networks than coinage, and their value is understood by more limited communities than is the case for most coinage. This context is reflected in their issuers; tokens are often, although not always, issued by authorities other than the reigning power or the state.

In terms of form, tokens are generally monetiform objects and do not have to be made to exact standards. They are made of a range of materials, although in the Roman period the most common material for tokens is lead. They frequently exhibit legends and iconography drawing on local, provincial and empire wide visual languages. Whilst tokens share superficial similarities with other lead objects, they can often be differentiated by their size, form, and weight, as well as their immediate archaeological context. However, this is not always possible due to variation in preservation, ambiguities of form, and lack of context for some examples.

## **1.3. Methodology**

### **1.3.1 Lacunae in token studies**

The above literature review has shown that the approach to studying tokens in the ancient world primarily involves analysis of tokens from one particular site or province. There have been few attempts to collate tokens from multiple sites within a province, or to compare how tokens looked and functioned across provinces. Instances where tokens were collated into a corpus, such as the catalogues by Rostovtzeff or Overbeck, often do not note findspots and certainly do not contain excavation data, such as the type of site, building or context that they were discovered in. This information is vital to modern archaeology, and it is difficult to discern exactly how tokens functioned without it.

The dating of tokens also suffers from these issues, and where there is no archaeological data tokens must be assigned a Roman date through assessment of the style of their iconography and lettering, as well as their surface patina. In provinces such as Egypt, where many types are strongly influenced by the imagery of the contemporary Alexandrian coinage, this is a straightforward process. In provinces such as Britain where there are very few tokens, all of which bear individual designs that are not influenced by coin types, assigning a date is more difficult. In these cases comparison of the iconography to more generalised classical imagery, alongside consideration of the patina, provides some indication of date. Even when the archaeological data is not as detailed as one would hope, it can still be of use for dating tokens. For example, although the archaeology of Karanis in Egypt does not comprise dated stratigraphic contexts, it has been broadly phased (see section 2.2.2) and thus we can be fairly confident of a Roman date for the tokens found there. Likewise surface finds can be useful, such as the token from Côte Vitlet in Gaul which is from a known Roman shrine and habitation site. These factors can then be taken into account alongside iconographic style and legend to suggest a Roman date where appropriate.

Few studies of ancient tokens analyse their iconography and attempt to set it within the wider context of imagery in the Roman period, or assess how tokens, either through their imagery, use, or reference to wider theoretical concepts had an impact on community life. This thesis will therefore attempt to address this lacuna where possible, although the difficulties in ascertaining exactly how tokens functioned limit the application of this framework to a certain extent.

Within the museum sector, tokens are not prioritised for documentation, in part due to their unappealing appearance (in the instance of lead tokens, they are often degraded and discerning the imagery and legend on their surface is difficult). There is confusion as to the date of tokens, and also whether they should be housed within numismatic collections or not, particularly when they are made from materials such as lead or terracotta which are not common materials for coins. This is emblematised by the terracotta Post-Medieval turnpike tokens in the British Museum, half of which are in the Department of Coins and Medals, with the other half in the Department of Britain Europe and Prehistory, which does not have a numismatic focus.<sup>120</sup> Some are recorded as Roman and others are recorded as Post-Medieval.<sup>121</sup>

Additionally, tokens are often ignored in excavation reports for Roman sites, specialists being unsure as to what exactly they are (further compounded by their often degraded appearance), as was the case for the unpublished lead pieces from two sites in central London discussed in section 4.3.3. Lastly, despite their import in daily life in the Roman period, tokens are not acknowledged in wider studies of the ancient world, with their existence little known amongst scholars.<sup>122</sup>

It is evident, therefore, that Roman tokens are due study and reassessment in light of modern archaeological methods that can provide clear contextual information to aid in discerning their function, which in turn elucidates wider issues of economy and society in the Roman empire. A comparative study is also needed to assess both the similarities and differences in how tokens looked and functioned both on an intra- and inter-province level, and to identify if there are areas of the Roman empire where tokens were not present and to theorise the reasons behind this. Finally, there is a need to place the imagery found on Roman tokens within its wider context in the period, and where possible, discuss how tokens can inform our understanding of the ancient

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<sup>120</sup> These tokens are discussed further in chapter 4.

<sup>121</sup> Tokens in the Department of Britain, Europe and Prehistory at the British Museum are recorded as Roman (Britain nos. 16-19), whilst those in the Department of Coins and Medals are recorded as Post-Medieval (Britain nos. 8-15). The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge also records these tokens as Roman (Britain nos. 1-7).

<sup>122</sup> Introductory texts on ancient numismatics offer no comprehensive overview of tokens (e.g. Metcalf 2012); they are not used as a source in overviews of ancient art (e.g. Marconi 2014); they are excluded from wider narratives of the Roman world which use a diverse range of sources in their scholarship (e.g. Woolf 2012).

world based upon wider theoretical concepts of how the agency of objects is entangled with human actions.

### 1.3.2 Aims

This thesis seeks to address the above lacunae through completion of the following aims:

- Collation of a corpus of tokens from the provinces of Egypt, Gaul and Britain, taking account of archaeological data wherever available.
- Characterisation of the appearance and function of tokens in the above three provinces, including contextualisation of their imagery.
- Comparison between how tokens looked and functioned in the three case study provinces, set within the wider context of the use of tokens across the Roman empire.
- Assessment of the role tokens *actively* played in community life as everyday ‘things’.
- Identification of areas where tokens were not utilised prevalently, and account for the reasons behind this.

These aims were achieved through the following actions. Data was collated from published material, including excavation reports, articles, monographs and catalogues, as well as museum collections. The gathered corpus does not aim to be entirely comprehensive of every token published or known in museum collections. This is because in some instances, such as Egypt, tokens are known in their hundreds and therefore study of this quantity of objects is beyond the scope of this thesis.<sup>123</sup> Secondly, many tokens in published catalogues and museum collections do not have data pertaining to their provenance, in that they have neither information as to their immediate archaeological context, nor a findspot. Since tokens need reassessment based upon the information archaeological methods can provide, it is pragmatic to prioritise tokens for which this data is available. For example, in chapter 2 (Egypt) only tokens with excavation data are assessed from the Ashmolean collection. Tokens without this level of data from the Ashmolean Museum, the American Numismatic Society collection, the Petrie Museum and the Cologne collection are incorporated into discussion where appropriate based upon the utility of their imagery in section

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<sup>123</sup> The author has personally examined over 600 tokens from Egypt in the course of this research.

2.3, or weights and diameters in section 2.4. Similarly, in chapter 3 (Gaul) a group of tokens published in the *CIL* with no findspot, excavation data, or new types is not incorporated into the overview.<sup>124</sup> The utilisation of archaeological data incorporated all possible information, for example the immediate archaeological context, associated finds and date, as well as the wider geographical context. Where only a findspot was available, such as a town, or area within a town, tokens were assessed for how they looked and functioned in a broader geographical context. Relevant material from ancient literature was also consulted where appropriate.

The tokens from the three case studies were analysed in terms of their form, material and types. Form involved assessment of their shape and size. In terms of material, only metal tokens will be discussed in this thesis. This remit includes primarily lead tokens, but also extends to those of copper-alloy and occasionally silver. Metal tokens were chosen as there are enough to form large datasets for each case study, but other materials were excluded to keep the body of data manageable. Tokens made from other materials are included only where appropriate and discussion is vital for the overarching assessment of tokens in a province, as is the case with the terracotta turnpike tokens from Britain discussed in chapter 4. Types are comprised of iconography and accompanying legend, and the imagery will be examined and set in context alongside other contemporary imagery, such as that found on coins or other portable objects. Key themes in the types of imagery utilised on tokens will be identified and discussed.

### 1.3.3 The case studies and structure of the thesis

The case studies discussed in this thesis - Egypt, Gaul and Britain – have been chosen to provide a representative sample from the Roman empire without overlap with existing studies. For example, tokens in Italy are currently being studied by Clare Rowan, those in Athens by Mairi Gkikaki and those in Sicily by Antonino Crisà, all as part of the Token Communities in the Ancient Mediterranean Project. Additionally, tokens from Palmyra have recently been studied by Rubina Raja, Spain is well covered by the ongoing work of Clive Stannard and others, Yoav Farhi continues to study the tokens of Caesarea Maritima, while Cristian Mondello is currently studying the tokens

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<sup>124</sup> *CIL* XII 5699.

of Late Antiquity.<sup>125</sup> The provinces chosen are therefore well placed for reassessment when considered in the wider context of recent and ongoing scholarship. One case study is from the eastern empire (Egypt), one from the western empire (Gaul) and one from a region where tokens were not used much (Britain), in order to facilitate comparison between tokens and their use in regions with different cultural traditions. These case studies also allow comparison between provinces with a closed currency system (Egypt) and those whose coinage was part of the imperial coinage system under control of Rome (Gaul and Britain) in order to assess to what extent tokens interacted with circulating coinage. These above comparisons should highlight differences in both how tokens were used and their physical form, whilst allowing for cross-regional trends to be observed. Lastly, this approach allows assessment of the material to establish why there were regions where tokens were not much utilised.

Egypt was chosen for the case study from the eastern empire for several reasons. The first is that very little work has been undertaken on the tokens from this region since the work of Milne in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>126</sup> His theory regarding the purpose of tokens as an unofficial low denomination coinage has been accepted by modern scholarship despite a lack of scrutiny of his arguments (see section 2.4 for full overview), and in light of other lead coinages that have been reinterpreted as tokens (see above) his model needs revisiting. The imagery of tokens from Egypt also deserves attention as although the iconography has been identified in previous scholarship, it has not been set within either its local or wider context, or analysed to discern how the images chosen may have had multiple meanings for the viewer. This latter point is particularly pertinent because of the mix of cultural influences (Greek, Roman and Egyptian) that interacted in the province. Tokens from Egypt were therefore in need of reassessment both in terms of their use and imagery. Secondly, the province of Egypt is unique within the Roman empire for its closed currency system.<sup>127</sup> Due to the close relationship between tokens and coins in the ancient world, both in terms of their appearance and function, this case study facilitates assessment of the impact of a closed currency system on the use and form of tokens. Lastly, the

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<sup>125</sup> Italy: Rowan 2019; Rowan 2020 forthcoming. Athens: Gkikaki 2019. Sicily: Crisà 2019. Palmyra: Raja 2015a; Raja 2015b; Raja 2016. Spain: Casariego, Cores and Pliego 1987; Stannard 2005; Stannard 2013; Stannard et al 2017; Carbone 2018. Late Antiquity: Mondello 2019.

<sup>126</sup> Milne 1908; Milne 1914; Milne 1915; Milne 1933; Milne 1935; Milne 1930.

<sup>127</sup> *RPC* I, 13: the Romans continued the closed currency system of the Ptolemies.

historical excavations of Egypt in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries have resulted in much of the material being housed in Britain, as is the case for the tokens in the Ashmolean Museum, and it is therefore easily accessible for study.

Gaul was an apt choice for the western provinces as it has a significant amount of literature focused on tokens from discrete sites, in comparison to other provinces such as Spain where the focus is primarily on one corpus. The site-by-site publication of tokens means that the material from Gaul merits collation and assessment together. The fact that Gaul is divided into the smaller provinces of *Gallia Belgica*, *Gallia Lugdunensis*, *Gallia Aquitania* and *Gallia Narbonensis*, allows for differences to be ascertained in the presence and use of tokens in different areas with diverse historical backgrounds. For example, the presence of Greek colonies from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC in *Gallia Narbonensis* resulted in a different cultural milieu in the Roman period to that of *Gallia Belgica* which had its roots in Celtic traditions.<sup>128</sup>

Lastly, Britain was chosen as the final case study in order to explore a province where, according to initial research, there was little use of tokens in the Roman period.<sup>129</sup> This allowed exploration of the reasons for the utilisation of tokens elsewhere in the empire, as well as hypothesising why tokens were not present in some places. This also facilitated comparison with northern Gaul in order to ascertain if the pattern in token use pertains to heavier use in areas closer to the Rome and the heart of the empire. Britain also provided an opportunity to collate and assess artefacts that have either been termed ‘token’ by scholarship or have the potential to be utilised as a token, despite not exhibiting all the characteristics commonly found in tokens in the Roman period. This served to further clarify how tokens looked and functioned in the Roman empire.

Each of these three case studies requires a slightly different approach due to the diverse nature of the material across provinces. Chapter 2 – Egypt – will assess the different findspots and archaeological contexts of tokens where known, and then will discuss the imagery collectively. This will facilitate an overview of the iconography, and allow

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<sup>128</sup> Wightman 1985, 10-14 for the Celtic traditions of *Gallia Belgica*; Mullen 2013, 30-38 for the history of southern Gaul, including Greek colonial activity.

<sup>129</sup> This initial research comprised searching the Portable Antiquities Scheme database (<https://finds.org.uk/>) which, despite some biases, should include records for objects commonly found in Roman Britain. This was not found to be the case in the instance of Roman tokens, where very few objects are recorded as such. This is discussed fully in section 4.2.6.

key themes to be ascertained. These will then be explored in depth through case studies, which will be supplemented by tokens from Egypt that do not have findspots but are housed in museum collections. This same method will be taken for the analysis of the function of tokens. This approach best suits the material from Egypt, which is significant in quantity and much of which is unprovenanced.

Chapter 3 – Gaul – will provide a detailed overview of tokens which sets them within the wider context of both the site on which they were found, and the wider geographic area, in terms of both appearance and function. This approach is necessary, because tokens in Gaul are diverse on a site-by-site basis and cannot be generalised in the first instance. This approach is feasible as most tokens have enough modern archaeological detail to facilitate such discussion. The exception to this are tokens from Lyon, where thousands of examples are known from the river Saône and so they lack a primary archaeological context. The large quantity requires that examples are highlighted, and key themes drawn out from the corpus. A sub-set of tokens from Gaul will be discussed together, as despite having findspots in different places, they have a shared characteristic of an ethnic on one face, and appear to share a manufacturer. The material from Gaul will then be discussed as a whole to discern similarities and differences in how tokens functioned and looked across the province.

Chapter 4 – Britain – will begin by assessment of material that does not look like conventional Roman tokens, but may have functioned as such, before moving onto the small corpus of material that can be verified as tokens. It will then briefly discuss tokens from Rome and account for their presence in the province, and then analyse the material from Corinium Museum in order to determine whether tokens are present in museum collections, but go unrecognised. The final section of this chapter will attempt to account for the dearth of tokens in Roman Britain.

Chapter 5 – Discussion – will draw together the concluding themes from the preceding chapters, and set the utilisation of tokens within these three provinces within the broader context of token use within Roman society.

The token specimens that are mentioned in the text are presented in the attached appendix. This comprises objects that are definitely Roman tokens. Objects that are explored for their potential to be Roman tokens, such as the material covered in section 4.2 ‘Discerning tokens in Roman Britain’ and material which cannot firmly be

identified as tokens such as that in section 4.3.3 ‘London’, are tabulated in the text. This is because the varied nature of the other material discussed does not always comprise the same categories of information pertinent to actual Roman tokens. It also means that a catalogue of Roman tokens is available for reference without the reader needing to filter out examples that are not of this function or date.

The above chapters will demonstrate that tokens are found in all three case study areas, although their use in Roman Britain was not extensive. The thesis demonstrates that tokens were used on a local basis, with considerable variation in their appearance in not only different provinces, but also at the hyper-local level of different sites. Iconography and legends had local relevance and required specific local knowledge in order to fully understand them. Variation in how tokens were used is also apparent within the three case study provinces, with possible functions including use in energetic distributions and activities, use as votives, and use in administration. The distinct local character of tokens indicates that they were tied into local networks, for use by specific groups, and were able to mediate the everyday activities of communities. Simultaneously, they were part of a wider classical milieu, with elements such as imagery, legends and the concept of *how* tokens should be used tied into much wider networks of cultural understandings within the Roman world.

## Chapter 2: Tokens in Roman Egypt

This chapter focuses on the lead tokens of Roman Egypt and aims to assess the sites on which they are found, their imagery and legends, and how they functioned. In Egypt the Roman era can be defined as the period from which Octavian annexed the province in 30 BC, to the reign of Diocletian in c.AD 300.<sup>1</sup> The term ‘Roman Egypt’ is used in this thesis to define the period of the tokens relevance, as they were manufactured and in use after the Roman conquest. However, the tokens of the Roman period depict iconography that is influenced by classical imagery, due not only to the Roman presence, but also to the preceding Greek rule. The term ‘Graeco-Roman’ therefore perhaps better defines the social context of these tokens, and is used when discussing imagery or deities from the classical milieu.

Tokens from Roman Egypt are primarily made from lead and comprise a highly diverse range of types. There are both local series and series that are widespread across the province. The local series include those of Athena-Thoeris at Oxyrhynchus, the tokens from Abydos with iconography that includes an Egyptian Mongoose, Athena and a male bust, and those from Saqqara that depict the Apis bull and are inscribed with the legend MEMΦIC. Token types that are widespread across the province include Nilus types and Serapis types, which are found at most sites discussed in this thesis, with some of these types from the same series.

Their purpose is not always clear, and they are largely ignored in current literature. This chapter will discuss the different archaeological contexts in which tokens are found in Egypt, combined with consideration of the types of token discovered at each site. The iconography and legends of tokens will be explored through case studies that contrast the local nature of the imagery found on the Athena-Thoeris tokens at Oxyrhynchus with that of the imagery of Nilus, which is found on multiple sites throughout the province. The possibilities for their function will then be considered, through an assessment of their dating, imagery and findspots.

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<sup>1</sup> Riggs 2012, 3.

## 2.1. Literature Review

The lead tokens of Roman Egypt attracted the attention of scholars in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with catalogues produced by Lavy, Feuardent and Dattari.<sup>2</sup> In 1908 Otto offered an interpretation involving the distribution of rations from temples, citing an example from papyri where twins are issued with a token in order to receive their allotment of oil.<sup>3</sup> However, according to Rostovtzeff the papyri indicate a different use for the tokens. The word ‘σύμβολα’ (*symbola*) appears in papyrological documents in the sense of meaning ‘receipt’, and as tokens were also known as ‘σύμβολα’ he concluded that they were one and the same, and therefore tax receipts.<sup>4</sup> Rostovtzeff was also the first to note the difference between a series of more ‘official’ tokens which are often dated and draw on the imagery of the official Alexandrian coinage, and those with less relation to the Alexandrian coin types.<sup>5</sup> Feuardent and Longperier both took the view that the tokens were an unofficial coinage, as did Milne, who is to date the most prolifically published authority on tokens from Roman Egypt.<sup>6</sup>

Milne produced a series of articles in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and compiled a catalogue of tokens along with coins in his *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins*.<sup>7</sup> He made the distinction between ‘dumpy’ tokens (smaller and thicker and bearing images not related to Alexandrian coinage), and those with larger, wider flans and reverse types paralleled by imperial Alexandrian coins.<sup>8</sup> Within this latter class he distinguished between those which are ‘local’ types and those which are dated and he believed to be officially issued.<sup>9</sup> Beyond this, analysis of the imagery has not featured in previous scholarship, and section 2.3, aims to address this lacuna.

Milne was not overly concerned with the provenance of tokens stating that the ‘only specimens with find spots have come from rubbish dumps and house sites’, and asserted that rubbish dumps do not preserve the depositional context.<sup>10</sup> This was a reflection of the archaeological methods and practices of the time. For those without

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<sup>2</sup> Lavy 1839; Feuardent 1873; Dattari 1901.

<sup>3</sup> Otto 1908, 131: UPZ 1.18r, UPZ 1.19.

<sup>4</sup> Rostovtzeff and Prou 1900, 151-152. This is an interpretation explored by Mitchiner 1984, and is assessed fully in section 2.4.4.

<sup>5</sup> Rostovtzeff and Prou 1900; 150.

<sup>6</sup> Feuardent 1869; Longperier 1861.

<sup>7</sup> Milne 1900; Milne 1908; Milne 1914; Milne 1915; Milne 1922; Milne 1930; Milne 1935; Milne 1971.

<sup>8</sup> Milne 1915, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Milne 1930, 309; Milne 1908; 298.

<sup>10</sup> Milne 1935, 214; Milne 1908, 302.

findspots he tried to attribute provenance based on which market they had been bought at, assuming that they did not travel far from their origin.<sup>11</sup> This previous lack of attention to archaeological context and provenance makes an assessment of tokens and their findspots a necessary component of their study today and is explored in section 2.2.

Milne's main conclusion in regard to lead tokens was that they represented a semi-official low denomination coinage, an assertion that has been accepted in scholarship, and will be explored fully in section 2.4.

It is evident, therefore, that over the past two centuries a range of interpretations have been proposed, from tax receipts to ration tokens. It is the idea of the tokens functioning as a coinage which has, however, had the most influence on recent scholarship, and has been generally accepted as a likely explanation for their use.<sup>12</sup>

## **2.2. Sites**

There is variation in the types of places where tokens are found in Egypt, including temples, a rubbish dump, houses, a tomb, and a shipwreck sunk off the Carmel coast in Israel. These sites, and the tokens discovered on them, are outlined below, with further analysis in section 2.3 and 2.4, where tokens are placed in context in terms of their imagery and their use. Whilst exact contextual information is sometimes missing due to the antiquity of the excavations, findspot information proves useful in that it demonstrates the ubiquity of tokens in Roman Egypt across different sites and varied immediate contexts. The map below (Figure 1) places the sites in their geographical context.

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<sup>11</sup> Milne 1930, 301.

<sup>12</sup> For acceptance of this theory see: Thornton 1980, 346; Geissen, 2012; 5; Christiansen 2006, 13; Skowronek 1998.

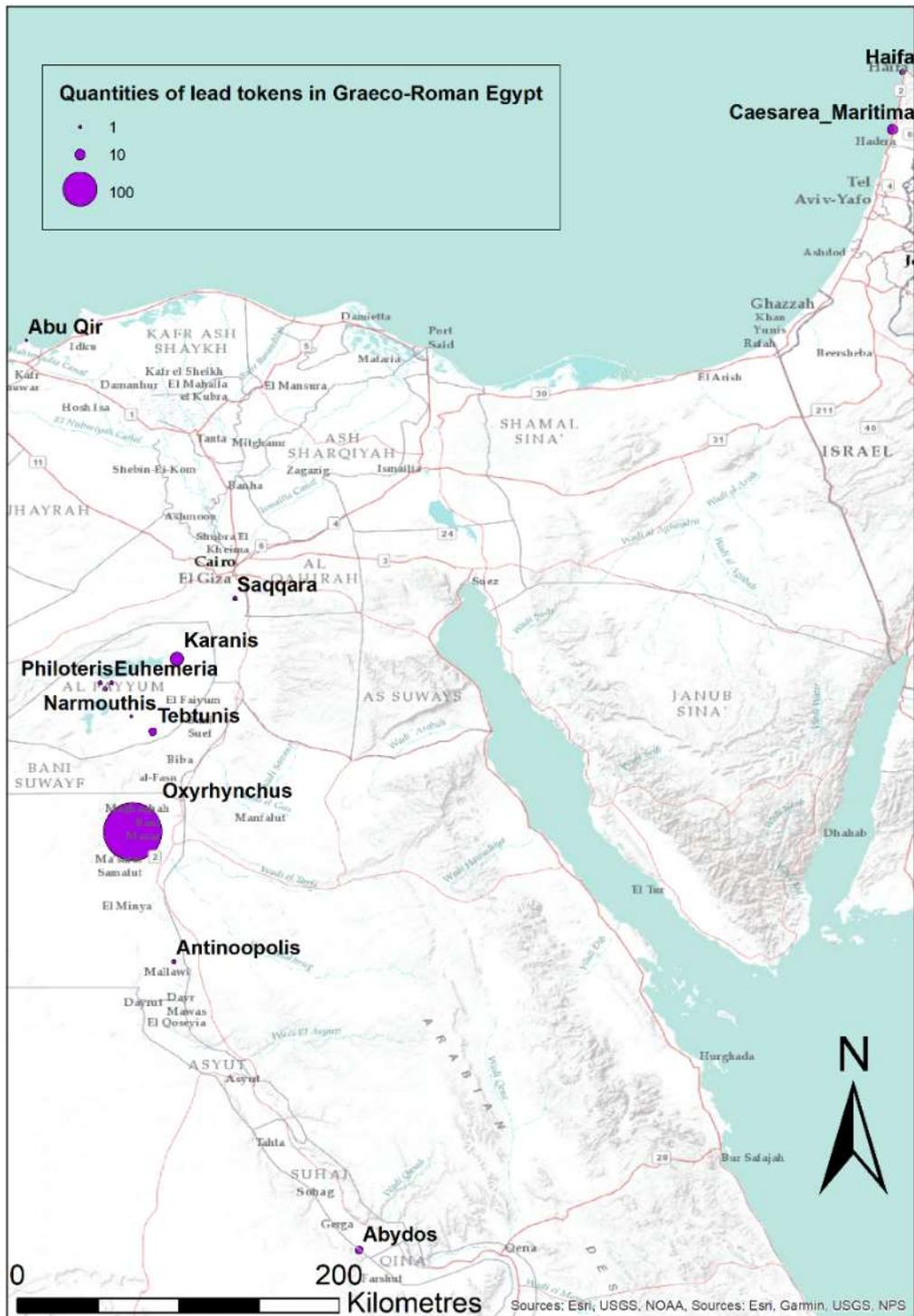


Figure 1: Map showing the distribution of tokens from Roman Egypt, including those originating in Egypt but found in modern Israel, based upon the data in section 2.2. Image: author; background map open access data: Esri, USGS, NOAA, Garmin, NPS.

### 2.2.1. Abydos

A set of five tokens were discovered within tomb D221 at Abydos, a tomb of the shaft and brick vault type, over which a Coptic house had been built (Egypt nos. 1-5).<sup>13</sup> The exact relationship between the tomb and house, and the placement of the tokens are not known, particularly as the tomb had previously been disturbed and plundered. According to Milne's description, in the area under the floor of the house, and between the walls of the house and the tomb, were a number of objects including the tokens, as well as Ptolemaic and Alexandrian coins from the early Roman period.<sup>14</sup> It is apparent from the date of the latest coin that they were deposited no earlier than 52 AD. Milne asserts that the other objects found alongside the tokens and coins are typical of Ptolemaic tombs, and therefore the date of deposition was in the early Roman period.<sup>15</sup> This is the earliest indication for the use of tokens in the Roman period in Egypt, as well as the only known instance of their possible inclusion in a tomb within the province.

The types (bust of Athena and animal with forepaw raised - Figure 2, male bust and Egyptian mongoose - Figure 3, male head and hippalectryon - Figure 4) are different in style to other tokens from Egypt, and each of them has a recess around the image on one face, implying that the design was stamped into that side, a feature that is not found on other tokens from the region. Additionally, at 13-15mm they are all unusually small for tokens from Roman Egypt. This combination of factors suggests that they are their own series, and their difference in form and style can perhaps be explained by the fact that they are earlier in date than most other Roman tokens from Egypt.

If Milne is correct in attributing their deposition to the tomb below the house, then it is possible that they were included as tokens representing 'charon's obol', but there is no firm conclusion as to their purpose.

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<sup>13</sup> Peet and Loat 1913, 33.

<sup>14</sup> Milne 1914, 93. Alexandrian coins: Dattari nos. 29 (*RPC I* 5067) and 156 (*RPC I* 5193).

<sup>15</sup> Milne 1914, 93. Other objects comprise a lead bowl, an ornamental bronze knob, a bronze nail, a bronze arrowhead, pieces of eggshell, some shells including two cowries and carnelian beads. See also Peet and Loat 1913, 34.



Figure 2: Token from Abydos. Obverse: Bust of Athena right. Reverse: Seated animal right, forepaw raised(?), within incuse circle. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 14mm. Weight: 3.31g. Egypt no.1. British Museum accession no. 1922,0511.2. Image: British Museum.

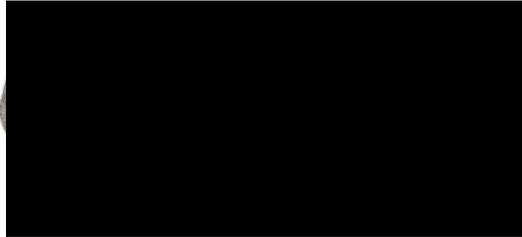


Figure 3: Token from Abydos. Obverse: Male bust right; line border. Reverse: Egyptian mongoose (ichyhtumon) right, within incuse circle. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15mm. Weight: 3.58g. Egypt no. 2. British Museum accession no. 1922,0511.4. Image: British Museum.

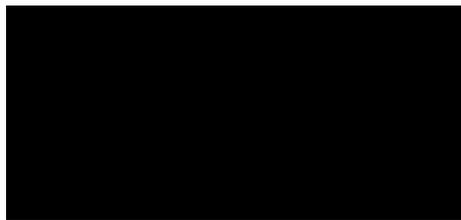


Figure 4: Token from Abydos. Obverse: Male head right; border of dots. Reverse: Hippalectryon(?) right; border of dots, within incuse circle. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 14mm. Egypt no. 3. British Museum accession no. 1922,0511.3. Image: British Museum.

### 2.2.2. Karanis

The town of Karanis was established in the Arsinoite nome under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-247 BC) as part of a scheme to settle Greek mercenaries among the indigenous Egyptians.<sup>16</sup> It was first excavated by Petrie in 1890, followed by Grenfell and Hunt in 1895/6 and 1900, and then by the University of Michigan from 1924-1935.<sup>17</sup> The ruins of the ancient city occupied an area measuring about 1km, although a large area at the centre of the town had been removed for use as fertiliser by the *sebakhin* before excavations commenced.<sup>18</sup> The Michigan excavators divided the site into six occupation layers, but this division is problematic. Firstly because the layers were based on architectural changes rather than soil stratigraphy, and secondly because these levels were applied site-wide without taking into account that re-

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<sup>16</sup> Berlin 1983, 8.

<sup>17</sup> Husselman 1979, 1.

<sup>18</sup> Boak and Peterson 1931, 2-3.

building happened at different rates in different areas.<sup>19</sup> Therefore associating finds from the same level with each other will not produce reliable conclusions.<sup>20</sup> This has implications for inferences made as to the purpose of each house or room, and in turn for the context of token use and deposition. Despite this, the finds were recorded with an accuracy advanced for the time, in that each object was recorded with information that included the house it was found in, the room within the house, and the level number.<sup>21</sup> This does allow for determination of the distribution of tokens across the site and demonstrates a use within everyday life.

There has been an assumption that most buildings at Karanis that do not exhibit distinctive features (e.g. granary, temple) were ‘houses’, and there is indeed a strong chance that they were areas of domestic activity. This is due to the presence of objects such as coins, vessels, toys, textiles, textile working implements, jewellery, lamps, cosmetic implements and cooking implements found in the buildings where tokens are also present.<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that the function of a given room may have changed over time. Even so, the range of artefacts implies a scenario of everyday life.

The tokens themselves are small in quantity, totalling 19, although information as to the types is not available for all specimens (Egypt nos. 19-24). This quantity is small in comparison to both the size of the site, and to the number of coins, which total over 30,000.<sup>23</sup> One explanation for the scarcity of tokens is the possibility that they were not deemed worthy of recording and archiving. To explain the biases in the recording of pottery at Karanis, Alston writes: ‘T. Wilfong, curator at the Kelsey Museum, pointed out to me that the site of Karanis was so rich that very large numbers of artefacts were left on site (as is obvious from any visit) and that the ‘editing’ of the finds on site prior to recording biases our own record.’<sup>24</sup> It is not hard to imagine that amongst the artefacts left behind would be the worn pieces of lead bearing designs that were barely legible.

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<sup>19</sup> Landvatter 2014, 39.

<sup>20</sup> Landvatter 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Berlin and Gazda 1983, 5.

<sup>22</sup> Unpublished data, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.

<sup>23</sup> Haadvedt and Peterson 1964, 1.

<sup>24</sup> Alston 1988, 177.

No images are available from the museum which houses the types outlined in the catalogue, therefore discussion as to their iconography must remain general.<sup>25</sup> The above types exhibit iconography consistent with tokens found on other sites in Egypt. For instance, Serapis is commonly featured on tokens in Egypt, and is present on four of the six tokens from Karanis (Egypt nos. 20, 22, 23, 24). Likewise, Nilus is found on tokens throughout Egypt and is featured here on two specimens (Egypt nos. 19, 24). Helios (Egypt no. 21), the Egyptian bust (Egypt no. 22) or Egyptian King (Egypt no. 21) types are not as ubiquitous, whilst Isis Pharia (Egypt no. 19), Isis (Egypt no. 23) and the gazelle (Egypt no. 20) types are rarer.<sup>26</sup> Without images of these tokens it is not possible to ascertain whether the types featuring deities commonly found on tokens in Egypt have specifics to their iconography that give them a particular local resonance to Karanis, or whether they are the exact types found elsewhere. Likewise, for the rarer types, we cannot attach significance to their presence in Karanis without certainty that they have not been misidentified, as is often the case with tokens.

### **2.2.3. Oxyrhynchus**

The site that has yielded the most substantial quantity of tokens is Oxyrhynchus, located in the Fayum in Egypt (Egypt nos. 26 to 154). During Grenfell and Hunt's excavations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, almost 300 tokens were discovered in the rubbish middens, along with over 1,600 coins.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, due to the method with which Grenfell and Hunt excavated these rubbish dumps, the tokens cannot be placed within a precise area or stratigraphic layer. The excavators' objective was purely to focus on the search for papyri, and the single-mindedness of their approach comprised a methodology which involved following seams of earth to discover papyri, with little regard for other objects.<sup>28</sup> Despite this lack of precision in locating tokens within the town of Oxyrhynchus, the significant quantity of tokens is unique in that it is able to provide a cross-section of token types from one location.

Amongst the corpus there are a variety of types that are found on other sites within Egypt, such as those that portray Nilus and Euthenia (e.g. Egypt no. 123, Figure 5), but also a large quantity of types that are unique to Oxyrhynchus. These include the

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<sup>25</sup> A request for images was submitted to the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, but photography of the tokens was not possible.

<sup>26</sup> It is not clear whether the image depicted on no.19 is a Pharaoh or Ptolemaic king.

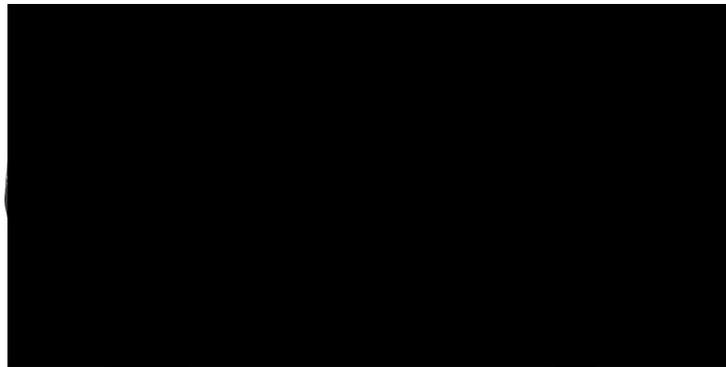
<sup>27</sup> Milne 1922.

<sup>28</sup> Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth 1900, 24.

‘statue of Athena or Athena-Thoeris within temple / Nike’ type (e.g. Egypt nos. 97-103, Figure 6), the ‘bust of Athena or Athena-Thoeris / Nike’ type (e.g. Egypt nos. 26-84, Figure 7) and the ‘Athena or Athena-Thoeris attacking serpent / Nike’ type (Egypt nos. 85-96, Figure 8). This imagery can be interpreted as depicting Athena or Athena-Thoeris, the local syncretised goddess, and this idea is discussed in detail in section 2.3.2. Often these Athena types are accompanied by the legend ΟΞ, the first two letters of Oxyrhynchus, and can be considered a local type to the town. Other local types from different places are also present at Oxyrhynchus, such as those outlined above as having an association with Memphis and Arsinoe (Egypt nos. 104-106). It remains to be seen if the variation of types at Oxyrhynchus is representative of the circulation of tokens within Egypt. No other site has yielded such a large quantity of tokens or variation of types, although it is not possible to know whether this is due to excavation and retrieval biases. Oxyrhynchus therefore gives a unique picture as to the diversity of types that circulated in a large town in Roman Egypt.



*Figure 5: Token from Oxyrhynchus. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding lotus flowers in outstretched right hand. Crocodile below. Border of dots. Reverse: Euthenia reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand, and two ears of corn in right hand; LIB. Border of dots. Metal: Lead. (copper-alloy plated?). Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 4.62g. Die axis: 7. Egypt no. 123. Ashmolean Museum, Milne no. 5400. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*



*Figure 6: Token from Oxyrhynchus. Obverse: Statue of Athena / Athena-Thoeris standing facing, head left in classical temple, holding spear in left hand and figure of Nike in right hand. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand, ΟΞ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Egypt no. 97. Ashmolean Museum, Milne no. 5312. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*



Figure 7: Token from Oxyrhynchus. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Solid line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. OΞ. Solid line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 6.01g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 29. Ashmolean Museum, Milne supplementary no. 5283a. Image: Ashmolean Museum.



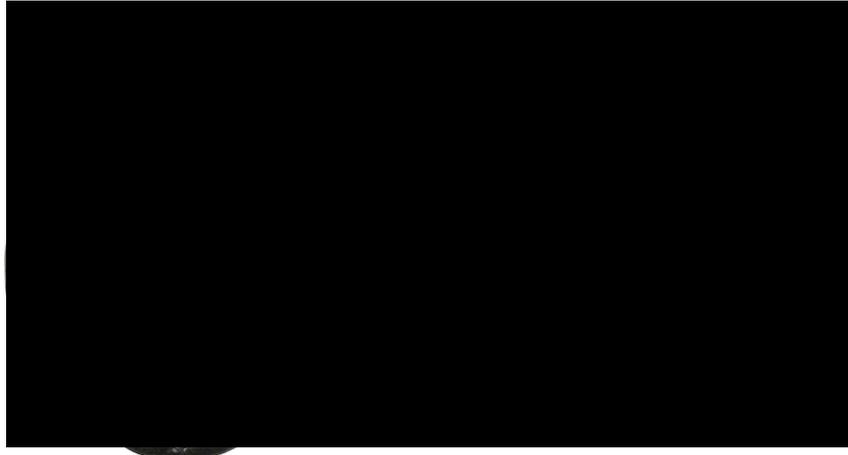
Figure 8: Token from Oxyrhynchus. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding labrys in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her. Border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 4.40g. Die axis: 8. Egypt no. 89. Ashmolean Museum, Milne supplementary no. 5307b. Image: Ashmolean Museum.

#### **2.2.4. The Serapeion at Saqqara**

Two tokens were found at the Serapeion at Saqqara (Egypt nos. 155 and 156, types shown in Figure 9 and Figure 10) during the course of the excavations directed by Mariette in the 1850s, and were published by Longperrier in 1861.<sup>29</sup> The exact location of the tokens within the temple complex is now unknown, but they nevertheless provide evidence for the deposition and probable utilisation of tokens on a temple site in Egypt.

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<sup>29</sup> Longperrier 1861.



*Figure 9: Token from Oxyrhynchus, of the type of Egypt no. 156 found at Saqqara. Obverse: Isis standing facing, wearing solar disc, to right Apis bull facing left; MEMΦIC. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Euthenia-Isis standing before him holding corn wreath aloft in right hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 29mm. Weight: 9.02g. Die axis: 11. Egypt no. 170. Ashmolean Museum, Milne no. 5278. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*

The city of Memphis was one of the earliest Egyptian cities and was the first city of Egypt for a considerable time.<sup>30</sup> The cult of Ptah, and his emanation the Apis bull, were worshipped at Memphis and formed the most important cult in the city.<sup>31</sup> In the Ptolomaic period, a Serapeion was also founded.<sup>32</sup> The Serapeion was dedicated to the god Serapis, a deity who came to prominence in the Ptolemaic era as a Hellenised version of the god Osir-Apis (a combination of Osiris and the Apis bull).<sup>33</sup> Serapis was promoted heavily by the Ptolemies, but they retained a distinction between the classical deity and the Apis bull; the latter remained an un-syncretised Egyptian deity closely associated with worship at Memphis into the Roman period.<sup>34</sup> The city was therefore long-lived by the time of the Roman period, with a variety of deities associated with it.

The Apis bull and Isis both have clear associations with Memphis, and the legend on Egypt no 156 refers explicitly to the city. These examples therefore provide clear evidence of tokens exhibiting designs that make clear reference to a specific place.

### **2.2.5. Tebtunis**

Tebtunis was located in the Fayum of Roman Egypt. It was founded in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, and prospered from the reign of Ptolemy I and into the Roman period.

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<sup>30</sup> Thompson 1988, 3.

<sup>31</sup> Thompson 1988, 4.

<sup>32</sup> Thompson 1988, 212.

<sup>33</sup> Durand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 215.

<sup>34</sup> Thompson 1988, 72; Pfeiffer 2008, 387-392 for overview of the distinction between the Apis bull and Serapis, and the creation and promotion of Serapis under the Ptolemies.

The town had a large sanctuary dedicated to the crocodile god Soknebtunis, as well as other public buildings and domestic dwellings that were excavated over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>35</sup> Six tokens were discovered there by Grenfell and Hunt in 1900, and published by Milne in 1935 (Egypt nos. 157-162).<sup>36</sup> Exact provenance within Tebtunis is unknown, and the only information given to Milne was that they were found together, along with an Alexandrian diobol of Vespasian and an Antiochene coin of Elagabalus.<sup>37</sup>



*Figure 10: Token from Tebtunis. Obverse: Apis bull facing right, with solar disc between horns, to left Isis(?) standing right wearing solar disc and to right janiform figure(?) standing left and holding uraeus serpent. Crescent and garland above in field; border of dots. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Alexandria-Euthenia standing before him holding ear of corn aloft in right hand; border of dots; OBOAOI B. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 30mm. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 157. Image: Milne 1900, pl XXVI, fig 1.*

The tokens are of the same type as Egypt no. 155, discovered at the Serapeion at Saqqara, that depicts Nilus and Alexandria-Euthenia on one side, alongside the legend ‘OBOAOI B’ (2 obols), and variations comprising Isis and the Apis bull on the other. The type from Saqqara bearing the ethnic MEMΦIC (Egypt no. 156), is not however present at Tebtunis.

The figure standing before Nilus, raising an ear of corn, was identified by Milne as Euthenia. However, the robes billowing behind her (here stylised in the form of two semicircles), are more commonly found with imagery of Alexandria, for example on coins of Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.<sup>38</sup> The billowing robes are

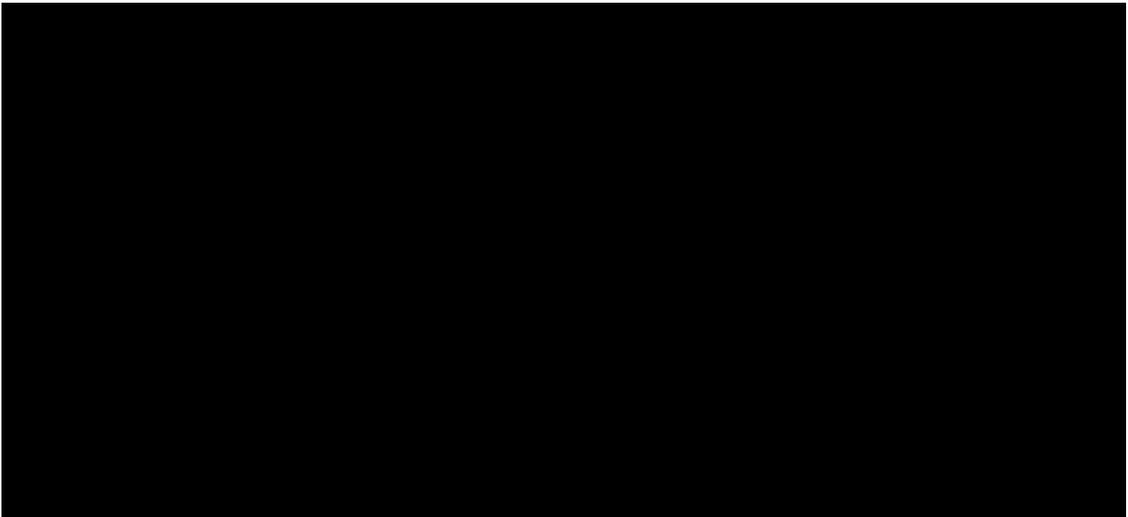
<sup>35</sup> Begg 2000, 225.

<sup>36</sup> Milne 1935, 213-214.

<sup>37</sup> Milne 1935, 213.

<sup>38</sup> See *RPC* III 4826, 4855 (Trajan), 5736, 5738 (Hadrian), and *RPC* IV.4 16009 (Marcus Aurelius) and 16440 (Commodus).

also found in association with Isis-Pharia and Selene, but Alexandria is distinguished from both of these goddesses by the presence of an elephant headdress. The headwear identified by Milne as ‘corn wreath or modius’, is most likely the elephant headdress associated with Alexandria, although the imagery on the tokens is not clear. She is depicted wearing this headdress and holding two ears of corn before Nilus on the Alexandrian coinage of Antoninus Pius, which provides a close parallel to the imagery on the tokens (Figure 11).<sup>39</sup> The placement of the female figure before Nilus, and the association with corn are both typical traits for Euthenia, and so identification as the syncretic deity Alexandria-Euthenia is appropriate, rather than solely either goddess. It should be noted, however, that elements of Isis-Pharia may also be represented through depiction of the billowing robes, although this is less likely given that she does not appear alongside Nilus on the Alexandrian coinage.



*Figure 11: Coin of Antoninus Pius. Obverse: Laureate head of Antoninus Pius, right; AYT K T AIA AΔP ANTWNINOC CEB EYC. Reverse: Nilus seated right, holding reeds in right hand and cornucopia in left hand, before him Alexandria-Euthenia, wearing elephant headdress, standing left, holding two ears of corn aloft in right hand; L E. Metal: Bronze. Diameter: 34mm. Weight: 22.62g. Die axis: 12. Mint: Alexandria. Date: AD 141/2. RPC IV.4 14830. Köln, Institut für Altertumskund, Geissen 1404. Image: Köln, Institut für Altertumskund.*

It is probable that Milne was correct in his assertion that this hoard is of the same series as those from Saqqara; the type is similar to Egypt no. 155, and the imagery similar in its style and subject matter to Egypt no. 156. The fact that these tokens were not found in the vicinity of Memphis is puzzling, and is perhaps an indication of curation or re-use.

<sup>39</sup> See *RPC IV.4*, nos. 16144, 14830.

### 2.2.6. Summary of single finds from other sites in Egypt

Tokens have been found in low quantities on several sites within Egypt, as summarised briefly below. They are not explored in further detail due to the limited information regarding their exact findspots, in conjunction with the fact that there are few tokens from each site. Despite this, these finds are useful in terms of indicating further locations where tokens were deposited (and probably used). These further examples allow assessment of how imagery depicted on tokens is distributed across the province, thereby allowing for patterns to be discerned.

At Antinoopolis (Kom II A) a token was discovered during the excavations of the *Instituto Papirologico G. "Vitelli"* in 2003 (Egypt no. 7).<sup>40</sup> The imagery depicted is paralleled on other tokens, and in the case of Euthenia, on coins. The bust on the obverse is Egyptian in style and is identified by Nachtergaeel and Pintaudi as the Pharaoh, although there does not appear to be much similarity between this depiction and his appearance on Alexandrian coins. An alternative explanation is that it is Horus. Two tokens from Antinoopolis were published by Milne in 1947, and are described amongst the coins that were 'found singly'.<sup>41</sup> The first depicts Apollo standing left with lyre on one face and she-wolf suckling twins on the other (Egypt no. 8). The second token has the bust of Serapis on one face and Nilus on the other face (Egypt no. 9). These two tokens were excavated by the Egypt Exploration Fund and acquired by the British Museum in 1914.

Excavations at Narmouthis by the Universities of Pisa and Messina yielded one token (Egypt no. 25).<sup>42</sup> Nachtergaeel and Pintaudi identify the figure on the obverse as Nilus, and whilst he does appear on tokens and coins, as they state, with two ears of corn riding a hippopotamus, there is no hippopotamus depicted here. A reclining figure holding ears of corn is more likely to be Euthenia, who is frequently depicted holding ears of corn, both on coins and tokens.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Nachtergaeel and Pintaudi 2002-2003, 297-298. Identification based on imagery and description from this publication.

<sup>41</sup> Milne 1947, 113-114.

<sup>42</sup> Nachtergaeel and Pintaudi 2002-2003, 296-297. Identification based on imagery and description from this publication.

<sup>43</sup> Milne identifies a similar type as depicting Nilus on the obverse (Ashmolean no. 22305, Milne no. 5394), however he goes into no detail as to the attributes, and so identification as Nilus is by no means certain. This token is now very worn and discerning the exact imagery not possible. For examples of Euthenia holding corn see Ashmolean nos. 22308-22311 (Milne nos. 5397-5400), where Nilus is depicted on one side and Euthenia is on the other.

A specimen in the Ashmolean museum is indicated as having been found in the sand at Abu Qir bay in 1937, and donated to the museum by Sally Mason (Egypt no. 6, Figure 12).<sup>44</sup> The depiction of an Egyptian temple is not common on tokens, but is found on the Alexandrian coinage. It is not certain if the imagery is intended to represent a particular building, but it is notable for its inclusion within a small group of tokens that depict specifically Egyptian, rather than Graeco-Roman monuments. These include Egypt no. 105, which depicts the sphinx and possibly the pyramids behind it, and Egypt no. 168 which depicts two facing sphinxes.



*Figure 12: Token from Abu Qir Bay. Obverse: Pylons of Egyptian temple, between them statue of deity posed left. Border of dots. Reverse: Pylons of Egyptian temple, between them atop steps, canopic jar(?); Line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.74g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 6. Ashmolean Museum, Milne supplementary no. 5450. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*

Two tokens were each discovered at the towns of Philoteris, Theadelphia and Euhemeria, although it is not clear from the information given by Milne which token was found where (Egypt nos. 10-15).<sup>45</sup> The group comprises a mix of tokens that portray common types found on the Alexandrian coinage (Serapis, Nilus) and one that probably refers to the Arsinoite nome, where the token was found, which can be considered a local type.

### **2.2.7. Israel**

A handful of tokens from Roman Egypt have been discovered on the coast of Israel. Two of these tokens were amongst the finds of a shipwreck off the Carmel coast, and were found with an Athenian token. There is an additional corpus from Caesarea, predominantly surface finds from private collections, although it is difficult to discern whether they are attributed to Caesarea or Egypt.

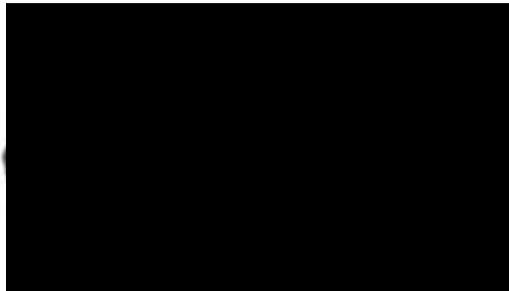
<sup>44</sup> Information provided by ticket of token in question: Ashmolean no. 22799. Weight, diameter and die axis obtained through study of tokens at Ashmolean by the author.

<sup>45</sup> Milne 1900, 71-74. Identifications based on the descriptions given by Milne. No diameters, weights or die axes given in publication.

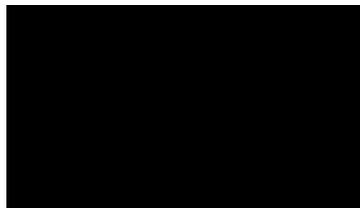
A shipwreck found off the Carmel coast at Haifa (Israel) contained a hoard of 162 coins. It comprised 68 *denarii*, along with three provincial coins, three Alexandrian billon, 85 bronze coins and three tokens, two of lead and one of bronze (Egypt nos. 16-18, Figure 13-Figure 15).<sup>46</sup> The assignation of the group of coins and tokens as a hoard is problematic, due to the fact that they were found scattered over an area measuring 50 x 50m, along with corresponding artefact scatters.<sup>47</sup> Therefore it is possible that they represent the losses of the crew along with their possessions, rather than representing the wealth and deliberate hoarding of one or two individuals.



*Figure 13: Token from the Haifa shipwreck. Obverse: Nilus reclining left holding Pharos(?) in right hand and cornucopia in left. Reverse: Euthenia reclining left with three corn ears in right hand and cornucopia in left; LZ. Metal: Lead. Weight: 4.95g. Egypt no. 16. Image: Meshorer 2010, 133, fig. 8, no. 160.*



*Figure 14: Token from the Haifa shipwreck. Obverse: Torse of Nilus facing, holding reeds in right hand and cornucopia in left. Reverse: Agathodaemon erect right, with head of Serapis, entwining ear of corn. Metal: Lead. Weight: 3.24g. Egypt no. 17. Image: Meshorer 2010, 133, fig. 8, no. 161.*



*Figure 15: Token from the Haifa shipwreck. Obverse: B. Reverse: B. Metal: Lead. Weight: 5.09g. Image: Meshorer 2010, 133, fig. 8, no. 162.*

<sup>46</sup> Meshorer 2010, 111. All coins are dated within the reigns of Augustus to Severus Alexander (20 BC-AD 235). A second scatter of coins is analysed as a 4th century hoard and dates from 286-324 AD, see Ariel 2010.

<sup>47</sup> Ariel 2010, 137; Galili, Rosen and Sharvit 2010, 61.

Of the three tokens, the two former are of Roman Egyptian type (Egypt nos. 16 and 17), while the latter (Egypt no. 18) is of a type from Athens which is paralleled by a token in a deposit at the Athenian Agora, dating to the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>48</sup> Despite this and the cited comparanda in the paper (Svoronos nos. 20 and 21) dating it to a far earlier period than the other lead tokens and the coins, it is analysed with Roman coins from the mint of Alexandria.<sup>49</sup> This token is clearly out of place within the assemblage, and the lack of distinction between not only tokens and coins, but tokens themselves (and their function), exemplifies the extent to which tokens are neglected in academic literature and archaeological reports.

The Roman specimens listed above are again types that are ubiquitous throughout Roman Egypt. Nilus (Egypt nos. 16 and 17) and Euthenia (Egypt no. 16) are common on tokens of 'Alexandrian' type that bear images derived from the Alexandrian coinage. The agathodaemon with head of Serapis is less frequently found on tokens, although Serapis is a popular choice, and the type is again imitative of an Alexandrian coin type.<sup>50</sup> These specimens are therefore definitely from Roman Egypt, and their presence outside of Egypt can perhaps be accounted for in terms of their reuse as coinage.

A number of tokens from Caesarea are published by Hamburger, and a small selection of these depict a river god with similarities to Nilus.<sup>51</sup> At first glance, it would seem that this corpus should be attributed to Egypt, and have made their way up the coast to Caesarea. However, a number of issues call this into question. Firstly, Hamburger's catalogue states that all except Hamburger no.55b are made from silver or silver-alloy, which as he acknowledges, is an unusual metal for ancient tokens.<sup>52</sup> This holds true in terms of the metal used to make tokens in Roman Egypt; they are all lead, with the exception of some that possibly were plated in copper-alloy. If this group definitely are silver or silver-alloy then this is not consistent with tokens from Roman Egypt, and

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<sup>48</sup> <http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/object/b%202210?q=B2210&t=&v=list&sort=&s=1> (Accessed 27.06.2017). See also Boegehold et al 1995, p.74 nos. 19 and 20; Svoronos 1900, p.323 nos. 19 and 20. These examples bear a Beta on both sides. While the specimen from Haifa has BI on one side and B on the other, they are similar in term of style and fabric. Personal communication with Mairi Gkikaki has also confirmed that the example from the Haifa shipwreck is of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Athenian origin.

<sup>49</sup> Meshorer 2010, 113, table 3.

<sup>50</sup> Dattari no. 6498 for reverse type on a token. *RPC* III 5907 for Alexandrian coin type.

<sup>51</sup> Hamburger 1986, nos. 50-56. No.55a is also published in Ringel 1988.

<sup>52</sup> Hamburger 1986, 192.

therefore they cannot be confidently assigned to the region. Secondly, whilst Nilus is a common type in Roman Egypt, most of the reverse types found at Caesarea are not prevalent in Egypt. Possible exceptions are the agathodaemon on horseback of Hamburger no. 51 which is paralleled on Alexandrian coinage, but is also found on coins of Philadelphia, Lydia.<sup>53</sup> It is not depicted on any tokens from Egypt known to the author. Likewise, whilst Isis seated with Horus on her lap (Hamburger no. 54a) is depicted on the Alexandrian coinage, it is not utilised on tokens. If these tokens did originate from Roman Egypt, it is expected that there would be reverse types paired with Nilus that strongly reference the Alexandrian coinage. Tokens from outside of Egypt's borders (see Qasr Ibrim, and Carmel coast) also depict Nilus, but he is paired with Euthenia, or variations on Serapis, which are commonly found on tokens from Roman Egypt. It is unusual that none of these common types are among the corpus from Caesarea. This, in conjunction with the identification of the metal as silver, suggests that they did not originate in Egypt. However, the caveat to this interpretation is that the drawings in Hamburger's publication do not provide enough detail to make a decisive interpretation, and that the type of Hamburger no.55a has previously been published in Dattari's collection of Alexandrian tokens, although despite this some have still argued that the imagery is apt for a depiction of Caesarea's harbour.<sup>54</sup>

### **2.2.8. Qasr Ibrim**

Qasr Ibrim is located in Lower Nubia, 100km south of the alleged Roman frontier of Egypt at Maharraqa.<sup>55</sup> The site was occupied by the Meroitic state, aside from a brief period of Roman military occupation under Augustus which terminated after the treaty of Samos in 21/20 BC.<sup>56</sup> The exact date at which Roman control ended cannot be firmly assigned, although AD 100 is suggested by Adams.<sup>57</sup> Despite the fact that the site was not under official Roman jurisdiction, there is strong evidence for a Roman presence well into the imperial period due to the presence of Alexandrian and imperial coins, as well as inscriptions written in Greek.<sup>58</sup> The need for this military garrison might be attributed to the necessity to stave off attacks on the Nile Valley by Blemmye

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<sup>53</sup> Hamburger, 1986 192.

<sup>54</sup> Dattari 1901, no. 6458; Ringel 1988, 70-71, who accepts the identification as the harbour of Caesarea, as does Hamburger 1986, 192.

<sup>55</sup> Adams et al 1983, 94-98 for discussion of the placement of the Roman frontier.

<sup>56</sup> Rose 2007, 1.

<sup>57</sup> Adams 1983, 97.

<sup>58</sup> Adams 1983, 97.

tribes of the Red Sea Hills.<sup>59</sup> After the site was returned to Meroitic control, a temple was built on the site and it is likely that Qasr Ibrim functioned as a political and religious centre rather than a domestic settlement.<sup>60</sup>



*Figure 16: Two lead tokens from Qasr Ibrim. Egypt no. 163 (Frend 1974, no.31): Obverse: not shown. Reverse: Euthenia reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and corn ears in right hand; LB. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Egypt no. 165 (Frend 1974, no.33): Obverse: Head of Serapis facing, wearing modius, between two torches. Reverse: Not shown. Metal: Lead. Diameter 17mm. Image: Frend 1974, p.171, figure 1.*

It was in this temple complex that three lead tokens (Egypt nos. 163-165) were found, in association with 33 coins dating from 247 BC to 184 AD. The group were scattered around a plinth at the west side of the temple, and it is probable that they were votive offerings from worshippers.<sup>61</sup> The presence of another scatter of coins found within ‘oily deposits’ which were the result of libations poured onto the ground suggests that the use of coins as votive offerings was a common practice at this site, and that the tokens here should be viewed as such.<sup>62</sup> Rose notes that pilgrims presumably came to consult the oracle and that it is plausible that they also came to the temple for religious festivals associated with the arrival of the cult statue by boat, as at nearby Philae.<sup>63</sup>

The token types listed below bear iconography found on tokens throughout Egypt, and the deities depicted are those from the Roman period (see section 2.3 for further detail on iconography). The implication is therefore that this group of tokens are part of the corpus of Roman tokens with imagery of ‘Alexandrian’ types and have travelled beyond the borders of Egypt proper.<sup>64</sup> Their dedication as votive offerings or reuse as coins seems plausible, given that they are far removed from their original place of use. In this respect, following the theoretical framework established by Kopytoff, tokens

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<sup>59</sup> Adams 1983, 99-100.

<sup>60</sup> Rose 2007, 1.

<sup>61</sup> Frend 2004, 191.

<sup>62</sup> Rose 2007, 6.

<sup>63</sup> Rose 2007, 165.

<sup>64</sup> A small quantity of tokens from Egypt also reached Italy, evidenced by the specimens now housed in the National Archaeological Museum of Palestrina. Accession nos. 107.7, 111.15, 97.14, 97.39, 97.63. Four of these are Nilus types, and one is an Athena type, possibly from Oxyrhynchus.

from this site have another stage in their biography, which involves a transformation in how they were perceived by those who used them.<sup>65</sup> They have been reimbued with another value after being de-valued or ‘discharged’ of their original value and associations.<sup>66</sup> However, whether they served an original function as coins remains to be seen and will be addressed below.

### **2.2.9. Section summary**

These sites demonstrate that tokens are found in different aspects of everyday life: houses, rubbish dumps, temples, possibly a tomb, as well as travelling away from Egypt, and therefore they should be viewed as integrated into community life. Although the sites are not numerous, the variety in their function implies a use for tokens that is not particular to a specific type of site, thereby suggesting utilisation in different ways, or a common purpose relevant to multiple types of site. It is acknowledged, however, that tokens may have had a secondary use in some instances, and therefore their place of deposition may be reflective of their secondary, rather than primary, use. This is perhaps the case in instances where tokens were transported away from their place of use or manufacture, as with Memphis tokens found at Oxyrhynchus, or tokens found outside of Egypt (Qasr Ibrim, Haifa coast). However, other possibilities for their movement include curation or casual loss. It is evident that there are different series (e.g. Memphis/ OBOAOI B, Abydos, the Athena /Athena-Thoeris types from Oxyrhynchus, Alexandrian types) and some series are confined to one place (e.g. Abydos, the Athena / Athena-Thoeris types from Oxyrhynchus), while other types are more widespread across the province. These different series suggest different authorities are responsible for the production of tokens, although it is not likely this was for a unified purpose.

The specimens from the sites discussed above exhibit no casting sprues, and no moulds for the casting of tokens are known to date from Egypt. In areas where tokens were cast, such as Italy, token moulds evidence this manufacturing process.<sup>67</sup> It would therefore be expected that if tokens were cast in Egypt then moulds would also be present in the archaeological record, particularly as there is evidence for the technology for this process in the form of coin moulds.<sup>68</sup> Instead, it is possible that

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<sup>65</sup> Kopytoff 1986.

<sup>66</sup> Crook 2019.

<sup>67</sup> Rowan 2019.

<sup>68</sup> Coin moulds: 1906,0609.1.a; 1906,0609.1.b.

blanks were struck with the tokens' designs. Moulds for blanks are not known to date, but as demonstrated by tokens from Fos-sur-Mer in Gaul (Section 3.2.4), blanks can be manufactured through stamping or cutting from lead sheet.

It is notable that in every instance tokens were found in the same area as coins. However, a bias may be present in the publications and site analyses because tokens resemble coins and because of this they are catalogued alongside them, rather than considering their archaeological relationship to other types of artefact. When the decision is taken to analyse tokens with coins, as in the publications from Oxyrhynchus and the shipwreck at Haifa, priority is given to the physical similarities that these two types of object share, and the nuances in their difference are not explored. It should be noted that the exact stratigraphic relationship between tokens and any associated artefacts or coins is often difficult to discern when the archaeological record has not been properly maintained.

### **2.3. Imagery**

The following analysis aims to provide an overview of the types of motifs utilised on tokens in Roman Egypt. The mix of indigenous, classical and combined imagery will be explored to ascertain how motifs are utilised on tokens, and how this is similar or different to their use on the Alexandrian coinage. Coinage provides an apt comparison as its imagery clearly provides inspiration for that used on tokens, as demonstrated in section 2.2.5 (Tehtunis). Two case studies will then demonstrate how the imagery on tokens could have local or widespread resonances. The Athena-Thoeris tokens from Oxyrhynchus indicate that tokens could have had a hyper-local context and be read in multiple ways that reflect the dual nature of local deities, while tokens depicting Nilus demonstrate how other images had universal appeal across the province.

#### **2.3.1. Token imagery in Roman Egypt**

The range of imagery on tokens from Egypt encompasses both Egyptian, classical and combined motifs. Defining Egyptian or classical elements is not always straightforward and is sometimes a subjective process. For example, Savvopoulos interprets Serapis as an 'Egyptian' element of the Alexandrian coinage, but I would argue that he is a classicisation of Egyptian deities (Osiris and Apis) and therefore he is a classical element.<sup>69</sup> Recent research by Chezoum has identified three different

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<sup>69</sup> Savvopoulos 2011, 83.

categories of motif on the Alexandrian coinage: ‘indigenous’(e.g. local animals, canopic jars, sacred barque, indigenous architecture, nome types) ‘compound’ (e.g. Serapis, Isis, Nilus, Euthenia, Harpocrates/Horus, Hermanubis) and ‘classical’ (e.g. Homonoia, Herakles, Nike, Demeter, Athena, Roma, Tyche and Zeus).<sup>70</sup> These are the same categories that are adopted here, and generally the elements depicted on tokens conform to the classification in the same manner as coinage. Chezum distinguishes between the terms ‘motif’ and ‘style’, ascertaining that only motifs can be categorised as classical or indigenous, while the style of the imagery on coins is always classical.<sup>71</sup> This is also the case for tokens, therefore regardless of the subject matter, the style of the imagery on tokens from Egypt is Graeco-Roman.

Elements of an indigenous Egyptian nature include monuments and buildings, such as the sphinx and pyramids (Egypt no. 105, Figure 17), facing sphinxes (Egypt no. 168) and Egyptian temple pylons (Egypt no. 6, Figure 12). Canopic jars also feature (Egypt no. 121, Figure 18), as well as Egyptian crowns such as the HemHem (Egypt no. 186, Figure 19). Egyptian animals in the form of an ibis (Egypt no.180, Figure 20) and the Egyptian mongoose (Egypt no. 2, Figure 3) are present. Deities in their animal form feature to a certain extent, the Apis bull (Egypt nos. 106, 155-162, Figure 9) being an unusual example in that it is depicted in full animal form, rather than referenced as an element of Serapis. Animal heads feature on the human bodies of deities, for example, the Romanised Horus wearing a cuirass features on Egypt nos. 166 (Figure 21), 167 and 184.<sup>72</sup> Egypt no. 169 (Figure 22) depicts Hermanubis with jackal head, holding sceptre and purse on one face, and the god in purely classicised form on the other. This example is particularly interesting for its double representation of the deity in different forms.

The implication for the inclusion of Egyptian elements is that they are chosen for token designs when they depict buildings, inanimate objects or animals. Likewise,

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<sup>70</sup> Chezum 2014: indigenous: 228-240; compound: 219-228; classical: 216-218.

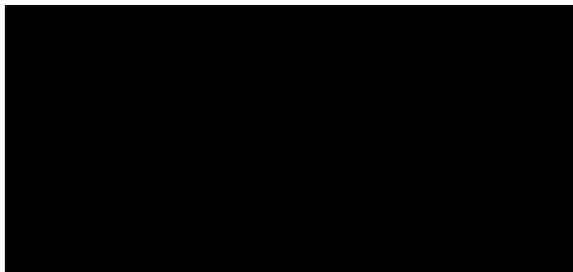
<sup>71</sup> Chezum 2014, 215.

<sup>72</sup> The figure on no. 186 is identified as Horus due to the presence of the hawk head and cuirass, as found elsewhere in Romano-Egyptian depictions of Horus from Egypt, such as the bronze statue in the British Museum’s collection (accession no. EA36062). However, the presence of the ethnic AΘPBIC (referring to either the town of Athribis or the Athribite nome) implies that the image should also be read in the context of the nome’s patron deity, Chuit-Hathor. This deity is depicted on the Athribite nome coinage un-cuirassed and in human form, holding a hawk in the right hand and a sceptre in the left (*RPC* III 6462-6464 and 6466). These latter two attributes are also held by the figure on the token.

animal elements of deities are included, but only when hybridised with a classicised human form. The Apis bull is the exception for his inclusion in fully animal form, but perhaps this is due to his standing as a sacred animal, which is consistent with the depiction of other sacred animals such as the ibis and the Egyptian mongoose.



*Figure 17: Token depicting the sphinx and pyramids. Obverse: Serapis standing facing, wearing modius, holding sceptre in left hand and raising right. To left, Egyptian altar, to right sphinx lying left. Behind sphinx, two pyramids of different size; [ANT/E]/OYC (Antaeopolis) last three letters retrograde. Line border. Reverse: Hawk-head Horus standing facing, head right, wearing skhent and military dress, holding sceptre in right hand and hawk(?) in left. To right, female figure standing left, crowning Horus with laurel wreath; Line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 4.74. Die axis: 11. Egypt no. 105. Ashmolean Museum, Dattari no. 6412. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*



*Figure 18: Token depicting canopic jars. Obverse: Torso of Nilus reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and figure of mummiform Osiris in outstretched right hand. Dotted border. Reverse: Two canopi resting on cushions, facing each other, one crowned with horns, disc and plumes. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight 294g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 121. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5396. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*



Figure 19: Token featuring the HemHem crown. Obverse: Bust of Antinous right, wearing HemHem crown; ΕΠ ΑΓΑΘΩ. Reverse: Bust of Zeus Ammon right, [...]ΟΛΕΙ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 8.25g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 186. ANS accession no. 1944.100.79801. Image: ANS.



Figure 20: Token featuring an ibis. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right hand; border of dots. Reverse: Ibis walking right; L E; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 3.2g. Die axis: 2. Egypt no. 180. ANS accession no. 1944.100.79860. Image: ANS.

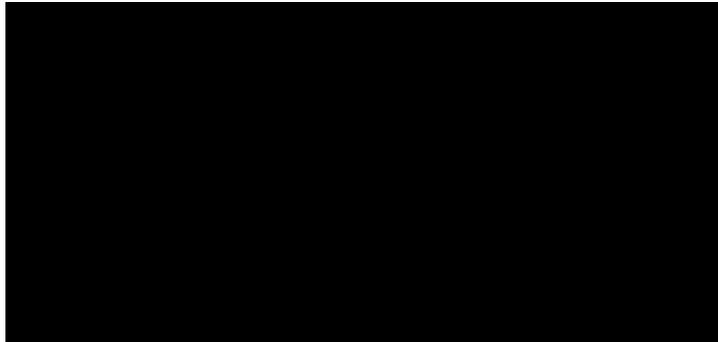


Figure 21: Token from Athribis. Obverse: Torso of Nilus, facing, head left, holding cornucopia in left hand, and holding reeds in right hand. Solid line border. Reverse: Hawk-headed Horus standing facing, head left, wearing cuirass, holding spear in left hand and hawk in outstretched right hand; ΑΘΡ ΒΙC (Athribis). Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 4.54g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 166. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5277. Image: Ashmolean Museum.

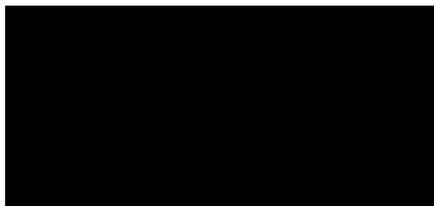


Figure 22: Token depicting Hermanubis utilising both classical and Egyptian motifs. Obverse: Hermes/Hermanubis standing facing, holding caduceus in left hand. Solid line border. Reverse: Jackal-headed Hermanubis, seated left on throne, holding sceptre in left hand and purse in outstretched right hand. Solid line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 13mm. Weight: 1.16g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 169. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5340. Image: Ashmolean Museum.

Deities are depicted in classical forms, and aside from their animal elements or accessories such as crowns, generally do not explicitly feature Egyptian elements. However, for many of these images, Egyptian deities can be read in the imagery. The equation of native deities with classical counterparts is a process known as *interpretatio Graeca* or *interpretatio Romana*.<sup>73</sup> The terms are often used in reference to the linguistic evidence, but they are equally applicable to understanding iconography, and allow for multiple ‘ways of seeing’, which facilitated the engagement of both Egyptian and classical milieus.<sup>74</sup> The utilisation of both cultures is sometimes in terms of double style: Castiglione has demonstrated that funerary artwork in the Roman period was executed in a classical style when depicting the deceased, but the gods and funerary symbols were left in their Egyptian guise.<sup>75</sup> Sometimes deities were restyled in a classical manner, as was the case with terracotta Isis figurines.<sup>76</sup> These examples all demonstrate a hybridity in art from Egypt, with the process both Hellenising and Egyptianising in its direction.

The imagery of deities on tokens should therefore be viewed with these syncretisms in mind, although unlike funerary art the style of the iconography is consistently classical. For instance, in the Graeco-Roman world, including on tokens, Harpocrates is depicted as a child, with one finger raised to his lips (Egypt no. 183, Figure 23). He is the classical equivalent of the Egyptian Horus the Child, and it is likely that this double meaning would be read in his image.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, Serapis (e.g. Egypt nos. 130-139 and 165, Figure 24) was flexibly interpreted as subsuming a multitude of deities, including Osiris, the Apis bull, Dionysos, Pluto, Zeus, Pan, Asklepios and Dis Pater into his classical form, and so reading his image in Roman Egypt would encompass at least some of these Egyptian and classical deities at any one time.<sup>78</sup> Antinous (112-114, Figure 19) is syncretised with Hermes-Thoth, and this provides an example of both classical (Hermes) and Egyptian (Thoth) deities that can lie behind the main image.<sup>79</sup> Sometimes deities are syncretised to include elements of both Egyptian and

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<sup>73</sup> von Lieven 2016, 61-82 for overview of the *Interpretatio Graeca* of Egyptian gods.

<sup>74</sup> See Ando 2005, 49 on how the terms should be applied at theological as well as linguistic level.

<sup>75</sup> Castiglione 1961.

<sup>76</sup> Frankfurter 1998, 40.

<sup>77</sup> El-Khachab 1971, 133-134.

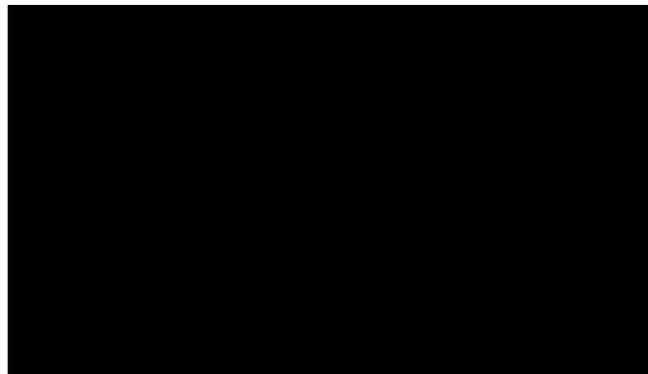
<sup>78</sup> The deities syncretised into Serapis are varied and include, according to different ancient authors: Osiris, Dionysos, Pluto, Zeus and Pan (Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, I.25.2); Osiris, Asklepios, Jupiter, Dis Pater (Tacitus, *Histories*, IV.8.5). See Stambaugh 1972 for further exploration of these syncretisms.

<sup>79</sup> Hermes-Thoth: Derchain-Urtel 1981, 136-147.

Greek deities, as is the case when Isis appears as part of the Agathodaimon as Isis-Thermouthis (Egypt no. 174, Figure 25), or Euthenia-Isis (Egypt nos. 106, 156, Figure 9). These syncretisms therefore varied in their depictions, some being more overt than others, but it is within this category of syncretic imagery that the tokens of Athena-Thoeris (see below) are placed. This is contrasted with Chezum's placement of Athena within the 'classical' category when depicted on the Alexandrian coinage. When depicted on tokens from Oxyrhynchus she is syncretised with Thoeris / Taweret, and therefore would be best categorised as 'compound' despite the overt classical appearance. This demonstrates both the importance of looking beyond the classical imagery when studying tokens, and how the local context of tokens' imagery involves a more nuanced reading in comparison to the Alexandrian coinage. In this respect, although Chezum's approach has informed this study and is applicable to a certain extent, it is apparent that there are limitations when it is applied to tokens. The development of a more sophisticated approach is an avenue for future studies of Roman tokens from Egypt.



*Figure 23: Token depicting Harpocrates. Obverse: Isis standing left, holding sistrum in raised right hand, and holding globe in outstretched left hand; lion at feet to left, sitting left, head right. Reverse: Harpocrates standing left, raising right hand to put finger to lips, and holding cornucopia in left hand; to left, Bes standing facing; solid line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 3.6g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no.183. ANS accession no. 1944.100.79893. Image: ANS.*



*Figure 24: Token depicting Serapis. Obverse: Bust of Serapis, wearing modius, right; crescent in field to left, star in field to right. Border of dots. Reverse: Bust of Hawk-headed Horus right, wearing HemHem crown and cuirass. Border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 6.14g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 167. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5331. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*



*Figure 25: Token depicting Isis as Isis-Thermouthis. Obverse: Jugate busts of Isis and Osiris, right. Border of dots. Reverse: Isis Thermouthis right, torch to left and right; crescent in field to top left, star in field to top right. Border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 3.85g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 174. ANS accession no. 1935.117.1114. Image: ANS.*

In some respect, Nilus tokens can also be classified in this category of tokens. The river Nile, an Egyptian element, is depicted in a classical style. However, he is not syncretised with any Egyptian deities. Following the patterns observed above, that Egyptian places (pyramids, sphinx), and the natural world (mongoose, ibis) do not have a classical counterpart, it should follow that the Nile does not. However, perhaps the reason for the fact that places, animals and inanimate objects are not depicted as classical motifs is that they cannot be. An Egyptian mongoose is, after all, an Egyptian mongoose. There is no classical repertoire for reinterpretation of these elements, but this is not the case for rivers. The Graeco-Roman world has a long tradition of personifying rivers, and the depiction of Nilus fits comfortably within this.<sup>80</sup>

In contrast, other images on tokens from Egypt do not have an Egyptian element or display syncretism. For example, motifs such as the emperor (Egypt nos. 107-110, Figure 26), and personifications including Dikaiosyne (Egypt nos. 176, 177 and 179, Figure 27), Nike (e.g. Egypt nos. 107-113, Figure 26) or Homonoia (Egypt no. 176, Figure 27) do not have an Egyptian counterpart. In this regard, these are images of the Graeco-Roman milieu and their inclusion is read only on classical terms. Both Burnett's and Bland's studies of the mint of Alexandria demonstrated that it had ties to the mint of Rome, which perhaps accounted for the use of a small quantity of similar imagery.<sup>81</sup> As tokens are frequently influenced by the Alexandrian coinage it is therefore feasible that tokens will have some motifs that are of a Roman, rather than Egyptian, nature.<sup>82</sup> There is, however, a noticeable infrequency of some deities on

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<sup>80</sup> Larson 2007, 66: in Greek myth rivers figured as ancestors and primordial being and this way of thinking was also applied to Greek colonies where understanding and control of the environment was vital for settlers, and where they were often represented on coinage.

<sup>81</sup> Burnett 1991; Bland 1996.

<sup>82</sup> For example, the image of the emperor holding Nike on Egypt no.109 is found on the Alexandrian coinage of Commodus - *RPC* IV.4 16210.

tokens from Egypt, such as Tyche (Egypt nos. 104 and 176), despite featuring heavily on the Alexandrian coinage.<sup>83</sup> Some Graeco-Roman motifs were therefore not deemed apt for frequent inclusion on tokens.



*Figure 26: Token depicting emperor and Nike. Obverse: Emperor standing facing, head left, wearing radiate crown, holding upside-down spear in left hand, and Nike holding laurel wreath aloft, in right hand. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 3.38g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 107. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5335. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*



*Figure 27: Token featuring Homonoia and Dikaiosyne. Obverse: Tyche standing facing, holding rudder in right hand; female figure (Euthenia?) standing facing, head left; double border of dots. Reverse: Homonoia(?) standing facing, wearing modius and holding cornucopia in right hand; Dikaiosyne standing left, wearing modius, holding scales in right hand and cornucopia in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 25mm. Weight: 7.34g. Die axis: 11. Egypt no. 176. ANS accession no. 1944.100.79781. Image: ANS.*

### **2.3.2. Local tokens: A case study of the Athena tokens of Oxyrhynchus**

A subset of the corpus of tokens from Roman Egypt display a local character, a conclusion reached both Rostovtzeff and Milne (see section 2.1). The iconography is usually relevant to the locality, often featuring a patron deity, and sometimes a legend accompanies the imagery, predominantly in the form of the name of a settlement or nome (administrative district).<sup>84</sup> This is evident in a number of examples, for instance Egypt no. 156 (Figure 9, found at Memphis) and Egypt no. 106 (found at

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<sup>83</sup> Tyche is commonly found on the Alexandrian coinage in the period relevant to tokens (1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries), from Nero (e.g. *RPC* I 5319) through to Trebonianus Gallus (e.g. *RPC* IX 2324).

<sup>84</sup> Following the nome coinage of Egypt, it is possible that the legend refers to the nome district rather than its primary town, however token no. 108 explicitly refers to ‘the city of the Arsinoites’ (APCINOITWN ΠΟΛΕΩC). Both possibilities are therefore viable.

Oxyrhynchus), which refer to Memphis both in terms of imagery and legend, as well as Egypt no. 104 which refers to Arsinoe (Figure 28), and no. 105, referencing Antaeopolis (Figure 17). Tokens featuring Athena and sometimes bearing the legend ΟΞ, all from Oxyrhynchus, form a case study below, while a token of unknown provenance refers to Athribis (Egypt no. 166, Figure 21).<sup>85</sup> The stylistic differences in these tokens suggest that they were not centrally manufactured and it is probable that they were manufactured in the place to which their legends refer. The fact that tokens from Arsinoe, Memphis and Antaeopolis were discovered at Oxyrhynchus demonstrates that they could be removed from their place of manufacture, although it is not clear whether they still retained their intrinsic purpose.



*Figure 28: Token of Arsinoe. Obverse: Tyche reclining left; LB(?). Reverse: APCINOITWN ΠΟΛΕΩC (the city of the Arsinoites); in centre Φ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 28mm. Weight: 13.94g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 104. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5276. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*

An analysis of the Athena tokens from Oxyrhynchus will be undertaken to demonstrate their connection to this locality. This shall be achieved through consideration of four factors: their findspots, their legend, Athena's attribute of the double-headed axe (*labrys*), and finally the particular association of Athena with the goddess Thoeris at Oxyrhynchus.

Athena frequently appears on the tokens of Oxyrhynchus. Milne identified 184 tokens which depicted Athena out of a total 271, all of which were found in the rubbish dumps of the town during the search for papyri carried out by Grenfell and Hunt in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>86</sup> Part of this collection is now housed in the Ashmolean Museum, where my own research has identified the goddess Athena on 91 out of the

<sup>85</sup> For further examples of these types, as well as others, see Dattari 6412-6425.

<sup>86</sup> Milne 1908, 297.

129 tokens from Oxyrhynchus (Egypt nos. 26-103). Most frequently it is her bust that is depicted (Egypt nos. 26-84, Figure 7) but she also appears fighting a serpent (85-96, Figure 8), and sometimes her cult statue features within a temple (Egypt nos. 97-103, Figure 6). Most tokens pair her with Nike on the reverse, aside from a small subset on which Zeus is depicted seated (Egypt nos. 85-87, Figure 29).



*Figure 29: Token depicting Athena / Athena-Thoeris fighting serpent. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris-Thoeris advancing right, holding labrys in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her. Reverse: Zeus seated left, in right hand holding Nike right with wreath, and in left hand holding sceptre. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 7.72g. Die axis: 1. Egypt no. 85. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5303. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*

Despite this variation in the form of her image, there is clearly a preference for types featuring Athena at this town. The frequency of this goddess on tokens at Oxyrhynchus is made all the more apparent when we consider that she does not appear on token types found elsewhere in Egypt. This was a factor that was not unnoticed by Milne, and still holds true based on the data available today, which includes discoveries made after Milne's study.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, Oxyrhynchus was a well-connected town at the time of the tokens' manufacture in the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. A study of the papyrological evidence from the town demonstrates that in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD 43% of the town's contact was with communities outside of Oxyrhynchus, and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century the figure rises to 53%.<sup>88</sup> Therefore, it is apparent that the town's connections were not utilised to facilitate travel of the tokens to further afield, and they stayed local to Oxyrhynchus. Their use, and the choice of the image of Athena, therefore only had relevance to Oxyrhynchus. In this regard, although Athena's image is one of many that formed a Graeco-Roman *koine*, her frequency on these tokens with a limited geographical remit demonstrates that she had a particular local connection with this town. This echoes work carried out on the idea of a Hellenistic *koine* and in terms of

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<sup>87</sup> Milne 1908, 297.

<sup>88</sup> Alston 1998, 189.

numismatics, particularly that by Yarrow, who demonstrated that the ‘global’ image of Heracles was made ‘local’ by different minting authorities across the Mediterranean.<sup>89</sup>

The only legend present on Athena tokens from Oxyrhynchus is the Greek letters O and ξ, placed vertically. Sometimes the letters are retrograde, and there is variation in the execution of the *xi* – sometimes it is quite crude, and sometimes it is capitalised. The legend appears on tokens where Athena is depicted in bust form on the obverse, and Nike advances with wreath and palm on the reverse, with the legend placed to Nike’s left (see Figure 7). The legend is formed of the first two letters of the name of the town, and is not found on token types from elsewhere in Egypt, nor on non-Athena token types found at Oxyrhynchus. This abbreviation is frequently found in papyrological sources when referencing the town or the nome, and so appears to be an abbreviation commonly used and recognised within Egypt.<sup>90</sup> It is therefore clear from this analysis that its use on tokens is intentional rather than employed as a space-saving element. This is further evidenced by the uncluttered nature of the design components on the flans; there is room for an expanded legend if so desired. This easily recognised legend therefore works alongside the imagery to emphasise the distinct local character of this type of token.

On a small number of tokens Athena is given the attribute of the *labrys* (double-headed axe). Milne identified nine tokens from the Oxyrhynchus assemblage that showed a *labrys*; five of these are still in the Ashmolean (e.g. Egypt no. 84, Figure 30). While the presence of a *labrys* as the attribute of Athena is not common within this corpus of tokens from Oxyrhynchus, it may have been more prevalent than the current numbers suggest: the poor condition in which the tokens have survived obscures much of the detail. This is evidenced by the specimens in the ANS collection, where the *labrys* is clear on all but two of the 25 tokens depicting Athena attacking the serpent. It is likely that this attribute was also present on worn tokens of this type where it is no longer discernable, both in the Ashmolean and ANS collections. If we accept this, the specimens with which Athena attacks the serpent with the *labrys* number 25 out of the 42 Oxyrhynchite tokens in the ANS collection on which she is depicted. In the

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<sup>89</sup> Yarrow 2013.

<sup>90</sup> Abbreviation in papyri e.g.: BGU 4.1017; BGU 4.1091; C.Pap.Gr. 2.1.22; C.Pap.Gr. 2.1.App3; Chr.Mitt. 323; O.Fay. 39; O.Mich. 1.446; O.Mich. 4.1131; O.Wilck. 1091; O.Wilck. 1096; O.Wilck. 1103; P.Ant. 3.187a; P.Ant. 3.187b.

Cologne collection Athena holds the *labrys* in 18 out of the 56 tokens of Oxyrhynchite types on which she is depicted. It is evident that the *labrys* is not an uncommon attribute for Athena on Oxyrhynchite types.<sup>91</sup> It is notable that Athena appears with the *labrys* on more than one type; it is present both when she is attacking a serpent (Egypt nos. 85-96, Figure 8) and alongside her bust (Egypt nos. 82-84, Figure 30).

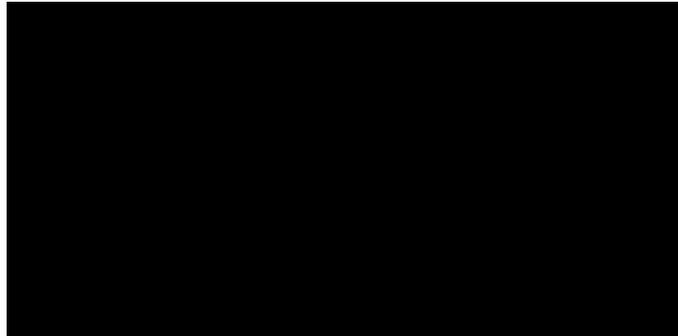


Figure 30: Token depicting Athena / Athena-Thoeris with *labrys*. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, *labrys* to front. Solid line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ. Solid line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 3.34g. Die axis: 11. Egypt no. 84. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5302. Image: Ashmolean Museum.

The *labrys* is an unusual attribute for Athena. It does not feature alongside her on many depictions from antiquity, aside from one representation from Mycenae, the nome coinage of Oxyrhynchus, a terracotta lamp from Oxyrhynchus, and possibly as part of a statue of Athena found at Oxyrhynchus.<sup>92</sup> The nome coinage was struck in Alexandria in the name of the administrative districts (nomes) and featured cult deities significant to each nome.<sup>93</sup> The image of Athena appears holding a *labrys* in her left hand on the coins naming Oxyrhynchus (Figure 31), and on one issue the *labrys* is depicted alone as the dominant iconography.<sup>94</sup> This differs from the imagery of Athena and *labrys* on tokens, where the axe is depicted in front of Athena's bust, or raised in her right hand as she is attacking a serpent.

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<sup>91</sup> The discrepancies in wear across collections could perhaps be explained through their provenance. The Ashmolean collection holds Oxyrhynchite specimens mainly from antiquarian excavations, while the ANS collection is in the majority comprised of specimens bequeathed from private collections which were initially bought on the market. It is therefore possible that the better preserved examples were more likely to reach the market, and consequently end up in private collections, which were then acquired by museums.

<sup>92</sup> Mycenaean representation: *LIMC* II, Athena no. 2; Nome coinage: *LIMC* II, Athena no. 27; *RPC* III 6355-6358. Lamp: British Museum OA.11020. Statue: Mathiopoulos 2001, 202-217.

<sup>93</sup> Geissen 2005, 167.

<sup>94</sup> *RPC* III 6357 and 6358.



Figure 31: Coin of Hadrian. Obverse: laureate bust of Hadrian, right; border of dots; *AYT KAI TPAI AΔPIA CEB*. Reverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris standing facing, head left, wearing Corinthian helmet, holding *labrys* in left hand and Nike in extended right hand; border of dots; *OEYP/ LIA*. Metal: Bronze. Weight: 4.70g. Mint: Alexandria. Date: AD 117-138. RPC III 6357. Ashmolean Museum Accession no. HCR34309. Image: Ashmolean Museum.

The oil lamp from Oxyrhynchus, now in the British Museum collection, dates to the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, and depicts the bust of Athena left, with a *labrys* placed vertically in front of her. The statue of Athena from Oxyrhynchus is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and was probably located in the area of the Agora. It is incomplete, but at the left upper arm there are the remains of a square iron plug and two small holes between the last two folds of the himation, implying that the statue once held an attribute, presumed to be a cornucopia of Athena-Tyche.<sup>95</sup> Instead, I would argue that the attribute is more probably a *labrys*, given the provenance of the statue to Oxyrhynchus and the association of Athena with the *labrys* at this town.<sup>96</sup> The pairing of Athena and the *labrys* on tokens is therefore consistent with both the local imagery found at Oxyrhynchus, demonstrated by the lamp and the statue, and also imagery associated with Oxyrhynchus by outside powers, as evidenced by the nome coinage. Its inclusion on tokens further demonstrates their local character.

In terms of the significance of the *labrys* to the town of Oxyrhynchus, current scholarship does not appear to have reached a definitive conclusion. In her study of the double-headed axe, Kouremenos states in reference to the nome coinage of Oxyrhynchus that ‘its meaning in this context is unclear, as neither the city nor the emperor (Hadrian) are known to have had any association with the double axe...It is possible that its appearance on Hadrianic coins may be a reference to the league of workmen in the city that used the double axe as their tool, thus associating the city

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<sup>95</sup> Mathiopoulos 2001, 202.

<sup>96</sup> There is mention in P.Oxy. 8.1117 of the making of a new gold statue of Athena-Thoeris in AD 178, providing evidence that she was depicted in statuary.

with woodworking'.<sup>97</sup> This, however, is pure speculation. Others have interpreted the presence of the *labrys* on the nome coinage as an 'Egyptian' emblem, due to the fact that it was often depicted with the Egyptian god Tutu, in which context it has been interpreted as an apotropaic symbol.<sup>98</sup> Its association with Athena at Oxyrhynchus might therefore be viewed as acknowledging her role as a protective guardian goddess of the town, while also amalgamating Egyptian and Greek elements.<sup>99</sup>

However, this assertion neglects to consider the ubiquity of the *labrys* in the Greek and Roman world. Kouremonos has demonstrated its significance in a number of contexts in which the object appears, of which a selection are outlined here.<sup>100</sup> It appears in the *Odyssey* as one of the tools that Calypso gives Odysseus to aid him in building a raft to sail from her island.<sup>101</sup> The symbol appears on Carian coinage as an attribute of Zeus Labrandeus in the 4th century BC, and Plutarch notes that it was taken from Hippolyta by Hercules, who gave it to the Lydian rulers, who in turn passed it down until it became an attribute of Zeus Labrandeus.<sup>102</sup> It also appears on coins from Tenedos in the 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>103</sup> In Macedonia the double-headed axe was associated with royalty, and triple rows of the double-headed axe were discovered in the burial of the Lady of Aegae as well as in sanctuaries.<sup>104</sup> It had particular significance on Crete in the Minoan period, where it is found on a multitude of artefacts and buildings.<sup>105</sup> In the Roman period the symbol continued to have significance, and is often found as an attribute of the Amazons, as on a 3<sup>rd</sup> century sarcophagus and on a mosaic from Antioch.<sup>106</sup> It appears on other mosaics in Antioch, as well as at Palmyra.<sup>107</sup> On Trajan's column it is depicted as being used both as a tool and a weapon.<sup>108</sup> It continues to form iconography on coinage, for example, on coins of Julian-Claudian emperors minted at Hierapolis in Phrygia, as well as the city's

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<sup>97</sup> Kouremonos 2016, 47.

<sup>98</sup> Weber and Geissen 2013, 168.

<sup>99</sup> Weber and Geissen 2013, 168.

<sup>100</sup> Kouremonos 2016.

<sup>101</sup> Homer, *Odyssey* 5.234; Kouremonos 2016, 43.

<sup>102</sup> Zeus Labrandeus : *SNG Cop.* 590; Kouremonos 2016, 45. Hippolyta: Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 45, *Moralia* 301F–302A; Kouremonos 2016, 43.

<sup>103</sup> *BMC Greek (Troas, Aeolis, Lesbos)* 14 and 18; Kouremonos 2016, 46.

<sup>104</sup> Kouremonos 2016, 47.

<sup>105</sup> Kouremonos 2016, 44-45.

<sup>106</sup> Kouremonos 2016, 48.

<sup>107</sup> Kouremonos 2016, 48.

<sup>108</sup> Kouremonos 2016, 50.

semi-autonomous coinage during the Roman period.<sup>109</sup> This research by Kouremenos outlined above demonstrates that by the Roman period (the time of the tokens' manufacture), the double-headed axe was a 'flexible symbol', with different meanings in different contexts.<sup>110</sup>

The *labrys* can therefore be perceived as one of many images of the Graeco-Roman *koine*, in the same manner that the image of Athena formed part of this *koine*. The presence of the ubiquitous images of Athena and the *labrys* together on the tokens of Oxyrhynchus demonstrates how widespread imagery can be given a specifically local context. While the double-headed axe appears in many places in different contexts, and the imagery of Athena is incredibly common, it is only when they appear together in the specific context of the material culture of Oxyrhynchus that they are able to transform into a new image which becomes associated with the locality. In this regard, the imagery of tokens where Athena is depicted with the *labrys* is emblematic of a civic identity of the community of Oxyrhynchus. The exact significance of the *labrys* to this community is difficult to discern, although reasons for its inclusion with Athena's imagery are explored below.

The unusual pairing of Athena with the *labrys* at Oxyrhynchus was not her sole distinction from the ubiquitous Athena of the *koine*. From numerous references in the town's papyri, it is evident that Athena was equated with, or given the epithet of, the goddess Thoeris. There are references to 'worshippers of the cult of Athena-Thoeris', the temple of Athena-Thoeris and the place of the temple of Athena-Thoeris, amongst others.<sup>111</sup> To some extent perhaps the goddesses were perceived as separate: one document refers to 'the temple of Athena and Thoeris'.<sup>112</sup> However, on the whole it seems that at Oxyrhynchus the goddesses formed a syncretic deity. Milne also noted that tokens depicting Athena were likely to come from Oxyrhynchus, and that she was equated with the goddess Thoeris at the town, but his discussion of this was not extensive.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Julian-Claudian coinage: *RPC I* 2957 and 2975-6; Kouremenos 2016, 47. Semi-autonomous: *BMC Greek (Phrygia)* 23 and 79.

<sup>110</sup> Kouremenos 2016, 55.

<sup>111</sup> Worshippers: P.Oxy. 3.579; P.Rein. 2.93. Temple: P.Oxy. 34.2722. Place of the temple: P.Oxy. 50.3567

<sup>112</sup> P.Oxy. 10.1268.

<sup>113</sup> Milne 1908, 297; 1900, 72.

Thoeris is the Greek name for the Egyptian goddess Taweret. She took the form of a hippopotamus, and her worship had become prominent at Oxyrhynchus from the late Ptolemaic period, where she was associated with the god Seth as a subsidiary consort.<sup>114</sup> The connection of the goddesses is not clear, but Whitehorne asserts that each goddess has an association with childbirth and fertility.<sup>115</sup> The material evidence suggests that Taweret was indeed associated with the protection of women and children in ancient Egypt. Inscribed magical knives from the Middle Kingdom period bear apotropaic figures and texts indicating that they were for the protection of women and children, and most frequently feature Taweret as the apotropaic figure.<sup>116</sup> From the New Kingdom, jugs in the form of Taweret were used for the pouring of libations from a hole in one of the jug's breasts, indicating an association with childbirth and breastfeeding mothers.<sup>117</sup> Athena's link to women and motherhood is less explicit, but it is perhaps her capacity as a protector that syncretises her with Taweret. Elsewhere in Egypt Athena is equated with Neith, so the connection with Taweret and Thoeris at Oxyrhynchus has particular relevance to the town. The imagery of Athena-Thoeris attacking the serpent (Egypt nos. 85-96) may reference the myth encapsulated by Plutarch, whereby in the war between Isis and Osiris, Taweret/Thoeris defects from Isis to join Osiris and Horus, pursued by a serpent which is then cut to pieces by Horus' men.<sup>118</sup> The imagery of Athena on tokens therefore had associations with Thoeris, and her Egyptian form Taweret, thereby lending a particular local context to the way in which the tokens may have been viewed and read by the community of Oxyrhynchus. Dasen has also reached similar conclusions in her analysis of a gem depicting Athena attacking a serpent with a *labrys*, which bears the inscription 'Thoeris'.<sup>119</sup> She considers how the imagery of the gem could have been read on both Greek and Egyptian terms due to the iconography evoking Athena, Thoeris and Taweret, and concludes that the provenance of the gem must be Oxyrhynchus.

It is worth considering that the choice to depict Athena-Thoeris, rather than Taweret in her hippopotamus form, was a deliberate one. In the Roman period, Taweret was concurrently associated with Thoeris and significant in her own right, evidenced

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<sup>114</sup> Whitehorne 1995, 3080-82.

<sup>115</sup> Whitehorne 1995, 3080-82.

<sup>116</sup> Weingarten 1991, 4: 45 out of the 58 published knives feature Taweret.

<sup>117</sup> Bruyère 1939, 104-107.

<sup>118</sup> Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 19, *Moralia* 358 c-d.

<sup>119</sup> Dasen 2019.

through the presence of smaller shrines that operated beyond Oxyrhynchus and her imagery would still have had resonance with certain populations.<sup>120</sup> That she is depicted in syncretised classical form further underlines the civic nature of the tokens and the specific relevance of the goddess to Oxyrhynchus itself. This does not discount the possibility that those who used and viewed tokens interpreted the image on their own terms and read different combinations of Athena, Thoeris and Taweret in the image.

The association with Thoeris and Taweret can perhaps elucidate the inclusion of the *labrys* with Athena's imagery at Oxyrhynchus. As noted above, the *labrys* had many different local associations in both the Roman and pre-Roman periods, however, one of the places where it has particular significance is on Crete. Oxyrhynchus was home to many immigrants from the Greek diaspora, but there is evidence for a 'Cretan quarter' at Oxyrhynchus.<sup>121</sup> There is also suggestion that Taweret, in her hippopotamus form, was exported to Crete in the Bronze Age and developed into the Minoan Genius goddess.<sup>122</sup> It is therefore plausible that Cretan immigrants to Oxyrhynchus brought their symbolism of the *labrys* to Taweret/Thoeris, especially as her form was broadly recognisable to them.<sup>123</sup> However, whether Cretan immigrants were also the force behind the syncretism of Athena with Taweret/Thoeris at Oxyrhynchus remains speculative.

To summarise, tokens bearing the imagery of Athena have a particularly local significance to the town of Oxyrhynchus. This is due to the prevalence of Athena imagery among the tokens from the town, the fact that tokens with this imagery are not found elsewhere in Egypt, the legend on a number of the tokens of the letters Oξ which refers to the name of the town, the unusual attribute of Athena with the *labrys* which is only found in connection to Oxyrhynchus, and finally the connection of Athena to the goddess Taweret/Thoeris at the town, which may have led to a particular

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<sup>120</sup> Frankfurter 1998, 122 citing P.Oxy. 1.43 and P.Lond. 2554.

<sup>121</sup> P.Oxy. 12.1452.

<sup>122</sup> Weingarten 1991 presents the iconographic evidence; Kuch 2017 reviews this evidence and sets it in theoretical context.

<sup>123</sup> Another influence is perhaps from Miletos in Caria, where the *labrys* features on coinage alongside Nike, with Athena depicted on the obverse (*SNG Saraglos* nos. 133–4). It is likely that the influence of the *labrys* also came from Crete in this instance due to the Minoan presence at Miletos (see Gorman 2001, 14–24). The link to Egypt is that Miletos was under Ptolemaic rule for a period, and although there is no evidence for the presence of Carian immigrants at Oxyrhynchus there is evidence for them at Memphis in the Hellenistic period (Weber 2012, 301).

way of viewing the imagery of the tokens in the context of this local deity. This concept of local relevance to a widespread image is encompassed within the framework of glocalisation, whereby ‘global’ concepts take on a localised significance (see section 1.1.2).

This is comparable to the depiction of local deities on provincial coinage, which were often chosen as expressions of civic self identity.<sup>124</sup> These deities also consolidated a sense of collective memory for inhabitants of a city, in that they were often associated with foundation myths and therefore the longevity of both the city and the deity’s patronage.<sup>125</sup> In this respect, images of local deities served to enforce a sense of place and community identity, a concept that can be applied to the Athena-Thoeris tokens of Oxyrhynchus.

### 2.3.3. Province-wide tokens: A case study of Nilus imagery

Most tokens from Roman Egypt do not have specific relevance and circulation patterns to a locality within Egypt, instead having iconography that is found on tokens across the province, and is often inspired by the Alexandrian coinage. Of the tokens with findspot data, as outlined in section 2.2, there are a number of examples which demonstrate this. Serapis, for instance, is found on tokens from Karanis (Egypt nos. 20, 22-24), Oxyrhynchus (e.g. Egypt nos. 130-139), Narmouthis (Egypt no. 25), the Fayum (Egypt nos. 11 and 12), Qasr Ibrim (Egypt no. 165) and the Haifa coast (Egypt no. 17). Nilus also appears on tokens found across a wide geographical range, within Egypt and just outside it: Saqqara, Tebtunis, Oxyrhynchus (e.g. Egypt nos. 122-129), Qasr Ibrim (Egypt nos. 163-164), Karanis (Egypt nos. 19, 24), the Fayum (Egypt no. 11-13) and the Haifa coast (Egypt nos. 16 and 17). Table 1 below outlines the quantities of Serapis and Nilus types found on these sites in comparison to the total number of tokens discovered at each location. Despite the fact that the data is biased heavily towards Oxyrhynchus which has a much larger sample, it is apparent that these are popular images that are found across the province.

Site	No. of Serapis types	No. of Nilus Types	No. of tokens from site in total
Tebtunis	0	6	6

<sup>124</sup> Howgego et al 2005. Although tokens likely circulated within a smaller and more select audience.

<sup>125</sup> Williamson 2005, 26.

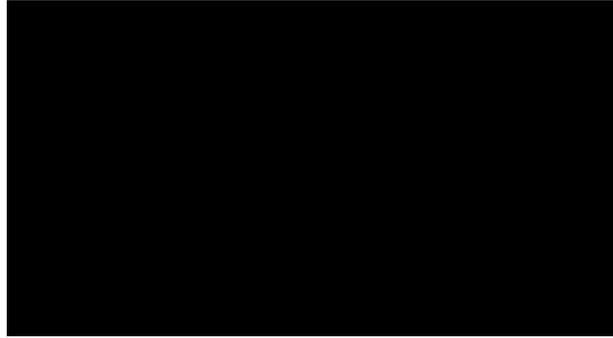
Oxyrhynchus (Ashmolean coll. only)	14	12	126
Saqqara	0	2	2
Qasr Ibrim	1	2	3
Haifa	1	2	3
Karanis	4	2	19
The Fayum	2	3	6
Narmouthis	1	0	1
Antinoopolis	1	1	3

*Table 1: Distribution of Serapis and Nilus tokens in Egypt and the Mediterranean.*

The above analysis only accounts for the presence of these deities on tokens (on either obverse or reverse), and not for specific types. When types are analysed (i.e. the same obverse and reverse), patterns within the general trend emerge. A case study of Nilus types will endeavour to discern the nuance within this patterning.

There are some Nilus types which are found on multiple sites, for example, those which depict Nilus reclining left on the obverse and Euthenia reclining left on the reverse are found on three sites: the Carmel coast shipwreck (Egypt no. 16), Oxyrhynchus (Egypt nos. 122 and 123) and Qasr Ibrim (Egypt no. 163, Figure 5). Whilst the Euthenia image is consistent on the tokens from across the three sites, Nilus holds different attributes including reeds (Egypt no. 122), lotus flowers (Egypt nos. 123 and 163), and a *Pharos* (Egypt no. 16). Despite this variation between sites, these tokens clearly seem to be of the same series, as three of the four examples bear a date (Egypt nos. 16, 123 and 163, Figure 5), indicated by the letter L in the field or exergue, followed by a numeral in Greek, and three look to be copper alloy plated (nos. 16, 122, 123, Figure 5). It seems unlikely that the variation of the imagery across these three sites, in terms of the attribute Nilus holds in his extended right hand, reflects intentional variation on a site by site basis, as when Nilus appears paired with non-Euthenia reverse types at Oxyrhynchus (also of the dated series), this same variation in his attributes is apparent: he holds a mummiform Osiris (Egypt nos. 119 and 121, Figure 18), lotus flowers (Egypt no. 124, Figure 32), reeds (Egypt nos. 126-127, Figure

5), and an uncertain object, likely to be a Pharos or mummiform Osiris (Egypt no. 125).



*Figure 32: Token featuring Nilus holding lotus flowers. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding lotus flowers in outstretched right hand. Crocodile below. Border of dots. Reverse: Semasia galloping right on horse; L IA. Dotted border. Metal: Lead. (copper-alloy plated?). Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 4.25g. Die axis: 9. Egypt no. 124. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5402. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*

This suggests that amongst the dated series of tokens, the iconography of Nilus was frequently utilised, and also that the dated series was distributed across the province. Other dated examples (not depicting Nilus) include one from Antinoopolis (Egypt no. 7), bringing the total number of sites with dated tokens to 4. The dated series is, however, more extensive than the above data suggests (which only focuses on tokens with findspots). For example, analysis of tokens bearing the image of Antinous has identified his image was utilised alongside the dates of regnal years 2, 4, 6, 8, 18, 20 and possibly 25.<sup>126</sup> Investigation into the whole of the dated series is beyond the scope of this thesis, but the province-wide distribution and frequent presence in museum collections, indicates an extensive series that stands in opposition to the distinct local character of the Athena / Athena-Thoeris types from Oxyrhynchus.

Nilus types of a different series are also apparent at the sites of Saqqara, Tebtunis and Oxyrhynchus. The first type bears the legend MEMΦIC on one face, alongside the imagery of Isis and the Apis bull. The other face depicts Nilus seated left, with Euthenia-Isis stood before him holding a corn wreath aloft. The two specimens of this type, Egypt nos. 156 and 106 were found at Saqqara and Oxyrhynchus respectively (Figure 9). A second, similar, type was discovered at Saqqara (no. 155) and Tebtunis (157-162, Figure 10). The legend on this type reads OBOΛOI B and is accompanied by the imagery of Nilus seated left, with Alexandria-Euthenia stood before him holding a corn wreath aloft. The other face depicts the Apis bull facing right, with

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<sup>126</sup> Wilding 2019, 116. For tokens depicting Antinous a date range encompassing the period from the end of the reign of Hadrian to the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius can be postulated.

possibly Isis to its left, and a possible Janiform figure to its right, although there are minor variations in this reverse type across the seven tokens.

The legend of the first type, in conjunction with the iconography of the Apis bull, whose cult was based at Memphis, and findspots which include Memphis, suggests manufacture at the town. The similarities in style and iconography between the first and second types, as well as a findspot at Memphis, suggests that the second type should also be assigned to the town, despite no legend which explicitly refers to it.<sup>127</sup> In these instances the localised imagery of the Apis bull is paired with imagery of Nilus, a motif that is found across the province of Egypt. It is therefore apparent that at least two different series of tokens utilise Nilus imagery, one with a province wide distribution, and one of a more local character and more limited distribution. There is nuance, therefore, in the utilisation of Nilus on tokens in Egypt, having been chosen by different authorities for inclusion in their token's imagery.

Why Nilus should prove such a popular choice for inclusion on tokens is perhaps due to the importance of the river Nile to life in Egypt, and the city of Rome. In order to consider how Nilus came to represent the Nile, and why it was this representation that was chosen for inclusion on tokens, it is useful to discuss the origins and development of the god. The concept of an Egyptian river god was known in the Hellenistic world, even before the conquest of Egypt. He was equated with Zeus and sometimes formed a facet of Serapis.<sup>128</sup> It is in the Hellenistic era that Nilus starts to feature more prominently, although only three monuments are attributed to him in this period: a colossal statue where he is depicted on a sphinx, a representation at Hermopolis where he is on a hippopotamus, and his appearance on the Tazza Farnese cup where he is portrayed sitting.<sup>129</sup> He perhaps appears in the form of a bearded bust, crowned with reeds, on a coin of Ptolemy V.<sup>130</sup> It is therefore evident that while the god was known in the Hellenistic period, and perhaps to some extent promoted by the Ptolemies, he did not have a prevalent presence. It is in the Roman period that his image starts to appear more frequently. From the reign of Augustus he is featured in the form of a

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<sup>127</sup> This is in accordance with the opinions of Milne 1935, 213-214 and Longperier 1861, 409.

<sup>128</sup> Bonneau 1964, 317.

<sup>129</sup> Sphinx: *LIMC* VI, Nilus no.1; Hippopotamus: *LIMC* VI Nilus no.18; Tazza Farnese: *LIMC* VI Nilus no. 723, no. 37.

<sup>130</sup> *LIMC* VI Nilus no.56 ; *BMC Greek (Ptolemies)* 82.

bearded bust.<sup>131</sup> It is in the early Imperial period that he is first depicted with his consort Euthenia, who represents fertility and a good inundation of the Nile.<sup>132</sup> She was probably created at the same time as the organisation of the grain supply from Egypt to Rome.<sup>133</sup> He is depicted sitting in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, and reclining on a sphinx, hippopotamus or crocodile from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>134</sup> This reclining pose is the most popular depiction, and appears on coins from the reign of Domitian in Alexandria.<sup>135</sup>

This overview demonstrates that the sitting or reclining pose of Nilus, the manner that he appears on tokens (and coins), is a construction of the Roman period, with the roots of his creation in the Ptolemaic era. In this regard, although he has parallels with the Egyptian god of the Nile, Hapi (both are often associated with lotus reeds and crocodiles), he is not a syncretic deity.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, Nilus should not be equated with any local indigenous Egyptian gods, who were often held responsible for the flooding of the Nile, despite the fact that their rituals were presided over by prefects in the Roman period.<sup>137</sup> Frankfurter writes that ‘the divinity of the Nile cannot properly be understood through Roman images of a god Neilos’, and suggests that even when his image does appear in “Egyptian” contexts it is as an occasional portrayal and not linked to local Nile cult belief.<sup>138</sup> Further evidence for his place in a Graeco-Roman milieu is in the close parallel of the token imagery to that of the Alexandrian coinage. The representation of Nilus sitting and reclining as he is depicted on tokens was likely influenced by the imagery of the Alexandrian coinage, where he is depicted in a similar manner. For example, in the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius the scene of Euthenia standing before Nilus holding ears of corn or a wreath aloft appears on coins (see Figure 11), and is paralleled on tokens (holding an ear of corn: Egypt nos. 155, 157-162. Holding wreath: Egypt nos. 106, 114, 128, 156, 170-172).<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> *LIMC* VI, Nilus nos. 56-63.

<sup>132</sup> *LIMC* VI, Euthenia no. 42.

<sup>133</sup> Bonneau 1964, 331.

<sup>134</sup> Sitting: *LIMC* VI, Nilus nos.35-43. Reclining on sphinx: *LIMC* VI, Nilus, nos 1-6. Reclining on hippopotamus : *LIMC* VI, Nilus nos.20-21. Reclining on crocodile: *LIMC* VI, Nilus nos.19-24.

<sup>135</sup> *LIMC* VI, Nilus no.11; *RPC* II 2523.

<sup>136</sup> Bonneau 1964, 326.

<sup>137</sup> Frankfurter 1998, 42-46.

<sup>138</sup> Frankfurter 1998, 45.

<sup>139</sup> Holding corn ears: *RPC* III 5793; *RPC* IV.4 14830, 15069, 15266. Holding wreath: *RPC* IV.4 16158, 15650, 16094, 15184, 15812, 16697, 14034, 15268, 16217, 14447, 16886, 14077, 14498, 15728.

Additionally, tokens depicting Nilus are often dated in regnal years (Egypt nos. 16, 118-127, 163, 180), a feature that also appears on the Alexandrian coinage.

Therefore, based on the god's origins in the Ptolemaic period, his prevalence in the Roman period, his un-syncretic nature with Egyptian deities, and the fact that the tokens' imagery draws on the Alexandrian coinage, it is apparent that this representation of the Nile utilised a classical visual language. This would have involved a conscious decision on the part of the manufacturers, as Egyptian elements are present on tokens in the region. In this instance, however, the Nile appears as the classical deity Nilus, rather than the Egyptian Hapi, local river gods, or a literal geographical representation. The likely influence of the Alexandrian coinage on the representation of Nilus on the tokens further exemplifies how his imagery is linked to the classical world, rather than the Egyptian. This conscious choice to utilise classicising imagery is apparent on both the dated series and the series struck at Memphis, and suggests that different token manufacturing authorities wished to include Egyptian elements on Graeco-Roman terms.

This is not dissimilar from the *interpretatio Graeca* of Taweret in Athena's imagery on the tokens of Oxyrhynchus, which depict a goddess who incorporates Egyptian elements (through her association with Taweret) in a purely classical visual language. In contrast to the layered meanings of Athena-Thoeris and Taweret, it appears however that Nilus remained distinct from Hapi and local river gods (see above), instead being a Graeco-Roman personification of the river itself. While we cannot discount the fact that people may have viewed the image and thought of their own local god of the Nile, there was no specific syncretic counterpart. Perhaps the image of Nilus should be interpreted as a unifying image, understood by all to represent the river Nile, without the exclusivity of equation with a specific hyper-local god of the Nile who would not have had resonance across the whole province. The double reading of his image was instead that of the river Nile itself, thereby making Nilus a suitable choice for inclusion on tokens from a series found across the province. Even when used on a local type, such as that from Memphis, it is apparent that the imagery would be seen by visitors and non-Memphites due to the fact that the tokens travelled away from the town, and again his inclusion is meant for broad reading.

#### 2.3.4. Section summary

The above analysis suggests that indigenous, compound and classical motifs were utilised on tokens in Roman Egypt, similarly to their use on the Alexandrian coinage. This extends to the fact that the only Egyptian elements that are included are objects, architecture and animals, and that both syncretic deities and classical deities are featured. This mirroring reinforces the fact that tokens in Roman Egypt draw heavily on the coinage for their inspiration, although with the freedom to adapt the imagery (e.g. Hermanubis is given a jackal head on a classical body on tokens, which is not found on coins). When we consider how, for example, gods were left in their Egyptian form in Roman funerary art from Egypt, but not on coins or tokens, it becomes apparent that the choice of motifs that are depicted as Egyptian, compound or classical, is not applicable universally to imagery in Roman Egypt. The analysis of Nilus types, as well as the local character of the Athena / Athena-Thoeris tokens demonstrates that different groups manufactured tokens, and so it is interesting that this mirror to coinage is apparent across the corpus as a whole.<sup>140</sup> In this respect, tokens from Egypt echo the situation in Rome, Athens, and to a certain extent, Gaul (see chapter 3) where coinage is the primary influence of their imagery.

However, the analysis of two case studies, that of Athena / Athena-Thoeris tokens from Oxyrhynchus, and Nilus tokens from across Egypt, suggest that there is nuance to these above-mentioned categories. The Athena / Athena-Thoeris tokens are of specific relevance to Oxyrhynchus, and therefore their imagery should be interpreted on hyper-local terms. We can only see Thoeris / Taweret behind the classical motif of Athena because the tokens have been set in their local context. This local context of tokens, alongside an awareness of the potential for an image to be read on multiple levels, can give context to otherwise generic iconography. The widespread use of the image of Nilus does not preclude local variation in tokens, which, as demonstrated by the example from Memphis, also includes distinct local elements. His imagery differs from that of Athena-Thoeris in that Nilus is a universal deity in Roman Egypt. The fact that he remained unsyncretised allowed for his image to appeal universally in obvious reference to the Nile, an important component in the lives of the population.

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<sup>140</sup> Although it is acknowledged that the Athena-Thoeris tokens, while utilising images found on coins generally, do not take their Athena imagery from the Alexandrian coinage.

This is perhaps pertinent when we take into account that the same Nilus types are sometimes found on multiple sites, and were perhaps intended to have a wide reach.

#### **2.4. The lead tokens of Roman Egypt: A reassessment of dating and purpose**

Milne posited that tokens in Roman Egypt dated to the period 180-260 AD, fulfilling the role previously undertaken by low denomination bronze coins, which almost ceased to be struck in this period.<sup>141</sup> He also briefly discussed the possibility that tokens may have been utilised in the same manner as ‘plombs’ in the Elizabethan period, or trader’s tokens in the Post-Medieval period, where local enterprise filled the gap left by a lack of state-produced low denomination coinage, but never expanded upon this suggestion.<sup>142</sup> Milne’s reasoning for hypothesising that tokens fulfilled a role as low denomination coinage is based on a number of factors. The first is that the imagery is heavily influenced by that of coinage, and in some cases the tokens even bear a denominational mark.<sup>143</sup> Second is the fact that they are found with coins, as at Tebtunis.<sup>144</sup> Thirdly, his analysis of the coins from the rubbish dumps of Oxyrhynchus suggested that the low denomination bronze coinage becomes rare from about the time of Commodus, and therefore he infers that the lead tokens filled the gap left by the bronze coins.<sup>145</sup> This assertion has been generally accepted by modern scholarship, for example Thornton, Geissen, Christiansen and Skowronek, and little work has advanced the study beyond these conclusions.<sup>146</sup>

However, this hypothesis provides a broad-brush approach to tokens in Roman Egypt, and does not account for earlier dating or other explanations of use. Additionally, tokens from elsewhere in the ancient world have the same distinguishing factors that Milne interprets as a basis for coinage, but they are not used as such. In Rome, for example, they bear imagery similar to that on coins, while in Athens they were discovered with coins, but scholarship does not think that these tokens functioned as money.<sup>147</sup> This section will therefore re-examine the evidence in order to ascertain if Milne’s hypothesis is correct, particularly in the light of new examples that have

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<sup>141</sup> Milne 1922, 159.

<sup>142</sup> Milne 1935, 214.

<sup>143</sup> Milne 1900, 73-74.

<sup>144</sup> Milne 1935, 214.

<sup>145</sup> Milne 1922, 159.

<sup>146</sup> Thornton 1980, 346; Geissen, 2012; 5; Christiansen 2006, 13; Skowronek 1998.

<sup>147</sup> Rome: Clare Rowan *pers comm* 2020; Athens: Kroll 1977.

emerged since Milne's work, some of which have contextual information. It will then analyse specimens which present an alternative picture of the role of lead tokens in Roman Egypt in order to emphasise the variety of roles that tokens could fulfil. This will be achieved through an analysis of the weights and diameters of a subset of tokens, those of the Athena / Athena-Thoeris type from Oxyrhynchus, in order to ascertain if they share the denominational traits exhibited by coinage. The iconography of a sample of tokens from Egypt will also be examined and compared to contemporary coin types to establish if the date range is in keeping with the one that Milne posits. Finally, an overview will be given of the sites from which tokens are provenanced, and their associated coin finds, in order to discover if this can elucidate their date and functions. Examples that highlight a variety of uses will then be discussed, in order to emphasise that Milne's suggestion as to the function of tokens is not the only valid possibility.

#### **2.4.1. Weights and measures: The Athena types from Oxyrhynchus**

Tokens depicting Athena from Oxyrhynchus provide a good case study from which to explore the regularity of weights and diameters of tokens, which if standardised would indicate a function as an all-purpose coinage. It is then plausible that this could have replaced the low denomination bronzes which ceased to be struck in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. Monetiform objects that are known to be pseudo-coins were standardised and relevant to units of value, as is the case with the pseudo-Ebusus coins, so it would be expected that this would apply to tokens as well.<sup>148</sup> The Athena-Thoeris tokens of Oxyrhynchus are a particularly useful dataset for this analysis as they form one of the largest subsets of tokens. They can be provenanced to the town of Oxyrhynchus, where it is likely they were manufactured, used and discarded. Milne noted their prevalence in the rubbish dumps of Oxyrhynchus, and absence of circulation elsewhere, a distribution that still holds true today with the additional token data from excavations in Egypt over the intervening century (outlined in section 2.2).<sup>149</sup> They therefore form a neat subset of tokens, with a limited geographical range of circulation, and high potential to have a unified function. Tokens without a provenance, but still bearing the Athena-Thoeris types found at Oxyrhynchus, are included in the below analysis as it is without doubt that they originated in the town.

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<sup>148</sup> Stannard 2005, 137 and 142.

<sup>149</sup> Milne 1908.

As the Athena-Thoeris types are found only at Oxyrhynchus, the below conclusions cannot be applied to all tokens in Roman Egypt with certainty. Instead they provide a case study to highlight how tokens might have functioned in the province.

Analysis of the diameters and weights of all the Athena / Athena-Thoeris types are undertaken as a whole, followed by analysis of the six broad types of token that depict Athena-Thoeris, outlined below. These are broader than Milne's categorisation, for example tokens with the same imagery are categorised together, although some bear the legend ΟΞ or ΟΞ, (the first two letters of 'Oxyrhynchus' in Greek) and others do not.<sup>150</sup> To account for this analysis is also undertaken to discern whether tokens with a legend have a different distribution to those without one. Additionally, the style varies from specimen to specimen, and therefore all tokens of the same type are collated together, regardless of style. A broad categorisation of types facilitates enough data per type to produce useful results, as the fluidity in the design of tokens (due to freedom when manufactured, as the issuing authority is not the state and therefore unconstrained by the same rules that govern the manufacture of coins) results in variation to the specimens within the types. Analysis of these broadly defined types will therefore allow sufficient resolution to ascertain if the imagery on tokens was indicative of a particular denomination. Data is collated from the ANS collection, the Ashmolean Museum, the Petrie Museum and the The Institut für Altertumskunde at the University of Cologne. The broad types are:

- Obverse: Bust of Athena-Thoeris right. Reverse: Nike left
- Obverse: Bust of Athena-Thoeris right, spear to front. Reverse: Nike left
- Obverse: Bust of Athena-Thoeris left, *labrys* to front. Reverse: Nike left
- Obverse: Athena-Thoeris right attacking serpent with *labrys*. Reverse: Nike advancing left with wreath and palm
- Obverse: Athena-Thoeris right, attacking serpent with *labrys*. Reverse: Zeus seated left, in left hand sceptre and in right hand Nike

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<sup>150</sup> Milne 1908 nos. 1-13.

- Obverse: Cult statue of Athena-Thoeris standing left in temple, holding Nike in left hand, and spear/sceptre in right. Reverse: Nike advancing left with wreath and palm

If tokens were utilised as an all-purpose money in place of low denomination bronze coins it would be expected that there would be a correlation along the lines of either diameters or weights. The coinage of Roman Egypt, minted at Alexandria, was a closed currency system, which delineated its denominations based on weight and diameter and therefore it would be highly probable that tokens would fit within this system if they were used as an all-purpose low denomination coinage.<sup>151</sup> The below graph illustrates the diameters (mm) and weights (g) of all Athena-Thoeris types of Oxyrhynchus (Figure 33). From the distribution it is evident that there is no indication of clustering of weights or diameters in a pattern that would imply a denominational structure. Tokens have a variety of weights, even across those with the same diameter, as is particularly evident for tokens within the range of 18mm - 22mm. This suggests that they were not manufactured to a weight standard.

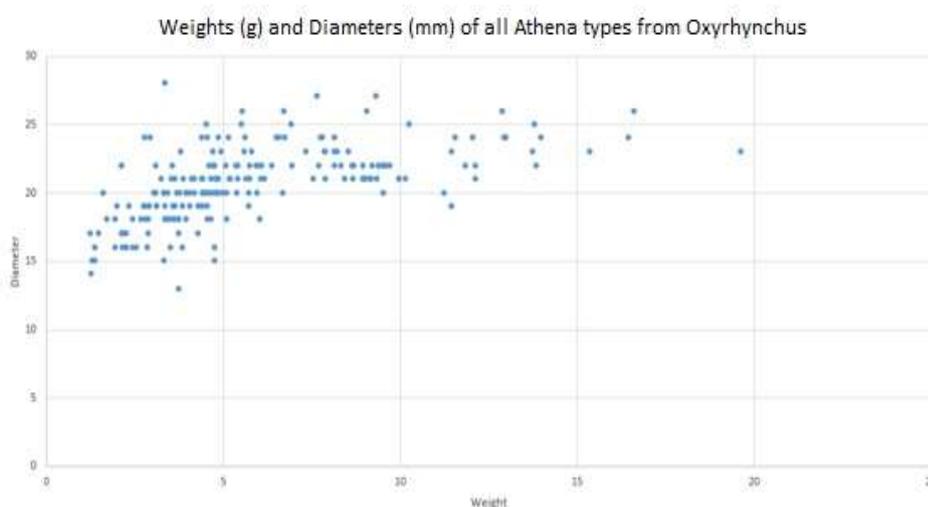


Figure 33: Graph to show weights (g) and diameters (mm) of Athena / Athena-Thoeris token types from Oxyrhynchus.

In order to ascertain that there are no denominational patterns pertaining to different types of Athena token it is necessary to check that the clustering of weights and diameters is also random within each type. Figure 34 - Figure 38 demonstrates that the

<sup>151</sup> *RPC I*, 689-690; *RPC II*, 320: there is variation in the average weights, and in the diameter range, under different emperors (Nero, Vespasian, Domitian), but this is limited to within 2.5g (weights) and 3mm (diameters); *RPC III*, 551-552.

weights and diameters of different types are not uniform, and do not generally exhibit patterning that suggests each type was a different denomination. There is also no correlation for those that exhibit a legend (Figure 39). There is perhaps a slight tendency for the ‘Athena-Thoeris with spear to front / Nike left’ type (Figure 35) to be somewhat lighter than average, with some clustering at 3-6g and 18-21mm. Likewise, there is also a cluster at 8-10g and 21-23mm of the ‘Athena-Thoeris attacking serpent / Nike left’ type (Figure 36), but for most of the specimens of this type the weights and diameters are disparate. It seems unlikely that only some of this type would be standardised, instead it is more plausible that some issues were manufactured more uniformly than others. It is also doubtful that the ‘Athena-Thoeris with spear to front / Nike left’ was standardised when the other types were not, and therefore there is not enough evidence across all types to argue for a weight or diameter standard.

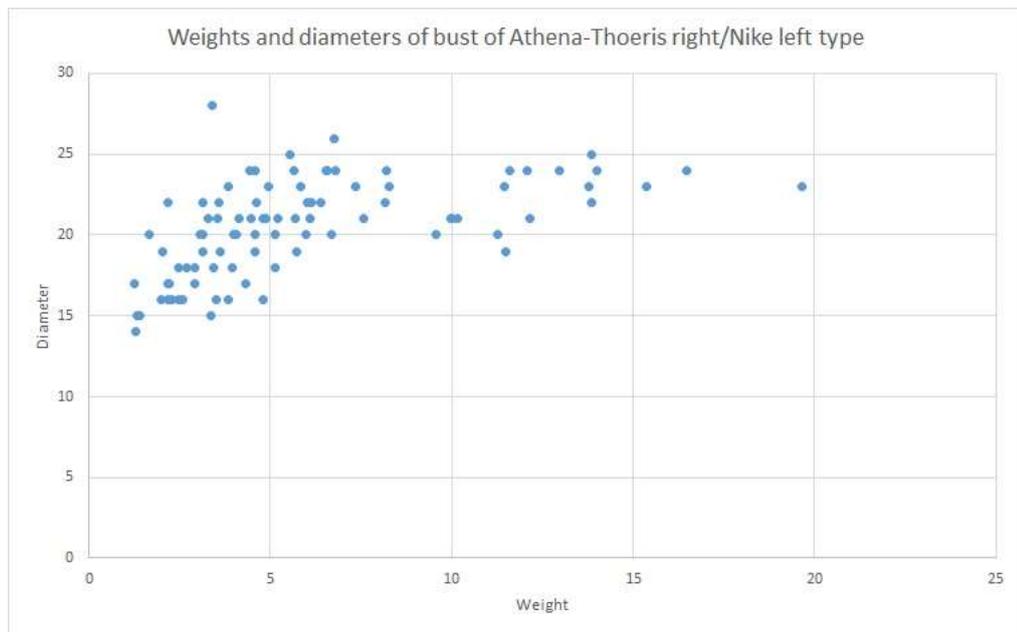


Figure 34: Graph to show weights (g) and diameters (mm) of 'Bust of Athena-Thoeris right / Nike left' token types from Oxyrhynchus.

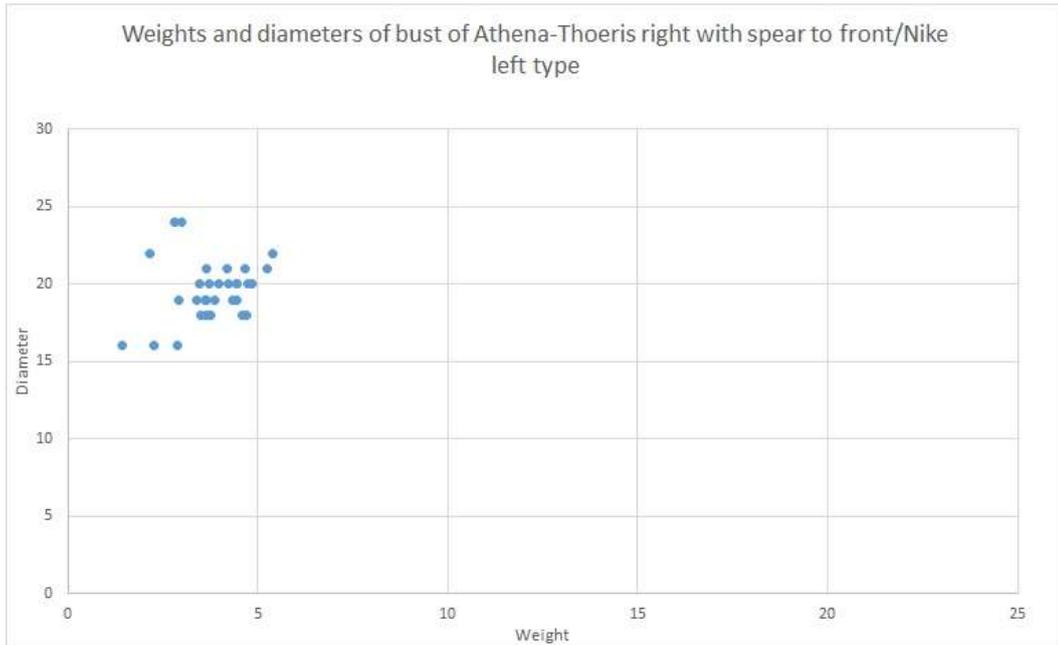


Figure 35: Graph to show weights (g) and diameters (mm) of 'Bust of Athena-Thoeris right with spear to front / Nike left' token types from Oxyrhynchus.

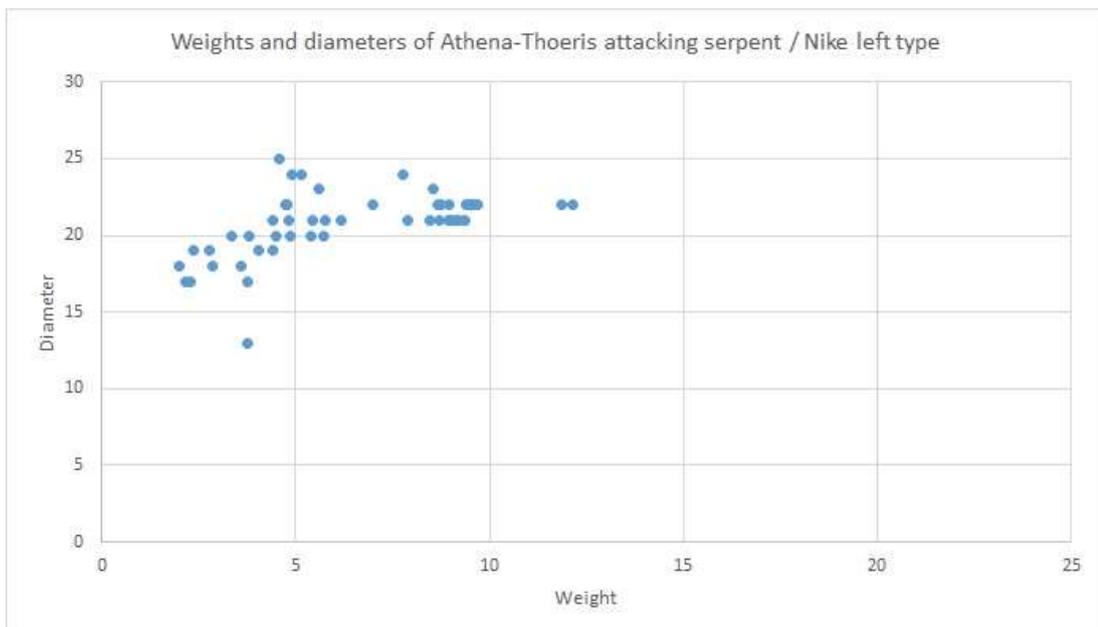


Figure 36: Graph to show weights (g) and diameters (mm) of 'Athena-Thoeris attacking serpent / Nike left' token types from Oxyrhynchus.

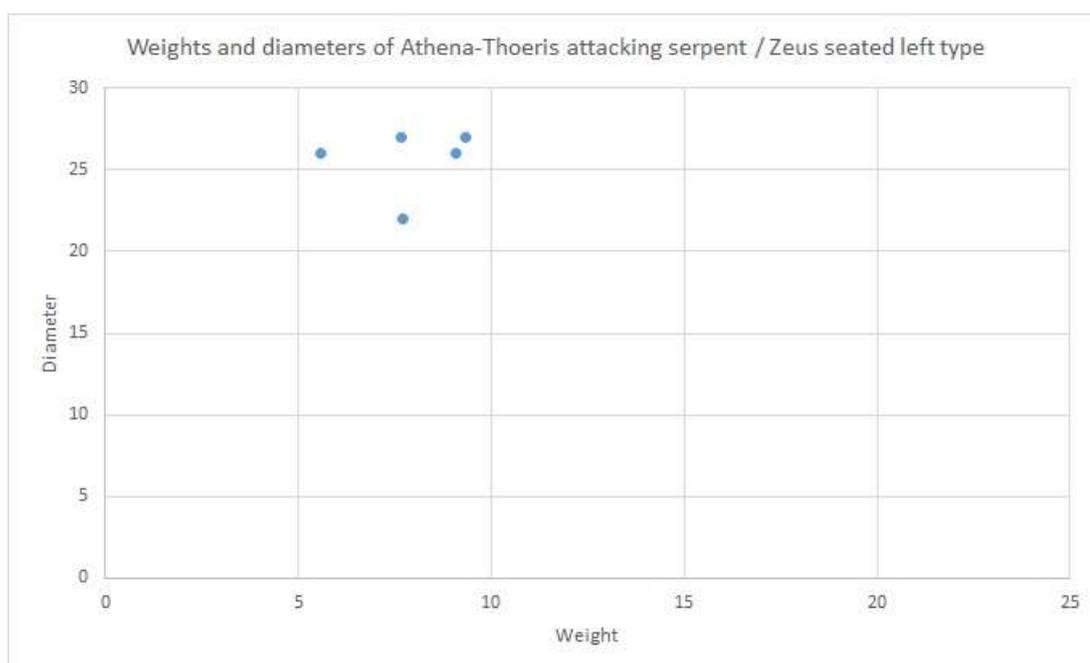


Figure 37: Graph to show weights (g) and diameters (mm) of 'Athena-Thoeris attacking serpent / Zeus seated left' token types from Oxyrhynchus.

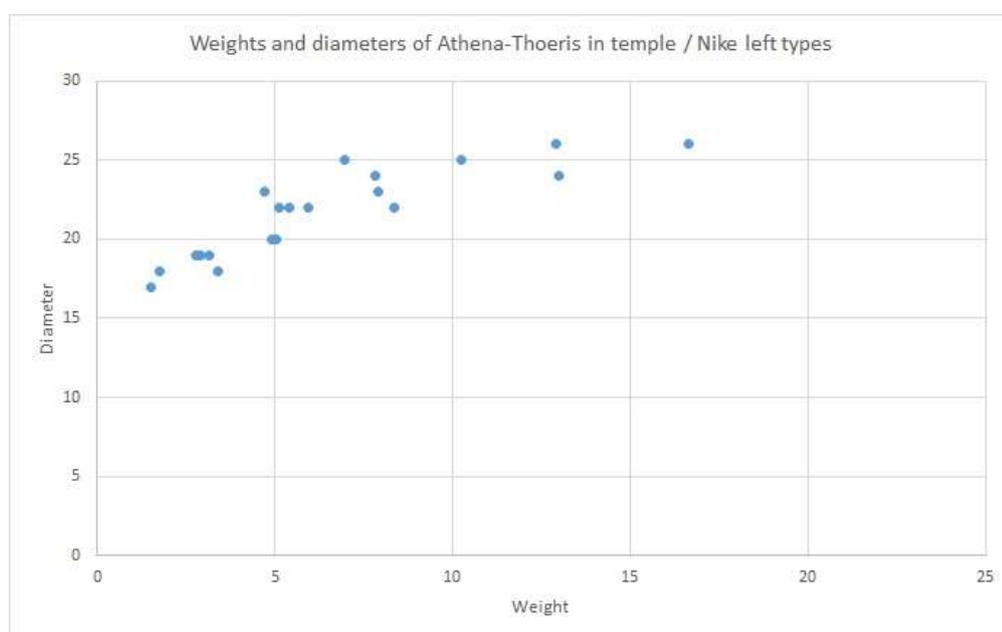


Figure 38: Graph to show weights (g) and diameters (mm) of 'Cult statue of Athena-Thoeris in temple / Nike left' token types from Oxyrhynchus.

Tokens bearing the legend OΞ or Oξ again do not denote a denominational system. They cluster in the most part at 3-9g and 16-24mm, which is not a significant difference to the patterning of the entire corpus (Figure 39). It is therefore unlikely

that the presence of the legend signified a denomination also inherent in the weight or diameter.

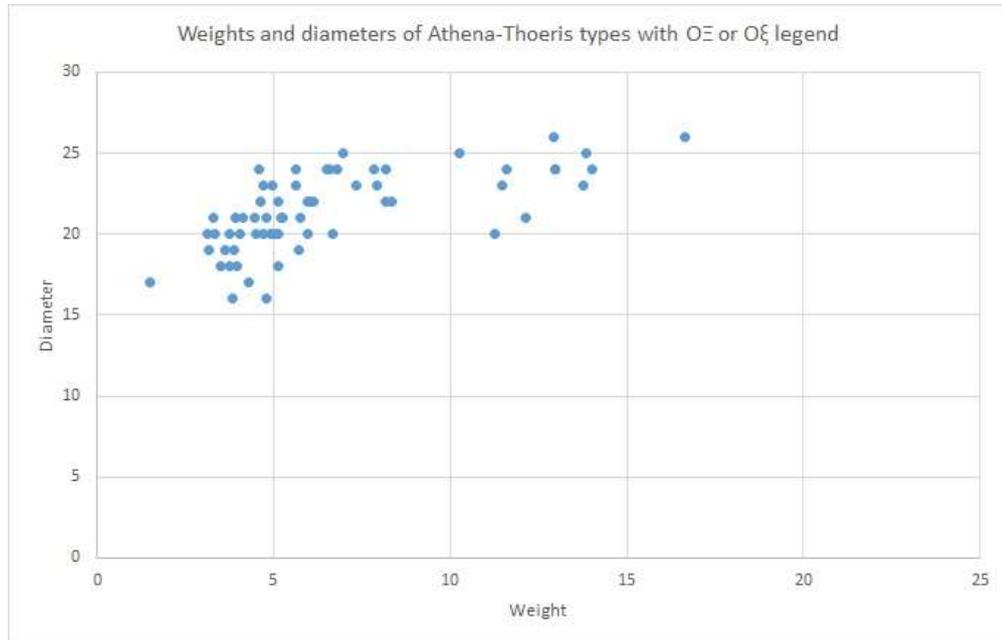


Figure 39: Graph to show weights (g) and diameters (mm) of Athena token types with  $OΞ$  or  $Oξ$  legend from Oxyrhynchus.

This demonstrates that for the Athena-Thoeris tokens of Oxyrhynchus there was no denominational structure tied to standardised weights or diameters, and that they could not have functioned as an all-purpose coinage. It should, however, be taken into account that the unofficial nature of tokens means that they do not necessarily have to follow the same rules as coins, and that denominations may have been indicated by the imagery alone, with no standardisation of weights and measures. The municipal nature of the imagery and legends do, however, imply that they were not manufactured by individuals on a private basis, but instead by a civic authority within the town of Oxyrhynchus. In this respect, they cannot be compared to Milne's parallel of Elizabethan 'plombs' and Post-Medieval traders tokens, which were issued on a private basis.

Although the Athena-Thoeris tokens can be dated to the Roman period, narrowing down the date range is more challenging as the imagery is not diagnostic of a particular timeframe. Therefore, it is necessary to examine specimens which draw on Alexandrian types, which can be easily dated, in order to establish if the date of production for tokens in Egypt fits with Milne's hypothesis.

#### 2.4.2. Dating: An iconographical study

The imagery of tokens can prove useful for assigning a possible date range during which the tokens were utilised. Many of the types are based upon the Alexandrian coinage, and through comparison of the imagery on tokens to the imagery on coins it is possible to suggest a broad time frame for the striking and therefore utilisation of the tokens. This will allow for testing of Milne's theory that tokens in Roman Egypt date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (based on the dearth of coins dating to this period from the rubbish dumps at Oxyrhynchus). If tokens with types based on earlier coinage exist then it is possible that the phenomenon was longer lived than Milne suggests, and not just restricted to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. If that is the case, then there is no reason why their use must be limited to that of a coinage which replaced the bronze issues.

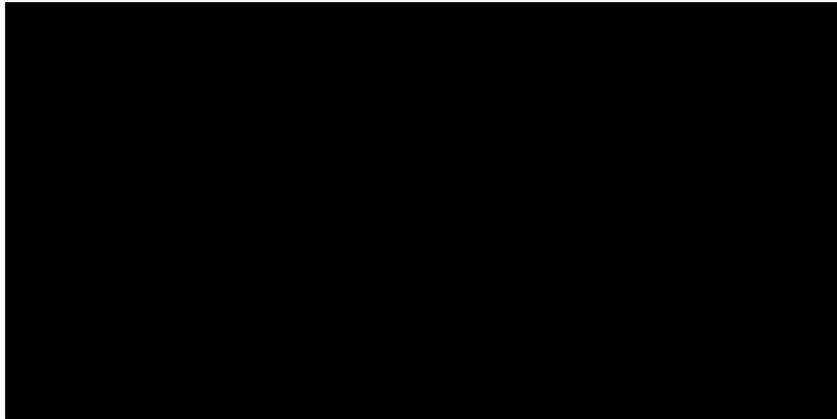
One specimen in the ANS collection depicts the emperor Claudius' wife Messalina standing left, holding three ears of corn in her right hand and with outstretched left hand on one face, and a baboon walking right on the other face (Egypt no. 182, Figure 40). Whilst the legend on this specimen is very worn and not entirely legible, Dattari records the legend on another specimen as reading 'MECCAAINHC' on the face that depicts Messalina, and 'KTH CIC' on the face depicting the baboon, and it can be translated as 'property of Messalina'.<sup>152</sup> The imagery of Messalina is based upon a tetradrachm struck in year 1 (AD 41) of the reign of Claudius, on which she is depicted on the reverse holding corn stalks in her right hand, and with two small figures in her outstretched left hand (Figure 41).<sup>153</sup> The influence of this imagery therefore suggests that the token was struck in a period contemporary with, or not long after, the coin type which portrays her. Whilst it is acknowledged that coinage can circulate for a prolonged period of time, and provide inspiration for the designs on tokens manufactured later, the legend 'property of Messalina' implies that it was struck during her lifetime. The legend is also found on another specimen in the ANS collection (Egypt no.181) that exhibits a bust (unidentifiable, but the lotus buds at the apex of the head suggest a river god, most probably Nilus) on one face and Ganymede flying right on an eagle on the reverse. This second example demonstrates that there

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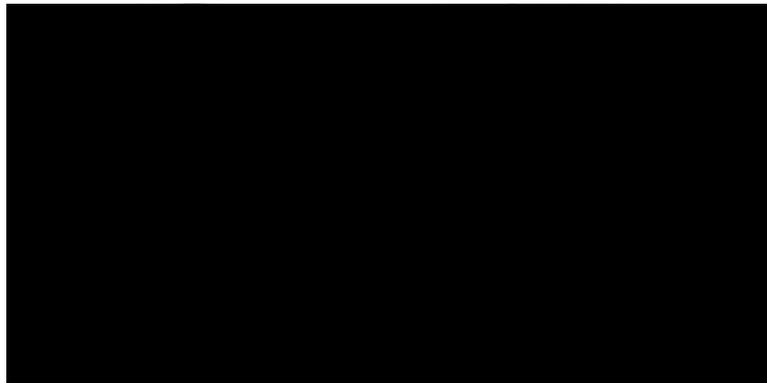
<sup>152</sup> Dattari 1901, pl. XXXVII, no. 6506.

<sup>153</sup> *RPC* I 5113.

was some semblance of a series struck in Messalina's name, and therefore that the first is not an anomaly within the corpus of tokens from Roman Egypt.



*Figure 40: Token depicting Messalina. Obverse: Messalina standing left, holding ears of corn in right hand; MECCAΛINHC. Reverse: Baboon walking right; [KTHCIC]. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 25mm. Weight: 8.96g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 182. ANS accession no. 1944.100.79864. Image: ANS.*



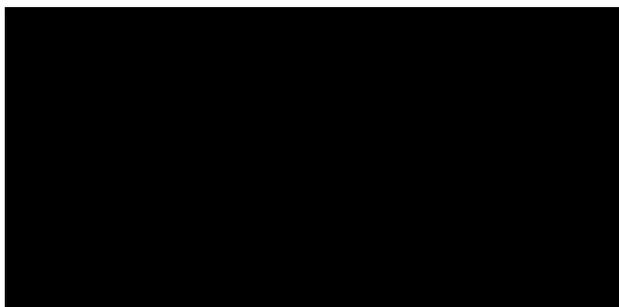
*Figure 41: Billon tetradrachm of Claudius. Obverse: Laureate head right; TI KAAAI KAIΣ ΣEBA ΓEPMANI AVTOK(P)/ LA (Date). Reverse: Messalina standing left, holding two small figures in right hand and corn stalks in left, leaning on column; MEΣΣAΛINA KAIΣ ΣEBAΣ. Mint: Alexandria. Date: AD 41/2. RPC I 5113. British Museum Accession no. 1950,1006.9. Image: British Museum.*

Milne himself notes the presence of the token of the first type from Dattari's catalogue, which he acknowledges is likely to date to the 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>154</sup> However, interpreting the legend literally, he concludes that it was a label which was attached to goods. There is no point of attachment or piercing to facilitate a string on either specimen, and both specimens bearing Messalina's name are struck on both sides and therefore not able to function as a stamp of authenticity. The possibility must therefore be considered that these examples functioned as tokens as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and therefore the phenomenon of tokens in Roman Egypt occurred over a longer period than Milne believed.

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<sup>154</sup> Milne 1914, 94.

A second token type within the collection of the ANS also suggests dating earlier than AD 180, which Milne sets as the *terminus post quem* for the utilisation of tokens as a low denominational coinage based on the sparse issue of bronze coins.<sup>155</sup> The token in question is Egypt no. 178 (Figure 42), which depicts a standing figure left, holding sceptre in his right hand, and hawk in his outstretched left hand on one face, and possibly a hawk in a tabernacle on the other face.<sup>156</sup> The closest parallel for the first face, from the Alexandrian coinage, is a coin dating to the reign of Antoninus Pius (Figure 43), although other examples from the reign of Hadrian also share similarities.<sup>157</sup> Another example of a token with imagery based on that of earlier coins is Egypt no. 125. One face of the token depicts a reaper right cutting stalks of corn, and the others portrays the river god Nilus (Figure 44). The imagery of the first face is paralleled with that of a type of Antoninus Pius (Figure 45), whilst the imagery of the second face cannot be paralleled to a specific coin issue due to the prevalence of Nilus types on the Alexandrian coinage.<sup>158</sup> This specimen was seen by Milne and the similarities noted to the coin of Antoninus Pius, but he did not alter his interpretation regarding the timeframe for the circulation of tokens.<sup>159</sup>



*Figure 42: Token with imagery of Horus, paralleled on Figure 43. Obverse: Hawk-headed Horus standing left, holding spear in left hand and hawk in outstretched right hand; solid line border. Reverse: Hawk in tabernacle? Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 8.25g. Die axis: 11. Egypt no. 178. ANS accession no. 1944.100.79851. Image: ANS.*

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<sup>155</sup> Milne 1908, 306; 1922, 159. Current scholarship also agrees with this timeframe for the cessation of the bronze coinage (as well as accepting that tokens formed a replacement): Christiansen 2005, 280; Christiansen 2006, 13.

<sup>156</sup> Dattari 1901, no.6433.

<sup>157</sup> Antoninus Pius: *RPC* IV.4 13561 dating to 144/5; Hadrian: *RPC* III 6327, 6424, 6462.

<sup>158</sup> *RPC* IV.4 16142 dating to AD 141/2.

<sup>159</sup> Milne 1908, 300.

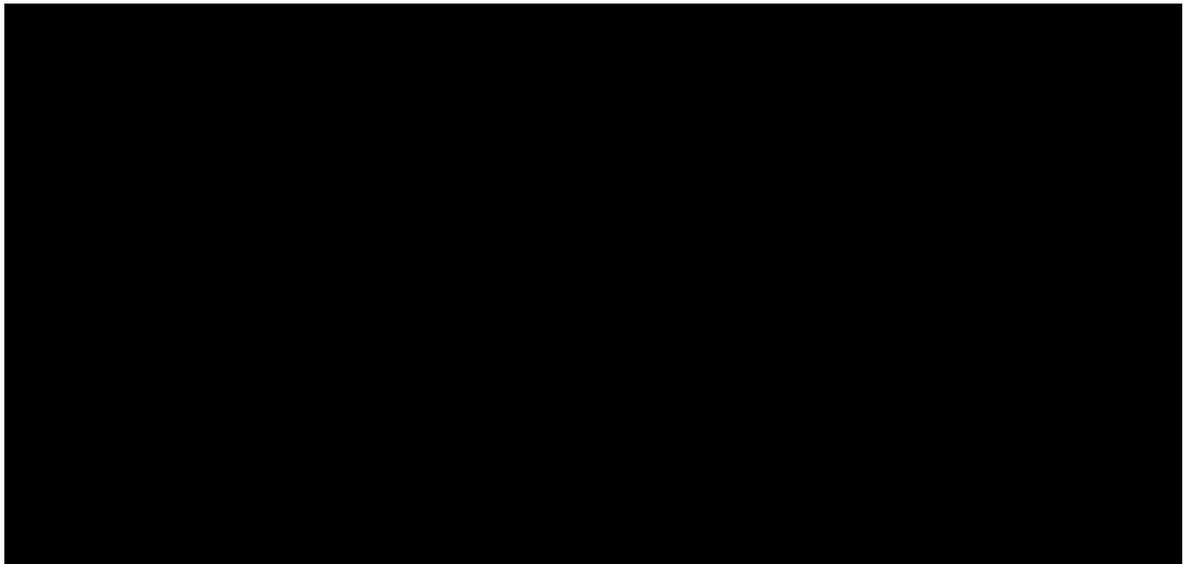


Figure 43: Coin of Antoninus Pius. Obverse: Laureate head of Antoninus Pius, right; *AYT K T AIA AΔP ANTWNΕΙΝOC CEB EV(C)*. Reverse: Hawk-headed Horus standing, facing, head, right, wearing *skhent* and cuirass, resting hand on spear, holding hawk, wearing *skhent*; *CΕΘΡΟΕΙΤΗC L H*. Sethroelite nome. Metal; Bronze. Diameter: 35mm. Weight: 27.87g. Die axis: 12. Mint: Alexandria. Date: AD 144/5. RPC IV 13561. British Museum accession no. 1840,0713.22. Image: British Museum.

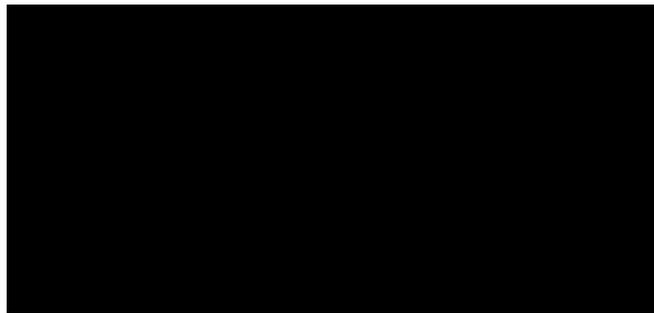


Figure 44: Token depicting reaper, paralleled on Figure 45. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and uncertain object in right hand. Double border of dots. Reverse: Reaper right, wearing pileus, cutting down three stalks of corn with sickle; *L[...]*. Border of dots. Metal: Lead. (copper-alloy plated?). Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 2.55g. Die axis: 8. Egypt no. 125. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5403. Image: Ashmolean Museum.

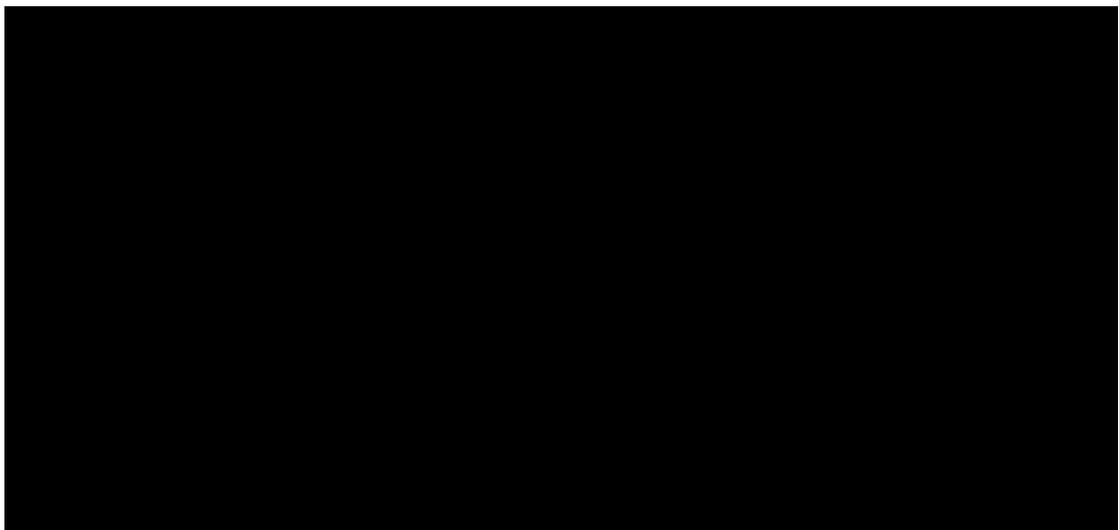


Figure 45: Coin of Antoninus Pius: Obverse: Laureate head of Antoninus Pius, right; *AVT K T AIA AΔP ANTWNINOC CEB EVC*. Reverse: Bearded reaper, right, wearing pileus, cutting three stalks with

*sickle; behind, tree; either side of feet, sheave; L E (date). Metal: Bronze. Diameter: 35mm. Weight: 24.9g. Die axis: 12. Mint: Alexandria. Date: AD 141/2. RPC IV.4 16142. ANS accession no. 1944.100.60255. Image: ANS.*

The above examples therefore suggest that tokens could have been manufactured considerably earlier than AD 180. Even allowing for the circulation of bronze coinages well beyond their year of striking, it is entirely possible that the tokens were struck not long after the coin issues. For example, it is probable that at least some of the tokens bearing the image of Antinous were struck not long after the official coin issues on which he was depicted.<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, the longer coins stayed in circulation, the more worn they would have become, and would not have provided as clear an image as recently minted coins.

It is, however, clear that tokens continued to be struck throughout the period suggested by Milne, and that they were in use during the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Egypt no. 179 depicts on one face the bust of Nilus right, with palm branch in front, and cornucopia behind (Figure 46). The other face portrays Dikaiosyne left, holding scales and cornucopia. The latter image is too prolific on the Alexandrian coinage to be useful for dating purposes, but the palm branch on the first face is beneficial for dating the token. The bust of Nilus, with palm branch in front, is found on the coinage of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea (Figure 47).<sup>161</sup> It is therefore clear that lead tokens were still in use at the upper limit of the period that Milne suggests.



*Figure 46: Token featuring palm branch in front of bust, paralleled on Figure 47. Obverse: Bust of Nilus right, cornucopia over right shoulder; palm branch to front; solid line border. Reverse: Dikaiosyne standing left, wearing modius, holding scales in right hand and cornucopia in left hand; solid line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 5.9g. Die axis: 2. Egypt no. 179. ANS accession no. 1944.100.79854. Image: ANS.*

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<sup>160</sup> Wilding 2019, 116-119.

<sup>161</sup> RPC VI 10431, dating to AD 130/1, amongst others.



Figure 47: Tetradrachm of Julia Mamaea. Obverse: Draped bust of Julia Mamaea wearing stephane right; IOY MAMEA CEB MHT CEB K CTP. Reverse: Bust of Nilus right, draped and wearing lotus wreath to left cornucopia on shoulder, in front palm branch; LI (date). Metal: Billon. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 12.65g. Die axis: 12. Mint: Alexandria. Date: AD 230/1. RPC VI, 10431. British Museum accession no. 1864,1118.708. Image: British Museum.

The iconography of certain token types therefore suggests that tokens could have been struck and utilised earlier than the date of AD 180 suggested by Milne. For some, this may have been considerably earlier (in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD) in the case of tokens struck in the name of Messalina, and for others a date of the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century cannot be ruled out.

#### 2.4.3. Dating: contexts and findspots

An analysis of the contexts in which tokens have been found, and their associated finds, is useful for attempting to ascertain both a date range for their circulation, and also their function. Unfortunately, most tokens were discovered during antiquarian excavations, and therefore do not have stratigraphic information which would allow inferences to be drawn regarding their use and dating. The approach to the excavations at Oxyrhynchus are a good example of the lack of modern archaeological methods, as the excavators had a single-minded aim of discovering papyri, which they followed in seams, and prioritised above other finds.<sup>162</sup> Despite this, it is worth considering the range of contexts, particularly instances elsewhere where tokens have been discovered alongside coins, which can perhaps contribute to assigning a timeframe for their use.

The range of sites which have yielded tokens is broad in scope, and is outlined in section 2.2. They comprise the temple of Qasr Ibrim, the Serapeum at Saqqara, houses at Karanis, the rubbish dumps of Oxyrhynchus, a tomb at Abydos and amongst the finds of a shipwreck off the Carmel Coast of Israel. Although the sites are not

<sup>162</sup> Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth 1900, 24.

numerous, the variety in their function implies that tokens were utilised in different places, and possibly in different ways within Roman Egypt.

Despite a lack of accuracy in archaeological recording, the presence of tokens in rubbish dumps at Oxyrhynchus raises interesting questions. Did they serve a one-time use, and were thrown away afterwards, or did they arrive at their destination through more complex formation processes? The more plausible explanation is the latter. The process of disposal of rubbish at a location other than where the items were used is known as 'secondary disposal', and is the most dominant mode through which objects enter the archaeological record.<sup>163</sup> It is often the result of the sweeping of house floors.<sup>164</sup> Evidence of this process happening has been found at Çatalhöyük where microstrigraphic analysis of the middens have identified a high frequency of fine layers comprised of ashes and organic materials, which have been interpreted as the output of frequent activities such as hearth raking and sweeping.<sup>165</sup> It is probable that activities such as these would also result in the removal of small objects that may go unnoticed. This is further evidenced by the fact that also within the middens of Oxyrhynchus were over 1,600 coins, some of which were high denomination billon coins.<sup>166</sup> It seems unlikely that these would have been intentionally discarded. The higher numbers of bronze coinage and debased billon of the later 3rd century also indicate a pattern of casual loss, as the lower denomination coinage would be less likely to be retrieved due to its low value, and therefore would have been swept up and accidentally thrown away. This is also true for the lead tokens which were also of intrinsically low value. However, due to the lack of rigorous recording on the part of the excavators, we can never be sure that hoards of one-use tokens were not deposited together after having served their purpose, perhaps after having been collected in after serving as tickets. This process is paralleled in contemporary periods in Palmyra where a hoard of banqueting tokens was discovered.<sup>167</sup>

Some of the associated finds, particularly coins, from sites in Roman Egypt can assist with the function and dating of the lead tokens. At the temple of Qasr Ibrim tokens (Egypt nos. 163-165, Figure 16) were discovered amongst a scatter of coins situated

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<sup>163</sup> Joyce and Johannessen 2010, 138.

<sup>164</sup> Joyce and Johannessen 2010, 139.

<sup>165</sup> Shillito et al. 2011, 1035.

<sup>166</sup> Milne 1922, 159.

<sup>167</sup> Al-As'ad et al 2005, 6.

around a plinth at the west side of the temple.<sup>168</sup> The positioning of the scatter around this plinth, which likely held a cult statue, suggests that both coins and tokens were utilised as votive offerings. The types found depict Nilus, Euthenia and Serapis and therefore are not specific to this site.<sup>169</sup> In this context tokens functioned in the same manner as coins, thereby implying utilisation as an all-purpose coinage. However, the fact that this is a temple site should not be discounted, as coins dedicated as votives occupy a different status to those in circulation, and it may be that tokens were another means of making an offering alongside coins and other objects. The scatter of coins dates from the reign of Ptolemy III to the reign of Commodus (247 BC – AD 184), thereby implying that most of the coins were deposited before the reign of Commodus. This is of course, Milne's *terminus post quem* for the utilisation of tokens, however, the evidence from Qasr Ibrim suggests that tokens were likely also in use before this date. Moreover, Milne's dating for the tokens is accepted in the report for these coins and tokens, and the author states that the tokens may push the date of the assemblage into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>170</sup> This demonstrates how Milne's dating is utilised uncritically for archaeological dating on a wider scale.

At the site of Tebtunis a small hoard of six tokens (Egypt nos. 157-162, Figure 10), all of the same type, was apparently discovered with a 1<sup>st</sup> century diobol of Vespasian and an Antiochene coin of Elagabalus. This provides a wide date range for their use, although they must have been deposited in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century after the reign of Elagabalus. Milne states that the coin of Elagabalus is worn, and posits that it must have been in circulation for a while, estimating a date of AD 250 for deposition. He dates the tokens to not much before this date, based on the fact that they do not look to be worn and therefore would not have circulated for long before deposition. This gives a date at the upper end of Milne's period for token use, based on the date range of c. 180-260 AD. These tokens are, therefore, just about in keeping with Milne's theory that tokens replaced low denomination bronzes during the period that they almost ceased to be struck. However, he also states that this group of tokens are struck on very thin flans.<sup>171</sup> This would be impractical for tokens which had to circulate and change hands, particularly given that lead is a soft metal. It should therefore be

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<sup>168</sup> Frend 2004, 167 and 191.

<sup>169</sup> Dattari nos. 6440 and 6469 ff.

<sup>170</sup> Frend 2004, 168.

<sup>171</sup> Milne 1935, 213.

considered that this group of tokens may not have been intended for wide circulation, and could have fulfilled a votive function as a single use item. The unreliability of the data must be taken into account, as the original provenance of the tokens within the excavation has been lost, and their report based on the fact that they were rediscovered stored with the coins in an envelope labelled 'together'.<sup>172</sup> It is uncertain to what extent the coins and tokens were 'together' given the lack of stratigraphy in antiquarian excavations, and therefore any associated dating may not be accurate.

A shipwreck off the Carmel Coast of Israel yielded two tokens from Roman Egypt amongst the coins (Egypt nos. 16 and 17, Figure 13 and Figure 14).<sup>173</sup> The dates of the coins range from 20 BC to AD 235, thereby again implying a wide date range within which the tokens could feature, and a *terminus post quem* of AD 235 for deposition of the hoard, although with no firm date for the tokens it is possible that they were the latest component of the hoard and were struck after the latest coin. This neither proves nor disproves Milne's theory relating to their function as a low denomination currency, but again gives scope for an earlier date. Their direct association with coins may imply a function as coinage, but given that a 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Athenian token is amongst the corpus it is evident that tokens did not necessarily keep their intended function for the whole of their lifetime, and could be repurposed. An initial purpose, and then subsequent reuse and incorporation in this assemblage should therefore not be ruled out for these tokens, and a function as coinage is by no means certain.

Tokens discovered in a tomb at Abydos are likely dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Egypt nos. 1-5, Figure 2-Figure 4), based on their association with coins of late Ptolemaic and early Roman date, the latest dating to AD 52/3. The types are not found elsewhere, and are distinct in their style and form, thus implying that they are perhaps a slightly different phenomenon to later tokens. This provides evidence for the utilisation of tokens in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD or before, thereby suggesting that tokens were longer lived and had a wider variety of functions than has been emphasised previously in the literature. Milne acknowledges that the economic conditions of the 1<sup>st</sup> century were not the same as 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries in that there was not a shortage of bronze coinage that might give rise to tokens, and concludes that they were perhaps issued by temples

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<sup>172</sup> Milne 1935, 213.

<sup>173</sup> Meshorer 2010, 111.

as worshippers' tokens or amulets.<sup>174</sup> It is certain, however, that these tokens were not a replacement for low denomination bronzes during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, a point that should be stressed in order to place emphasis on a wider dating range, and therefore the possibility for a variety different functions for tokens in Roman Egypt.

The evidence so far presents a picture that suggests tokens were not utilised as an all-purpose coinage, but may in some cases have functioned as a special purpose money. Dating based on imagery and associated finds does agree with the period proposed by Milne, but also suggests that tokens were in use earlier than AD 180. The above discussion implies that Milne's hypothesis is found wanting, therefore other suggestions must be put forward as to the tokens' purpose.

#### **2.4.4. Alternative functions of tokens in Egypt**

In order to consider how tokens may have functioned in Egypt if they were not a replacement coinage for the bronze denominations, it is necessary to examine examples that suggest an alternative utilisation.

Milne's theory regarding the use of tokens as a low denominational coinage is not totally unfounded, based upon the fact that there are a small quantity of tokens that bear a denominational mark. These include those with the legend 'OBOΛOIB' (Egypt nos. 157-162, Figure 10) from Tebtunis which are discussed above, as well as a specimen in the Ashmolean collection with the legend 'ΔIOB' (Egypt no. 140, Figure 48).<sup>175</sup> These are, however, in the minority in comparison to thousands of other specimens which do not bear a denominational mark. The specimen with the legend 'ΔIOB' is poorly executed, and the lettering retrograde, therefore implying that the craftsman was inexperienced at crafting moulds or dies. The style and patina of this specimen is unusual, and it stands out from the corpus of tokens, even taking into account their idiosyncratic variation. This implies that this issue was not prevalent in Roman Egypt, while the thin flans of the examples from Tebtunis suggest that those tokens may not have been intended for quotidian circulation.

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<sup>174</sup> Milne 1914, 95.

<sup>175</sup> It is also possible that the I is instead a Φ that has become worn. If this is the case, then the inscription cannot refer to a diobol.



*Figure 48: Token possibly featuring the denomination Diobol. Obverse: Wreath, within which ΔΙΟΒ(?); solid line border. Reverse: Egyptian style altar; solid line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 26mm. Weight: 7.12g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 140. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5441. Image: Ashmolean Museum.*

Tokens of the ΟΒΟΛΟΙ Β type was also discovered at Memphis, where antiquarian scholarship identified it as a coin.<sup>176</sup> Longperier concluded that the token type bearing the legend ΟΒΟΛΟΙ Β must be a diobol and a similar type inscribed with the legend ΜΕΜΦΙC was an obol, based on its size.<sup>177</sup> Although the illustrations imply that the ‘diobol’ is larger than the ‘obol’, the exact diameters are not given for the tokens.<sup>178</sup> Further examples that were discovered since Longperier’s work contradict these conclusions. The Tebtunis examples measure between 28-31mm, and therefore do not have a standardised diameter.<sup>179</sup> Furthermore, other examples of the ΜΕΜΦΙC ‘obol’ type do not correspond to a standardised diameter; those held in the Ashmolean Museum measure between 24-29mm.<sup>180</sup> Two of these specimens have a large area of spare flan outside of their border, while on another the edges of the image are missing due to the smaller size of the flan.<sup>181</sup> It would seem, therefore, that there was fluidity in the size of the flan and that these objects should not be perceived as coins as they were not manufactured to specific standards. It is acknowledged, however, that the poor condition of the tokens does not lend itself to firm conclusions regarding their original size in antiquity.

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<sup>176</sup> Longperier 1861, 414: identification as a coin based on the presence of a denomination written in full, as found on coins from the Roman east e.g. Cappadocia, Rhodes, Byzantium.

<sup>177</sup> Longperier 1861, 409.

<sup>178</sup> Longperier 1861, pl XVIII, nos. 1-2.

<sup>179</sup> Milne 1935, 213.

<sup>180</sup> Egypt no. 170: 29mm; No. 171: 24mm; no. 173: 28mm. No. 173 measures 15mm, but is slightly different in that the Apis bull faces right and has a garland hanging below it.

<sup>181</sup> Nos. 170 and 173 have space around the edge of the border and no. 171 has part of the image missing due to a smaller flan.

Longperier's conclusion is that the lead tokens were religious coins used exclusively at the Serapeum at Memphis.<sup>182</sup> Essentially, this hypothesis fits with the definition of tokens as outlined in the introduction to this thesis. Indeed, Pausanias (c.AD 120-180) references the use of a 'local coin' as a votive offering at Memphis.<sup>183</sup> In this context Pausanias uses Memphis as comparanda to a similar phenomenon at Pharae, where this 'local coin' is referred to as a *chalcous* or 'copper coin'. Although the lead tokens are not copper, they reference a denomination of Alexandrian bronze coinage, therefore representing a similar value to bronze coins, and most importantly their imagery references local aspects. It is therefore highly probable that the tokens at Memphis were manufactured to fulfil a votive use at the Serapeum. The utilisation of a specifically 'local coin' was clearly important, and therefore the sanctuary manufactured their own tokens to fulfil this need.<sup>184</sup> Coins of a certain value were presumably exchanged for the tokens, two obols in the case of that inscribed with ΟΒΟΛΟΙ Β, in order that a certain financial obligation to the deity was met. The tokens represented the value indicated on them, but did not have to intrinsically be worth this amount, therefore negating the need for a standard size or weight. This is also exemplified by a token series from Rome that refers to 1000 sestertii, and modern Asian 'Hell money', which while having the appearance of a banknote, exhibit denominations running into the millions, and are offered to the ancestors and not accepted as legal tender.<sup>185</sup>

The use of tokens as tax receipts was posited by Rostovtzeff (see introduction), and Mitchiner believes this to be the case for tokens with the legend ΕΠΙ ΑΓΑΘΩ (Egypt nos. 185 and 186, Figure 19).<sup>186</sup> However this argument rests on the translation of this legend, which he interprets as 'interest payable upon wealth'. His reasoning is that when the prefix ΕΠΙ takes the dative case it can be used in the financial sense 'for money' or 'interest payable on money', and that as tokens are a financial document they should be read in a financial manner.<sup>187</sup> However, because Mitchiner thinks that the tokens should have a financial connotation (tokens without this legend he thinks

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<sup>182</sup> Longperier 1861, 411.

<sup>183</sup> Pausanias *Description of Greece* 7.22, 3-4; Longperier 1861, 412 for further discussion.

<sup>184</sup> Despite the local nature of the imagery on Nome coins, these were struck at Alexandria and therefore cannot be considered local in the same manner.

<sup>185</sup> *TURS* 1460; Scott 2007, 26-28.

<sup>186</sup> Mitchiner 1984, nos. 8 and 10.

<sup>187</sup> Mitchiner 1984, 113.

are coins), he translates the legend within this framework, when other approaches may be better suited. For example, the phrase is better translated to mean ‘good’ or ‘fortuitous’. Plutarch uses it in the context of ‘for the good (of Asia)’, and Plato uses it to mean for the best (of the state).<sup>188</sup> An inscription on a marble column drum from Lepcis Magna utilises the phrase in the context of hope for good fortune from the gods dwelling with Sarapis, while in instances on ostraca and in papyri from Egypt it is translated as ‘for the good (of all)’, ‘by luck’, ‘auspiciously’, ‘fortunate’, ‘beneficent’ and ‘successfully’.<sup>189</sup> The tokens’ legend may therefore be better translated as meaning ‘for good fortune’. It should also be considered that many tokens depict imagery associated with good luck and fortune. For instance, types depicting Nilus and Euthenia can be interpreted as emblematic of the prosperity of the Nile, while types depicting Sarapis, who wears a kalathos, again have connotations of prosperity. It therefore seems implausible that these tokens were tax receipts, especially when tax receipts are known from the papyrological evidence. It is unlikely that tokens would have fulfilled this function when there is a document type present in the archaeological record which explicitly serves this need.<sup>190</sup> Le Blant notes the frequent presence of the phrase on votive objects, such as rings, although others have called into question the votive nature of these rings and it is more likely that they were intended to bring fortune to the wearer.<sup>191</sup>

Tokens in the collection of the The Institut für Altertumskunde at the University of Cologne may indicate a use pertaining to festivals or sacred banquets. On one face they each depict Athena standing left holding a statue of Nike in her right hand and with shield in her left. The other face has the letters ΑΓΟ (Egypt nos. 187-189, Figure 49). No findspot or provenance is given, aside from the fact that they are apparently from Egypt. Parallels for the legend are found on Hellenistic period tokens from the

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<sup>188</sup> Plutarch, *Antony* 26.3; Plato, *Statesman* 293d, 4-5.

<sup>189</sup> IRT 312: <http://inslib.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT312.html> Accessed 24.02.2020. The translation for this inscription reads: ‘To the gods who dwell in the temple of the great Sarapis; Aurelius Attalus dedicated this offering with his whole household in the hope of good fortune’; O.Mich. 1.658: ‘for the good of all’; P.Mich. 8.501: ‘by luck’(APIS translation); P.Oxy. 3.531 and P.Tebt. 2.303: ‘auspiciously’ (APIS translation); P.Ryl. 2.233: ‘fortunate’ (HGV translation); SB 5.8001 ‘beneficent’ (APIS translation); SB 16.12606 ‘successfully’ (APIS translation).

<sup>190</sup> Sijpesteijn 1994 for papyrological tax receipts.

<sup>191</sup> Le Blant 1896, 90, who discusses the phrase on rings, as well as noting its presence on a lamp from Asia Minor; Ogden 1990, 109: the votive nature of rings bearing the inscription is called into question because they show signs of wear, as is the theory that they are associated with games, since they are women’s sizes.

excavations of the Athenian Agora. These are inscribed ΑΓ, ΑΓΟΡ and ΑΓΟΡΟΝΟΜΩΝ and are therefore assumed to have a purpose associated with the *agoranomoi*, specifically serving as tax receipts in relation to their role as collectors of market tax.<sup>192</sup> However, their utilisation as such in Athens has also been questioned with a more plausible explanation involving their use as religious banqueting tickets, and as outlined above it is unlikely that tokens in Roman Egypt served as tax receipts.<sup>193</sup>



Figure 49: Token possibly referring to the *Agoranomoi*. Obverse: Athena standing left, wearing Corinthian helmet, left hand resting on shield at feet to right, outstretched left hand holding Nike with wreath and palm; solid line border. Reverse: ΑΓΟ; solid line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 9.98g. Die axis: 12. Egypt no. 187. Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde accession no. AL\_3560. Image: Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde.

Religious banquets are also evidenced in Roman Egypt in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Invitations to private banquets of Serapis are known from Oxyrhynchus, as well as mention of banqueting at the temple of Athena-Thoeris.<sup>194</sup> One papyrus from Karanis dating to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD also provides a link between religious banquets and organisation by the *agoranomoi*.<sup>195</sup> The fact that the primary role of the *agoranomoi* in Egypt was to oversee markets, but that their role was broader than this and they might be called upon to organise festivals, has also been acknowledged in other scholarship.<sup>196</sup>

The token bearing the image of Messalina provides an opportunity to explore a different function for tokens. The legend ‘MECCAΛINH KTH CIC’ links the token to Messalina’s possession, but it is likely to refer to the fact that it is struck in her name, rather than implying that it functioned as a tag for goods belonging to her. It is

<sup>192</sup> Svoronos 1900, 332-333, Nos. 159-161, 164, 165, pl III 4-9; tax receipts see Crosby 1964, 80-81 due to the fact that the collection of market taxes (*agoristikon*) was one of the duties of the *agoranomoi*, and also because Rostovtzeff notes that the term *symbola* could mean ‘receipt’.

<sup>193</sup> Tokens used as banqueting tickets, not tax receipts: Bubelis 2013, 125.

<sup>194</sup> Serapis: P.Coll.Youtie 1.52; P.Oxy. 62.4339; Thoerion: PSI 3.175.

<sup>195</sup> P.Mich. 8511.

<sup>196</sup> Youtie 1948, 23-24.

therefore possible that this token functioned as a special purpose coin or token of an individual's authority, on imperial estates. There is evidence which attests to Messalina's estates in Egypt, but this conclusion regarding the token's use could be substantiated or disproved if similar tokens were found in situ on areas known to comprise her estates or otherwise.<sup>197</sup>

Lastly, in the same manner that studies have highlighted the links between the mint of Alexandria and the mint of Rome, the use of tokens in Egypt should not be viewed in isolation.<sup>198</sup> The current study of the thousands of tokens from Rome and Ostia has concluded that they are not coins, and this has generally been the prevailing view, so it is unusual that Milne's view for their use as coins in Egypt has taken hold.<sup>199</sup> Furthermore, the designs of some token types from Egypt mirror the Alexandrian coin types so strongly that it is difficult to resist the idea that they may have been produced officially. If this were the case it seems implausible that they are coins, as it is unlikely that official production would cease striking bronze coins and issue lead tokens (with enough differences to mark them as different to coins) instead.

The instances highlighted above are only a minority of the tokens found in Roman Egypt, however, they provide alternative suggestions for utilisation and emphasise how tokens could have a variety of functions within the province, rather than being limited to a low denomination coinage.

#### **2.4.5. Section summary**

This section set out to ascertain whether tokens in Roman Egypt played a role in providing a source of low denomination coins after bronze issues ceased to be struck, as posited by Milne in a series of articles written in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This hypothesis has generally been accepted and quoted by numismatists without any critical analysis of the tokens themselves, and therefore the idea was due re-examination.

An analysis of tokens of the Athena-Thoeris types from Oxyrhynchus has served to demonstrate that there is no correlation between types of token and their weights and

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<sup>197</sup> Parássoglou 1978, 73: discussion of Messalina's estates in Egypt.

<sup>198</sup> See Burnett 1991; Bland 1996.

<sup>199</sup> Clare Rowan *pers comm* 2019: tokens from Rome and Ostia are not found in large enough quantities to be used as coins, unlike pseudo-coinages. The exception to the view that tokens from Italy were not used as coins is Dressel 1922, where tokens from the Tiber are interpreted as a merchant's till.

diameters that would imply a denominational system. This subset of tokens cannot, therefore, have been utilised as an all-purpose coinage, which is often implied by Milne. The narrow focus of the imagery, which pertains in the most part to Athena-Thoeris and Nike, does not suggest a wide range of issuers, and therefore issuing would likely have been limited to one authority, most probably of a civic nature.

Dating based on a comparison of the imagery on tokens from across Egypt to the iconography of Alexandrian coins suggests a use period which encompasses Milne's range of AD 180-260, however, specimens referring to Messalina date to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and examples which draw heavily on the coinage of Antoninus Pius suggest a date in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Puzzlingly, Milne acknowledged these examples, but disregarded them when he drew conclusions about the overall dating and purpose of tokens.

Sites that yielded tokens with contextual information and/or associated coin finds suggest that tokens nonetheless appear in assemblages which correlate with Milne's suggested date range. These include the tokens found in a shipwreck off the Carmel Coast and at Tebtunis. Neither of these instances, however, preclude an earlier date than AD 180 for the tokens within the assemblages. The site of Qasr Ibrim yields a coin assemblage that terminates in date at AD 184, thereby suggesting that the tokens found within it likely date earlier than this. Additionally, the tokens found in a tomb at Abydos date to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, demonstrating that tokens served a purpose in Roman Egypt considerably earlier than AD 180.

Since it is unlikely that tokens functioned as an all-purpose coinage, and there is evidence to suggest that the phenomenon was longer lived than suggested by Milne's broad-brush conclusions regarding the use of tokens as a replacement for low denomination bronze coins, other alternatives for their purpose have been proposed. These include use as temple money, or use at festivals and games, as well as special purpose money or tokens of authority utilised on private estates.

The above conclusions therefore highlight a wider date range for the use of tokens in Roman Egypt than has previously been acknowledged, demonstrating that tokens did not solely function as low denomination coins in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. It is recognised that they could have served as a special purpose money during

this period, but alternative suggestions for utilisation should be emphasised, both during the 1<sup>st</sup> century and during Milne's period of 180-260 AD.

## **2.5. Chapter summary**

This chapter has addressed a lacuna in previous scholarship pertaining to analysis of the imagery of tokens in Roman Egypt, as well as reassessing how they functioned in the province. Analysis of the sites on which they are found suggests that their use did not pertain to a specific type of site, and their distribution across varied archaeological contexts implies that they did not serve a single purpose.

It is evident that there were multiple series of tokens, including the dated series, the series from Abydos, and local types with imagery and legends relevant to the locality in question. The local types were likely manufactured at the location expressed in the legend, although the rubbish dumps of Oxyrhynchus yielded tokens from Antaeopolis, Arsinoe and Memphis, thereby implying that tokens were curated and taken away from their place of manufacture. The Athena-Thoeris types from Oxyrhynchus demonstrate that primarily local tokens stayed in the vicinity of their manufacture, and that they had a function pertinent to that place. In this respect, local tokens should be interpreted as functioning on a local level, despite the evidence suggesting occasional travel to different places. In contrast, some token types are distributed across the province, and even outside its borders. The corpus from Oxyrhynchus contained tokens from both local and widespread series, implying that they served separate purposes.

Analysis of the imagery demonstrates that, similarly to the imagery of the Alexandrian coinage, there is a mix of both Egyptian and classical elements, as well as iconography that is a hybridisation of the two. Egyptian elements tend towards inanimate objects, buildings, animals (including sacred animals), and animal components to deities. Classical elements include depictions of the emperor and personifications such as *Dikaiosyne* and *Homonoia*. Compound imagery is frequently found on tokens and usually comprises a double meaning that can be read in the image, such as Serapis' syncretism with Osiris, or Antinous' with Hermes-Thoth. This is particularly apparent in the case study of the Athena tokens from Oxyrhynchus, where her local significance syncretised her with the Egyptian Taweret / Greek Thoeris. Nilus types were perhaps a key exception to the pattern outlined above, as an Egyptian natural element (the Nile) took on a classical representation, perhaps due to the classical tradition of personifying rivers.

In terms of the function of tokens in Egypt, a reassessment suggests that it is not plausible that they functioned as coins. The analysis of weights and diameters of Athena tokens demonstrates that they were not made to a standard, and therefore could not have functioned as an all-purpose coinage. Study of the imagery of tokens, alongside the dating evidence from archaeological contexts indicates that they have a wider date range than the period Milne gave for the need for low denomination coins. Instead, it is probable that tokens served a variety of purposes, including temple money, symbols of authority or special purpose money on private estates, or utilisation by the *agoranomoi* or similar civic bodies to facilitate religious events such as banqueting.

## Chapter 3: Tokens in Roman Gaul

This case study aims to elucidate how and to what extent tokens were utilised in Roman Gaul. Section 3.1 briefly reviews the focus of scholarship to date. Tokens found in Roman Gaul and its environs are discussed in section 3.2 on a site-by-site basis, with the geographical location of each site depicted in Figure 50.<sup>1</sup> They are analysed in terms of their iconography, legend and findspot within the site, with attention paid to immediate archaeological context where known. The contexts in which they have been found are diverse: a villa (Mare-aux-Canards), an amphitheatre (Nyon), a drainage ditch next to a road (Liberchies), a port (Fos-sur-Mer), as well as within the sanctuary complexes at Liry and Digeon, and on the periphery of the sanctuary at Châteaubleau. These sites are presented below in alphabetical order. Section 3.3 explores the thousands of tokens from the banks of the river Saône in Lyon, and this site forms a case study where the intra-site variation of tokens is analysed. Lastly, a sub-set of tokens, which are inscribed with an ethnic on one face, will be discussed in section 3.4.

The types found in Gaul are hyper-local to the vicinity where they are found. At Châteaubleau two tokens were found, one that depicts Jupiter and another that depicts Vulcan. At Côte Vitlet a single specimen depicts Mars Camulus, whilst at Digeon a series of tokens depict rayed motifs on one side, and are inset with a square of silver on the other. At Fos-sur-Mer more than 100 tokens were discovered inscribed with the legend CAES. A villa at Mare aux Canards has yielded 6 monogrammed tokens, whilst at Liberchies a token depicting Sol-Mithras was found. At Mandeuire a small quantity of tokens inscribed with initials of private individuals were discovered, and at Nîmes eight silver tokens depicting scallop shells were found within a well. The amphitheatre at Nyon yielded a single tokens that depicts a wheel or rayed motif. The banks of the river Saône in Lyon were the findspot of thousands of tokens, most inscribed with a letter or series of letters or a name, and some depicting a range of iconography including a skull, deities, and a helmeted-head. The series of tokens bearing ethnics

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<sup>1</sup> Tokens from Mandeuire are discussed due to their similarity to those from Lyon, despite the site's location in Germania Superior. Similarly, both Nyon and Liberchies are in Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, respectively, but their placement is close enough to the Gallic provinces that they deserve inclusion (see Figure 50).

features a range of types, but predominantly includes deities such as Segetia, Mercury and Fortuna, as well as types alluding to the natural world which include a deer, a bull and a man with a boar.

### **3.1 Literature Review**

Scholarship on tokens in Roman Gaul has predominantly focused on assemblages from individual sites (see section 3.2), and this thesis aims to address the lack of synthetic interpretation through the collation and analysis of the majority of tokens from Roman Gaul, enabling a provincial resolution of understanding.

Museum collections that focus on the corpus of tokens from Lyon form the only published catalogues to date, and although these are unique in terms of the quantity of material that they cover from Roman Gaul, the material is nevertheless still from one city (see section 3.3).<sup>2</sup> Both catalogues also include tokens from Rome amongst the Gallic tokens, which highlights the preoccupation with collating and comparing tokens from the provinces with tokens from Rome.

The exception to the paucity of inter-site analysis is the group of tokens that bear an ethnic on one face (see section 3.4). The findspots of these tokens correlate to the ethnic, although most are clearly from the same series due to the shared imagery, despite their wide distribution across north-eastern Gaul. The quantities of these tokens are small, and they have been collated in a series of catalogues in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and early 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>3</sup>

Some of the material from Gaul was examined by Kiernan in a chapter on ‘model coins’ within a volume focusing on votive miniatures in the north-western provinces of the Roman empire. The material from Digeon, for example, he views as conforming to the category of ‘votive models’. Whilst the tokens from Digeon did likely serve a votive function, and are tied into traditions of votive deposition of both model and non-model objects at the site (see section 3.2.3), this framework neglects to focus on how the material also sits within the emerging picture of tokens within the Roman empire.

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<sup>2</sup> Dissard 1905: tokens from the Collection Récamier currently in the BnF; Turcan 1987: tokens in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon.

<sup>3</sup> Le Gall 1974; Weiller 2000; Berdeaux-le Brazidec 2009.

This is therefore the first time that tokens from different sites and of varying types have been collated together on a large scale, thereby allowing a nuanced understanding as to the character of tokens in Roman Gaul. This chapter will demonstrate that tokens from each site had a heterogenous appearance, often being manufactured on site, and exhibiting imagery and legends that were understood on a local level. Despite this, these elements of their appearance simultaneously tied them into wider networks of classical material culture, and in this respect, they were simultaneously objects of both local and widespread milieus.

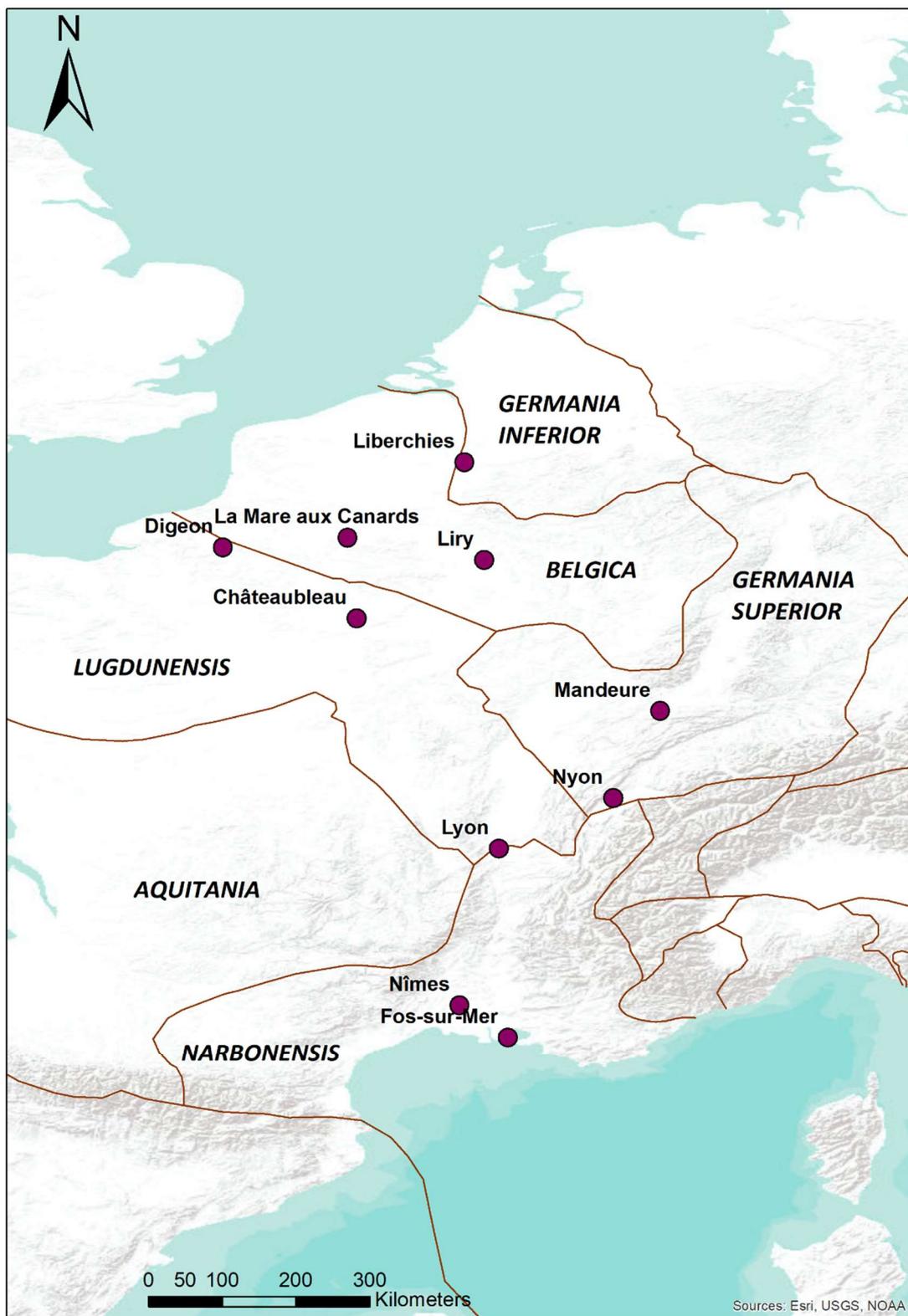


Figure 50: Map showing location of sites from Gaul discussed in section 3.2. Image: author; background map open access data: Esri, USGS, NOAA.

## 3.2. Tokens from Roman Gaul: A site-based overview

### 3.2.1. Châteaubleau<sup>4</sup>

The site of Châteaubleau (Seine-et-Marne) has yielded two tokens, one depicts the god Vulcan, with Jupiter portrayed on the second.<sup>5</sup> A cult centre was present on the site, comprising four temples and a theatre, as well as a spring sanctuary, and a habitation zone where industrial activities took place, including butchery, leatherworking, metalworking in iron and bronze, and the minting of counterfeit coins.<sup>6</sup>

The first token is uniface and depicts Vulcan standing right, wearing a pileus, and holding a hammer in his right hand and fire tongs in his extended left hand. The letter V is in the field to the left and the letter O to the right (Gaul no. 1, Figure 51). Tokens depicting Vulcan are unparalleled in Roman Gaul, although two examples are found in Rostovtzeff's catalogue.<sup>7</sup> As discussed below in the case of tokens portraying Mars, comparison to Rostovtzeff's catalogue may not be appropriate due to regional nuances in both imagery and utilisation.

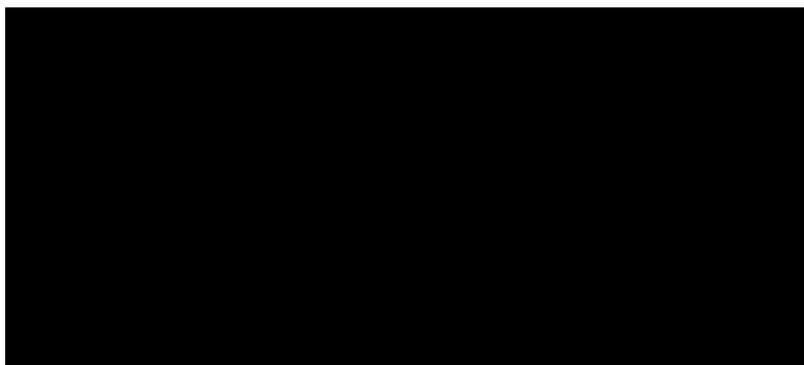


Figure 51: Token from Châteaubleau. Obverse: Vulcan standing right, hammer in raised right hand and tongs in extended left hand; V to left in field, O to right in field. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight 3.93g. Gaul no. 1. SF no.: CH.05.X.20.17280.M.03. Image: Hollard and Pilon 2007, 28, fig. 1.

The above point is particularly relevant as Hollard and Pilon conclude that the representation of Vulcan is a local one, pertinent to Celtic Gaul.<sup>8</sup> The evidence for this is convoluted and involves the connection of metalworking gods (in Wales) to the Celtic god Lugh, who can be connected to Mercury, who in turn is sometimes associated with Vulcan in Gaul. This argument is speculative at best, and convoluted

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<sup>4</sup> Roman name currently not certain, although a *tegula* was found in the spring sanctuary engraved with the words 'this is the fanum of Venus at Ebriurecon'. See Lambert 2001, 120-123.

<sup>5</sup> Vulcan : Hollard and Pilon 2007, 27-38. Jupiter: Hollard and Pilon 2008, 35-39.

<sup>6</sup> CAG 77/1, 369.

<sup>7</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2007, 29; TURS 1127-1128.

<sup>8</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2007, 31-32.

analogies between these deities are not helpful. The iconography itself offers no further elucidations as generally in the north-western provinces Vulcan has very little in terms of indigenous elements to his depiction.<sup>9</sup> Vulcan does, however, appear in a similar pose on coins of Valerian minted in Gaul in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and it is possible that this provided the inspiration for the token's imagery.<sup>10</sup> This does not preclude the reading of an indigenous deity within the imagery. The Gallic deity Sucellus, although often equated with Silvanus and Dispater, was also often associated with Vulcan.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps this is because both share the attribute of the hammer, and both are chthonic deities.<sup>12</sup> A dedication to Sucellus was found at Châteaubleau, and so it is not unreasonable to assume a connection between the deities at the site, although Hollard and Pilon do not favour this interpretation.<sup>13</sup> In my opinion, however, the fact that the inscription to Sucellus was discovered on the site provides a better basis for a dual reading of the token's imagery than the arbitrary assignment of other Celtic gods without demonstrable local relevance.

This token was discovered in ditch F63, which when it was initially cut in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD formed one of the boundaries of the cult centre. It was recut in the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> century when the ditch no longer functioned in its capacity as a cult boundary, and its last fill dates to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century. This fill (Us17280) was the context within which the token was found.<sup>14</sup> This provenance does not allow a firm conclusion for utilisation within a religious capacity, however, it is possible given that a cult presence on the site continued into the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

Hollard and Pilon assign a function related to the administration of metalworkers' workshops, who looked to their divine patron for protection of their industry, and therefore chose to portray him on tokens.<sup>15</sup> There is much evidence for metalworking at the site, including the activity of counterfeit moneyers in the form of three minting

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<sup>9</sup> *LIMC* VIII, nos. 96-138 for representations of Vulcan where he is depicted in classical guise with hammer, tongs or anvil. Only nos. 139-140 have an indigenous element to them, as apparently the appearance of Venus allows for interpretation of two local gods, equated with Venus and Vulcan, and the deer suggests associations with the Celtic stag god Cernunnos. These interpretations are mostly speculative, and Vulcan still retains classical attributes such as hammer and tongs.

<sup>10</sup> *RIC* V.1 (Valerian) 1 and 5.

<sup>11</sup> Häussler 2008, 33.

<sup>12</sup> Häussler 2012, 152-153.

<sup>13</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2007, 33-34.

<sup>14</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2007, 27.

<sup>15</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2007, 29.

workshops for the production of counterfeit coins.<sup>16</sup> The ditch in which the token was found was not only at the boundary of the cult centre, but also close to coin workshop 2.<sup>17</sup> This does not preclude a function within the metalworking workshops, however, its proximity to the sanctuary area should also be taken into account.

The area at the edge of the cult centre, close to workshop 2, was also the findspot of a miniature votive bronze hammer in 2005 (inventory number CH.03.X.31.19Q01). Initially identified as a hammer held by a cult statue, it is now accepted that a more plausible function is as a votive offering, particularly as the pointed end suggests that it could have been pushed into a soft material such as wood.<sup>18</sup> Votive miniatures were found within a ritualised context at other temple sites where there is also a strong link to metalworking on site or nearby (see section 3.2.3 - Digeon), and as discussed above it is possible that Vulcan was venerated at this site, at least in the form of Sucellus.<sup>19</sup> The fact that he does not have an official temple at Châteaubleau is not necessarily problematic, as at Palmyra different groups used temples for ritual banquets regardless of whether they were dedicated to the god who was honoured at the banquet.<sup>20</sup> The possibility should be considered that this token was utilised either as a votive offering or in an event dedicated to Vulcan at one of the temples and then disposed of, rather than in the administration of metalworkers. This possibility is paralleled in the utilisation of tokens on cult sites in Gaul, such as at Digeon.

The second token was found in the area of the southern habitation area known as *La Justice*. It is without archaeological context, as it was found through non-intrusive survey in 2004. On one face is the head of Jupiter right, and on the other is a stylised lightning bolt (Gaul no. 2, Figure 52).<sup>21</sup> The style of the head, in particular the almond shape of the eye, is consistent with other cult objects from the site.<sup>22</sup> A statuette of Mercury from the *La Justice* area exhibits such an eye (Figure 53).<sup>23</sup> Therefore it is likely that the token was not only utilised on the site, but manufactured there too,

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<sup>16</sup> See Pilon 2004.

<sup>17</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2007, 30-31.

<sup>18</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2007, 31. See also Kiernan 2009 for full discussion of votive function of miniature objects.

<sup>19</sup> Henry, Roberts and Roskams (2020): Multiple votive miniatures in the form of weapons and tools were discovered at the South Wiltshire Temple, where the local god of metalworking, Bregneus, was worshipped.

<sup>20</sup> Raja 2016, 351.

<sup>21</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2008, 35.

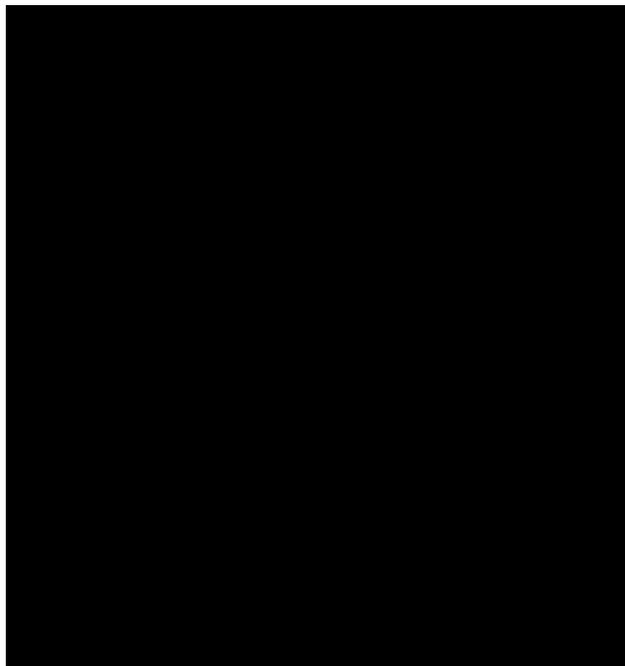
<sup>22</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2008, 37.

<sup>23</sup> *CAG* 77/1, 388, fig. 339.

especially as evidence for lead-working was found on the site in the form of drops of cooled lead.<sup>24</sup>



*Figure 52: Token from Châteaubleau. Obverse: Head of Jupiter right, laureate. Reverse: Lightning bolt. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15mm. Weight: 2.14g. Die axis: 1. Gaul no. 2. Inventory number: CH.04.X.31.M.01. Image: Hollard and Pilon 2008, 36, fig. 1.*



*Figure 53: Statuette of Mercury from La Justice, Châteaubleau, which exhibits the almond shaped eye characteristic of art from the site. Image: CAG 77/1, 388, fig. 339.*

The head on the token was identified as Jupiter based on its male, bearded appearance, and the presence of the lightning bolt on the reverse. However, the presence of a hat or helmet decorated with dots is an unusual element of Jovian iconography, and Hollard and Pilon conclude that it is possibly a Celtic hat (without the crest) as is depicted on Celtic coins (Figure 54) and that this is a representation of Jupiter involving Celtic influence merged with classical imagery.<sup>25</sup> Another find from Châteaubleau further suggests that the imagery is that of Jupiter. The object in question is a tin pendant, on which a thunderbolt is depicted on one face, and a bearded male

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<sup>24</sup> CAG 77/1, 389.

<sup>25</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2008, 37-38.

head on the other.<sup>26</sup> This depiction is not as stylised as that of Jupiter on the token, and he clearly wears a laurel wreath or diadem, rather than any variety of Iron Age ‘hat’. This depiction suggests that the imagery of the token should be read as that of Jupiter, but rather than wearing a Gallic hat, it seems more probable that he is instead wearing a laurel wreath or diadem. The style of the imagery is clearly distinctive to Châteaubleau, given the almond shaped eye, and the pelleted hair is perhaps another manifestation of Iron Age style.<sup>27</sup> Jupiter’s iconography in the western provinces is generally consistent with his classical depictions, and only the style of the images varies.<sup>28</sup> It is interesting that this token has ‘localised’ the depiction of Jupiter, and although it is not clear if he is syncretised with a Gallic deity in this instance, it is still consistent with the local nature of token imagery.

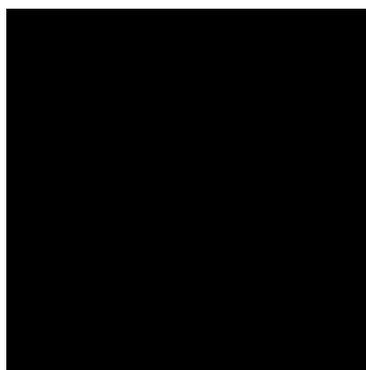


Figure 54: Coin depicting head right, wearing a Celtic style helmet, with decoration of dots and crest. Image: Hollard and Pilon 2008, 36, fig. 5.

### 3.2.2. Côte Vitlet (Liry)<sup>29</sup>

The shrine site at Liry (locality: Côte Vitlet) was discovered through aerial photography in the 1980s, and over 100 coins were discovered through fieldwalking, with the implication that there was a small sanctuary on the site, partially destroyed by the Roman occupation.<sup>30</sup> Within the two Roman habitation zones the finds included pottery, coins, brooches, a foot of a bronze statuette, an 8-rayed miniature wheel, two bronze discs and a knife handle.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Hollard and Pilon 2008, 35.

<sup>27</sup> LIMC VIII, Jupiter no. 24 is a bronze statuette of Jupiter from Xanten with similar stylised hair.

<sup>28</sup> LIMC VIII: Jupiter as Roman god of state without any native components: 12-72, with indigenous epithets/elements: no.73 (riding), no.74 (in *biga*, Jupiter column), nos.75-80 (with wheel), no.81 (armour and coat), no.82 (local clothes), no.83 (Jupiter Poeninus).

<sup>29</sup> Roman name uncertain. Doyen 2017, 218 suggests that it may have been called *Liriacum*.

<sup>30</sup> CAG 8, 315.

<sup>31</sup> CAG 8, 315.

The token (Gaul no.3, Figure 55) discovered on this site has a rayed motif or flower on one side, encompassing a central globule and eight petals. The legend MARTIS, preceded by a cordiform leaf, encloses the central flower. The other face depicts a figure which has been interpreted as the god Mars Camulus, helmeted or diademed and walking left. He holds an indeterminate object in his right hand, and another in the crook of his left elbow, while he rests his left hand on a shield.<sup>32</sup>



*Figure 55: Token from Côte Vitlet (Liry). Obverse: Eight-petalled flower; cordiform leaf, MARTIS. Reverse: Mars Camulus(?) advancing left, holding uncertain attributes in right hand and in crook of left elbow, holding shield in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20.5mm. Weight: 4.04g. Private collection. Image: Doyen 2017, 219, fig. 2.*

Doyen looks to Rostovtzeff's corpus for parallels to this token, however, the comparison between Rostovtzeff's tokens and this example from Gaul is not necessarily appropriate, as the majority of tokens in Rostovtzeff's catalogue are from Italy.<sup>33</sup> They are distinct in their style and patina, are found in their thousands, and most probably served a very different function to the example from Liry. Due to the local nature of tokens in terms of their imagery, style and possibly function it is not always useful to draw on comparanda from other provinces.

The parallels with tokens in Rostovtzeff's catalogue are particularly irrelevant as Doyen concludes that the representation is of Mars Camulus, a syncretic deity whom the Remi venerated, rather than a classical Mars as found on tokens from Rome.<sup>34</sup> It is difficult to discern whether this is the case as the iconographical evidence for Mars Camulus is flimsy, the closest representation offered by Doyen being a "warrior hero" carrying a torque and a spear depicted on potins of the Remi.<sup>35</sup> Doyen notes that identifying Mars Camulus in the imperial period is difficult, as the Celtic aspects hide behind classical representations of Mars and so it is difficult to know whether to read

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<sup>32</sup> Doyen 2017, 220.

<sup>33</sup> Doyen 2017, 223 cites *TURS* 213.

<sup>34</sup> Doyen 2017, 226-230.

<sup>35</sup> Doyen 2017, 228, fig.7.

the indigenous god in the classical imagery.<sup>36</sup> This is certainly the case, as the only certain representations of Mars Camulus portray him in the guise of Mars Ultor, and the Camulus aspect is identified through an inscription confirming his identity.<sup>37</sup> From this it is evident that the imagery of Mars Camulus did not differ from that of classical Mars.<sup>38</sup> It is tempting, therefore, to read multiple layers in the imagery and see a classical Mars who can also be interpreted on local terms as Mars Camulus. Doyen's identification of Mars Camulus on the token draws on the geographical spread of evidence for this deity, which coincides with the location of the site on which the token was found. Liry does indeed lie within the area of *Gallia Belgica* and the territory of the Remi in which inscriptions to Mars Camulus are found.<sup>39</sup> Derks notes that while syncretic deities such as Mars Camulus were worshipped on large monumental complexes, and served as the patron deities of a *civitas* or *pagus*, their geographical spread is considerable for local cults.<sup>40</sup> A cult of Mars Camulus is therefore possible at Liry, although to date no representations of, or dedications to, Mars (Camulus or otherwise) have been discovered on the site, and we cannot know the extent of his significance.<sup>41</sup>

Also discovered at the site was a cast copper alloy copy of an *as* of Plautilla, wife of Caracalla. The reverse of the coin depicts Venus Victrix, an image which is not dissimilar to that on the token (Figure 56).<sup>42</sup> In both images the figure faces left, with a shield behind them. Depictions on both the coin and token also have an attribute in the crook of the left arm; in the case of the coin it is a palm branch, while it remains indiscernible on the token. On both coin and token the figure extends their right arm and holds an attribute, an apple on the coin and again an indiscernible object on the token. Venus Victrix is therefore another potential identity for the figure depicted, especially as Doyen notes that Venus is associated with Mars on a token in the Kestner

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<sup>36</sup> Doyen 2017, 229.

<sup>37</sup> *LIMC* II, Mars no. 496, Vatican Gall. Lap. 8960: Votive relief depicting five deities. An inscription above identifies the gods: Arduinne Camulo Iovi Mercurio Herculi (*CIL* VI 32574).

<sup>38</sup> *LIMC* II, 569.

<sup>39</sup> Grew 2008, 147-150 for summary of inscriptions to Mars Camulus and fig.3.5.3 for distribution map of inscriptions.

<sup>40</sup> Derks 1998, 242.

<sup>41</sup> In terms of the significance of Mars to the Remi generally, Derks concludes that as communities chose a god from the Roman pantheon who came closest to representing their values and lifestyle, Mars was most appropriate due to his role as protector of the *fundus*, mirrored in the Remi's agricultural lifestyle: Derks 1998, 242.

<sup>42</sup> *RIC* IV (Caracalla) 582.

Museum, Hanover, and therefore there is precedent for their reference together on tokens.<sup>43</sup> This token is, however, of the type from Rome so its suitability as a parallel must be questioned. A further link between the cast coin and the token is that due to the lightweight nature of the coin copy it could have been utilised as temple money, thereby inhabiting a liminal space between the definitions of coin and token.<sup>44</sup> However, Mars is also depicted in a similar attitude on coins of this period, standing left, with shield behind him to the right, and holding a Victory in his extended left hand.<sup>45</sup> On other coins of the period he does carry a trophy over his right shoulder, and this attribute is the identification favoured by Doyen for the object the figure on the token holds over their right shoulder.<sup>46</sup>

The imagery of the token has elements consistent with the depiction of both gods on the coins of Caracalla, however, the local context of Mars Camulus' worship, as well as the legend referring to Mars, are perhaps indications that it is Mars (Camulus). The local context in particular should be taken into account, as so far the evidence from Gaul points to localised production of tokens. In Egypt, the local context of deities is an important factor to take into account as local indigenous gods can be read in the imagery of classical gods (see section 2.3.2). The close association of Venus and Mars in Roman iconography does not, however, preclude the image being that of Venus.

It is difficult to discern how this token was utilised at Liry as it was a surface find without stratigraphic context. The pre-Roman sanctuary was not contemporary with the token, so we cannot assume it was utilised in cult practice, although evidence for the continuation of a cult presence can perhaps be determined in the votive wheel and foot of a statuette that were found at the site (see above). The use of the genitive case for the name Mars (*Martis*) on the token implies that its function is related to a cult aspect of the deity (being *of* Mars), rather than it being utilised for a quotidian purpose with an arbitrary choice of image and legend. Exactly how it functioned within the cultic sphere is not evident, although neither votive nor euergetic purposes should be ruled out.

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<sup>43</sup> Doyen 2017, 220. See Mlasowsky 1991, p. 46-47, no. 45 for the token in question.

<sup>44</sup> Doyen 2017, 220.

<sup>45</sup> *RIC* IV (Caracalla) 492.

<sup>46</sup> *RIC* IV (Caracalla) 235.



Figure 56: *As* of Plautilla. Obverse: Bust of Plautilla, draped, right; *PLAVTILLA AVGVSTA*. Reverse: Venus standing left, holding apple in right hand and palm-branch in left hand, left elbow resting on oval shield; at feet, Cupid standing left; *VENVS VIC[TR]I[X]*. Metal: Copper alloy. Weight: 10.5g. Die axis: 12. Mint: Rome. AD 202-205. RIC IV 582. British Museum accession no. R.15792. Image: British Museum.

### 3.2.3. Digeon<sup>47</sup>

The site of Digeon is situated in the commune of Morvillers-Saint Saturnin (Somme), and first became the subject of archaeological investigation in 1983. It comprises two, possibly three sanctuaries, the largest of which was excavated in 1983 and 1985 and yielded three deposits of tokens.<sup>48</sup> Since these excavations, more tokens have been discovered on the surface at the site.<sup>49</sup> While these tokens have previously been published in three separate articles, scholarship to date has not collated them together.

The first two deposits were found one meter apart at the exterior of the eastern foundation of the *cella* as it turns towards the west, dating to c. AD 40-70. One deposit contained thirteen round lead tokens, inset with a piece of silver plate (Gaul nos. 4 and 5), while the other comprised eight bronze rectangular tokens (Gaul no. 6 – these eight specimens without the silver plate, although a further two surface finds had the silver plate intact).<sup>50</sup> The third deposit was found to the north of the *cella*, with most of the group on a chalk foundation perpendicular to the foundation of the north wall of the *cella*, and contained fifteen thin bronze tokens of varying form. Some were blank, while others carried a coin type on the obverse or reverse (Gaul nos. 27-29).<sup>51</sup> The rest of the tokens were surface finds, without archaeological context: Gaul no. 4 – three surface finds) Gaul no. 5 (two surface finds with silver plate) and Gaul nos. 7-26.

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<sup>47</sup> Roman name not known.

<sup>48</sup> Delplace 1986, 179-183.

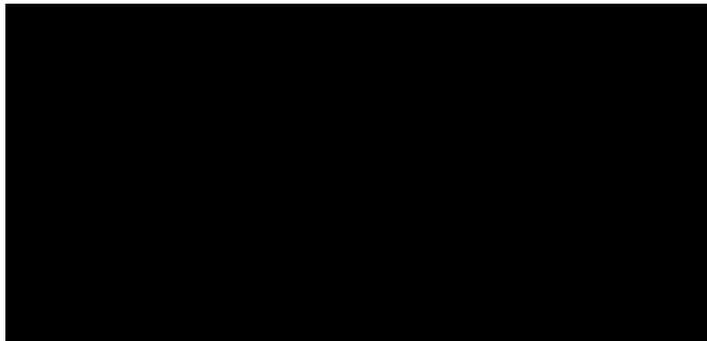
<sup>49</sup> Gendre 1992, 19-22; Delplace 2001, 89-91.

<sup>50</sup> Delplace 1986, 179-181.

<sup>51</sup> Delplace 1986, 181-182.

Many of these were, however, discovered in the Gallo-Roman zone of the sanctuary or the upper embankment throughout the site.

The lead specimens from the first deposit all have a rayed motif comprised of 11 rays, with three exhibiting an extra short horizontal line close to the edge (Figure 57). It seems likely that all these tokens come from the same die. The reverse depicts a stylised square, again identical on all specimens, the lines of which extend beyond the corners. Some still contain a thin square of silver set within the square. As these were found in a foundation layer of the *cella*, it is possible that these formed a foundation deposit. Three tokens of the same type were also discovered as surface finds, which therefore raises the possibility that the same type of token functioned in different ways on the site, both as a potential foundation deposit and also in another capacity which led to their deposition on other areas of the site.



*Figure 57: Token from Digeon. Obverse: Rayed motif comprised of 11 rays. Reverse: Rectangle, inset with silver plate. Metal: Lead. and silver. Gaul no. 4. Image: Delplace 2001, 89, fig. 1. Not to scale.*

The second deposit contained eight thin rectangular tokens in bronze, which carried the same motifs as the above lead pieces, but struck in lower relief and without the inset silver square on the reverse. Likewise, two specimens of this type were also discovered as surface finds. Analysed as a whole, these two types in bronze and lead therefore demonstrate how the same types were utilised across different metals. This furthers the possibility that they functioned in different ways, or alternatively, that there were different denominations if these tokens held any monetary value.

The question of value is particularly relevant, due to the presence of a small square of silver inset into the reverse on the square of the lead tokens discussed above. Interestingly, this is not the case for those made of bronze found in the hoard deposit, although the possibility cannot be discounted that the silver plates were once inset within the reverse, but have now become unattached and lost. The bronze tokens of this type which were found as surface finds do still have the silver plate present,

therefore again suggesting that there was a distinction between how tokens functioned in different contexts. Silver squares were also inset into tokens of other types that were discovered as surface finds (nos. 8 and 11, possibly 12 and 25), thereby indicating a degree of cohesion on this site, in terms of the practice of inserting silver plates into the lower value metal of the tokens. To date, this practice is not known anywhere else in Roman Gaul, or in the empire itself.

The inclusion of silver in tokens of base metals also demonstrates that the token itself was the important object, which could not be substituted by coins or any other objects. It is common to find both coins and objects of personal value, such as brooches, deposited as votives at temple sites, as is the case at Digeon. Analysis of other finds at the sanctuary reveals significant quantities of votive material. The metal finds in particular are diverse and in abundance, with nails so numerous it is likely that they did not only arise from the destruction of buildings, but may have served a ritualised or votive purpose.<sup>52</sup> Miniaturised weapons in the form of knives and axes were also present, objects that are known to have served a votive purpose in the north-western provinces of the empire.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, 15 sets of tweezers were found, with their extremities bent inwards, implying ritualised destruction. Some were of coarse manufacture and one was of such fragility it could not have been employed practically.<sup>54</sup> Votive brooches were also present that in appearance looked like quotidian brooches, but their form suggests they could not function as such.<sup>55</sup> Although no firm evidence has been found to confirm the presence of a workshop close by, its existence seems probable given the large quantities of metalwork present.<sup>56</sup> Delestrée and Delplace have also suggested that a workshop nearby was likely manufacturing many of the coins discovered on the site.<sup>57</sup> Such a workshop would be the most probable place of manufacture for the tokens from the sanctuary of Digeon.

It is evident therefore that the tokens should be placed in context as one of many types of votives from the site. It is interesting that tokens are amongst this corpus, as usually

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<sup>52</sup> Rapin 1986, 115.

<sup>53</sup> Rapin 1986, 115; miniaturised weapons in the north-western provinces: Kiernan 2009, 40-113 (arms and armour) 114-152 (axes).

<sup>54</sup> Jobic 1986, 104.

<sup>55</sup> Jobic 1986, 104.

<sup>56</sup> Jobic 1986, 104.

<sup>57</sup> Delestrée and Delplace 1986, 20.

votives were given in fulfilment of a vow. The petitioner would ask a deity for a favour, and upon this being granted would sacrifice an animal or erect a votive monument, although coins were often substituted.<sup>58</sup> Given the quantities of votive material, including miniature votives, found at Digeon, it is possible that the tokens were utilised as replacements for votive coins, with the silver square raising the value of the lead to a value similar, or greater than, that of copper-alloy coins. This raises the question of why a representation of a coin would be needed rather than a genuine one. The answer perhaps lies in the fact that there were not significant numbers of Roman coins discovered at the site in the period relevant to the tokens (AD 40-70).<sup>59</sup> Either coins were not deemed suitable as votives, or a shortage (particularly in the reign of Claudius – see below) meant that substitutes were deemed necessary, and were perhaps acquired through the gifting of non-monetary goods to the sanctuary which could be exchanged for a token. In this regard tokens form part of a wider trend of votive deposition on cult sites across northern Gaul and Britain.

A commonality amongst many of the tokens from Digeon is the presence of a rayed motif (catalogue numbers 4-18), found on a total of 53 out of the 63 tokens.<sup>60</sup> This motif differs across types, sometimes resembling a flower or sunburst (Gaul nos. 4-8), or often involving a combination of a dot or circle with emanating rays (e.g. nos. 9-12). Pellets and circles are therefore popular as elements of the rayed motif, as well as a series of linear elements which form the rays themselves. The token found at Côte Vitlet (Liry) also exhibited a similar rayed motif, closely comparable to catalogue numbers 4-6 (see below).

The solar motif is found frequently on sanctuary sites in the western provinces of the empire that had associations with healing. The shrine of Lydney in Britain has yielded a figurine of a deerhound with a rayed motif on its haunches, as well as a diadem depicting a solar deity in a chariot, thereby indicating links with solar gods. In Gaul this is evident at sanctuaries to Apollo, such as that to Apollo Belenus at Sainte Sabine and Apollo Vindonnus at Essarois.<sup>61</sup> Another possibility is that it is a schematic rendering of a solar wheel. The wheel is undisputedly known to have solar connotations in pre-historic European cultures, and its symbolism in Gallo-Roman

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<sup>58</sup> Derks 1998, 221.

<sup>59</sup> Delestrée and Delplace 1986, 20.

<sup>60</sup> Not including the coin impressions or blanks, as these are a slightly different phenomenon.

<sup>61</sup> Green 1991, 119-121.

Gaul perhaps extended to associations of thunder and lightning given its association with Jupiter and Taranis.<sup>62</sup> Miniature votive wheels are found on sanctuary sites in the north-western provinces, a practice that Kiernan interprets as offering a single attribute of Celtic Jupiter, in the same manner that *caducei* are offered to Mercury at Uley.<sup>63</sup> There is no evidence to suggest the worship of either Apollo or a Celtic Jupiter at Digeon, but it is worth considering that the rayed motif is tied into a wider iconographical milieu of wheels and sunbursts found across Gaul.

The thin bronze pieces in the deposit discovered at the chalk foundation near the north wall of the *cella* are probably a slightly different phenomenon to the other tokens within the corpus found at Digeon. The tokens from this deposit can be divided into two groups in terms of their appearance: those that are blank and those that bear coin types on one side. Delplace interprets the blank pieces as roughs left in a state of preparation.<sup>64</sup> However, given the potential for this hoard to be interpreted as a foundation deposit, the possibility that they were intended to be left blank should be considered. Evidence for blank discs utilised as tokens on temple sites in Britain is discussed in section 4.2.1, while examples from Gaul were discovered in the form of ceramic discs in a ritualised deposit at Varennes-lès-Mâcon.<sup>65</sup> This is also the case at the temple site of Martberg, Karden (Germany), where thousands of blank lead discs were discovered.<sup>66</sup>

The coin impressions all date to the time of Claudius (Gaul nos. 27-29). Their utilisation appears to differ from that of the above tokens (Gaul nos. 4-26) in that they are not found throughout the site, instead they are only present within the deposit. Delplace notes that they are too thin and fragile to have functioned on a day-to-day basis, and therefore should perhaps be interpreted as fulfilling a votive function.<sup>67</sup> If this is the case then their utilisation was not a practice that was widespread across the site. Roman coins dating from the reign of Caesar to Nero are underrepresented at the site, but these tokens nevertheless were impressed from genuine coins, evidenced by

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<sup>62</sup> Kiernan 2009, 33-37.

<sup>63</sup> Kiernan 2009, 39.

<sup>64</sup> Delplace 1986, 181.

<sup>65</sup> Barthelemy 1985, 140-142.

<sup>66</sup> Nickel, Thoma and Wigg-Wolf 2008, 46-47.

<sup>67</sup> Delplace 1986, 182.

a lack of flaws commonly found on imitations.<sup>68</sup> The reign of Claudius saw increased quantities of imitations, due to the closure of the mint at Lyon, the cessation of the striking of *aes* at the mint of Rome in AD 42, and Claudius' recall of Caligula's coinage.<sup>69</sup> It appears that tokens made from Claudian coins were therefore not linked to the production of counterfeit coins, and it is perhaps significant that genuine coins were chosen from which to manufacture the impressions. The implication is that the initial coin, from which the impression was taken, was deliberately chosen so that the tokens would be reflections of legitimate coins. Perhaps this again links to concerns regarding value, which were important for votive deposition at this site. Alternatively, it could be a practical way to make genuine coins go further at a time of shortage; the impression was taken and deposited so that legitimate coins could be spared to either make further impressions or continue in circulation.

#### **3.2.4. Fos-Sur-Mer (*Fossae Mariana*e)**

Nearly 100 lead tokens were discovered through metal detecting at the harbour of Fos-sur-Mer (probably known as *Fossae Mariana*e in the Roman period) in *Gallia Narbonensis* (modern southern France), during works undertaken in the construction of the harbour from 1978-1990.<sup>70</sup> This group of tokens all have diameters between 14-22mm, and vary in thickness from 1.5mm to 4.5mm. Each token is inscribed with 'CAE|S' on one face, while the other is blank (Gaul no. 30, Figure 58).

The Roman harbour at Fos-sur-Mer is located at modern *Point de Saint-Gervais*, and in the Roman period was situated at the mouth of the canal of Marius.<sup>71</sup> Two rectangular structures are interpreted as the *navalia*, and underwater excavations have revealed amphorae and an oil lamp in the form of a ship.<sup>72</sup> Other finds include ceramics from the late Iron Age, late coins of Massalia, and Republican denarii.<sup>73</sup> We can therefore be confident that the port was in use during the late Republican period, although finds from the empire are also present.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Underrepresentation of early imperial coins: Delestrée and Delplace 1986, 20. Tokens impressed from genuine coins: Delplace 1986, 18.

<sup>69</sup> Boon 1974, 119.

<sup>70</sup> Sciallano 1987, 193. 78 tokens were available for study and publication.

<sup>71</sup> *CAG* 13/1, 184.

<sup>72</sup> *CAG* 13/1, 185.

<sup>73</sup> *CAG* 13/1, 187.

<sup>74</sup> *CAG* 13/1, 187: finds from the empire include coins dating from Vespasian to Philip I.

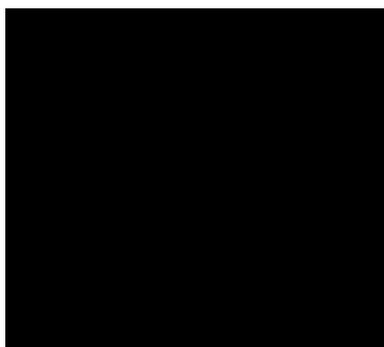


Figure 58: Token from Fos-sur-Mer. Obverse: CAE|S. Reverse: Blank (not shown). Diameter: 19mm. Weight 5.37g. Gaul no. 30. Image: Raynaud 2011, no.79.

It is apparent that the tokens were manufactured from lead sheet, from which they were cut out with a gouge, evidenced by projections placed diametrically opposite on several tokens. These projections resulted from a manufacturing process whereby the disc was cut out through the drawing of two semicircles with the gouge, and the semicircles not aligning neatly (Figure 59). Often the projections were squeezed inwards in order to give the tokens a rounder shape. Sciallano favours this interpretation over casting, which would have meant that two halves of the mould were fitted together, but not aligned properly. The blank flans were stamped with the legend on one face, likely with the use of a bronze die that was utilised for the entire sample.<sup>75</sup>

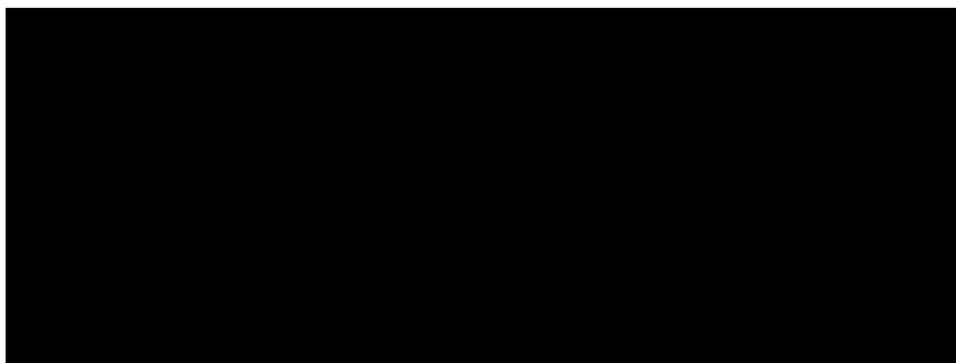


Figure 59: The form of the tokens from Fos-sur-Mer, with arrows indicating the projections which arose as a result of misaligned semicircles cut from a sheet of lead. Image: Sciallano 1987, 196, figs 3 and 4.

It is possible that these tokens had not been used in antiquity, as the lettering is sharp and in high relief.<sup>76</sup> However, given that it is not known for certain how tokens

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<sup>75</sup> Sciallano 1987, 193-196.

<sup>76</sup> Sciallano 1987, 196.

functioned, if they were one-use only items it would be expected that they would not exhibit much wear and tear. It seems probable that their use was connected to the port and its administration, especially as the area in which they were found was likely to have contained the port facilities of the *Fossae Mariana*.<sup>77</sup> Reynaud favours an interpretation where the tokens were utilised by the military, and cites the use of *tesserae militaris* as a pass employed by soldiers on watch. These *tesserae* are not, however, the same as tokens of lead and Reynaud's interpretation relies on equation between these two types of object.<sup>78</sup>

The legend may also give some indication as to how this set of tokens were utilised in antiquity. Sciallano suggests that we should not discount the possibility that 'CAES' may refer to a private individual with a nomen or cognomen that begins with these letters, but then states that only Julius Caesar or Augustus would utilise such a simplified version of this title. A number of examples are offered where CAES or CAESAR is found on tokens or coins in reference only to Julius Caesar or Augustus.<sup>79</sup> Further scholarship agrees with this interpretation, and favours Caesar over Augustus due to similarities in the lettering of his coinage to the lettering on the tokens (Figure 60), as well as his links with the *Fossae Mariana*, which is perhaps where he ordered 12 ships built to besiege the port at Marseille.<sup>80</sup> However, the abbreviation CAE and a monogram of CAESAR are found as countermarks on coins dated later than Julius Caesar, and therefore could be associated with later rulers.<sup>81</sup> Despite this, it is convincing that the date of the tokens is likely to be contemporary

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<sup>77</sup> Sciallano 1987, 197.

<sup>78</sup> Polybius, *The Histories*, 6.34 describes these *tesserae* as wooden tablets and therefore they cannot be equated with lead monetiform objects like the ones from Fos-sur-Mer. There is much confusion over the term *tessera* and its application to material objects. See Virlouvet 1988 for discussion of the mis-application of the term *tessera* to lead tokens in the context of wheat distributions.

<sup>79</sup> Sciallano 1987, 196: *RRC* 452, 458 and 468 for coins of Julius Caesar with legend CAESAR; *CIL* XIII 10029, 307 for token with the bust of Augustus and legend CAES. Sciallano notes *RIC* I p.43, unnumbered for an *as* of Augustus struck in Lyon with the legend CAESAR, although this does not appear to be present in *RIC* I<sup>2</sup> (the second edition) and so was perhaps an error in the first edition.

<sup>80</sup> Coinage: Reynaud 2011, 6-11 and figs. 7 and 8: The lettering closely resembles that on Caesar's elephant denarius (on some issues, as the style of the lettering is not systematic across the type), and even if not executed by the same engraver, it was imitated closely. Links with *Fosse Mariana*: Reynaud 2011, 4 cites Caesar *Civil War*, 1,36.4 which describes the building of 12 warships at Arles which were then taken to Marseille. Although Arles is named rather than *Fosse Mariana*, their close proximity to each other allows for a generalisation of the exact location in the text, and demonstrates that Caesar was present in the area. Therefore Reynaud's assertion that the tokens are linked to Caesar stands.

<sup>81</sup> Martini 2003, CAE: p.272, nos. no. 77a-d, CAESAR: p. 258, nos. 43a-g.

with that of the issue of Caesar's elephant denarius type and with the siege of Marseille in 49 BC, and it is probable that the tokens were issued under Caesar's auspices.

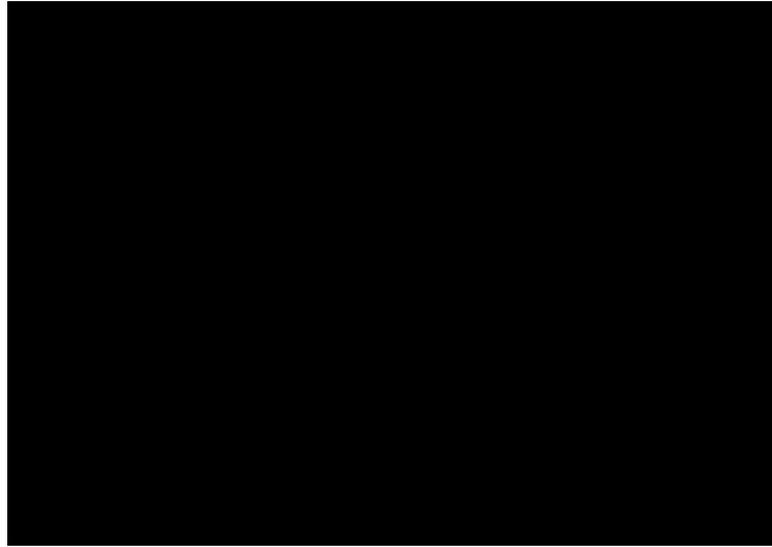


Figure 60: 'Caesar' lettering from Caesar's elephant denarii type (left) compared to the lettering on the tokens (right) from Fos-Sur-Mer. Image: Reynaud 2011 figs. 7 and 8.

The association with Caesar gives some indication of who could commission tokens. While it is evident from the tokens discovered at Lyon (see below) that lower strata of society such as freedmen or merchants struck tokens in their name, the tokens from Fos-sur-Mer are unusual in Roman Gaul in their reference a powerful individual in Rome.<sup>82</sup> It is apparent, therefore, that in the provinces tokens could reference individuals from varying social backgrounds, as in Rome.<sup>83</sup> It is impossible to know exactly how the tokens functioned on Caesar's behalf, but port administration of goods, materials or staff is the most plausible explanation rather than use in a direct military context.

### 3.2.5. La Mare aux Canards

The excavation of the *pars rustica* of a large villa at La Mare aux Canards (Oise) in the north-east of modern France yielded 13 lead monetiform pieces, eight of which could plausibly have functioned as tokens (Gaul nos. 31-41, Figure 61).<sup>84</sup> The villa itself was situated less than 1km south-east of the road from Amiens (*Samarobriva*) to Soissons-Augusta (*Suessonium*), which went through Noyon (*Noviomagus*), and is

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<sup>82</sup> Tokens bearing the portrait of the emperor are known in the Collection Récamier (nos. 740, 774), but these examples are not extensive, and were not available for study in the BnF, so their identification has not been confirmed by the author.

<sup>83</sup> *TURS* 1-100 for tokens of an imperial nature.

<sup>84</sup> Dubuis and de Muylder 2014, 23-25.

interpreted as a high status villa that was involved in the redistribution of goods, including pottery, wine and oil, from southern Gaul.<sup>85</sup>

The first six tokens are monogrammed in relief on one face with a motif hard to discern, but which possibly reads either MR or MVTR (with ligatures), while the other face remains blank (Gaul nos. 31-36). These pieces are circular with a diameter of 17mm, and their mode of manufacture involved using a gouge to cut circular discs from a thin lead sheet; these discs were then stamped with the legend. Three further tokens from this site comprise one disc of 19mm with the remains of a motif on one face (Gaul no. 37), a square token with rounded corners which exhibits a relief of a central globule enclosed by a beaded border (Gaul no.38), and a square piece of sheet lead measuring 13mm in width which is incised with a circle enclosing a cross (Gaul no.39). This latter piece perhaps was in the midst of the manufacturing process with the circle due to be cut out from the surrounding sheet. Additionally, four discs of blank lead were discovered, two of which were manufactured through cutting and were perhaps blank flans intended to be stamped like the monogrammed tokens (Gaul nos. 40 and 41). The last two blank discs were not manufactured through cutting, instead having the appearance of casting or simply cooled drops of lead, and assignation as tokens is less certain.

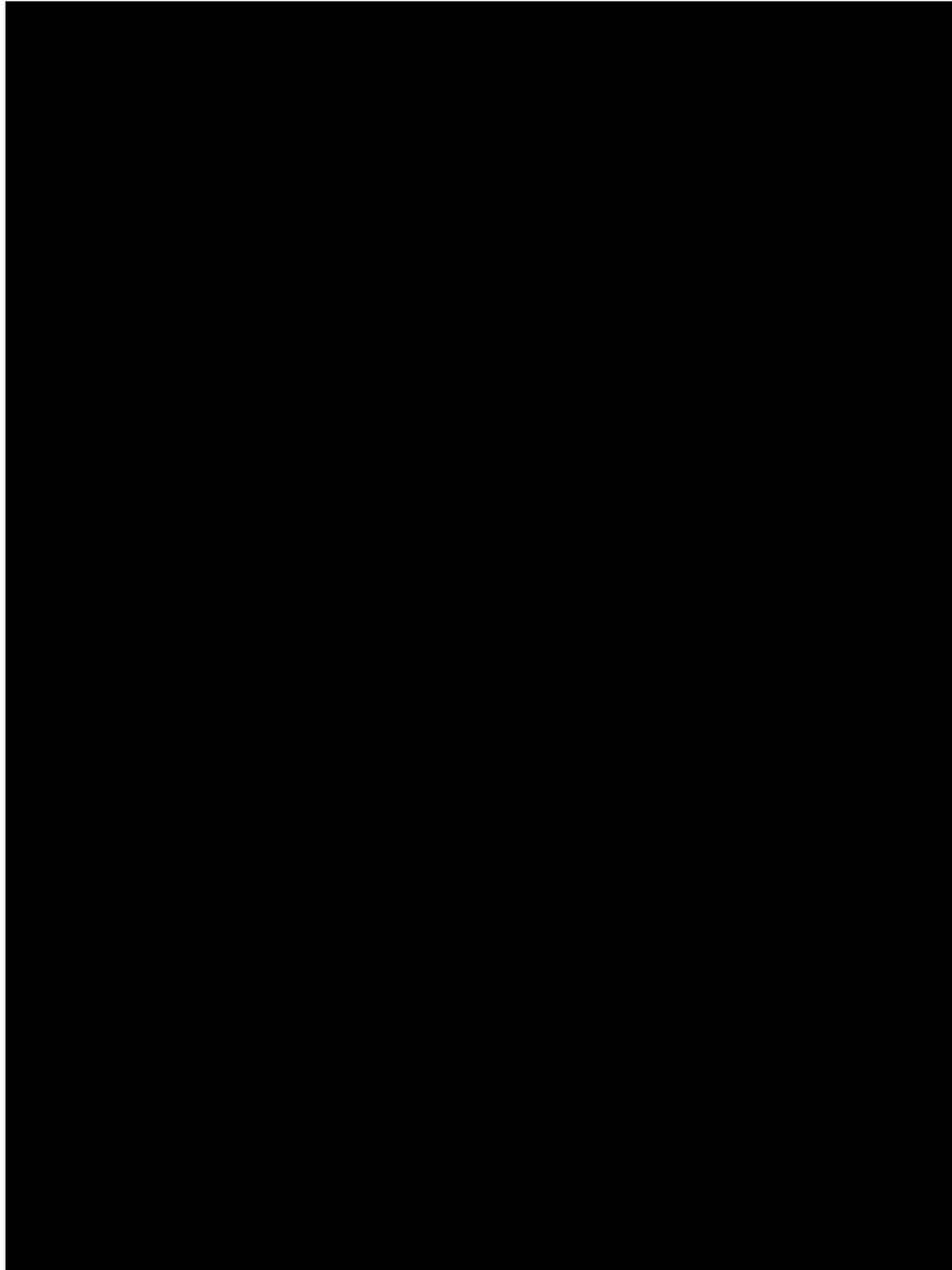
The monogrammed tokens were manufactured from four different dies. Nos. 31 and 32 from the same die, nos. 33 and 34 from another, and nos. 35 and 36 from two different dies. The view of Dubuis and de Muylder is that the diversity of dies, along with the mediocre execution of the die engraving indicates that tokens were only made infrequently with sub-par equipment created for the occasion.<sup>86</sup> This is not, however, necessarily the case as tokens are often badly executed and manufactured from a number of dies.<sup>87</sup> It could instead indicate that large quantities were needed and that manufacturing processes had to be swift, with the range of dies due to the fact that this type of token was needed for utilisation frequently enough to merit the fabrication of a number of dies. The absence of further specimens may, however, indicate that they were not manufactured and utilised in significant quantities, unless they fulfilled a purpose further afield from the villa.

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<sup>85</sup> de Muylder et al 2015 <https://journals.openedition.org/gallia/888?lang=en> Accessed 07.10.2019.

<sup>86</sup> Dubuis and de Muylder 2014, 24.

<sup>87</sup> The tokens from Lyon (see section 3.3) are often crudely executed and made from multiple dies.



*Figure 61: Tokens from the Villa at Mare aux Canards. Gaul nos. 31-41. Image: Dubuis and de Myllder 2014, 24, fig. 1. Not to scale.*

In terms of dating, the monogrammed tokens were discovered in three different layers: two were found in the first phase which pre-dated the end of Nero's reign, three in the second phase dating to the Flavian period, and one in the third phase dating to the late empire. However, it is probable that the token from the late empire is residual, and it should be taken into account that finds from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD were frequently found

in 2nd century layers on the site.<sup>88</sup> The presence of only one monogram type indicates a close date range for the group, which Dubuis and de Muylder speculate is at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>89</sup>

The authors compare the use of the monogram on tokens from the Collection Récamier (discussion of this collection below) from Lyon, citing nos. 900, 1011 and 1012 as their examples.<sup>90</sup> This comparison is apt in terms of the use of the monogram, however, the style of the tokens from Noyon is different in that they appear cruder and they are manufactured on larger flans. The diameter of the Noyon tokens (17mm) is significantly larger than that of the monogrammed tokens given as examples from the Collection Récamier. The 21 tokens which comprise no. 900 in the Collection Récamier measure on average 11.1mm, while no. 1011 measures 10.6mm and 1012 measures 6.4mm. These are all diameters which are consistent with the average diameters of tokens from Lyon (see section 3.4.2 below).<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, monogrammed tokens in the Collection Récamier are not exclusively uniface, for example no. 1011 exhibits imagery in the form of a dolphin on the reverse, while no. 1012 bears the legend 'AS' on the reverse. These differences serve to highlight the uniqueness of the set of tokens from Noyon; although they conform to certain conventions found in the corpus of Gallo-Roman tokens (the monogram, and their method of manufacture), within the subset of monogrammed tokens they differ in terms of their size, style and exclusively uniface form. The utilisation of a monogram is unusual for tokens in northern Gaul, and it is probable that its implementation at this site was due to links with Lyon and southern Gaul. Pottery vessels from the site indicate that in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD the villa had a trading pattern that did not conform to the expected trading patterns for rural areas in Northern Gaul, and it is likely that there were links to Lyon where these vessel types were more commonly distributed.<sup>92</sup> The owners and inhabitants of the villa were therefore likely tied into networks where tokens were utilised, and would have been familiar with their employment.

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<sup>88</sup> Dubuis and de Muylder 2014, 24.

<sup>89</sup> Dubuis and de Muylder 2014, 24.

<sup>90</sup> Dubuis and de Muylder 2014, 24; Dissard 1905.

<sup>91</sup> From author's own research at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, where the Collection Récamier is now housed.

<sup>92</sup> De Muylder et al 2015 <https://journals.openedition.org/gallia/888?lang=en>. Accessed 07.10.2019

The monogrammed tokens, as well as the three additional tokens and the two blank discs (likely mid-way through production) manufactured through cutting from a lead sheet were all discovered in the north-east area of the site, at the north wing of the *pars rustica*, with particular concentration around buildings 2 and 8, thereby suggesting use or manufacture in this area (see Figure 62).<sup>93</sup> Manufacture on site in this vicinity is probable as the alleyway between these two buildings housed a smithy.<sup>94</sup> Use on site is also feasible as buildings 2 and 8 were interpreted as fulfilling a dual function comprising both a residential aspect and commercial characteristic as shops.<sup>95</sup> This area was also where most of the balance weights were found, as well as three seals, which add credence to a theory of commercial utilisation, particularly given that the site is interpreted as a redistribution centre with long distance contacts.<sup>96</sup> It is worth considering whether these objects that were identified as tokens might actually be seals or weights, given their location alongside artefacts that do fulfil these functions. Their use as seals is, however, unlikely as they do not exhibit any of the characteristics of seals discussed in section 1.2.4. It is possible that they are weights, although as their masses are not noted in the publication it is difficult to assess if this might be the case, especially as they have not been seen first-hand by the author. Their identification as tokens therefore relies on the assignment of the correct artefact class by the authors of the report, and as demonstrated in Figure 61 uncertainty is expressed regarding the identification of nos. 10-13 (10 and 11 = Gaul nos. 40 and 41. 12 and 13 are not considered as tokens in this thesis due to their undiagnostic appearance).

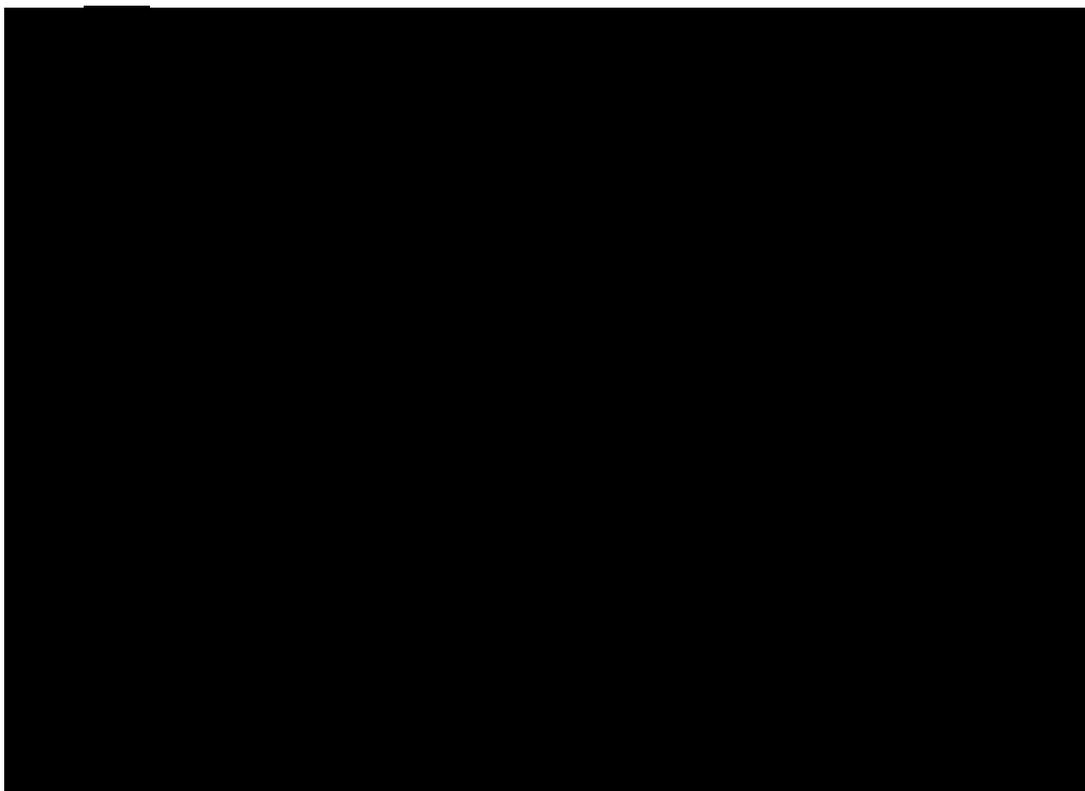
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<sup>93</sup> Dubuis and Mulder 2014, 24.

<sup>94</sup> De Muyllder et al 2015 <https://journals.openedition.org/gallia/888?lang=en> Accessed 07.10.2019.

<sup>95</sup> De Muyllder et al 2015 <https://journals.openedition.org/gallia/888?lang=en> Accessed 07.10.2019.

<sup>96</sup> Dubuis and Mulder 2014, 25.



*Figure 62: Plan of the villa at La Mare aux Canards, with the findspots of tokens indicated. Image adapted from Dubuis and Muyllder 2014, 24, fig. 2.*

To summarise, the tokens discovered at this site were manufactured within the area of the *pars rustica*, and were potentially intended for utilisation in commerce or trade. The variation in dies of the monogrammed tokens implies that larger quantities were manufactured than the six which remain presently. The use of a monogram is not unique within the corpus of tokens from Roman Gaul, however, the monogram itself is not paralleled elsewhere, and the form and style of these tokens in terms of size, quality of execution and presence of a reverse motif or legend, is not always in keeping with other monogrammed tokens. Therefore, while conforming to convention that likely was influenced by the prolific utilisation of monograms on tokens in Lyon, the individuality of this group is also apparent in terms of aspects of their manufacture and design. This set of tokens therefore demonstrate local manufacture, probable on-site utilisation and unique monogram within the corpus of Gallo-Roman tokens.

### **3.2.6. Liberchies (*Geminiacum*)**

The excavations in 1999 of the town of Liberchies in modern-day Belgium resulted in the discovery of a token depicting the god Sol Invictus Mithras. It was discovered in a drainage ditch next to the Roman road (Figure 63), and which most likely indicates a casual loss. The token is cast from pewter, evident by the presence of two casting sprues, and portrays on one face a male head right, wearing Phrygian cap from which

extend five rays. The other face exhibits the legend ‘O H SOL M Q R S A P’ around the perimeter (Gaul no.42, Figure 64).<sup>97</sup>



Figure 63: Plan of area I3. The token was found in a ditch (48) next to the Roman road. From Brulet, Dewert and Vilvorder 2008, 15, fig. 6.

The rays emanating from the cap indicate that this representation of Mithras should be equated with the solar god, Sol. Representations and inscriptions referring to Sol Invictus Mithras are not common, but nevertheless do exist. Two possibilities are posited for the legend on the reverse of this token. The first is that it should read ‘*O(b) H(onorum) Sol(is) M(ithrae) Q(uintus) R(name) S(surname) a(ram) p(osuit)*’, which is based on inscriptions from Ostia and Perugia and commemorates the erection of an altar by a priest with the initials QRS.<sup>98</sup> The second reading is based on the fact that *ob honorum* is usually not used to refer to a deity, but instead to a priesthood or person. Therefore, this part of the phrase could be moved to the end so that the reading is: *Sol(is) M(ithrae) Q(uintus) R(name) S(surname) a(ntistes) p(ater) o(b) h(onorem)*.<sup>99</sup> In this case, the assumption is that the token is distributed by the high priest upon receiving his honours, for euergetic purposes.<sup>100</sup> Within the wider context of how tokens were utilised for euergetism across the Roman empire, I posit that the second

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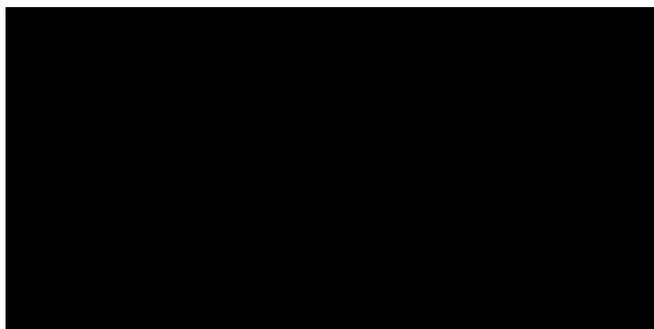
<sup>97</sup> van Heesch 2000, 9-13; Dewert, Raepsaet and Vilvorder 2008, 129 and 147, no. 138. Inventory no. 12174.67. From excavation area I348.

<sup>98</sup> van Heesch 2000, 12; Ostia: *CIL* XIV 62; Perugia: *CIL* XI 1916; *ILB* 2 161.

<sup>99</sup> van Heesch 2000, 12, citing examples *CIL* VIII 7079, 4874; *CIL* IX 4551; *ILB* 2 161.

<sup>100</sup> *ILB* 2 161.

reading is the more accurate interpretation.<sup>101</sup> This token therefore provides the first example in Roman Gaul for the use of tokens for personal euergetism.



*Figure 64: Token from Liberchies. Obverse: Head of Sol-Mithras right, wearing Phrygian cap, from which extend five rays. Reverse: O H SOL M Q R S A P around a blank field. Diameter: 19.6mm. Weight : 1.23g. Die axis: 12. Gaul no. 42. Nivelles, Musée communal accession no: BV.12174.67. Image: Nivelles, Musée communal.*

It is uncertain if there was a Mithraic community at Liberchies itself. That this is an isolated find implies that there was not, although this supposition would need to be reviewed should further examples be discovered. The area in which it was found (I3) is not immediately close to the area of the *fanum* (I5), and finds from the same excavations pertaining to religious activity include a statuette of Mercury, lead wheels and terracotta Venus figurines, but nothing of an explicit Mithraic character.<sup>102</sup> Other evidence from the site comprises a spout from a fountain in the form of a lion's muzzle, found in a cellar within a layer dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>103</sup> Given its place of deposition within a cellar, and its similarity to another spout found in the Mithraeum at Angleur, it has been interpreted as having a Mithraic character.<sup>104</sup> However, this in itself is not enough evidence to suggest the presence of a Mithraeum. Other finds from Liberchies comprise two intaglios, one depicting a lion and scorpion, and another portraying a figure holding a staff and possible patera or bag. This imagery is inferred to be Mithraic, based on their supposed similarity to other examples of Mithraic imagery.<sup>105</sup> The lion and scorpion is, however, a tenuous link to the imagery of a lion surrounded by Mithraic symbols cited by Sas as comparanda, and the standing figure is not clear enough to discern the attributes that may link it to Mithraism (a fact noted

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<sup>101</sup> For tokens used for euergetism in Athens see Crosby 1964, 166, and for Palmyra see Raja 2016, 345.

<sup>102</sup> Figure of Mercury: Dewert, Raepsaet and Vilvorder 2008, 147, no. 137. Lead wheels: Vilvorder 2008, 165, nos. 1-3. Venus figurines: de Beenhouwer 2008, 183-188, nos. 1-3.

<sup>103</sup> Faider-Feytmans 1980, 102.

<sup>104</sup> Faider-Feytmans 1980, 102.

<sup>105</sup> Sas 2004, 359-360, nos 1 and 2.

by Sas herself). The shortcomings of the lion spout and gem evidence are also noted by Veymiers, who does not believe the strength of the evidence is sufficient to link it to Mithraism.<sup>106</sup> It is more probable that the token arrived at Liberchies from somewhere further afield, which the excavators of the token suggest could be the city of Tongeren (*Atuatuca Tungrorum*), where there was a cult of Mithras.<sup>107</sup> Another nearby candidate is the nearby town of Tienen, where a Mithraeum was discovered.<sup>108</sup> It seems that this token is linked into wider networks of the Mithraic cult, which was strongly present in the area, but the object is not necessarily evidence for the presence of the cult itself in Liberchies.

Monetiform objects depicting Mithras are rare, but are known, thereby indicating that there was a use for tokens within the cult of Mithras. Van Heesch cites an unprovenanced example sold at auction which depicts the head of Sol on one face, and an image of Mithras sacrificing the bull on the other face accompanied by the inscription '*concil(ium) deor(um)/ invict(us) serb(us) / me*'.<sup>109</sup> A further example is the token from St. Albans (Britain) discussed in section 4.3.6, which was manufactured through the adaptation of a coin of Augustus. There are, however, significant differences between this token and the one from Liberchies. The example from St. Albans would have involved a substantial input of labour and time in order to adapt the imagery, file down the coin, and inscribe the legend. This process would not have resulted in large quantities of tokens quickly, and it is probable that the token is a one-off. It also retained the intrinsic value of the silver. In contrast, the example from Liberchies is manufactured from a metal of little intrinsic value, and the casting sprues indicate that it was cast in a line of other tokens. The easy reuse of moulds, and the possibility that other tokens in the same casting chain also had a similar design, alludes to the quick and straightforward manufacture of significant quantities of this type of token. This further supports the supposition that the Liberchies token was used for large-scale distribution for individual euergetism. These variances between the two

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<sup>106</sup> Veymiers 2010, 57.

<sup>107</sup> Dewert, Raepsaet and Vilvorder 2008, 129.

<sup>108</sup> Martens 2004 for summary of the excavation and finds.

<sup>109</sup> van Heesch 2000, 12; The New York Sale, Auction II, Baldwin's Auctions, M and M Numismatics et Italo Vecchi, New York 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1999, 69, no. 377. Auction catalogue inaccessible due to Covid-19.

tokens indicate that there were differences in how tokens functioned within the cult of Mithras, and highlights how tokens should be assessed on a case by case basis.

### 3.2.7. Mandeure (*Epomanduodurum*)

Three tokens discovered at the town of Mandeure (*Epomanduodurum*) are interesting in that they demonstrate how tokens within Roman Gaul potentially travelled from their place of origin. Each token bears the legend TCLA on one face, while two of the three tokens exhibit a male head right on the other face (Gaul nos. 44 and 45, Figure 65). The third token is uniface (Gaul no. 43, Figure 66).<sup>110</sup> Below the legend is a palm branch, and above the lettering is a six-pointed star. The legend is interpreted as referring to the Emperor Claudius, in that it is an abbreviation of *Tiberius Claudius Drusus*, and based upon this, the head has been identified as Claudius himself. Mazimann acknowledges that the abbreviation on this token is not common, at least within numismatics.<sup>111</sup> This observation is certainly consistent with the abbreviation for the name ‘*Tiberius Claudius*’ on tokens from Rome, where ‘*Tiberius*’ is shorted to ‘TI’, rather than simply ‘T’. Tokens from Rome usually refer to an individual who has taken the name of Tiberius Claudius, evidenced by the abbreviation of a cognomen, rather than the emperor.<sup>112</sup> However, countermarks that read TI C A on coins are interpreted as an abbreviation of *Tiberius Caesar Augustus*, and therefore it is possible that the abbreviation on the tokens could refer to the emperor, with the ‘A’ at the end of the legend referring to the title Augustus, rather than the ‘A’ in Claudius or a cognomen.<sup>113</sup> The absence of a laurel wreath on the bust portrayed on the example from Mandeure is, however, perhaps an indicator that it is not the imperial Claudius in question, especially as the imagery bears very little resemblance to his portrait as it appears on coins.

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<sup>110</sup> Mazimann 2001, 168-169.

<sup>111</sup> Mazimann 2001, 168.

<sup>112</sup> See for example *TURS* 1172-1175. No. 1172 bears the inscription TICL/F.

<sup>113</sup> Martini 2003, p.234, no. 58 and 266 nos. 58a-b.



Figure 65: Token from Mandeure. Obverse: TCLA; star above, palm branch below. Reverse: Male head, right. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.20g. Gaul no. 44. Image: Mazimann 2001, no.2.

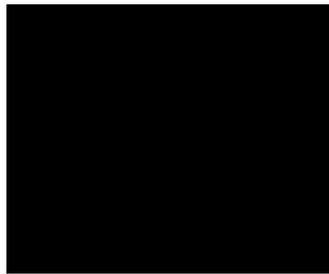


Figure 66: Token from Mandeure. Obverse: TCLA; star above, palm branch below. Reverse: Blank (not shown). Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.05g. Gaul no. 43. Mazimann 2001, no.1.

None of the three tokens were discovered within secure archaeological contexts, the first being a surface find, the second found during excavations of the *Castellum* but on arable land, whilst the third was given to Mazimann to study. Nevertheless, a date in the imperial period is fairly certain, not only due to the possibility of reference to Claudius in both imagery and legend, but also due to the parallels with the corpus of tokens from Lyon in the Collection Récamier, which most likely date to the 1<sup>st</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Within this collection palm branches feature frequently, on 356 out of 2795 tokens.<sup>114</sup> Similarly to the tokens from Mandeure, the palm branches are frequently placed either above or below the legend, or both above and below. Stars also feature often on the tokens of the Collection Récamier, appearing on 265 tokens. The frequency of palms and stars on the corpus from Lyon is made apparent by Mazimann, although he states that they are never found together.<sup>115</sup> There is one exception to this, no. 1026.01-1026.03 (Gaul no. 52), all three of which feature a line of three stars below the legend and a palm branch above on both faces (see Figure 67). These tokens provide comparanda to the group of tokens from Mandeure, although

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<sup>114</sup> Based on author's own data from studying the collection. See section 3.3.1 for discussion of palm branches and other motifs on tokens in the Collection Récamier.

<sup>115</sup> Mazimann 2001, 169.

the two groups are unlikely to be of the same series due to variation in their diameters and weights.



Figure 67: Layout of legend for obverse (left) and reverse (right) of Gaul no. 52. Image: Dissard 1905, no. 1026.

Mazimann notes that Lyon could be a candidate for the provenance of these tokens, particularly as it was the birthplace of the Emperor Claudius, with a theorised route for the tokens arriving at Mandeure via Besançon and then the river Rhine.<sup>116</sup> There is no exact parallel from Lyon which would lead to conclusive provenance from the town. There is, however, a close parallel within the Collection Récamier. No. 991 is blank on one face and inscribed with CLA on the other face, beneath which is a palm branch (Gaul no. 51, Figure 68). While this example is missing the ‘T’ before ‘CLA’, and does not have a star above the legend, it shares similarities in terms of diameter and weight, measuring 16.1mm in diameter and weighing 2.3g. These figures are consistent with the diameters of 15-16mm and the weights of 2.05-2.3g for the three tokens from Mandeure. These are particularly important distinguishing features in terms of comparison because most of the tokens from the Collection Récamier are much smaller and lighter (see discussion below in section 3.3.2), with an average diameter of 10mm and an average weight of 1.2g.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, comparable diameters and weights, when considered alongside the similarity of the legend and the palm motif, suggest that perhaps the example from the Collection Récamier was from the same provenance as the three found at Mandeure. Furthermore, no. 991 from the Collection Récamier does not have a provenance, unlike most of the tokens in the collection which were discovered at Lyon. It is therefore possible that no. 991 came from the same workshop, or at least the same area, as the three from Mandeure, the most obvious possibility being the town of Mandeure, or its environs. Mazimann does also suggest that the tokens were manufactured at Mandeure, due to the crude manner

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<sup>116</sup> Mazimann 2001, 168-169.

<sup>117</sup> Based on author’s own data from studying the collection.

in which they are executed.<sup>118</sup> While this reasoning is not convincing, because it is not exceptional for tokens to appear to be manufactured crudely, Mandeure remains an equal possibility for these token's place of production.



Figure 68: Token with similar legend and motifs to tokens from Mandeure. Obverse: CLA; palm branch below. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.3g. Gaul no. 51. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Récamier no. 991. Image by author.

If this group of tokens were manufactured and utilised at Mandeure, this would be an interesting example of one of the key stylistic formulas of the tokens from Lyon (single line legend, motif above or below lettering) employed elsewhere. If, however, the unprovenanced similar token from the Collection Récamier (no. 991) is from Lyon, the tokens from Mandeure could instead have originated in Lyon, and provide an example of how tokens could travel within Gaul.

### 3.2.8. Nîmes (*Nemausus*)

In the town of Nîmes lead and silver tokens were discovered across three different sites within the urban area. The group comprises two lead tokens, one discovered at excavations at *Jean-Jeurès Parking* and the other at excavations at *Clérisseau*, and eight silver tokens found within two contiguous layers of a well.<sup>119</sup>

Both lead tokens bear a series of letters. The token from *Jean-Jeurès Parking* is inscribed with 'LPI', while the other face is blank, and is provenanced from context Us6084 which dates to AD 125- 200 (Gaul no. 46, Figure 69.). The token from *Clérisseau* is again uniface and reads 'A.L'. It is from context Us8122, which has been dated to AD 130-250 (Gaul no. 47, Figure 70).<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Mazimann 2001, 168-169.

<sup>119</sup> Manniez 2012, 26-27.

<sup>120</sup> Manniez 2012, 26.

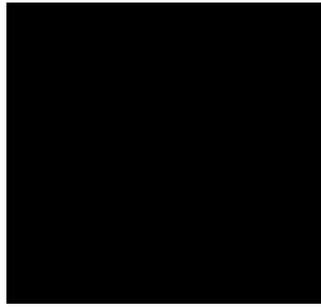


Figure 69: Token from Nîmes. Obverse: LPI. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16.8mm. Weight: 3.15g. Gaul no. 46. Jean-Jeurès Parking, context no. Us6084. Image: Manniez 2012, p.26.



Figure 70: Token from Nîmes. Obverse: A.L. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18.6mm. Weight: 1.46g. Gaul no. 47. Clérisseau, context no. Us8122. Image: Manniez 2012, p.26.

These two examples are consistent with tokens from Lyon which exhibit three letters on one face, and have a blank second face, however no parallels were found for these letters amongst the corpus from the museum of Lyon.<sup>121</sup> My research also finds that this is consistent with the corpus of tokens from the Collection Récamier, most of which are provenanced to Lyon.<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, both the specimens from Nîmes differ considerably from those in the Collection Récamier. They are larger in diameter than is average for Lyon, and unlike many of the tokens from Lyon the lettering sits comfortably in the centre of the token surrounded by a large field. Furthermore, there is an absence of motifs in the field, and the style of the lettering is different in that the examples from Nîmes (particularly the token that reads AL) have large, flared serifs, which is not the case with tokens from Lyon. Therefore, although both lead tokens exhibit similarities in their uniface design and utilisation of one or two letters, they differ considerably in their execution and are not directly comparable. This perhaps implies a similar framework for their utilisation, or at least in the designs which were expected to be found on lead tokens in Roman Gaul. It is not however consistent with

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<sup>121</sup> Manniez 2012, 26, evidence based on Turcan 1987, 93ff.

<sup>122</sup> Collection Récamier published in Dissard 1905. See section 3.3.1 for further discussion of lettering on tokens from Lyon.

a central place of manufacture, and therefore it is probable that tokens from Nîmes and Lyon were manufactured in their respective towns.

The group of eight silver tokens from Nîmes were discovered within two adjacent contexts in the same well (Figure 71). Six were found in a fill dating to AD 200-300 (Us5803), and the remaining two were found in the layer immediately below (Us5813). Seven of the eight tokens are hexagonal in shape, with the eighth being circular (Gaul no. 48). The seven hexagonal tokens are each around 12.5mm in diameter, weigh between 0.26g-1.07g and are stamped with two shells which are positioned randomly. The circular token is larger at 14.5mm diameter, weighs 0.64g and is only stamped with one shell (Gaul no.49).<sup>123</sup>



*Figure 71: Eight silver tokens from the fill of a well in Nîmes. Seven of the eight are hexagonal and stamped with two shells. The eighth (upper row, third from left) is round and stamped with one shell. All reverses (not shown) are blank. Diameters: 12.5-14.6mm. Weights: 0.26-1.07g. Gaul nos. 48 and 49. Image: Manniez 2012, p.26.*

Silver is an unusual material for the manufacture of tokens, as it seems contrary to the purpose of tokens in that they represent a value greater than their inherent worth, whether that is in terms of entitlement or money. Thus, base metals such as lead are ideal for token manufacture, as it is not the intrinsic value of the metal which is important. The most likely explanation is that much like base-metal tokens, this set of tokens were imbued with a symbolic value that transcended the value of the silver, and that therefore their utilisation was related to a votive function. This seems particularly

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<sup>123</sup> Manniez 2012, 26.

likely given the predisposition for coins in votive and ritualistic offerings in watery places during the Roman period.<sup>124</sup> Manniez cites the site of Digeon as comparanda, where copper alloy tokens were found inset with squares of silver (see section 3.2.3 for full discussion of this site).<sup>125</sup> This furthers the supposition that the silver tokens from Nîmes were utilised in a votive or religious context. An alternative explanation would be a function as special purpose money, however, the casual loss of eight tokens of the same type within two adjoining contexts of a well is less probable than a deliberate deposition, especially as the possibility should be considered that the two tokens in the layer below may be intrusive and were originally deposited with the main body of tokens. Two bronze shells were discovered in tomb 67 at the site of the Eglise Saint-Baudile in Nîmes, so use of this imagery within non-quotidian contexts is paralleled in the area.<sup>126</sup>

The town of Nîmes therefore provides us with examples of how tokens can differ in both their appearance, and their utilisation. It is probable that the two lead tokens bearing letters shared a similar purpose to tokens from Lyon which also exhibit a series of letters on one face, while the other is blank. Although the exact function is not known it is possible that this related to administration, in contrast to the silver tokens found in the well, for which a votive use is more probable.

### 3.2.9. Nyon (*Colonia Iulia Equestris/Noviodunum*)

Excavation of the amphitheatre of the *Colonia Iulia Equestris* (Nyon, modern Switzerland) led to the discovery of a bronze or lead token (Gaul no. 50, Figure 72).<sup>127</sup> One face has a wheel of six spokes in the upper field, a palm branch centre right, a palm branch or human figure centre left, and an indeterminable motif in the centre. The reverse exhibits undulating motifs. A break at the lower edge does however obscure much of the iconography.

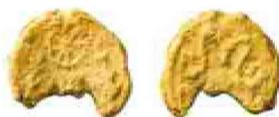


Figure 72: Token from Nyon. Obverse: Six spoked wheel in upper field, palm branch centre right, palm branch or human figure centre left, indeterminable motif centre. Reverse: Undulating motifs. Copper

<sup>124</sup> Sauer 2001, 509-510 for discussion of possibility that in Gaul coins were not deposited in springs until the Roman Conquest.

<sup>125</sup> Manniez 2012, 26; Delplace 2001, 89-91; Delplace 1986, 179-83, Gendre 1992, 19-22.

<sup>126</sup> *CAG* 30/1, 413.

<sup>127</sup> Consiglio and Hiltmann 2015, 28-29.

*alloy or lead. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19.8mm. Weight: 2.23g. Die axis 12. Gaul no. 50. Musée Romain de Nyon accession no. 142/NY96/14106-257. Image: Consiglio and Hiltman 2015, 29, fig. 4. Not to scale.*

The nature of the findspot of this token has led scholarship to the conclusion that it must have functioned as an amphitheatre theatre token, and its imagery has been analysed to add credence to this interpretation. The palm branches are interpreted as symbols of victory, and the wheel understood to refer to the chariot races which took place in the amphitheatre.<sup>128</sup> This interpretation is, however, literal to the extreme, and does not take into account parallels on other tokens within the corpus of those from Roman Gaul. As discussed above, palm branches are a common motif found on a significant number of the tokens from Lyon in the Collection Récamier. Within this body of tokens palm branches appear to function as a decorative feature amongst other motifs including stars, crescents and pellets (see section 3.3.1 for full discussion), and therefore should not be over-analysed. The tokens bearing these motifs were not found at the amphitheatre in Lyon, instead they are provenanced from the banks of the River Saône, indicating that this imagery is not exclusively associated with amphitheatres.<sup>129</sup> Additionally, the wheel motif, as well as other rayed motifs, are found on tokens from Digeon, and may be associated with solar deities (as discussed below), and is unlikely to simply refer to chariots in the amphitheatre.

Consiglio and Hiltman do not reach a definitive conclusion as to how tokens might have functioned within the amphitheatre, but consider possibilities including entrance tickets, utilisation in the accounts of organisers, contractors or impresarios, as a commemorative keepsake, or as payment or reward for the athletes.<sup>130</sup> However, the emerging picture of how tokens were utilised in amphitheatres is changing. Recent research into the amphitheatre at Ostia has demonstrated that tokens are found in the majority in areas of commerce which housed shops or bars, and therefore they may not have played a direct role in the games themselves.<sup>131</sup>

### **3.2.10. Section Summary**

Several themes emerge from the above overview of tokens from Roman Gaul. The first is that the types are geographically contained to the site on which they are found,

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<sup>128</sup> Consiglio and Hiltmann 2015, 29.

<sup>129</sup> For discussion of findspots of lead tokens from the banks of the River Saône: Dissard 1905, v-vii.

<sup>130</sup> Consiglio and Hiltmann 2015, 28-29; for possible use as entrance tickets or in accounts of the organisers see Turcan 1987, 56.

<sup>131</sup> C. Rowan *pers comm* 2019. See footnote 564 for tokens from amphitheatre contexts in Italy.

except for the tokens from Mandeure, which are paralleled by types that may have originated in Lyon. This heterogeneity is consistent with the diversity of token types on an inter-province basis, but an analysis of tokens on a site by site basis has allowed for this diversity to be discerned on an intra-provincial scale.

The variety within the corpus not only extends to their types, but also to their manufacturing techniques. At Fos-sur-Mer tokens are made through the cutting of circles out of lead sheet, before being struck by a die. Striking also appears to be preferred method of manufacture at Mare-aux-Canards, whereas at Liberchies the presence of casting sprues suggests that the Mithraic token was cast. Lead and copper-alloy are favoured as metals for tokens, probably due to their easy availability and low cost as base metals, although the presence of silver inset into the tokens from Digeon is unusual and implies that additional value was a vital component of their function. The silver tokens from Nîmes similarly suggest that a high value was prioritised, most likely because they functioned as a votive offering. A good case can be made for on-site manufacture at Mare-aux-Canards, Digeon and Châteaubleau and it is probable that generally across the corpus the local aspect of Romano-Gallic token is a result of manufacture specific to each site.

There is also variety within the types of site where tokens are found. They comprise a villa (Mare-aux-Canards), an amphitheatre (Nyon), a harbour (Fos-sur-Mer), a town of a considerable size (Nîmes), and cult sites (Digeon, Liry and Châteaubleau), thereby suggesting their utilisation was not limited to a particular type of site for a particular purpose. Generally, it appears probable that their use falls within two categories; administration and religious use. The first is applicable to tokens found at Mare-aux-Canards, Nyon and Fos-sur-Mer, where they were probably used for commercial administration, organisation of games and festivals, and harbour administration, respectively. The second utilisation is apparent at Nîmes, Digeon, Liry, Châteaubleau and Liberchies, where either the site or the token itself implies function related to cultic activities. It is notable that the distribution of these sites is predominantly within the north-east of Gaul, in *Gallia Lugdunensis* and *Gallia Belgica*. Within this category of cultic activities two sub-categories can be discerned; that of votive deposition as seems most likely at Digeon (where tokens perhaps comprise one of many different types of votive artefact) and Nîmes, and that of distribution for euergetic purposes, as with the token from Liberchies. This latter function perhaps straddles the two categories of

‘religious use’ and ‘administration’, and it is impossible to discern which purpose best fits the tokens depicting deities from Liry and Châteaubleau, without further examples from secure archaeological contexts.

Whilst there is a mix of both iconography and legends on tokens from Gaul, often one component or the other is dominant on a type. There is a general trend for tokens of a predominantly epigraphic nature to also be found on quotidian sites and have an administrative purpose, as is such as Mare-aux-Canards, Fos-sur-Mer, Mandeuze and Nîmes. The token from Liberchies also has an epigraphic component, despite being of a religious nature, perhaps because through its distribution the priest wished to highlight his munificence. In all cases it is probable that the legends pertain in some form to names, as monograms are found on tokens from Mare-aux-Canards, an abbreviated name on those from Fos-sur-Mer, and likely initials on those from Mandeuze, Nîmes and Liberchies (the latter being part of a longer legend).<sup>132</sup>

Conversely, tokens with a strong iconographic element are found on sites with a strong cult component, as at Liry, Châteaubleau and Digeon. The Mithraic token again straddles both categories with its depiction of Mithras alongside a legend. The iconography of tokens from cult sites often takes the form of imagery associated with deities, or already existing religious iconography. For example, the solar motifs on the tokens of Digeon can be linked to the wider culture of solar representation and worship in the Roman period and Iron Age, whilst the tokens from Liry and Châteaubleau depict deities probably associated with the site on which they were found. There is also a trend for *interpretatio indigena* of these classical deities who are portrayed on tokens in Classical guise, but can be equated with indigenous gods.

Both the legends and imagery utilised on tokens in Gaul have a significant role to play in their local use. The use of initials suggests that those in the local community would know to whom or what the token referred, an aspect of token use that will be explored below through analysis of tokens in the collection Récamier, many of which carry initials. Likewise, the utilisation of imagery pertaining to deities was relevant to the worship or cult presence of a deity in a specific area, often with a syncretic aspect of a deity from the pre-Roman period. Thus, despite utilising a classical visual language,

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<sup>132</sup> For full discussion of the use of initials on tokens see section 3.3.1.

token imagery could be read by local communities on the terms of local indigenous gods.

### **3.3. Case study: Lyon – The Collection Récamier**

The Collection Récamier was published in 1905, and comprises not only tokens, but also lead seals, lead coin copies, amulets and other lead objects.<sup>133</sup> It is now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and provides the main corpus of tokens from Lyon for discussion in this thesis. Other tokens that are possibly from Lyon are published in Turcan's catalogue, however most are described as '*probablement d'origine lyonnaise*', or the uncertainty of their Lyonnaise origin is indicated by a question mark.<sup>134</sup> Access to this collection to study these tokens first-hand, and confirm whether they look to have originated in Lyon, was not possible. Therefore, as the Collection Récamier has been examined and photographed first-hand by the author, it is better suited to discussion.

The c.2,700 of tokens from Lyon within the collection Récamier are diverse, and it is impossible to go into detail on every specimen. There are several similarities and recurring themes which deserve discussion, and examples will be chosen from the corpus to facilitate consideration of how tokens might have functioned in Roman Lyon.

The tokens were, for the most part, excavated during construction works on quays at the banks of the Saône in 1858. Dissard describes the area as about 2km long, from near the Montée de L'Observance and the Ecole Veterinaire in the north, to a point equidistant between the Pont Tilsitt and Pont Saint-Georges to the south (see Figure 73).<sup>135</sup> A scatter of 40 tokens were found on the Rive Gauche between the Pont de Feuillée and Pont du Change, and 200m further from the Pont du Change, where a double staircase descends to the banks of the river, thousands of tokens were found in the spoil of old sprayed concrete. This spoil was probably the foundations of the old quay. Many of the tokens have been burned by the lime of the concrete.<sup>136</sup> Their presence within the spoil of this concrete does not provide an accurate context, but it

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<sup>133</sup> Dissard 1905.

<sup>134</sup> Turcan 1987, nos. 119-841 which comprises a catalogue of tokens which presents types from Rome mixed with others that are indicated (with varying degrees of certainty) as being of Lyonnaise origin. E.g. 341-345.

<sup>135</sup> Dissard 1905, v-vi.

<sup>136</sup> Dissard 1905, vii.

is possible that their original place of deposition was within the same vicinity, easily to hand for incorporation within the concrete.



Figure 73: Map of Roman Lyon, with the area of the Saône within which tokens were found delineated by red lines, and the area with a high concentration of tokens circled. Image: After Drinkwater 1983, 122, Figure 5.1.

### 3.3.1. Types

Dissard divides the corpus of tokens into four groups: official *tesserae*, municipal *tesserae*, *tesserae* of the games and private *tesserae*.<sup>137</sup> This is based on their imagery and legends with, for example, tokens with the busts of emperors categorised among the ‘official’ tokens, those with ethnics as ‘municipal’, those depicting beasts and animals as tokens of the games, and those with a series of letters as ‘private’. These categories are not always useful, as they often rely on a literal interpretation of the imagery and legends.

The category with the largest quantity of tokens is that of ‘private *tesserae*’. These number in their hundreds and many have a series of two or three letters that are interpreted as the first letters of an individual’s *praenomen* (where included), *nomen*

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<sup>137</sup> Dissard 1905, xvii-xxvi.

and *cognomen*.<sup>138</sup> The fact that many have pellets between the letters indicates that initials are a more likely interpretation, rather than an abbreviation.<sup>139</sup> The *tria nomina* was common in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD the *praenomen* was used less frequently and by the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century it ceased to be used at all.<sup>140</sup> This perhaps gives us some indication of date, with a loose range of the 1<sup>st</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>141</sup> Although much of the Republican period saw the use of only two names rather than three (*praenomen* and *nomen*), Lyon was founded in 43 BC and so it is unlikely that two initials indicates a date earlier than this.<sup>142</sup> Women didn't usually have a praenomen, although they could have a cognomen from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, and so it is possible that tokens with two letters exhibit the initials of women.<sup>143</sup>

A further implication of the use of the *tria nomina* or the Roman naming system is that the tokens were commissioned by and represent individuals that were Roman citizens. Before citizenship was granted to all free men in AD 212 this group comprised native Romans, those who had moved to the provinces from Italy, as well as foreigners who had been given citizenship, and in the provinces the use of Roman names indicated certain privileges.<sup>144</sup> This implies that the concept of these tokens and how to use them was imported into Gaul by the Romans, and indeed the use of abbreviated names and initials on tokens is paralleled on tokens from Rome.<sup>145</sup>

It should be noted that some tokens in the Collection Récamier bear only one letter (e.g. Récamier nos. 1254, 1498; Gaul nos. 53 and 54), although it seems unlikely that one letter or initial could sufficiently indicate the identity of an individual.<sup>146</sup> Turcan posits that some single letters could indicate numerical values and posits that these tokens were used in accounting, for example C would stand for 100 and M for 1000.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Specimens with two letters: 433. Specimens with three letters: 658. Based upon author's own research.

<sup>139</sup> Dissard 1905, xxii; Turcan 1987, 54.

<sup>140</sup> Salomies 2001, 83.

<sup>141</sup> Lead tokens are not often found in contexts dating to later than the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, so a *terminus anti quem* of AD 300 is appropriate.

<sup>142</sup> Foundation of Lyon: Drinkwater 1975, 138; Names in the Republican period: Salomies 2001, 83.

<sup>143</sup> Salomies 2001, 83 for structure of women's names.

<sup>144</sup> Salway 1994, 133. In AD 212 citizenship was significantly extended by Caracalla's *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

<sup>145</sup> Rostovtzeff and Prou 1900, 125: Two and three letters are found on many tokens e.g. nos. 423-542 in their catalogue.

<sup>146</sup> Specimens with one letter: 444.

<sup>147</sup> Turcan 1987, 57.

However, most letters of the Roman alphabet are represented singly on tokens from Lyon, and so they are not necessarily numerals rather than letters.

The arrangement of the letters is varied, but there are ‘formulas’ that are followed in their placement: in a circle (Gaul no. 56, Figure 75), a line across the middle (Gaul no. 57, Figure 76 and Gaul no. 58, Figure 77), or arranged in a triangle. A significant quantity of the corpus exhibit legends that are retrograde, or monogrammed. These ‘formulas’ are paralleled on other inscribed objects from the Roman period, for example seals impressed into barrel covers exhibit letters arranged in a circle, while other seals often have three letters arranged in a line.<sup>148</sup>

Pellets often separate letters on the Récamier tokens, especially when arranged in a circle, and triangular pellets are utilised both in between and above and below the letters. The use of triangular pellets is a common epigraphic feature to aid legibility in the imperial period, where they are used to indicate where one word ends and another begins.<sup>149</sup> This reinforces the supposition that these tokens should be dated to the imperial period. Other legibility aids in the imperial period include arrowheads, commas, ivy leaves (*hederae*), circles and occasionally tildes, most of which are found on the Récamier tokens.<sup>150</sup> Additional motifs which separate or flank letters on the tokens include globules, stars, crescents, palm branches and fish. Palm branches in particular are a common motif, usually appearing above and below the legend when it is arranged in a line across the centre. These motifs are commonly found utilised in a similar manner on other inscribed objects from the Roman period, including seals, brick stamps and glass bottles.<sup>151</sup> Both the arrangement of the letters, and the utilisation of motifs therefore place these tokens within a wider corpus of portable inscribed objects, and link them into networks of understanding and recognisability within the parameters of expected epigraphic convention. However, an element of local knowledge was still needed to understand to whom the initials referred, as was the case for the use of initials in graffiti and campaign posters in Pompeii. In both these

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<sup>148</sup> Barrel seals: e.g. *CIL* XV 4908: B.V.S arranged in a circle; seals: e.g. *RIB* II.I 293, 294, 301.

<sup>149</sup> Edmonson 2014, 126-127.

<sup>150</sup> Edmonson 2014, 127.

<sup>151</sup> Seals with palm branches: e.g. *CIL* XV 4964, *RIB* II.I 294 and 301, Turcan 1987 for seals from Lyon specifically, nos. 70, 94; Seals with palm branches, stars and crescents: e.g. *RIB* II.I 196-206. Brick stamps with palm branches: e.g. *CIL* XV 1442, *CIL* XV 1423a, *CIL* XV 1102a; Brick stamps with palm branches and stars: e.g. *CIL* XV 904a, *CIL* XV 664a; Brick stamps with palm branches and arrows: e.g. *CIL* XV 633a; Glass bottles with triangular pellets: e.g. *RIB* II.II 2419.96 and 2419.97.

cases the three letters of the *tria nomina* were sufficient to convey the identity of the writer.<sup>152</sup> In this respect, tokens functioned within the bounds of both the local and the global, and are an object that can be encompassed within the framework of glocalisation. The knowledge needed to read the epigraphic conventions also indicates their use as part of an ‘imagined community’ which had unifying understandings (see section 1.1.2).

### 3.3.2. Size

A significant characteristic of the tokens within the Collection Récamier is their small size.<sup>153</sup> Their average diameter is 10mm, with some measuring as little as 4.1mm (e.g. Récamier no.1060, Gaul no.55) and a diameter of 7-8mm not uncommon. This is significantly less than that of tokens from elsewhere in Gaul and the empire.<sup>154</sup> Gaul nos. 4 and 5 from Digeon, for example, measure on average 15mm, while those from Egypt are circa 19-21mm (see chapter 2).

While it is certain that many tokens exhibit signs of wear and tear, particularly if a considerable quantity were incorporated into concrete, there are examples which imply an intentionally small size. Récamier nos. 1060.1 -1060.11 (Gaul no. 55, Figure 74) vary in diameter from 4.1mm to 7.7mm, with one specimen measuring 5mm in diameter (1060.5) exhibiting a casting sprue. The edge of the token must therefore be the true edge for the sprue to project from it. Others, such as no. 836 (diameter 7.9mm. Gaul no. 56, Figure 75) have exceptionally well-preserved edges and it is evident that they have not been subjected to post-depositional wear.



Figure 74: Token from Lyon. Obverse: CSA; three pellets above and below legend, crescent above. Reverse: Leaf. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 5mm (7mm including sprue). Weight:0.16g. Gaul no. 55. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 1060.5. Image: author.

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<sup>152</sup> Benefiel 2010, 73-74, including campaign poster *CIL* IV 7872.

<sup>153</sup> Dissard 1905, xvi.

<sup>154</sup> The small size of tokens is paralleled in Turcan 1987, many of which are probably from Lyon. E.g. no. 275 measuring 6mm.



Figure 75: Token from Lyon. Obverse: MVAI. Reverse: Eight-petalled flower. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 7.9mm. Weight: 0.69g. Gaul no. 56. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 836. Image: author.

The tiny size of these tokens seems impractical, as such small objects are easily lost. This raises interesting questions as to how tokens of this size were utilised. Were they not intended to be stored for a long time, instead being received and then returned or passed on within a small timeframe? Or perhaps they were used and stored in large quantities, and therefore less likely to be lost. Although this small size is unusual for tokens, there are examples of coinage from other periods that have a similarly small diameter.<sup>155</sup> The fractions of the electrum coinage of Lydia and Asia Minor were tiny, with 1/48 and 1/96 staters measuring circa 3-4mm in size. Electrum is, however, inherently worth more than lead and small sizes were needed as there was no fiduciary coinage system. Tokens, on the other hand, by their very nature do not have an inherent worth. There is no need for them to be a specific size, as the value they represent (whether monetary or otherwise) is not inherent in the metal itself. A small size therefore seems impractical when there is no reason for it to be so. Of course, a smaller size resulted in the use of fewer materials and perhaps was cost effective. The counter argument to this is that lead is not an expensive metal, and was frequently reused and melted down to be cast into new objects in antiquity. The fact that it is readily available and cheap are factors that make it an ideal metal for the manufacture of tokens. The reason for the small diameter of the tokens in the Collection Récamier from Lyon at present remains unknown, but is a key characteristic that deserves future study.

### 3.3.3. Manufacture

A variety of manufacturing techniques are discernible within this corpus of tokens. Many appear to be impressed or stamped, resulting in a thick raised border around the central impression (e.g. Gaul no. 57 and 58). They are distinguished from seals in their size, being smaller, and some specimens having a reverse design. It is plausible that they were manufactured through a stamp impressed into a blob of heated lead, as evident from no. 842 (Gaul no. 57, Figure 76) which has a completely flat reverse, and

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<sup>155</sup> It should be noted that there are tokens in *TURS* that measure as little as 10mm e.g. 2196, 2345, 2653, although this small size is not apparent in most of the corpus.

raised curve to the obverse, resulting in a D-shaped profile. In that case of 866 (Gaul no. 58, Figure 77) a casting sprue is present, so perhaps the flans were cast and then the designs impressed into them. Both methods are fast to execute, the former particularly so. This implies that tokens were manufactured quickly, cheaply, and in quantity.



*Figure 76: Token from Lyon. Obverse: AES. Reverse: Blank. Material: Lead. Diameter: 9.3mm. Weight: 0.97g. Gaul no. 57. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 842. Image: author.*



*Figure 77: Token from Lyon. Obverse: TCA; horizontal palm branch above and below. Reverse: Seven-petalled rosette. Material: Lead. Diameter: 11.8mm. Weight: 3.08g. Gaul no.58. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 866. Image: author.*

One series appears to have been manufactured through the stamping of the design on squares of lead, cut from a strip (Récamier nos. 796a-f; Gaul no. 59). The straight edges to two of the four sides imply that the squares have been cut, with the curve to one edge of 796e (Figure 78) suggesting that it may have been cut from the end of the strip. The thinness of the tokens also suggests that they have been formed from a larger sheet or strip (0.7mm-1.3mm). The design has evidently been struck or stamped on afterwards, as the orientation differs from specimen to specimen. No. 796e, for example, is struck on the diagonal so that when the image of the standing figure and the legend are orientated the right way up, the square itself is turned at 45 degrees so that it resembles a rhomboid in plan. No. 796f (Figure 79), however, has the image stamped almost straight on, so that when orientated correctly the token is a rectangle in plan.



Figure 78: Token from Lyon. Obverse: B (field to left); E (field to right); standing figure facing, holding crown in left hand and palm branch in right hand. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Length: 11.6mm. Width : 10.2mm. Weight: 1.3g. Gaul no.59. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 796e. Image: author.



Figure 79: Token from Lyon. Obverse: B (field to left); E (field to right); standing figure facing, holding crown in left hand and palm branch in right hand. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Length: 13.6mm. Width : 11.4mm. Weight: 1.2g. Gaul no.59. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 796f. Image : author,

Many of the tokens in the corpus do not, however, exhibit any noticeable features that suggest modes of manufacture differing from striking or casting. It is difficult to tell which of these latter two methods were utilised, however, no moulds have been discovered to date. In places where casting tokens was the method of manufacture moulds have been discovered, as is the case in Italy.<sup>156</sup> There are similarities in style amongst the corpus, implying a level of organised manufacture in workshops. Nos. 865 (Gaul no. 60, Figure 80) and 834 (Gaul no. 61, Figure 81), for example, share similarities in their lettering in that the ‘C’ in each case is somewhat flattened and therefore elongated on its horizontal axis. The palm branches above and below the legend are also similar. Further work needs to be undertaken to ascertain if there is a correlation between the motifs depicted on tokens of similar styles in order to discover if there were certain motifs or combinations of motifs utilised by different manufacturers.

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<sup>156</sup> Rowan 2019.



Figure 80: Token from Lyon. Obverse: TCA; horizontal palm branch above and below. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 10.3mm. Weight: 0.99g. Gaul no. 60. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 865.3. Image: author.



Figure 81: Token from Lyon. Obverse: CAV; horizontal palm branch above and below. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 10.3mm. Weight: 1.25g. Gaul no. 61. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 834.6. Image: author.

### 3.3.4. Examples pertaining to function

Certain types present in the collection Récamier are particularly informative regarding the functional interpretation of tokens in Roman Lyon. Tokens inscribed with the word ‘*accipio*’ (to accept/recieve) are noted by Dissard as belonging to the corpus of ‘official’ tokens (Récamier no. 763, Gaul no. 62, comprising six specimens, and Récamier no.764, Gaul no. 63, Figure 82).<sup>157</sup> He does not elaborate on why he believes them to fall under this category, but it could be due to the legend suggesting an association with the state dole or similar, which involved receiving an allotment of grain or oil. There is no evidence to suggest that lead tokens such as these were utilised in this manner.<sup>158</sup> However, it is probable that this type had a function related to receiving goods or services, although in the private rather than official sector. Most of the tokens of this type are uniface, however one example exhibits a reverse design that depicts a theatre mask, topped by a ‘P’ (Récamier no. 764, Gaul no. 63) and enclosed within a laurel wreath. If this iconography does indeed depict a theatre mask (it is now very worn and not easily discernible), and were to be read literally, a function with the theatre, perhaps as a theatre ticket or as part as distributions at games, could be inferred. Reading the iconography on tokens literally is, however, one of the methodological pitfalls of token studies due to a lack of discovery in secure contexts which would help to discern their use. It should also be noted that most specimens

<sup>157</sup> Dissard 1905, xvii. The six specimens of 763 are no longer present in the BnF, and therefore were not available for study by the author. Photographs and metric data are therefore not available. See also Turcan 1987, 61 for discussion of token with legend ACCIPIO.

<sup>158</sup> Virlouvvet 1988, 128.

with this legend have a blank reverse (Récamier no. 763, Gaul no. 62); only one specimen pairs ‘ACCIPIO’ with the mask. Additionally, on another specimen, the mask appears without the legend on the other face, which is instead left blank. It is therefore not imperative that the mask and the legend are read in conjunction with one another, and by implication an association with receiving something at the theatre is not substantiated, although this purpose is by no means precluded. This also raises the issue of the importance given to images or legends – which of these two faces is the most important if they are both able to function on tokens on their own, as well as together? It is probable that the answer lies within the fact that the imagery and legends work together to produce a unique type, and that they are of equal importance.



*Figure 82: Token from Lyon. Obverse: ACCIP/IO; palm branch to each side. Reverse: Theatre mask within a laurel crown; P. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15mm. Weight: 2.7g. Gaul no. 63. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 764. Image : author.*

A series of tokens with the legend ‘EROTIS’ arranged in a circle around a central star on one face, and a variety of different reverses, are worth consideration in terms of who may have commissioned the manufacture of tokens (Récamier no. 903, Gaul no. 64; Récamier no. 904, Gaul no. 65; Récamier no. 905, Gaul no. 66; Récamier no. 906, Gaul 67 and Récamier no. 907, Gaul 68). Eros is a Greek rather than Latin name, and in this instance the name Erotis can be read in the genitive ‘of Eros’, or in the nominative where the name itself is translated as ‘of love’. In either case, the legend implies a close association between the individual named and the series of tokens. It is unlikely that the legend indicates a direct possession of the named person, but rather suggests that the tokens were manufactured in his name. Erotis was a common slave and freedman’s name in the Roman imperial period, although not exclusively used by these demographics.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Balch and Osiek 2003, 224.

The name is found on a pottery stamp in Lyon, as well as on examples from *Gallia Lugdunensis* and *Gallia Narbonensis*. This suggests that there was at least one pottery workshop that operated under the auspices of an individual named Erotis that either manufactured or traded pottery to Gaul.<sup>160</sup> At Xanten the name is found stamped on Dressel 20 type pottery made in Baetica.<sup>161</sup> This raises the possibility that the tokens were used in port administration at Lyon upon receipt of goods from a workshop called Erotis based in Baetica or elsewhere, but this is difficult to discern without a detailed study of pottery trade networks. Additionally, although we cannot equate the Erotis of the Baetican workshop with the Erotis named on the tokens, it is evidence that individuals with this name were involved in trade and manufacture, thereby giving an indication of the social standing of those with this name.

Based upon the fact that the name Erotis was commonly used by slaves, the other possibility is that the tokens were used by slaves when engaged in work for their master, or a company, that required validation of some kind. Comparable material are the *tesserae nummulariae*, small rods of bone or ivory, which were engraved with the name of a slave on one side, and the name of their master on another, and were likely utilised in the assaying or verification of amounts of money.<sup>162</sup> In this instance the name of the slave in the nominative is accompanied by the name of the master in the genitive, thereby placing emphasis on the master as the owner or commissioner of the piece. It is difficult to know which explanation is the most plausible, but it raises the possibility that tokens were commissioned by individuals of lower standing in society if made by slaves. If commissioned by a freedman, it is part of a practice that is echoed in Rome.<sup>163</sup> In either scenario, we can suggest a function for the tokens in the private or commercial sphere.

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<sup>160</sup> Stamps on pottery from Lyon: *CAG* 69/2, 625. *Gallia Lugdunensis*: *CIL* XIII 10001, 120a; *CIL* XIII 10002, 201a (both from Trion). *Gallia Narbonensis*: e.g. *CIL* XII 05682, 37; *CAG* 38/04, 107; *CIL* XII 05683, 91b; *CAG* 13/5, 818, *CAG* 13/5, 822. Note: due to library closures because of Covid-19 the above references are taken from the Epigraphik Datenbank (<http://www.manfredclauss.de/> accessed 19/05/2020), and have not been independently followed up by the author. It would, for example, be useful to know if the stamped pottery found in Lyon was on a local ware that had been manufactured in the area, or an imported ware. This may provide some indication of whether an individual with the name Erotis was involved in pottery manufacture at Lyon, which would strengthen arguments for the use of tokens in manufacturing industry administration in the town.

<sup>161</sup> Dressel 20 stamped with EROTIS found at Xanten: Carreras Montfort 2006, 32.

<sup>162</sup> Andreau 1999, 80-90.

<sup>163</sup> Other examples of freedmen possibly commissioning tokens include *TURS* 514b, which refers to an Oinogenes, a name that implies a slave-birth. For full discussion see Harris 2000, 263-264; Rostovtzeff 1905b, 106 also discusses tokens that name slaves.

The variation of reverse types with the EROTIS legend should also be noted. These include an ‘E’ (Récamier nos. 904a-f, Gaul no. 65), a helmeted head facing (Récamier nos. 905a-b, Gaul no. 66), a helmeted head left (Récamier no. 906a-o, Gaul no. 67, Figure 83), and a skull (Récamier no. 907, Gaul no. 68, Figure 84), and suggest a series used over time. Some of these reverse types are also found on their own, or in association with other legends, not only with ‘Erotis’. For example, the ‘E’ is found on Récamier nos. 1269.01-1269.02 (Gaul no. 69) and 1272.01-1272.03 (Gaul no.70), and the helmeted head left is on Récamier nos. 971-971c (Gaul no. 71), this time in association with the legend ‘LIV’ on the other face. This implies that these tokens are all part of a larger series, manufactured in a single workshop, but at the behest of different people. Perhaps the manufacturers may have had a repertoire of images from which an individual could choose to utilise on their tokens.



*Figure 83: Token from Lyon. Obverse: EROTIS; star. Reverse: helmeted head left. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 11mm. Weight: 0.85g. Gaul no. 67. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 906i. Image : author.*



*Figure 84: Token from Lyon. Obverse: EROTIS. Reverse: skull facing. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 12mm. Weight: 1.84g. Gaul no. 68. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 907. Image: author.*

Another group of tokens noted by Dissard are those with the legend ‘OFIC III’ on one face, with the other left blank (Récamier nos. 766.1-766.25, Gaul no. 72, Figure 85). These tokens are rectangular, with some exhibiting a narrowed terminal at one end. The inscription is placed centrally within a cartouche. The variation in style suggests a utilisation over a period of time in which the style changed with different dies, or manufacture in quantity concurrently by different dies within the workshop. Dissard states that they are perhaps associated with the mint of the city of Lyon, which had four active workshops.<sup>164</sup> This is indeed possible, as coins bear the mintmark ‘III’

<sup>164</sup> Dissard 1905, xvii.

when minted by the third workshop (*officina*).<sup>165</sup> This implies that tokens were utilised in official business of the empire, and not only in the private sphere.

However, two examples are folded (Récamier nos. 766.9, Figure 86, and Récamier no. 766.18), perhaps implying that they were attached to something. It is possible that they were tags for money bags that were tied on the bag, in a similar fashion to the *tessera nummulariae*, that are mainly found in Rome and Italy.<sup>166</sup> These bone tags bear the names of private assayers and financiers rather than a mint, but perhaps provide an example of a possible use for the 'OFIC III' corpus from Lyon.<sup>167</sup> Therefore, these objects are assigned an identification as tokens along with the caveat that they may instead be tags.



Figure 85: Token from Lyon. Obverse: OFIC III within tabula ansata. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Length: 46mm. Width: 8.8mm. Weight: 3.51g. Gaul no. 72. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 766.16. Image: author.

<sup>165</sup> e.g. *RIC* V.1 (Florian) 10, *RIC* V.2 (Probus) 29.

<sup>166</sup> Andreau 1999, 80-89.

<sup>167</sup> Andreau 1999, 85 for discussion of use by financiers.



Figure 86: Token from Lyon. Obverse: OFIC III within tabula ansata. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Length: 15.5mm (folded). Width: 10.2mm. Weight: 5.37g. Gaul no. 72. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 766.9. Image: author.

Tokens bearing ethnics from Lyon are discussed below in the wider context of ethnic-bearing tokens from Gaul (see section on ‘Tokens with Ethnics’). Their presence should be noted here, however, as they are indicative of use on a municipal level in the city.

The location of the tokens in the River Saône is perhaps also indicative of function. As discussed above, their discovery in old concrete cannot be their original place of deposition, but it is possible that they were already in the vicinity when the concrete was made, especially as loose tokens were also discovered in the nearby stretch of river. The main concentration of tokens is at the bend of the river, which is close to the site of the amphitheatre and the Altar of the Three Gauls, known as the *Condate* and situated at the confluence of the Saône and Rhine (see Figure 73). This was the site of the annual festival of the *Concilium Galliarum* on August 1<sup>st</sup>, the altar having been established by Drusus in 12 BC for the worship of Augustus.<sup>168</sup> While the primary purpose of the *Concilium Galliarum* was for representatives from the three Gallic provinces to meet, associated festivals probably also took place which included games

<sup>168</sup> Livy, *History of Rome (Periochae)* 139.2; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.32.1; See Fishwick 1996 for discussion of the historical sources and dating evidence.

in the amphitheatre.<sup>169</sup> Utilisation as tickets, or for receipt of largesse, is therefore possible, given that euergetic purposes are known for tokens elsewhere in the empire, and in particular in Gaul in the case of the Mithraic token discussed above. This latter example bears three letters within the legend, which name the individual responsible for the token's distribution. This is paralleled in the *tria nomina* found on the tokens in the collection Récamier. The *sacerdos* and their subordinate officials were responsible for the financial, especially endowment, aspect of the *Concilium Galliarum*.<sup>170</sup> An avenue for future study is to compare the known names of these individuals with the initials on tokens to ascertain whether they could be responsible for their issue, as has been achieved for Ephesian tokens.<sup>171</sup>

It is also possible that tokens from Lyon instead served a purpose related to port administration, as posited by Dissard. His theories included functions associated with control or accounting by mercantile corporations, and use in private commercial transactions.<sup>172</sup> Turcan, however, highlights the vagueness of these assertions and notes that they are not based on any historical sources.<sup>173</sup> He finds Steyert's proposition more convincing, namely that the tokens could have been used to pay porters unloading cargo at the port of Lyon, but observes that this is again unproven.<sup>174</sup> Although it is difficult to substantiate the above theories, they are consistent with the prevalence of initials on the Lyonnaise tokens. In this model the initials would be those of merchants involved in the trade that passed through Lyon's port. Again, further work to attempt to match initials found on tokens to known individuals who traded in the city of Lyon may help to elucidate this hypothesis. Ultimately though, we should take into account that ascertaining how tokens were used is not always possible, and that even within one city they could have served a variety of functions.

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<sup>169</sup> Drinkwater 1983, 113; King 1990, 189-190: a particularly notable year was AD 177, which saw the martyrdom of several Christians who were thrown to beasts in the arena, documented in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.1.3-63.

<sup>170</sup> Drinkwater 1983, 113-144, for the theory that subordinate officials were responsible for administrative and financial aspects of the *Concilium Galliarum* on behalf of the *sacerdos*.

<sup>171</sup> See Kuhn 2014 for a study where the names on Ephesian tokens have been matched to known individuals of the city's civic elite.

<sup>172</sup> Dissard 1905, xxvi.

<sup>173</sup> Turcan 1987, 62.

<sup>174</sup> Steyert 1985, 253: a token was given to a porter for every load carried, which could then be exchanged for payment at the end of the day; Turcan 1987, 63.

### 3.3.5. Section summary

Tokens from the Saône at Lyon exhibit a style and form distinct to the city, except for those from Mandeure, as discussed above. Many tokens exhibit a legend arranged in a circle, or in a line across the centre. Often the legend only comprises two or three letters, and a variety of motifs are utilised in the space around them, separating the letters or placed above and below them. These are common epigraphic formulae that are found on a variety of other inscribed portable objects of Roman date, which places these tokens into a wider context as objects that would have been read. It implies a degree of literacy by those who utilised them, and enough local knowledge to know to whom the initials referred. The small size of the tokens also distinguishes them from tokens elsewhere in Gaul, and the empire. This corpus is therefore distinct enough to Lyon to determine that manufacture took place in the town, and the quantities of these tokens suggest that the production was large scale, probably over many years. It is also likely that tokens from Lyon were not utilised outside of the town, as evidence for their use elsewhere is limited, encompassing perhaps only the small set from Mandeure. These tokens are therefore tied into local networks of production and understanding, whilst also conforming to empire-wide grammars such as epigraphic formulae and iconographic motifs.

The variation in manufacturing techniques demonstrates that different groups or workshops were engaged in the making of tokens, although there is some uniformity in that most are cast or struck (with some stamped), as well as similarities in layout and design. The output of tokens generally was high in Lyon in comparison to other places within Gaul, with usually only a handful of tokens found at each site. They were therefore frequently used within the town, most perhaps in connection with the festival of the *Concilium Galliarum*, although function in port administration should not be discounted, given that Lyon was the primary city for trade in Roman Gaul.<sup>175</sup>

The corpus provides a good example of how tokens were manufactured, and presumably utilised, by varying levels of society. Those with the name of the slave or freedman EROTIS demonstrate that tokens could be commissioned by slaves or freedmen, whilst those bearing the legend OFIC III were likely associated with the mint, and therefore used in an official government capacity.

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<sup>175</sup> Drinkwater 1983, 197.

### 3.4. Tokens bearing ethnics

Several tokens from Gaul bear the name of a Gallic tribe or people on the reverse of the token. The findspots are confined to the provinces of north-eastern Gaul, in *Gallia Belgica* and the southern and eastern reaches of *Gallia Lugdunensis*. In most cases the tokens are found in the area to which the ethnic refers, with only a few exceptions. This corpus of tokens to some extent appears to be manufactured by one workshop, probably itinerant, as there are shared obverse types across the range of ethnics. Some tokens do exhibit obverses that are not found elsewhere, and these perhaps are manufactured under local auspices.

This body of tokens is perhaps the most extensively studied group to date. They did not go unnoticed by antiquarians, but it was not until 1974 that the corpus was collated by Le Gall.<sup>176</sup> Weiller published an updated catalogue in 2000, and Berdeaux-le-Brazidec added to the known group through the publication of a Mercury type found at Darcey in 2008.<sup>177</sup> This last publication offered extensive consideration of the iconography of the Mercury type, and a forthcoming article puts forward a new reading of the Jupiter and deity type, where the female figure is identified as Segetia.<sup>178</sup> Some iconography has therefore been scrutinised by modern scholarship, but there is still much to explore. The interpretations as to the purpose of these tokens have also varied over the decades, and to date there is no certain conclusion as to how they functioned.

These two lacunae in the research of this corpus will be explored here. In particular, there has been no discussion of the iconography which is not shared across different ethnics, and no distinction made between tokens that may have been manufactured by an itinerant workshop, and those that may have been produced locally. I also wish to review the evidence regarding their function, which has to date revolved around their use in the religious sphere.

The catalogue (Gaul nos. 73-100) is arranged by ethnic, with the findspot of each token also noted. This organisation permits analysis of the tokens in the location of their discovery, and therefore places an emphasis on *where* they were utilised, and can therefore easier facilitate discussion of the *how*. The location of findspots of the

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<sup>176</sup> Le Gall 1974, 45-53.

<sup>177</sup> Weiller 2000, 175-186; Berdeaux-le Brazidec 2009, 29-40.

<sup>178</sup> Le Brazidec 2020.

Mercury and Fortuna type (Figure 87), the Mercury in temple type (Figure 88) and Segetia and Jupiter type (Figure 89), and their associated reverse ethnics are plotted on the maps in figure below. The corpus is not extensive, numbering 28 (Gaul nos. 73-100), and it should be noted that all conclusions retain a certain degree of uncertainty due to their being based on such a small sample size. The ethnics of people or places which are referred to on the tokens are the: Alisiensis, Ambiani, Ansens, Lingones, Lugdunensis, Mediolenses, Nasiensis, Pertes, Ricciacensis and Treveri, and images of this corpus are found in Figure 90.

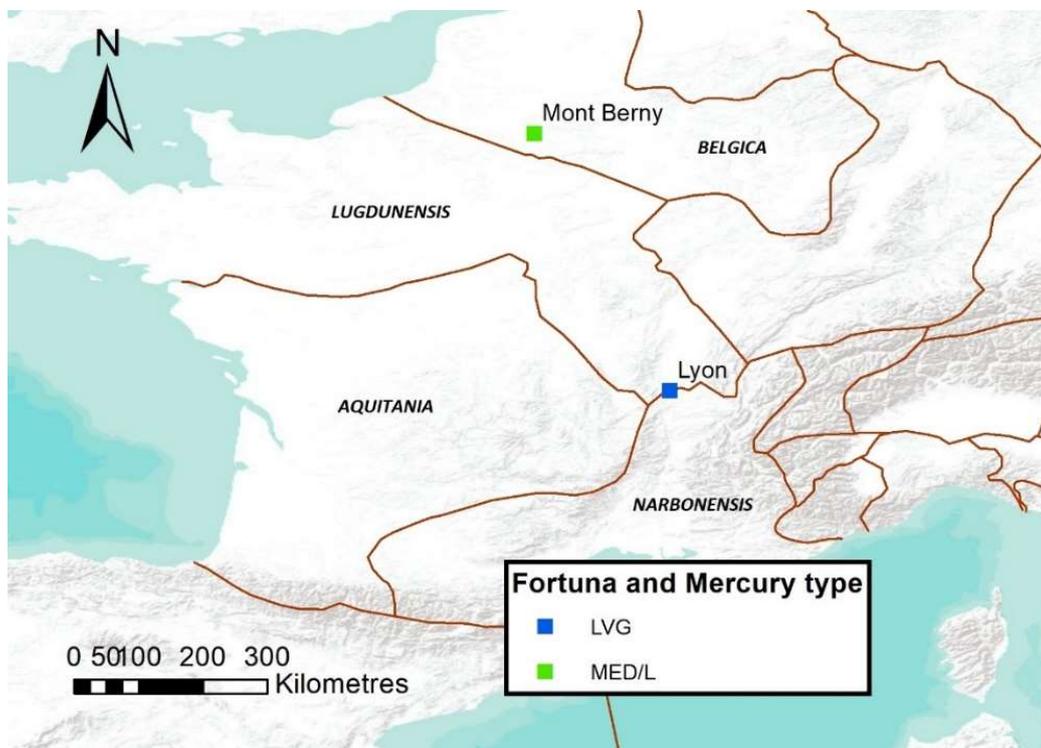


Figure 87: Map showing the findspots and ethnics of the Fortuna and Mercury type. Image: author; background map open access data: Esri, USGS, NOAA.

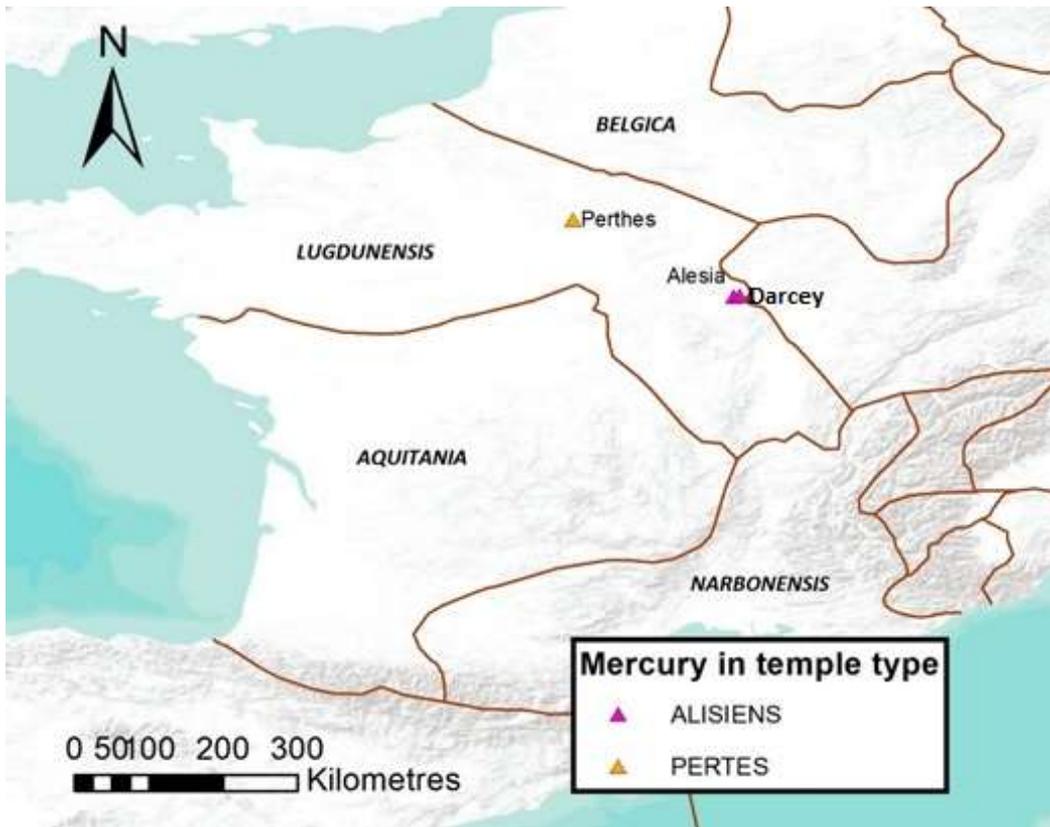


Figure 88: Map showing the findspots and ethnics of the Mercury in temple type. Image: author; background map open access data: Esri, USGS, NOAA.

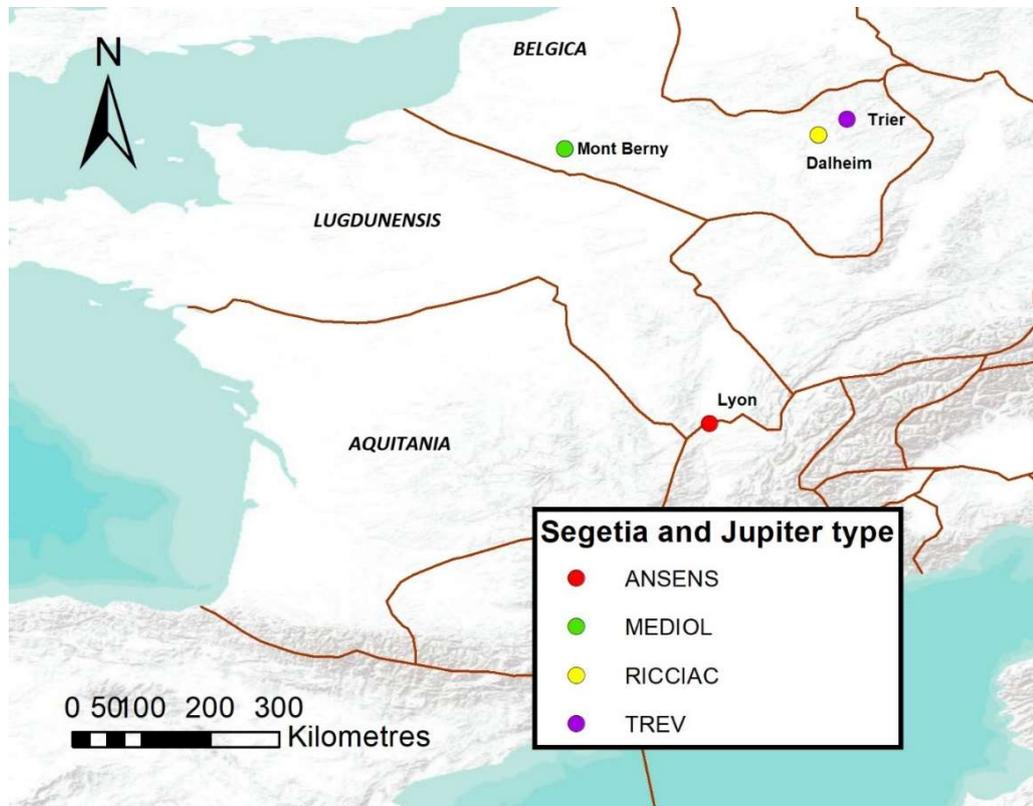


Figure 89: Map showing the findspots and ethnics of the Segetia and Jupiter type. Image: author; background map open access data: Esri, USGS, NOAA.

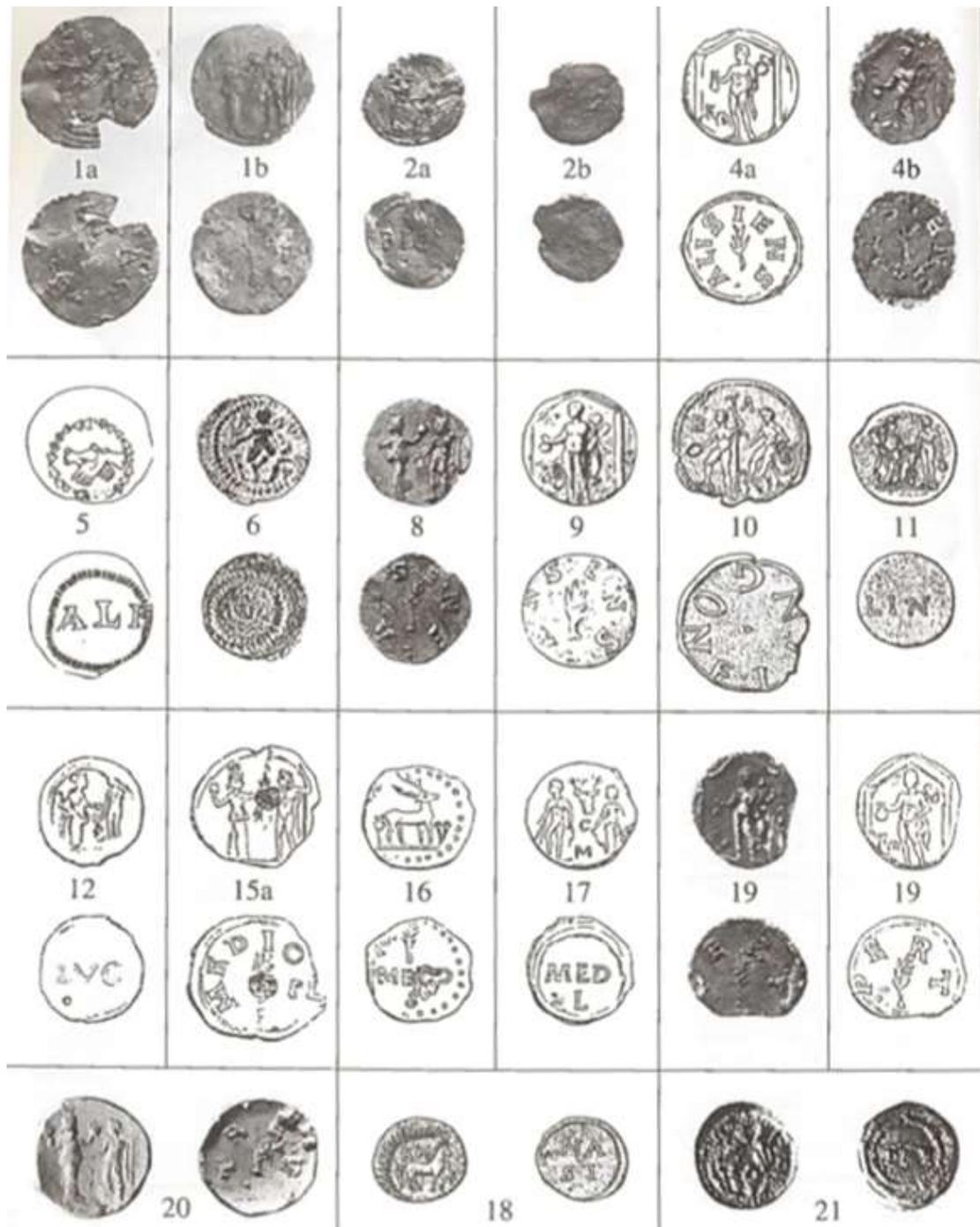


Figure 90: Tokens bearing ethnics from north-western Gaul. Weiller 2000, 186, pl. II. All numbers in this image refer to Weiller's catalogue, and are included with relevant information to tokens in the appendix (Gaul nos. 73-100).

### 3.4.1. Shared types

It is evident that there are shared types that are found in conjunction with different ethnics, and have a wide geographical spread. Figure 87-Figure 89 illustrate this spread of tokens across different areas, and the catalogue (Gaul nos. 73-100) demonstrates how the same reverse type is associated with different ethnics. The

Mercury type (Figure 90, Weiller 4a and 5b), for example, is found on tokens with the ethnic of the Alisienses (Gaul nos. 73-75), Ansens (Gaul no. 81), and Pertes (Gaul no. 92). The Segetia and Jupiter type (Figure 90, Weiller 1a and 1b) is found on tokens referring to the Ansens (Gaul no.80), Mediolenses (Gaul nos. 87 and 88), Ricciacensis (Gaul nos. 93-95) and Treveri (Gaul no. 99), while a standing figure with a bow (Figure 90, Weiller 6 and 21) is depicted on tokens of both the Alisiensis (Gaul no. 77) and the Treveri (Gaul no.100), and a Fortuna and Mercury type (Figure 90, Weiller nos. 11 and 12) is present on tokens of the Lingones (Gaul no. 83) and the Lugdunenses (Gaul no. 84).

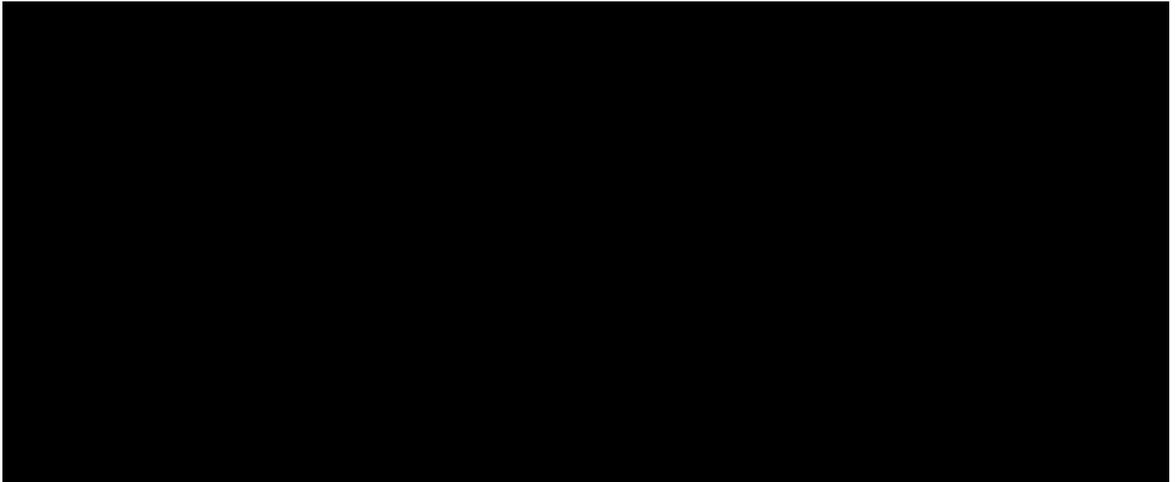
The presence of identical iconography in association with different areas and ethnics is also noted by Berdeaux-Le-Brazidec, who ascertains that the Mercury type of Alisiens and Pertes might share a die, and therefore posits that they may have been produced centrally.<sup>179</sup> She concludes that the most probable places of production for shared types were the mints at Lyon or Trier, as these were the most prolific mints in this area of Gaul. The similarity between the imagery of Segetia (e.g. Gaul no. 80, Figure 92) on tokens, and on coinage of Salonina supposedly from Trier (Figure 91), as well as the fact that the mint of Lyon was not active throughout the whole of the 3rd century, leads her to surmise that Trier is the most likely place of production.<sup>180</sup> However, there is some debate as to whether the series of coinage depicting Segetia was struck at Trier, as *RIC* attributes it to Lyon and, perhaps most reliably, Göbl attributes it to Cologne.<sup>181</sup> The fact that Cologne, and not Trier, is the most likely place of production of the Segetia type demonstrates that attributing a place of production for these tokens, based upon the similar coin type, untenable. The very nature of tokens is that they often take imagery in circulation and adapt or copy it, and moreover are produced using easily accessible materials such as lead, through easily achieved manufacturing processes. This ease of manufacture and adaptation of already existing imagery indicates that tokens by no means need to be struck at an official mint.

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<sup>179</sup> Berdeaux-le-Brazidec 2009, 36.

<sup>180</sup> Berdeaux-le-Brazidec 2009, 36.

<sup>181</sup> *RIC* V.1 (Salonina) 1 and 5. Cologne: Göbl 2000, p.196 and pl. 70, no.902.



*Figure 91: Antoninianus of Salonina. Obverse: Bust of Salonina, draped, right; SALONINA AVG. Reverse: Distyle temple, within which stands the goddess Segetia, both arms raised; DEAE SEGETIAE. Metal: Silver. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 3.19g. Die axis: 12. Mint of Cologne. Date: AD 258. RIC V.1, Salonina 5. British Museum 1983, 0101, 731.1. Image: British Museum.*



*Figure 92: Token from Lyon. Obverse: Segetia standing right, both arms extended, holding a round object in each hand facing Jupiter standing left, draped, holding thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left hand; border of dots. Reverse: ANSENS; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 4g. Die axis: 6. Gaul no. 80. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Récamier 772. Image: author.*

Differences in form and style perhaps imply that there was not one central place of production. The arrangement of the legend on the reverse of the Mercury in temple type, and Segetia and Jupiter type is always arranged in an almost complete circle around a palm leaf on the reverse, indicating that this style was particular to a certain workshop. The other types which straddle multiple findspots and ethnics are the Mercury and Fortuna type, and the god with the bow type. These, however, do not bear the same arrangement of legend on the reverse, as the ethnic has been shortened to only three letters long, and is arranged in one line across the centre. Moreover, there

are not the same similarities in style between these latter two types; the god with bow type exhibits a border of triangles, while the Mercury and Fortuna type does not. This implies three different workshops, or issues: one for the Segetia and Jupiter type and the Mercury type, another for the two tokens that depict the god with the bow and a third for the Mercury and Fortuna type. Three different workshops are perhaps best explained through manufacture at itinerant mints, rather than a central place of manufacture.

### **3.4.2. Unique types**

Several tokens bear imagery which is not paralleled amongst the rest of the ethnics corpus. Imagery of animals and games is common, for example, a token of the Mediolenses exhibits a deer facing right between two trees (Gaul no. 89), and on the reverse the legend ME[DI]O|S, while one of the Nasiensis depicts a horse right and the reverse legend NA|SI (Gaul no. 91). Another of the Ricciacensis depicts a boar and a man (Gaul no. 98), with the reverse legend RICC, and one of the Alisienses has two clasped hands and the legend ALI on the reverse (Gaul no. 76). The only known token of the Ambiani depicts a bull facing left and the legend AMB (Gaul no. 79). Tokens depicting deities comprise one from Lugdunum (Gaul no. 85) which depicts Fortuna or Abundantia seated and Mercury standing right, while one of the Mediolenses depicts Mercury and Fortuna with bucranium between them (Gaul no. 90, reverse MED|L). Another from Lugdunum (reverse R|LVGD) depicts a soldier standing in military dress with sword and shield (Gaul no. 86), while a token from the Lingones portrays an unidentified deity (possibly the god of the spring) and Apollo, with the reverse legend LINGONE (Gaul no. 82). Lastly, two tokens of the Ricciacensis depict Fortuna and a city Tyche with the legend FOR.VES on the same side, and RICC on the other (Gaul nos. 96 and 97).

While it is acknowledged that the sample size is small and further examples may come to light in future and change the conclusions drawn from the current corpus, the above examples exhibit variation in terms of their imagery and legend, and always differ from the set of tokens which share iconography across ethnics. For example, the site of Mediolanum has yielded four tokens, two of which are the Segetia and Jupiter type found elsewhere, and two of which are unique to the site (Mercury and Fortuna with bucranium type, and standing deer right type). The legends on the reverses are different; one reads ME[DI]O|S and the other MED|L in two lines across the centre.

These are different again to the legend on the reverse of the Segetia and Jupiter type which reads *MEDIOL*, arranged around a vertical palm branch. The tokens with unparalleled legends and imagery are therefore not similar to each other, or to the tokens with imagery also found elsewhere. Similarly, amongst the tokens of the *Ricciacensis* there are two types not found elsewhere (Fortuna and Tyche, and male figure with boar). These two types do have the same legend on the reverse: *RICC*, however, this is different to the legends of the Segetia and Jupiter type which bear the legend *RICCIAC*. The tokens of the *Alisienses* which have imagery not shared across ethnics (two clasped hands, deity with bow) both bear the shortened legend *ALI*, whilst those tokens depicting Mercury in a temple, which are found elsewhere, all bear the legend *ALISIENS*. It is therefore apparent that on an intra-site basis there are clear distinctions in iconography and legend between the tokens with imagery found across multiple ethnics and those with imagery unique to one particular ethnic. In the case of the latter, the legend also adds to the uniqueness of these tokens, in that it does not conform to the legend on tokens with more widespread imagery. It can therefore be posited that tokens with imagery and legend unique to one ethnic (and in most cases, one site) were perhaps manufactured under local auspices, in contrast to those with shared imagery across ethnics and sites, which were manufactured by itinerant workshops. A second possibility is that these unique types actually represent many different series, or workshops, and no specimens have been found to date that demonstrate shared imagery across ethnics and findspots.

There are wider implications for the use of this corpus of tokens if they are manufactured both locally and centrally. It demonstrates manufacture under different authorities, one with greater central control, and other more local entities. It is also possible that different functions were fulfilled by those manufactured locally and those struck centrally, although the similarities between them in terms of the ‘formula’ of their appearance (iconography on one face, ethnic on the other) go some way to preclude this. The potentials for their utilisation will be further explored below.

### **3.4.3. Function**

The purpose of this corpus of tokens bearing ethnics has not been concretely determined by the scholarship to date. Le Gall concluded that they were utilised by delegates attending sanctuaries for festivals, and as such they acted as proof of

authority to attend.<sup>182</sup> This theory has been discounted after Weiller noted several problems with this assertion.<sup>183</sup> Le Brazidec and Lenormant concur in that the findspots of the tokens correlates with the area inhabited by the ethnic on the reverse, and therefore they were meant for circulation in this area.<sup>184</sup>

Le Brazidec considers these tokens to have similar iconographies because of religious unity over a large area, and therefore the tokens have a function within the religious sphere, for example at religious festivals.<sup>185</sup> In this manner they would be utilised as a special purpose money, received upon arrival and then used for elements of the festival such as accommodation, or access to different areas of the festival. Tokens found within the vicinity of, but not actually at a settlement or sanctuary are accounted for through the supposition that people would lodge further away, and the tokens were still valid in these areas.<sup>186</sup>

This explanation is not entirely satisfactory due to a lack of evidence to substantiate it. Furthermore, previous scholarship in this area of token studies had a preoccupation with a function associated with the religious sphere or festivals, in part due to the iconography which depicts deities. Images of gods are, however, found on mundane objects throughout the Roman period, the most obvious of these being coinage, and therefore the presence of a deity does not indicate a religious function for the object.

An analysis of the contexts and findspots of this corpus may be useful in ascertaining whether they did indeed have a function associated with festivals and the religious sphere. The sites of Ricciacum, Alesia and Mediolanum are the most useful for this as these all have yielded the largest quantities of tokens. The site of Dalheim (Ricciacum) has produced a number of tokens as surface finds (Gaul nos. 93-97). Without context, it is impossible to know exactly how they were utilised and deposited, but the settlement was substantial with public buildings such as temples and baths, as well as an amphitheatre. Any of these could provide the occasion for the use of tokens. Of the tokens from Alesia, the two with contextual information were found south-east area

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<sup>182</sup> Le Gall 1974, 50.

<sup>183</sup> Weiller 2000, 182: e.g. how do we know that the delegates were not recognisable in this situation? Wouldn't it have been difficult not to lose such a small token of authenticity, which would have had to be reused on future occasions?

<sup>184</sup> Berdeaux-le Brazidec 2009, 36 ; Lenormant 1878.

<sup>185</sup> Berdeaux-le Brazidec 2009, 34.

<sup>186</sup> Berdeaux-le-Brazidec 2009, 36. e.g. the token found at Darcey, close to Alesia, and the token from Carrier du Roi, close to Mont Berny.

of the forum and the north portico of the temple.<sup>187</sup> Another was found at Darcey (Gaul no. 75) whilst two others have only the generalised findspot of 'Mount Auxois' (Gaul nos. 73 and 76), with one of the latter two possibly found close to a bath fountain of the hospice.<sup>188</sup> Again, these contexts and locations do not strongly point to either a religious or festival function. The spread of the findspots in this area indicates, as noted by Berdeaux-le-Brazidec, that their function was not limited to the central area of a town. It by no means implies that they were utilised as part of religious activities in the vicinity of the main festival, but instead suggests a function in everyday life that resulted in travel away from the central town. Excavations at the vicus of Mediolanum have likewise produced several tokens, one of which was found just outside the shrine area (Gaul no. 87), with another found in the baths (Gaul no. 89), and a third discovered nearby at Carriere-du-Roi (Gaul no. 88).<sup>189</sup> This site again demonstrates the different places within, and without, a settlement where tokens are discovered. In the case of the token found just outside the shrine area, it is perhaps prudent to approach interpretation of this findspot with caution, and not immediately reach a conclusion based around a religious function. Coins finds were present in the area, and so we cannot rule out casual loss, even in the vicinity of a shrine. The find in the baths is also not unexpected to some extent, as frequently small objects and coins were lost in baths, and often swept down into drainage.

Overall, the known findspots of this corpus of tokens from excavation comprise the forum, the portico of a temple, the vicinity of a shrine area and a bathhouse, as well as findspots further from a central town as is the case with Darcey and Carriere-du-Roi. These findspots do not demonstrate a link with sanctuaries, as there is too wide a variety of different types of building or area for this to be the case, and therefore Le Gall's hypothesis can be discounted. A function in festivals on an intra-town basis, following Berdeaux-le-Brazidec, cannot be ruled out, but neither can a variety of other functions which tokens may have facilitated in a town and its hinterland, particularly as religious imagery does not mean a religious function. The variety of different places within towns that have yielded these types of token, as well as the fact that they travelled a short distance in some cases, implies an everyday use and therefore a casual

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<sup>187</sup> Rabeisen 1994, 312-313.

<sup>188</sup> Darcey: Berdeaux-le-Brazidec 2009, 29; Mount Auxois: Le Gall 1974, 51-52.

<sup>189</sup> *CAG* 60, 572.

loss in mundane circumstances, as with other objects and coins. Other possibilities for use should be considered, for example, a function relating to administration or special purpose money relating to commerce rather than religious festivals.

#### **3.4.4. Section summary**

Tokens bearing ethnics have hitherto been assigned a central place of manufacture, allegedly Trier, due to the fact its mint perhaps struck coins bearing the image of Segetia, as depicted on the Jupiter and Segetia token type. However, the possibility of travelling workshops should also be considered. A closer analysis of this corpus reveals a distinction between types; there are some that do not share the same image across tokens with differing ethnics, instead they are particular to one ethnic. This is the case with examples such as that of the Nasiensis with a horse right, or that of the Mediolanses which portrays Mercury and Fortuna with bucranium between them. Furthermore, the ethnic is not arranged in a circle around a palm branch, as is the case with tokens that share imagery across ethnics. These factors imply that there was not only one itinerant workshop, but also local production or a series of issues. This suggests possible manufacture by different authorities: one who had a significant area of north-eastern Gaul in their jurisdiction, and also separate municipal authorities.

It is difficult to ascertain a function for this corpus of tokens, however, analysis of their findspots and contexts suggests that functions outside of the religious sphere should not be excluded. They have been discovered in a variety of contexts, including baths and a forum, as well as on the fringes of religious sites, such as a sanctuary and temple portico. The shared types and the inclusion of an ethnic imply that the purpose of these tokens was certainly the same in each place. They therefore were involved in a shared activity across north-western Gaul, which occurred in multiple locations rather than centrally.

### **3.5. Discussion**

The above analysis of the corpus of tokens from Roman Gaul demonstrates a widespread distribution across the three Gallic provinces. They are provenanced from the north, and north-east, with examples further south at Lyon, Nîmes, and Fos-sur-Mer. Tokens are found on a variety of different types of site: habitation sites such as the villa at Mare-aux-Canards, small towns including Mandeure and Liberchies, the city of Lyon, as well as on sites with a religious function such as Digeon and Cheateableu. This distribution and permeation into different sectors of society

demonstrates that the use of tokens was prevalent in Roman Gaul to a greater extent than previously known.

Distribution of types is in general restricted, with tokens often manufactured and used on the same site. In this regard, there are no widespread types in use across Gaul. The only caveat to this conclusion is that the tokens with ethnics were to some extent manufactured by an itinerant workshop, in the north-east of Gaul, and the same obverse types are found on multiple sites. However, these tokens still only circulated in a limited area which correlates with the ethnic on their reverse. This variation across the province on a site by site basis is interesting, as it indicates that tokens operated on a level specific to small regional communities defined by their geographical location. This further exemplifies how tokens were unique in their appearance not just on an inter province basis, but also on an intra province basis as well.

Unusually, the range of materials utilised to manufacture tokens in Roman Gaul is diverse. While most are made from lead, there are also examples in bronze (Gaul no. 6), silver (Gaul nos. 48 and 49), and those that involve a mix of materials, such as those made from lead inset with a square of silver (e.g. Gaul nos. 4-5). The inclusion of precious metals provides unique examples of how metals other than base metals, such as lead or copper alloy, can be utilised to make tokens. This is significant, as tokens by their very nature do not usually have an inherent value, as they represent another value, monetary or otherwise. Precious metals therefore perhaps functioned to raise the value of the token, or as these examples all likely served a votive function, provide a means of facilitating personal sacrifice through dedication of a higher value object.

Votive dedication is just one of many purposes fulfilled by tokens in Roman Gaul. It is possible that they were utilised for commercial administration (Mare-aux-Canards), harbour administration (Fos-sur-Mer and possibly Lyon), and the organisation of games and festivals, most likely comprising an euergetic aspect (Noyon, Lyon, Liberchies). Tokens from cult sites may also have functioned in this manner (Liry, Châteaubleau), rather than as votives. Their presence at ports, such as as Fos-sur-Mer and Lyon is interesting, as this is paralleled elsewhere in the empire, for example at Ostia and Rome.

Some tokens have a more prominent iconographical component to their design, and these are more often found on cult sites than quotidian sites. The imagery is related to religious concepts, such as solar deities in the instance of tokens depicting the rayed motif from Digeon, and deities in the case of tokens from Châteaubleau and Liry. The deities depicted are often interpreted as syncretised with local gods, and therefore multiple layers of meaning can be read in the imagery to identify localised representation within the classical imagery.

Tokens from settlement sites feature legends in their designs to a significant extent. Much of the corpus from Lyon have a legend in either the form of three letters (most likely a *tria nomina*) arranged in a line across the centre, or a series of letters arranged in a circle, as well as tokens that are inscribed with a monogram. This is paralleled on tokens from Mandeure, which are executed in a similar style to some of the corpus from Lyon, and those from Mare aux Canards which exhibit a monogram. Tokens from Fos-sur-Mer has bear a legend in the form of the shortened name CAES, while two examples from Nîmes have letters on one face. The Mithraic token from Liberchies has a longer legend than the aforementioned examples, but it also comprises a name. It is therefore evident that one of the key components of legends on tokens is a name.

In this regard it can be surmised that tokens bearing legends were often commissioned by an individual for use in the private sphere, perhaps related to business or euergetism. It is also apparent that the individuals in question could belong to any stratum of society. Those bearing the name CAES from Fos-sur-Mer likely refer to Caesar, those with the name EROTIS suggest they were made or commissioned by a slave or freedman, and those with a *tria nomina* were commissioned by Roman citizens. The OFIC III type from Lyon perhaps indicate commissioning at a public level, while those with ethnics suggest a use on a municipal level.

Both imagery and legends on tokens from Roman Gaul encapsulate a local aspect, not only in the uniqueness of their types, but also in their recognisability on a local level. In terms of the imagery, local gods could be recognised behind the classicised depictions, while legends were understood to refer to named individuals known to the local community. However, these tokens are also tied into more widespread cultural milieus. The classical nature of the imagery, even when depicted in a localised style,

refers to Roman representations, while the epigraphic formulae (including their associated motifs) are linked to empire-wide epigraphic traditions. This is evident on an intra-province basis in the case of types with ethnics, which had a shared purpose and imagery across multiple places, but restricted circulation. Tokens are therefore objects concerned with both local and widespread cultural practices.

Another emergent theme pertains to methodologies of how tokens are studied. There is a propensity for comparison to other tokens which are not accurate comparanda. One example of this is Doyon's discussion of tokens featuring Mars from Rostovtzeff's catalogue in terms of the token depicting Mars from Liry. The types are not the same, and the comparison arbitrary, especially if the example from Liry does depict Mars syncretised with Camulus. In Manniez's publication tokens which bear three letters from Nîmes are afforded comparison with tokens from Lyon, with the conclusion that there is no exact match for that combination of letters. This again is an arbitrary comparison as the style of the tokens differs, and as they are likely to refer to the names of individuals a comparison with tokens from another town would not be prudent. Therefore, whilst comparison of the utilisation of letters or imagery is useful to draw out wider themes within a corpus, it is not always useful to as a means to find specific comparanda for a type, due to the localised nature of the imagery that is depicted and the legends that are utilised.

### **3.6. Chapter summary**

Tokens from Roman Gaul are therefore a diverse corpus, found throughout the province, with types unique to each site. There are, however, broad comparisons identified amongst this diversity, such as the propensity for tokens with legends on settlement sites, in comparison to tokens with a more pronounced iconographic content on sites of a religious character. This perhaps is due to the different functions that tokens performed. On religious sites the imagery of deities allowed a connection with the divinity who was worshipped at the site, and linked into concerns of communal religious identity, particularly when the god or goddess in question was syncretised with a local deity. In contrast, the legends on many of the tokens from habitation sites refer to individuals, and therefore these tokens are indicators of individual identities which would be recognised by the local community, and were probably utilised in the private sphere. Tokens therefore functioned both in the religious and quotidian spheres, and were commissioned by different groups and

individuals. This is evident through the appearance of names of individuals from all levels of society, from slave or freedman to Caesar, and through the possibility that tokens bearing ethnics were manufactured both on a central and local scale.

The unique character of tokens from each site in Gaul is consistent with the individuality of tokens across the Roman empire on a province by province basis. The variation within Gaul also demonstrates that this diversity continued to occur on a small, localised scale, whilst also allowing for broad similarities on a wider geographical scale. This province therefore illustrates how tokens, as portable material culture, can play a significant role in the day-to-day life of a variety of different communities.

## Chapter 4: Tokens in Roman Britain

This chapter provides an overview of the evidence for tokens in Roman Britain, an area that has not previously formed the subject of extensive scholarship. This lack of attention to the study of tokens within the province has resulted in a diverse range of objects being classified as tokens in site reports, and the mis-identification of tokens from other periods as Roman in date. An analysis of the objects defined as tokens will be undertaken to further consider what form tokens could take in the Roman period in Britain, and to enrich our understanding of the ways in which they functioned.

The first section (4.2) of this chapter ‘Discerning tokens in Roman Britain’ will therefore explore blank discs, ‘rings’, lead coins, coin impressions and so-called ‘theatre tickets’, before providing an overview of the possible tokens from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), the national recording scheme for artefacts found by members of the public in England and Wales. It will also consider how tokens can fall into different sub-categories, such as that of ‘votive token’.

The following section (4.3) ‘Exploring tokens from Roman Britain’ shall discuss the few examples that are similar in their form to tokens as they are found elsewhere in the Roman empire (primarily lead, monetiform, bearing images and/or legends). Two tokens from Caerleon are inscribed with *L.II A* and *XIII* respectively, a possible token from Cookham Wood, Kent depicts a pair of scales and a bird and is inscribed with the names of Claudius and Messalina. A group of possible tokens from London have types that are difficult to discern, but includes a bust on a number of specimens. Nettleton Scrubb has yielded one lead possible token, that is inscribed with the numeral V before which the numerals LII have been added as a secondary inscription. One token was discovered at the Roman fort at Richborough. It is uniface and depicts an eagle with half-open wings. An unusual token was found at Roman town at St. Albans, having been re-fashioned from a *denarius* of Augustus into a token that depicts Mithras born from the rocks and a legend that refers to the god Mithras Ormuzd. The evidence for moulds is also briefly discussed in this section, including a mould carved with a cross from the shrine of Sulis-Minerva at Bath.

The next section (4.4) ‘Tokens from Rome in Britain’ presents the evidence for tokens that were originally struck in Rome but were found in Britain. This includes a *spintria*

from London that depicts a sex-scene on one face and a numeral on the other, a token from the Walbrook stream which depicts a modius and a *Kantharos*, and lastly an Isis token from Gloucestershire which portrays Isis on one side and Sol-Serapis on the other. The final section (4.5) explores the potential for objects to be tokens that are housed in Corinium Museum. Through an analysis of tokens and potential tokens, this chapter will demonstrate not only the difficulties in classifying objects as tokens, but also that the utilisation of tokens in Roman Britain was not part of the social and cultural landscape in the same manner that it was in many other provinces. This is addressed fully in the ‘Discussion’ section (4.6), where suggestions are made as to the reasons for this difference.

While blank ceramic, glass and bone discs are frequently found on Roman sites within Britain, these shall not be explored in this chapter. It is acknowledged that these objects may have fulfilled a token function, but they may also have been gaming counters or reckoning pieces. Discerning a definite use for these objects is beyond the scope of one chapter, therefore metal objects with a possible token use will form the focus instead.

#### **4.1. Literature review**

The study of tokens in Roman Britain is not a field that has been explored to a great extent, although Rostovtzeff’s extensive catalogue of Roman tokens notes that some are in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> These are still held in the collection today, and although most are without provenance their types are consistent with tokens from Rome and its environs, having reached the museum through the hands of private collectors, rather than originating in Britain itself.<sup>2</sup> A token mould in the British Museum collection is described as ‘excavated in Rome’, thereby providing additional evidence that Britain was not their place of provenance.<sup>3</sup>

Tokens from Roman Britain are not often found in the academic or archaeological literature, although collectors have recognised their presence. Fletcher discusses Roman tokens in his overview of lead tokens in Britain from the Roman era to the

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<sup>1</sup> Rostovtzeff 1903 (*TURS*).

<sup>2</sup> Collections in the British Museum include those of: Frederick Parkes Weber, W. Webster, Wilhelm Froehner, Charles Thomas Newton, Louis Charles Pierre Casimir Blacas, and pieces that arrived through Spink and Son. These tokens are currently under study by Clare Rowan.

<sup>3</sup> Accession no. 1890.0514.1.

Victorian period.<sup>4</sup> Most of the discussion on the Roman period focuses on outlining the previous work undertaken by Rostovtzeff, Ficoroni and Milne, none of which is pertinent to tokens in Britain.<sup>5</sup> An article in *Treasure Hunting* magazine has informed detectorists of the existence of tokens, and from this the ‘find rate has increased from a rare turn up to an occasional turn up’.<sup>6</sup> This is not elaborated upon nor are examples provided, in either written or illustrative form, so this provides only anecdotal evidence for tokens in Roman Britain.

The most comprehensive work, that focuses on monetiform objects that have the potential to be utilised as tokens, is that by Philip Kiernan. His volume discusses the evidence for coins specifically as ‘models’ alongside other votive miniatures, and they form a subset of miniature and model objects alongside wheels, vessels, axes, shields and swords.<sup>7</sup> The geographic remit of the work is the north-western empire, and the majority of his evidence comes from France and Germany. From Britain Kiernan considers brass sheets impressed with coins from Woodeaton (see section 4.2.4), and a mould from Great Walsingham (see section 4.3.7), as well as plated coins (of which there are a higher proportion found at temple sites such as Hayling Island, than at settlement sites) and contemporary copies, such as those found at Lydney Park.<sup>8</sup> The conclusion that he reaches, however, is that only the ceramic and lead tokens from France and Germany fit the definition of ‘model coins’, and therefore the evidence from Britain does not fit within his remit. This does not indicate that these objects should not be considered as tokens, and this possibility shall be explored within the course of this chapter. In addition, Kiernan discusses metal rings from sanctuary sites within the same category as ‘wheels’, and from Britain briefly considers those from Uley in Gloucestershire.<sup>9</sup> Again, the potential for this type of object to be utilised and classified as a token will be discussed to some extent within this chapter.

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<sup>4</sup> Fletcher 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Rostovtzeff 1903 (*TURS*); Ficorini 1740; Mine 1908. Note that Milne published a series of articles which are discussed fully in chapter 2 (Egypt).

<sup>6</sup> Fletcher 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Kiernan 2009, 153-164 for discussion of ‘model coins’ and p.2 for definition of models: reproductions of another man-made object (therefore not a reproduction of an animal or god), which must have no intrinsic use of their own.

<sup>8</sup> Hayling Island: Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993; Lydney Park: Webster 1986, 123.

<sup>9</sup> For Uley see Woodward and Leech 1993.

## 4.2. Discerning tokens in Roman Britain

Little scholarship has, to date, focused on tokens in Roman Britain. As a result of this, a varied group of objects have been categorised as tokens, or described as fulfilling a similar function to tokens. This section will examine whether these objects (blank discs, rings, coin impressions) have the potential to be tokens. The confusion between ‘token and ‘votive’ will also be explored, along with the possibility for tokens to function as votives. The difficulties in identifying and dating monetiform objects as Roman tokens will then be explored through examination of so-called Roman theatre tickets, and the specimens described as Roman tokens on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database. The locations of the sites mentioned below are depicted in Figure 93.

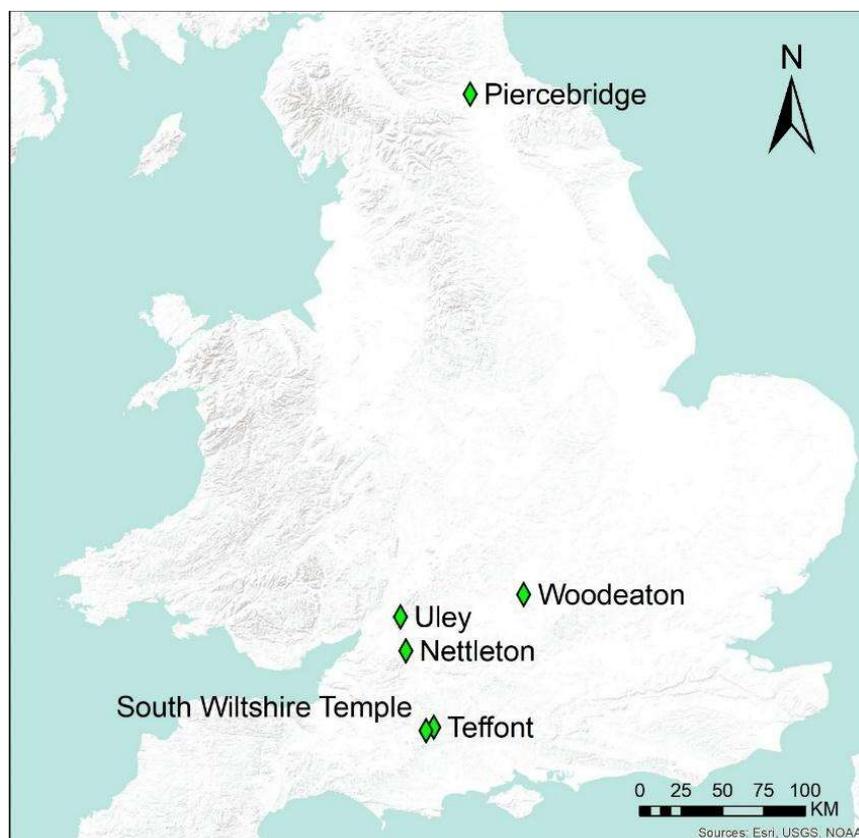


Figure 93: Locations mentioned in section 4.2 pertaining to blank discs, 'rings', lead coins and coin impressions. Image: author; background map open access data: Esri, USGS, NOAA.

### 4.2.1. Blank discs

Metal discs featuring no imagery or legend are often listed in archaeological reports on Roman sites, and as this discussion will demonstrate, in certain instances these objects were utilised as tokens. They are commonly made of lead, but also manufactured from bronze and occasionally silver. The discussion surrounding them

is frequently brief, and illustrations are rare. Interpretations range from ‘weight’ to ‘counter’ to ‘token’. Those that are lead and have a weight similar to that of measures utilised by the Romans may have functioned as weights. For example, lead discs from Springhead which have masses ranging from 3.5-114g have been interpreted as weights based on the parity of their masses to Roman measures, although the object with the lowest mass (SF no. 9323 weighting 3.5g) is noted for its possibility to be a token.<sup>10</sup> This highlights the difficulties in discerning between weights and tokens.

In Britain, a hoard of lead discs was discovered in the excavations at St Albans (*Verulamium*). The hoard comprised 108 lead discs, ranging in weight between 1.7g and 9.1g (although all but 11 weighed between 2.9 and 5.9g) and measuring between 15-21mm. They were found in the back room of a workshop which was situated within a row of shops, and in a phase dated to AD 150-160. The primary trade of the area was metalworking, mainly in copper alloy. The room in which the discs were found was one of the few rooms to have an *opus signinum* floor, and interpreted as a possible living room. The floor was largely destroyed by later pits, but the lead discs were found together in a burnt deposit (probably relating to the Antonine fire which destroyed the row), which had subsided into one of these later pits (pit 21).<sup>11</sup> The report notes that Dr. Kraay of the Ashmolean museum had examined the discs and concluded that the weights and diameters were not consistent enough to be coinage, and so another purpose was probable.<sup>12</sup>

Identification as tokens is therefore a possibility for this hoard, although the report also suggests that they were perhaps intended as weights.<sup>13</sup> The fact that they were found on the premises of a metalworking site may indicate that they were manufactured by the proprietor for use as tokens or weights, or perhaps even seals. An alternative explanation is that they form a votive deposit, as a ritualised element to this urban context is perhaps present. A number of infant burials were found in the same building and adjacent areas in the previous phase (IIC, dating to AD 130-150). One was incorporated into the *opus signinum* of room 24, while another was found in room 19, two more on the edge of path 26, and a fifth against the north-east wall of room 22. Moore has hypothesised that infant burials in domestic settings are not the burials

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<sup>10</sup> Schuster 2011 p. 251, Table 50, cat no. 198a, SF nos. 1582, 1822, 1874, 9323.

<sup>11</sup> Frere 1972, 77.

<sup>12</sup> Frere 1972, 149.

<sup>13</sup> Frere 1972, 77.

of unwanted or marginalised children, but instead were deliberately deposited due to their perception as transitional beings, occupying a liminal space between the physical and spiritual worlds.<sup>14</sup> Therefore a votive deposit of tokens in a domestic setting could be possible, especially as there are parallels for hoards of blank ceramic tokens forming ritualised deposits in France.<sup>15</sup> However, these tokens from Verulamium were found in association with the destruction layer of the fire, which comprised a layer of burnt daub covering the area. This implies that they were in situ in the room at the time of the fire, rather than having been buried under the floor or burnt in a localised ritual fire. Therefore, while ritualised elements involving tokens could have been present within this urban setting, it is more likely that the discs were part of the metalworking nature of the workshop. Their intended purpose is uncertain, but it may be that they were used as weights, blanks for seals, or tokens.

Another method to discern a token function for blank discs is to consider the type of site on which they are found. Sites of a religious or ritualised nature are a logical choice for exploration as there is precedence for this in the thousands of blanks lead discs found at the temple site of Karden in Germany. Here thousands of lead discs were discovered across the site, ranging from eight to 28mm in diameter (with most measuring 11-13mm) with an average weight of 2.2g. Due to the average size of the pieces correlating to the diameter of the denarius these tokens were interpreted as substitutes for real coins, and therefore constitute votive offerings.<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that those from Karden are found in their thousands, whereas those from Britain are only found on religious sites in small quantities, as outlined in Table 2: Discs from sites of a religious or ritual nature in Roman Britain..

Site	Small find no.	Context details	Site details	Details of token	Weight (g)	Diameter (mm)	Thickness (mm)
Teffont	26	context 9903 (External surface adjacent to Late Roman	shrine	lead disc	4.9	-	-

<sup>14</sup> Moore 2009, 47.

<sup>15</sup> Barthelemey 1985, 140 and 142, fig. 7. 124 were found on the site of Varennes, 32 of which were found together in a sealed pot in ditch IV, broken at its top but upright. Thirty of these were blank and two portrayed rayed motifs. These are not discussed in Chapter 3 (Gaul) as the focus is on metal tokens.

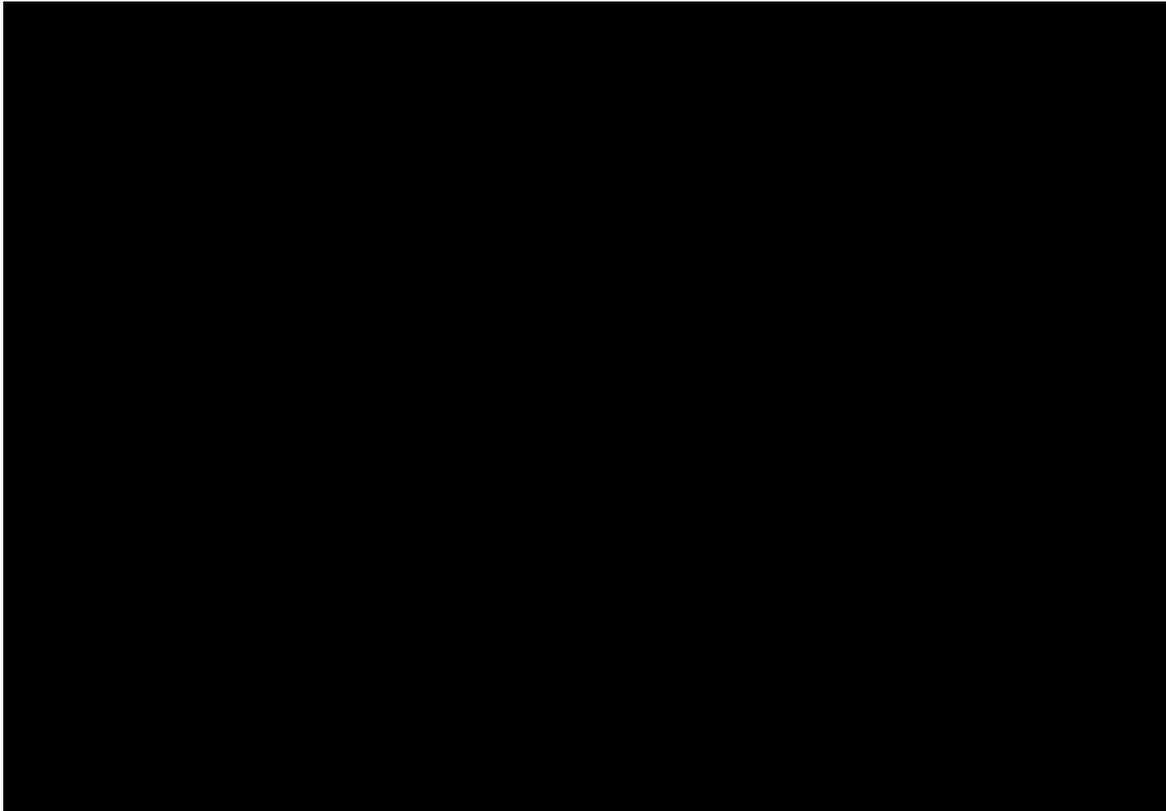
<sup>16</sup> Nickel, Thoma and Wigg-Wolf 2008, 46-47.

		building in shrine landscape)					
Nettleton	-	no contextual information	shrine	silver disc, fine scratch marks on surface	-	16	1
Nettleton	-	no contextual information	shrine	silver disc	-	19	1
Nettleton	-	no contextual information	shrine	roughly cut bronze disc	-	13	1
Uley	1580	Context 88. Structure II (temple). Phase 6a	shrine	Trimmed circle of lead	-	-	-
Uley	2820	Context 400, over structure II, phase 8	shrine	Trimmed circle of lead	-	-	-
South Wiltshire Temple	42594	12025 (primary fill of ritual pit in temple)	temple	Undecorated lead disc	1.95	15.85	-
South Wiltshire Temple	42595	12025 (primary fill of ritual pit in temple)	temple	Undecorated lead disc	1.95	15.90	1.65

Table 2: Discs from sites of a religious or ritual nature in Roman Britain.

At an intra-site resolution, the immediate contexts of blank discs can indicate their function, as at the South Wiltshire Temple. Here, two blank lead discs were discovered within the central ritual pit of the temple (Figure 94). They are roughly uniform in their size and weight, both weighing 1.95g and measuring within 0.05mm of each other (15.85 and 15.90mm). These weights and measurements fall within the expected size and weight range for tokens, and the uniformity suggests that they were manufactured with a specific function in mind, rather than simply comprising casting waste or improvised objects. Whilst this ritual pit was in use over a number of years, they were found in the primary fill along with objects of a votive character including:

25 coins, a miniature hammer, a miniature anvil, a mutilated coin and a curse tablet.<sup>17</sup> Other finds in this context of a less explicit votive character include eight nails, one rod, two unidentifiable iron objects, animal bone and pottery. Even accounting for the more mundane nature of some of the objects, the character of this deposit is clearly of a ritualised nature, being the first phase of deposition. The pit itself was placed at the centre of the temple with a walkway constructed around it, evidenced by wear on the flagstones, and the ritualised context of its use is therefore certain.<sup>18</sup>



*Figure 94: Plan of The South Wiltshire Temple, showing the placement of the central pit and worn paving. Image: Henry, Roberts and Roskams 2020.*

Similarly, at the shrine site of Uley two ‘trimmed lead discs’ were found within the temple (Figure 95). The first of these (small find 1580) was found in context no.88 within structure II, dating to AD 380-440.<sup>19</sup> This context contained votive objects in some quantity and was laid down above the floor.<sup>20</sup> Given that this disc was within the temple itself, and that there were votive objects present in the same context, there is a strong case for a ritualised use as a token, even though this layer is not likely to represent its *in situ* initial deposition. The second lead disc (small find 2820) was again

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<sup>17</sup> Unpublished data from the PAST Landscapes Project.

<sup>18</sup> Henry, Roberts and Roskams 2020.

<sup>19</sup> Woodward and Leech 1993, 177-178, Fig. 136 no. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Woodward and Leech 1993, 63.

found in structure II, but in a context (400) in phase 8 which is dated as Medieval to modern.<sup>21</sup> However, given the similarities to SF 1580 in both size and appearance, it is possible that SF 2820 is residual in the later layers and is in fact of an earlier, Roman, date. It is more likely that this is the case, than that SF 1580 is intrusive, as there is precedent on the site for objects of Roman date to be found in later layers.<sup>22</sup>

These discs could have functioned as ‘votive tokens’ within the temple of Structure II, possibly as a secondary use. Interestingly, both of these objects were identified as gaming pieces, and are catalogued as such in the excavation report finds catalogue. They are, however, the only ‘gaming pieces’ from the temple building (structure II), as the remaining 14 gaming pieces are from other structures on the site - five from structure IX, two from structure XIV, two from structure XIX, one from the courtyard and two from elsewhere on the site.<sup>23</sup> Structure IX is likely to be domestic or ancillary to the temple due to the presence of a mosaic in one room and ovens in the other, whilst structure XIV is its successor following its demolition.<sup>24</sup> Structure XIX is the perimeter bank.<sup>25</sup> It is therefore evident that the lead discs do not appear in the same area as the other gaming pieces, and likewise the gaming pieces do not appear in the temple structure. This pattern is compatible with the domestic nature of structure IX, which has the highest number of gaming pieces. The other objects identified as gaming pieces also differ in appearance to the lead discs. They are manufactured from antler, clay, or glass, the latter of which are described as ‘plano-convex’. These are not consistent with the ‘trimmed circles of lead’ found within the temple and it is therefore reasonable to suggest a different use for the lead pieces. A function as votive tokens is a possibility. These examples also serve to highlight the difficulty in identifying tokens, and the ease with which they can be mis-assigned to a ‘known’ artefact type.

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<sup>21</sup> Woodward and Leech 1993, 177-178, Fig. 136 no. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Reece 1993, 85.

<sup>23</sup> Woodward and Leech 1993, 177, nos. 13-17 and 177-178 nos.1-9.

<sup>24</sup> Woodward and Leech 1993, Structure IX: 54, Structure XIV: 59.

<sup>25</sup> Woodward and Leech 1993, 78.



*Figure 95: Lead discs nos. 1 (SF 1580) and 3 (SF 2820) were found in the layers of and above the Roman temple at Uley. After Woodward and Leech 1993, Figure 136. Not to scale.*

Another lead disc was found at Teffont, Wiltshire, within a cobbled surface outside a building which appears to have served a supporting function to the shrine landscape currently under excavation (Figure 96).<sup>26</sup> Additionally, four lead blanks also feature in the votive assemblage from Piercebridge, and possibly were intended to represent coins.<sup>27</sup>



*Figure 96: A blank lead disc from Teffont, Wiltshire. Not to scale.*

Two silver discs from Nettleton can perhaps be interpreted as tokens, given that silver is a metal that is utilised for tokens in Roman Gaul, both at Nîmes where the tokens are made solely from silver, and at the sanctuary of Digeon where silver squares are inset into lead tokens (see section 3.2.3). Tokens manufactured from precious metal are imbued with value that is not present in those made from base metal. Their use as votives therefore implies some level of personal sacrifice in order to part with a higher value object. The bronze disc from Nettleton may also have functioned as a votive token, similarly to the silver disc, but with less personal expenditure.

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<sup>26</sup> *Pers comm* D. Roberts 2019, The Teffont Archaeology Project.

<sup>27</sup> Walton *in press*; BM-FC12C7 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/515225#> Accessed 03/05/2019; BM-512402 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/515985> Accessed 03/05/2019; BM-F080C5 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/508206> Accessed 03/05/2019; BM-60DF84 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/506850> Accessed 03/05/2019.

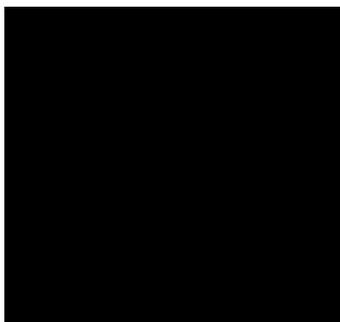
These above examples demonstrate that blank discs had the potential to fulfil a votive token function on religious sites in Britain, having been found in contexts that imply a ritualised deposition, most probably as a votive offering. This is, however, dependent on thorough examination of their immediate archaeological contexts in order to ascertain that they are from areas consistent with this theory. This should be taken into account in conjunction with their size, weight and material to establish that they could not have served another purpose, such as that of a weight. Whilst these are only a few examples, it is worth considering that tokens could take the form of blank discs of lead, bronze or silver, and that they were utilised to a small extent as votive offerings on sites of a religious nature.

#### **4.2.2. 'Rings'**

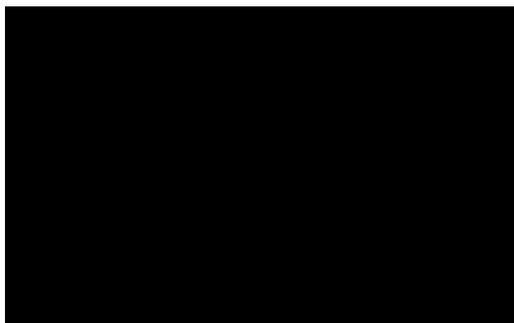
Two temple sites in Britain have produced assemblages of copper alloy 'rings'. Fifty rings were found at Uley, while a few were discovered at Harlow.<sup>28</sup> These rings are not finger rings or jewellery, instead they give the impression of being crudely manufactured on site. They are not found on domestic sites, and therefore the implication is that they serve a function specific to the temple. At Uley they have been termed 'tokens' in the excavation report and divided into four different classes based on their morphology. Class I were cast in two piece moulds, and vary in their cross-sections from round, to oval and ovolo. There are no casting flashes, and their irregularity suggests that they may have been hammered or filed in order to shape them, alongside casting. Class II were manufactured from sheet metal which was shaped and filled with lead or tin solder in order to help the objects retain their form. Rings of this class were made exclusively from brass or bronze. Classes III and IV were cast in one piece moulds and are distinguished from one another by their cross sections and size, Class III having a D shaped or rectangular cross section and measuring 20-23mm, and Class IV having a triangular cross section and measuring in excess of 24mm. Two rings (find nos. 287 and 3737, Figure 97) retain casting sprues, implying that the rings were cast in multiples in a one-piece mould. Find 740 (Figure 98) comprises two conjoined rings, with a casting sprue projecting from one, and this example may have formed the end piece of a row of rings.

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<sup>28</sup> For Uley see Bayley and Woodward 1993.



*Figure 97: Ring of Class IV, with casting sprue intact. After Bayley and Woodward 1993 p.139, fig. 115, no. 5. Not to scale.*



*Figure 98: Class III rings, conjoined from manufacturing process and with casting sprue still intact. After Bayley and Woodward 1993 p.137, fig. 114, no. 24. Not to scale.*

Most of the rings of these classes are very crudely finished and appear to have been mass-produced. They would only have looked attractive from above, and were not made to be inspected closely or be handled extensively. Additionally, their metal content is very varied in the proportion of tin to zinc and in the presence of lead. This implies that the metal utilised was whatever was to hand, and therefore supports the theory of cheap mass production. Based on the fact that these were not valuable items and that they clustered in the area of the temple, the authors conclude that the rings must have functioned as tokens which fulfilled a votive function, perhaps as ‘ring money’ dedicated to Mercury. The authors note that the only known parallels for classes III and IV are from France, while in Britain rings broadly similar to those of Class I are found at the temple site of Harlow.<sup>29</sup>

Those from France were discovered at Alesia, in a deposit near a temple building. It is evident that they were cast in chains due to the presence of casting sprues, and in two part moulds due to the presence of casting seams.<sup>30</sup> The similarities to the examples from Uley in terms of manufacture and form are apparent. Class III and IV

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<sup>29</sup> Bayley and Woodward 1993, 35-40.

<sup>30</sup> Rabeisen and Menu 1985, 160.

rings from Uley show evidence of casting sprues, although they were cast in one-piece moulds, while Class I were cast in two piece moulds. The examples from Alesia therefore provide a good parallel (although not exact) for the manufacture and use of rings on religious sites in the western Roman empire.

However, the parallels from Britain are not so clear-cut. Thirteen copper alloy rings were discovered at Coventina's well, although no exact details are given as to their form.<sup>31</sup> At Harlow only seven rings were discovered, two of these unstratified. The others clustered around the temple, but appear far from uniform in their size or shape despite Bayley and Woodward's assertion that they are broadly similar to those of Class I at Uley. For example, no. 90 is constructed from round sectioned wire, which has been bent into a loop with the two ends abutting at the join. This is very different to, for example, ring no. 92 which has bevelled outside edges, or ring no. 95 which is considerably larger.<sup>32</sup> Therefore it is unlikely that the rings from this site are a direct parallel. Bayley and Woodward do state that perhaps the rings at Harlow originally had different functions that were re-appropriated for a more generalised function at the site, or used in the same way as the rings from Uley.<sup>33</sup> However, they are not found in the same quantities, and therefore their use as a ring money or temple tokens is not a foregone conclusion.

These rings provide an example of how objects that do not conform in appearance to most Roman period tokens as found elsewhere in the Roman empire (monetiform, bearing legends and/or imagery), nonetheless had the potential to function in a similar manner to tokens. In this instance there is a votive element to their utilisation, an aspect that is paralleled in both Gaul (section 3.2.3) and perhaps in Egypt (section 2.4.4), although in the latter cases the tokens resemble coins. The monetiform nature of votive tokens from elsewhere in the empire would imply that they were intended to directly represent coins, or at least their value. The un-coinlike appearance of the rings from Uley is harder to link to a specifically monetary votive offering, despite the assertion that they might be 'ring money' for Mercury. Therefore, these rings should perhaps better be termed 'votive rings' rather than tokens.

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<sup>31</sup> Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 32, nos.87-98.

<sup>32</sup> France and Gobel 1985, 87-88.

<sup>33</sup> Bayley and Woodward 1993, 40.

### 4.2.3. Lead coins

Ten lead coins were found by divers in the River Tees at Piercebridge, and it is helpful to explore whether they might have functioned as tokens. These objects differ from lead tokens in that they are copies of actual currency, however, it is not impossible that they functioned as votive tokens given the ritualised nature of the deposition. The lead coins in question form part of a large finds assemblage which was intentionally deposited in the River Tees at Piercebridge over the course of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and which is believed to be of a votive character.<sup>34</sup>

The counterfeit lead coins are imitations of Severan denarii, which were bent or damaged in antiquity.<sup>35</sup> This is similar to the ritualised destruction of objects on Roman temple sites, such as the coin assemblage from Hayling Island, but the bending of coins is unparalleled in Roman Britain.<sup>36</sup> Examples are known from the River Liri in Italy, where their presence was interpreted as a foundation deposit for a bridge, adding further weight to the suggestion that these objects should be interpreted as votives.<sup>37</sup>

The intentional destruction of coins and other artefacts before ritual deposition is common in the Roman period, and is a way of ‘sacrificing’ an object before gifting it to the gods.<sup>38</sup> It is therefore possible that counterfeit coins were chosen as votive offerings based on the fact that withdrawing them from circulation resulted in less financial loss to the individual, and that they were then ritually ‘killed’. The significance of lead may also be a factor, as over 130 sheets of lead were also found in the assemblage at Piercebridge, some of which may be curse tablets, and Walton notes the similarity in the treatment of the coins and lead sheets.<sup>39</sup> Other ritualised objects such as curse tablets are almost exclusively made from lead in Roman Britain, and the metal was believed to have had magical properties in the Roman period.<sup>40</sup> It is therefore possible that the counterfeit coins were also selected for deposition based on the properties of their metal.

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<sup>34</sup> Walton *in press*.

<sup>35</sup> Walton *in press*.

<sup>36</sup> Walton *in press*, although it should be noted PUBLIC-49EA94 is a potential parallel.

<sup>37</sup> Walton *in press*.

<sup>38</sup> Henig 1984, 149; see also Hubert and Mauss 1964, 12 for discussion of sacrifice of objects.

<sup>39</sup> Walton *in press*.

<sup>40</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* 34.50.

These counterfeit coins from the River Tees may have been manufactured specifically for a votive purpose and could be interpreted as having a token aspect in that they were intended to represent coins. This is, however, unlikely given that lead coins were discovered elsewhere at Piercebridge, in one instance forming part of a coin hoard.<sup>41</sup> The lead copies from the hoard imitated coins dating to the Severan period, and therefore share a similar date range with those deposited in the River Tees. This suggests that the ritually deposited examples were in circulation before deposition, rather than having been made solely to serve a purpose as votive tokens.

Based upon this evidence, these folded lead coin copies have more in common with coins that were used as votive offerings than they have with tokens. This is because they were not manufactured specifically to be votive tokens, but instead adapted to a votive purpose as many other coins were in the Roman period.

#### **4.2.4. Coin Impressions**

A number of metal fragments impressed with coins have been found in Britain, and could be interpreted as tokens, having been described as ‘temple money’ in site reports.<sup>42</sup> Seven of these objects come from the shrine site of Woodeaton where three pieces of sheet bronze were impressed with coins of Constantine I, Crispus and possibly Numerian (Figure 7).<sup>43</sup> The remaining four fragments were too small to be identified. While most of the bronze objects from this site were discovered out of context through retrieval from the fields, a temple has since been excavated on the site and it is likely that, along with other votive objects such as miniature tools and weapons, the coin impressions were associated with the religious activity of the temple.<sup>44</sup>

Bagnall-Smith has suggested that these impressions may be temple money, while Kiernan dismisses this in favour of interpreting the objects as clippings from votive plaques, in which the coin impressions form part of a larger design.<sup>45</sup> Kiernan’s argument is based on the fact that the sheet of metal continues beyond the edge of the impressed coin, and that a row of dots outside of the impression of one may indicate

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<sup>41</sup> Brickstock 2008, 165-166, hoard 5.

<sup>42</sup> Bagnall-Smith 1999, 40

<sup>43</sup> Kirk 1949, 44.

<sup>44</sup> Kirk and Goodchild 1954, for report on the excavation of the temple.

<sup>45</sup> Bagnall-Smith 1999, 40; Kiernan 2009, 158-159.

an originally larger object.<sup>46</sup> However, this does not necessarily indicate that these objects were part of larger plaques. The dotted border of cat no. 22 (Figure 99, bottom) follows the perimeter in the areas it is present, so it is plausible that the dots were impressed after the shape had been finalised, rather than the border dictating the shape of the plate. Additionally, another of the impressions appears to be clipped close to the edge of the impression, thereby implying a focal point of the coin design.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, four of the seven objects are not illustrated or discussed because they were ‘too small to be identified’.<sup>48</sup> This implies that large areas of metal are not present around the coin impression and that the impression itself is the main focus of the object. This focus on the coin impression could imply that they were made as ‘temple money’ for votive deposition at the site in place of actual currency, and therefore can be classified as votive tokens. It should be noted similar possible plaques manufactured from lead and impressed with coins of Valens have been discovered by metal detectorists in Lincolnshire and recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme, and therefore use as a votive plaque cannot be ruled out (see Figure 100).<sup>49</sup> However, as at least one of the impressions from Woodeaton has been trimmed around the impression of the coin (Figure 99, no.5) a conscious choice has been made to fabricate a coin-like object from the plaque.<sup>50</sup> Similar coins impressions were found at the shrine site of Digeon in France (see section 3.2.3), and therefore there is further precedent for their possible function as temple tokens.

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<sup>46</sup> Kirk 1949, 44, no. 22. Illustrated 42, figure 9, no. 8; Kiernan 2009, 158.

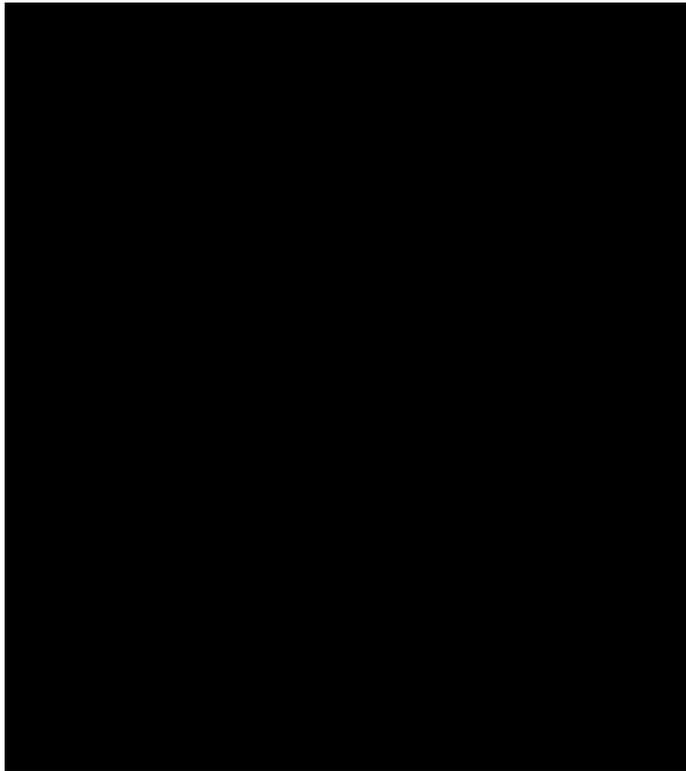
<sup>47</sup> Kirk 1949, 44, no. 23. Illustrated 42, figure 9, no. 5.

<sup>48</sup> Kirk 1949, 44.

<sup>49</sup> LIN-57B091 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/163139>; LIN-57F021

<https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/163144> accessed 28/09/2017.

<sup>50</sup> Kirk 1949 no. 23.



*Figure 99: Bronze sheets impressed with coins of Crispus (no.5) and Constantine I (no.8). After Kirk 1949. Not to scale.*



*Figure 100: LIN-57F021. Lead possible votive plaque impressed with coin of Valens. Not to scale.*

#### **4.2.5. ‘Theatre tickets’**

A series of clay tokens are referred to in current scholarship as either Roman ‘theatre tickets’ or gaming pieces. Although these are not metal tokens their inclusion in this thesis is pertinent (see section 1.4.2). This is because their mis-identification as Roman theatre tickets has considerable impact on the overall picture of Roman tokens in Britain, especially as there are so few verifiable tokens from the province.

In appearance these tokens are thick, round, clay counters made from a red-orange fabric, and measuring approximately 24-26mm in diameter. On one face is a stamped letter, below which is a smaller numeral. The letters present are A, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, Y (Figure 101), and the numerals present are I, II, III, VI, VIII, XII (Outlined in Table 3: Post-medieval turnpike tokens.). It seems probable that the complete range of letters and numerals would comprise additional examples, not present in the current collected corpus outlined in the below table.

No.	Museum No.	Obv.	Rev.	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Findspot	Museum location
1	1948.1163 B	F (I)	Blank		4.7	Great Chesterford (Audley end) on token	Museum of Arch. and Anth. Cambridge
2	1948.1163 A	C (II)	Blank		3.5	Great Chesterford	Museum of Arch. and Anth. Cambridge
3	1948.818 A	G (II)	Blank		3.5	Great Chesterford	Museum of Arch. and Anth. Cambridge
4	1948.818 B	H (VI)	Blank		3.5	Great Chesterford	Museum of Arch. and Anth. Cambridge
5	Z 22031	D (VIII)	Blank		5.6	Abington, Cambs	Museum of Arch. and Anth. Cambridge
6	1948.819	Y (VIII)	Blank		3.4	Ashdon, Bartlow, Essex	Museum of Arch. and Anth. Cambridge
7	Z 22462	E (XII)	Blank		3.4	Water Newton, Hunts	Museum of Arch. and Anth. Cambridge
8	J. 2936	G (VI)	Blank	24	3.94	Unknown	Coins and medals, BM
9	19,061,103.49	I (II)	Blank	26	4.54	Unknown	Coins and medals, BM
10	J. 2932	Y (III)	Blank	25	3.5	Unknown	Coins and medals, BM
11	J. 2933	D (I)	Blank	25	4.82	Unknown	Coins and medals, BM

12	J. 2934	D (VI)	Blank	25	4.72	Unknown	Coins and medals, BM
13	J.2935	F (I)	Blank	24	3.19	Unknown	Coins and medals, BM
14	J. 2937	F (XII)	Blank	25	4.25	Unknown	Coins and medals, BM
15	J. 2938	H (VIII)	Blank	25	3.68	Unknown	Coins and medals, BM
16	18,530,627.58	C (VIII)	Blank			Great Chesterford	BEP, BM
17	18,530,627.59	E (II)	Blank			Unknown	BEP, BM
18	18,650,408.11	C (I)	Blank			Unknown	BEP, BM
19	18,650,408.11	C (XII)	Blank			Unknown	BEP, BM
20	?	A (XII)	Blank			Kempston, Bedfordshire	Simco (1984) p.42, fig.32
21	?	G (I)	Blank			Kempston, Bedfordshire	Simco (1984) p.42, fig.33

Table 3: Post-medieval turnpike tokens.



Figure 101: A turnpike token from Ashdon, Essex. Obverse: Y/VIII. Reverse: Blank. Weight: 3.4g. Table 3, no. 6. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge accession no. 1948.819. Image: author.

The suggestion that these tokens were entrance tickets to the Roman theatre was posited by Liversidge, with some ambiguity over whether they were instead gaming pieces.<sup>51</sup> This was based upon examples found at Great Chesterford (Essex), Abington (Cambridgeshire), Ashdon (Essex) and Water Newton (Huntingdonshire), now housed in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (Table 3, nos. 1-7). None of these have any excavation data, aside from findspots, and it is likely that

<sup>51</sup> Liversidge 1968, 371 for their possibility to be theatre tickets; 348 for their collation with gaming pieces.

they are provenanced from antiquarian excavations. Tokens of this type were also identified as Roman gaming pieces at Kempston in Bedfordshire, where they are believed to be from a Roman cemetery (Table 3, nos. 20 and 21).<sup>52</sup> The accuracy of their provenance can be questioned as no clear Roman context is given for these objects, a result of the fact that many finds were discovered through quarrying and then antiquarian excavations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>53</sup> The four examples recorded as Roman gaming counters in the department of Britain, Europe and Prehistory at the British Museum also lack excavation data (Table 3, nos. 16-19).<sup>54</sup> In all of these cases, the information from excavation that would firmly suggest a Roman date is lacking, and therefore calls into question attribution of a Roman date.

The specimens from the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, however, are not assigned a Roman date (Table 3, nos. 8-15). Instead they are recorded as Post-Medieval turnpike (toll-road) tickets, although they are, again, unprovenanced. Given the paucity of reliable excavation data for those tokens recorded as Roman, the possibility that they are turnpike tokens is worth exploring.

The findspot data that is present for this corpus clusters in the counties north of London (Essex, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire), thereby implying that there is a regional basis for this type of token. The findspots are consistently close to turnpike roads, as shown in Figure 102. A turnpike was present at Great Chesterford, and a number of turnpike roads branched from the town. Abington is situated close to turnpike roads, and whilst Ashdon is not placed on a turnpike, it is within the vicinity of a network of turnpike roads. The turnpike road from Bedford to Woburn passed close to Kempston, where two specimens were found.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the findspots of this corpus are consistent with the placement of turnpikes and turnpike roads, indicating that their use in this context is highly probable, and does not favour a Roman origin.

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<sup>52</sup> Simco 1984, p.42, fig. 32.

<sup>53</sup> Elger 1891, 240-242; Elger 1890, 3.

<sup>54</sup> British Museum 1964, 73 and fig. 40.

<sup>55</sup> Albert 1972, 262 for mention of the Bedford-Amphill-Woburn turnpike trust.

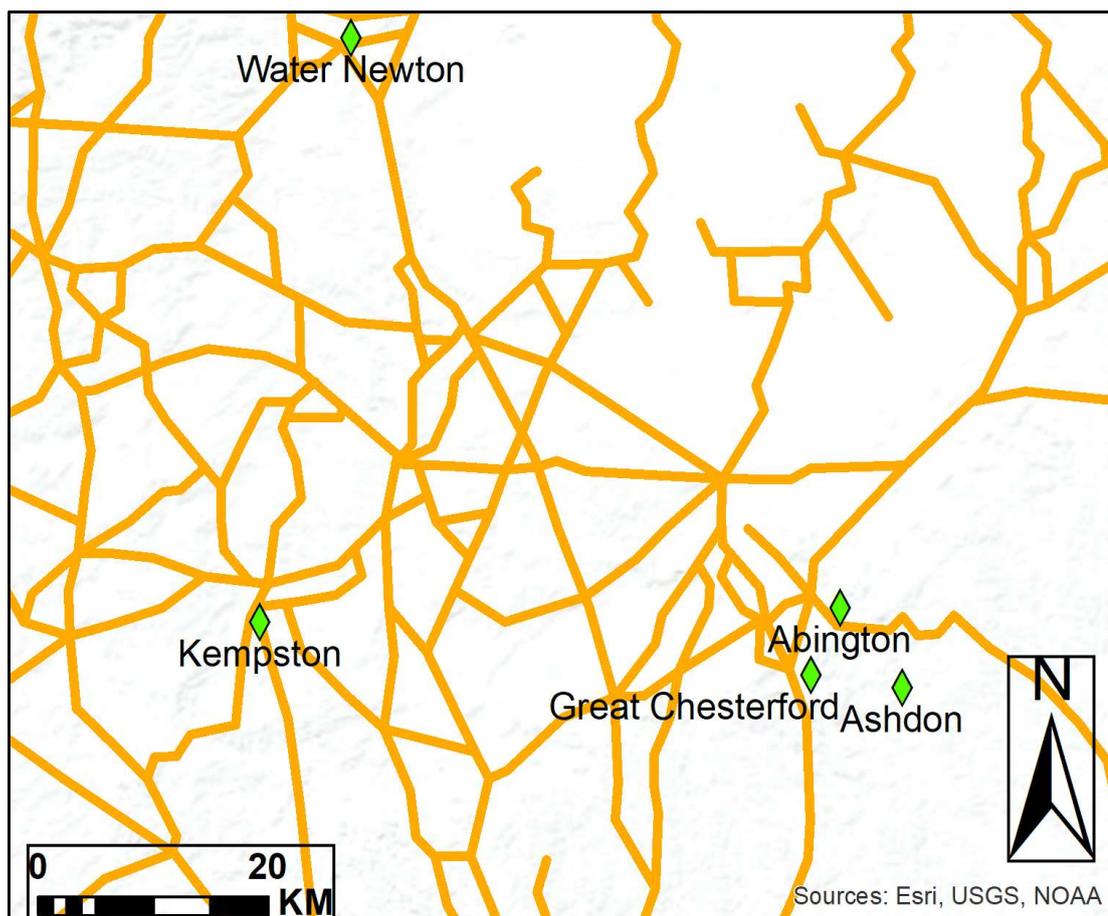


Figure 102: Map of turnpike roads (1830) and findspots of turnpike tokens. Road placement based on Bogart 2017, 15. Image: author.

Additionally, the style of the lettering is comparable with that of the Post-Medieval period. Clay pipe maker's marks, which were also often stamped on a clay surface, exhibit the same shortened horizontal central bar of the E and lower bar of the F (Figure 103). The letter Y is also somewhat out of place in Roman Britain, as in the Roman period it was utilised in words of Greek origin.<sup>56</sup> These factors, along with the general overall style of the pieces indicate that they are not of Roman origin, and therefore there is no subset of tokens in Roman Britain that served as theatre tickets.

It is important that this point is recognised, as not only have scholars identified these tokens as Roman independently from each other, as discussed above, but they are also cited as parallels for actual Roman tokens.<sup>57</sup> This mis-identification serves to highlight the difficulties with establishing whether objects are indeed Roman tokens, and

<sup>56</sup> Healey 1990, 40, for reintroduction of the letter Y.

<sup>57</sup> Boon 1986, 26.

emphasises the need for secure archaeological contexts, and a thorough assessment of fabric and surface design, when attempting an identification.



*Figure 103: Examples of the lettering used on clay pipes c.AD 1580-1730. Image: [http://www.pipearchive.co.uk/images/Large/how%20to/heel\\_stamps.jpg](http://www.pipearchive.co.uk/images/Large/how%20to/heel_stamps.jpg) .*

#### **4.2.6. Portable Antiquities Scheme finds**

The Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) records artefacts over 300 years old that are discovered by members of the public in England and Wales, and uploads their details onto an online database.<sup>58</sup> The majority of finds are discovered by metal detector, and therefore the database primarily comprises metal artefacts, making it an excellent resource for research of metal objects. In many instances analysis of PAS finds have contributed to the changing picture of artefacts and coins in Roman Britain.<sup>59</sup> Although there are some biases inherent in the data collected by the PAS, the objects recorded on its database are generally indicative of the types of finds expected in Roman Britain.<sup>60</sup> It would therefore be expected that the PAS data would reflect the geographical spread and types of token present in Britain. In order to ascertain whether this is indeed the case, it is useful to assess the objects recorded as Roman tokens to discern whether they are in fact Roman or tokens, and consider how the overall corpus (or lack thereof) assists in the interpretation of token use in Roman Britain. This will

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<sup>58</sup> Database URL: <https://finds.org.uk/> .

<sup>59</sup> For coins see Walton 2012; religious objects Sutton and Worrell 2007; rings Daubney 2010.

<sup>60</sup> For biases see Robbins 2013; Brindle 2014.

also serve to highlight the difficulties in identifying Roman tokens when they are not from secure archaeological contexts.

The tokens recorded as Roman by the PAS are outlined in Table 4, and their findspots shown in Figure 104. Within the corpus of tokens recorded by the PAS there is no consistent type either in terms of imagery or style. This proves problematic when attempting to assign a Roman date to a token, and particularly so in the case of PAS finds, which do not come from a secure archaeological context, but are instead surface finds, often from the plough zone.<sup>61</sup> The following is therefore a brief discussion of tokens from the PAS database that were assigned a Roman date at the time of recording.

It should be noted that most of the records discussed below are not verified to the level of ‘green-flag’, which means that they have not been checked by a finds advisor and remain as ‘yellow-flag’ on the database. They have, however, been checked or recorded by a Finds Liaison Officer. Records that have been created by volunteers or members of the public, and have not yet been checked (‘red-flagged’), are not considered here. Whether a record is ‘yellow-flagged’ (YF) or ‘green-flagged’ (GF) is indicated in the below catalogue next to the catalogue number.

BERK-868731 (Table 4, no. 1, Figure 105) depicts a radiate head right on one face, and the other is blank.<sup>62</sup> It is unusually large and heavy for a token at 39.67mm and 42g respectively. The radiate head suggests a Roman date, although the features are executed in a very crude style and are not necessarily consistent with the Roman period. The concave profile of the token is also unusual, and other uses, such as a seal or mount cannot be ruled out.

BERK-279A37 (Table 4, no. 2) is also recorded as depicting a radiate bust, in this instance stamped onto a square piece of lead, although again alternative uses such as a gaming piece or a seal are possible.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, SUSS-ACFE04 (Table 4, no. 3) depicts a bust, but as stated on the PAS record, a break across the surface has resulted in much of the token now missing, and therefore it is not with certainty that a Roman date can be assigned, rather than a Post-Medieval one.<sup>64</sup> HAMP-A5448A (Table 4, no.

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<sup>61</sup> Haldenby and Richards 2010 for the archaeology of the plough zone.

<sup>62</sup> BERK-868731 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/564489#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

<sup>63</sup> BERK-279A37 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/893071#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

<sup>64</sup> SUSS-ACFE04 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/287157#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

4) also depicts a radiate head facing right, with a blank reverse.<sup>65</sup> It is not clear if the metal is copper alloy or lead, but either would be consistent with Roman tokens. The piercing close to the edge at 8 o' clock on the obverse suggests that it may have served a secondary use as an amulet or pendant.

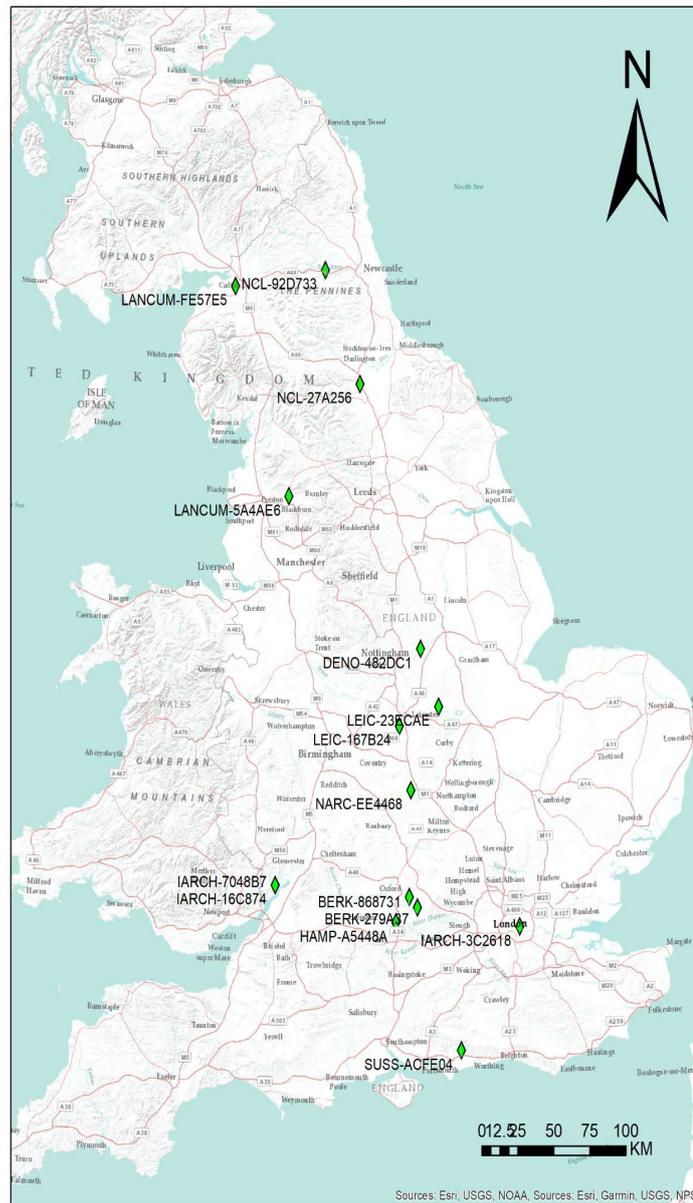


Figure 104: Map of locations of PAS finds discussed in section 4.2.6 for the potential to be Roman tokens. Image: author; background map open access data: Esri, USGS, NOAA.

<sup>65</sup> HAMP-A5448A <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/810572#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Date from PAS	Diameter (mm)	Length (mm)	Width (mm)	Thickness (mm)	Weight (g)	Material	PAS Reference	Findspot data (parish)
1.	Radiate head right. GF.	Blank.	43-300 AD	39.67			3.11	42	Lead	BERK-868731	Marsh Baldon
2.	Radiate bust right, within square border. YF.	Blank.	220-296 AD		16.4	15.2	2.2	4.3	Lead	BERK-279A37	Berrick Salome
3.	Bust right. YF.	Blank.	43-1900 AD	19			12.8	2.52	Copper Alloy	SUSS-ACFE04	Chichester Area
4.	Radiate bust right. YF.	Blank.	81-96 AD	24			No data	6.01	Lead	HAMP-A5448A	West Ilsley
5.	Bust right. YF.	Zoomorphic or anthropomorphic figure.	43-409 AD	19			2	5.93	Lead	DENO-482DC1	Burton Joyce
6.	URBS ROMA nummus impression. Helmeted and cuirassed bust facing right. YF.	Blank.	330-401 AD	19				5	Lead	NARC-EE4468	Daventry
7.	Bust of Mars, right (impression). YF.	Blank	43-410 AD	15.47				3.64	Lead	LON-8C0467	Southwark, London
8.	Bust right. YF.	Blank.	43-1700 AD		31.5	24.9	4.7	16.11	Lead	SUSS-2F5145	St. Ann Without, Lewes
9.	Flaming altar, flanked by two pellets, all enclosed within beaded border. YF.	Central vertical beading.	43-410 AD		16.98	16.44	2.2	2.5	Lead	NCL-92D733	Corbridge
10.	Blank. YF.	Blank.	43-450 AD	11.14			1.06	0.9	Copper alloy?	NCL-27A256	Brough with St. Giles
11.	Indiscernible. YF.	Indiscernible.	Roman	24.56	25.56	10.24	11.26	4.49	Copper alloy	LANCUM-FE57E5	Carlisle
12.	Cockereel. YF.	Blank.	1-410 AD	22					Copper alloy	LEIC-167B24	Thurlaston
13.	Indiscernible. Possibly reclining figure left. YF.	Blank.	Roman	28			5	19.04	Lead	LEIC-23ECAE	Somerby
14.	Indiscernible. YF.	Blank.	70-410 AD	32			No data	26.33	Lead	LANCUM-5A4AE6	Huncoat
15.	Indiscernible. YF.	Indiscernible.	Roman	17			No data	2.01	Silver/lead	IARCH-3C2618	Principal Place Part of LON-B81CC8
16.	Cross outline with central pellet. YF.	Blank.	Roman	No data			No data	3.26	Lead	IARCH-16C874	West Dean Part of GLO-24A5E0
17.	H. YF.	Blank.	Roman	No data			No data	1.07	Lead	IARCH-7048B7	West Dean Part of GLO-24A5E0

Table 4: Objects identified as Roman tokens on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database.

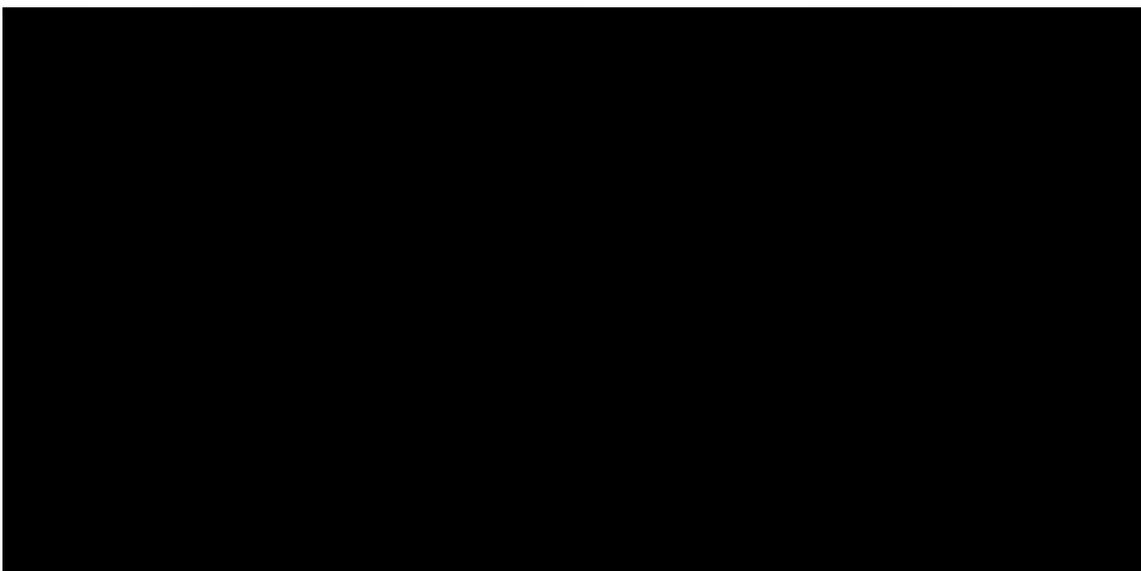


Figure 105: Obverse: Radiate head right. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 39.67mm. Weight: 42g. Table 4, no. 1. PAS reference: BERK-868731. Image: Oxfordshire County Council.

DENO-482DC1 is almost certainly of Roman date (Table 4, no. 5, Figure 106).<sup>66</sup> It also depicts a stylised bust on the obverse, although it bears a reverse design in the form of a stylised anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figure. A number of factors suggest that this token is of Roman date, more so than the above mentioned specimens, including the dark patina, the border comprising a single line, and the raised central pellet that is often found on Roman tokens and is a result of the manufacturing process when carving a mould.<sup>67</sup> The above specimens demonstrate that imperial-style busts were perhaps a common choice for the imagery on Roman tokens in Britannia, however, this is predicated on a definite Roman date for all specimens. The above tokens all differ in their style of both imagery and form, and due to their style and patina it is likely that some are actually of Post-Medieval date.

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<sup>66</sup> DENO-482DC1 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/846892#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

<sup>67</sup> Note, that this is also present on some Post-Medieval tokens e.g. PUBLIC-AE10AF <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/964429> Accessed 11/10/2019.



*Figure 106: Obverse: Stylised bust right. Reverse: Anthropomorphic figure. Metal: Lead.: Diameter: 19mm. Weight 5.93g. Table 4, no. 5. PAS reference: DENO-482DC1. Image: Derby Museums Trust.*

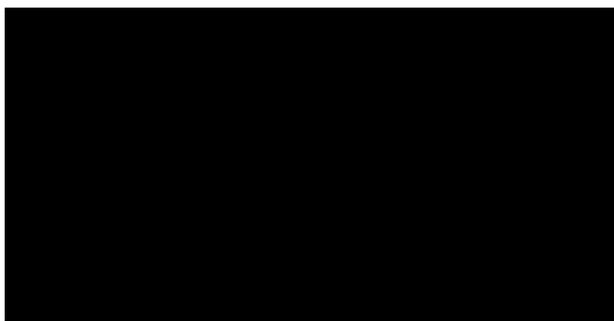
A number of examples on the PAS database depict busts, but the design was stamped into the metal rather than moulded through casting, sometimes using an existing Roman coin. These include NARC-EE4468 (Table 4, no. 6), LON-8C0467 (Table 4, no. 7) and SUSS-2F5145 (Table 4, no. 8), although the latter two examples could instead be seals and SUSS-2F5145 could be Post-Medieval.<sup>68</sup> There are no known parallels for tokens of this type, especially not in contexts which would suggest use as an entrance ticket into military buildings or baths, as was posited for LON-8C0467. Whilst it is likely that the former two of these objects are Roman in date, their function as tokens is not certain.

NCL-92D733 (Table 4, no. 9, Figure 107) is a possible lead token that depicts a lit altar on one face, flanked by two pellets, and enclosed within a beaded border.<sup>69</sup> The reverse exhibits a vertical beaded ridge, placed towards the broken edge. The object would originally have been oval in plan, but the worn break means that some of the token is now missing. The raised ridge, placed almost centrally when the object was complete, is unusual for a token, and perhaps indicates that the object was instead a seal or a mount. The style and proximity of the findspot to Corbridge indicate that a Roman date is, however, possible for this object.

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<sup>68</sup> NARC-EE4468 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/498972#> Accessed 01/05/2019; LON-8C0467 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/148426> Accessed 01/05/2019; SUSS-2F5145 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/220517> Accessed 01/05/2019.

<sup>69</sup> NCL-92D733 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/528431#> Accessed 01/05/2019.



*Figure 107: Obverse: Flaming altar, pellet to each side, all within beaded border. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16.98mm. Weight: 2.5g. Table 4, no.9. PAS reference: NCL-92D733. Image: The Portable Antiquities Scheme.*

Other possible tokens include NCL-27A256 (Table 4, no. 10), which is recorded as Roman, but bears no discernible legends or imagery.<sup>70</sup> LANCUM-FE57E5 (Table 4, no. 11) has been assigned a wide date range, from the Roman to Post-Medieval period, but it is not possible to assign a firm date.<sup>71</sup> The rolled nature is, however, consistent with the rolled lead coin copies from Piercebridge (see section 4.2.3). LEIC-167B24 (Table 4, no. 12) is a copper alloy object with a cockerel motif on one face, and a blank reverse.<sup>72</sup> This is an identification that was created pre-PAS, and therefore details are sparse and it is difficult to discern if the object was a Roman token. LEIC-23ECAE (Table 4, no. 13, Figure 108) is a lead disc, with indiscernible imagery on the obverse, and a blank reverse. The record states that the imagery depicts a reclining figure, leaning on a circular object, and that it bears a resemblance to ‘brothel tokens’.<sup>73</sup> The object is certainly not a brothel token, as this type of token did not exist in the Roman period (see section 4.4.1) and the imagery of a reclining figure is only superficially similar, if indeed that is what it depicts. It seems plausible given the unlikely resemblance to known Roman tokens and the light patina, that instead this token is Post-Medieval, as suggested at the end of the record.

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<sup>70</sup> NCL-27A256 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/222386#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

<sup>71</sup> LANCUM-FE57E5 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/193970#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

<sup>72</sup> LEIC-167B24 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/106556#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

<sup>73</sup> LEIC-23ECAE <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/854361#> Accessed 01/05/2019.



Figure 108: Obverse: Reclining figure left? Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 28mm. Weight: 19.04g. Table 4, no. 13. PAS reference: LEIC-23ECAE. Image: The Portable Antiquities Scheme.

LANCUM-5A4AE6 (Table 4, no. 14) is recorded as a token, or mould for their manufacture, although this is very unlikely on both counts.<sup>74</sup> The surviving imagery or legend is indiscernible and the object has no other distinguishing features that would date it to the Roman period. IARCH-3C2618 (Table 4, no. 15) was found as part of the hoard LON-B81CC8, and aside from weight, diameter and that it was probably made from silver or lead there are no given details.<sup>75</sup> IARCH-16C874 (Table 4, no. 16) and IARCH-7048B7 (Table 4, no. 17) are two lead tokens that are both part of the hoard GLO-24A5E0, which comprises three radiate coins and 496 nummi, and dates from AD 294-340.<sup>76</sup> The former bears the outline of a cross with a central pellet, and the latter the letter H. Both are uniface. The record for the hoard states that they could have formed part of the hoard assemblage, but without further details it is not certain that they can be associated with it. The cross with central pellet motif is, however, known from a mould found at *Aquae Sulis* (see section 4.3.7) and from tokens found at Digeon in Gaul (see section 3.2.3).

An exploration of the above tokens recorded as Roman on the PAS database does not suggest that Roman tokens are frequently found (and recorded) in Britain. The number of objects identified as such is not significant, and many of these cannot be dated to

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<sup>74</sup> LANCUM-5A4AE6 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/801559#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

<sup>75</sup> IARCH-3C2618 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/700417#> Accessed 01/05/2019; LON-B81CC8 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/488876#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

<sup>76</sup> IARCH-16C874 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/700417#> Accessed 01/05/2019; IARCH-7048B7 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/700191#> Accessed 01/05/2019; GLO-24A5E0 <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/614302#> Accessed 01/05/2019.

the Roman period with certainty, or assigned a definite identification as a token. Should a finds advisor check the records, some clarification may be provided, although as this is an unexplored area of study, tokens in Britain are somewhat beyond their remit. This further demonstrates the difficulties in identifying tokens in Roman Britain, particularly when the objects in question are not from archaeological contexts that can provide a firm date. The PAS data is, however, consistent with the data collected from excavation, which suggests that tokens were not prevalent in Roman Britain and that there are no homogenous token types.

#### **4.2.7. Section summary**

The above examples demonstrate the array of objects that have been defined as tokens, or have the possibility to function as such. In some cases, namely blank discs from ritualised contexts on religious sites, and coin impressions, they may have been utilised for such a purpose. In these instances, tokens probably functioned as votive offerings, representing money, and should be termed ‘votive tokens’. Both types of artefact are easy to manufacture, possibly on site, and are therefore indicative of a highly localised aspect to their use. The small quantities found further emphasise the disjointed approach to the utilisation of tokens in Roman Britain, suggesting their use was a very small-scale phenomenon. Other artefact types, such as the rings from Uley and the lead coins from Piercebridge are less likely to have been used as tokens, instead they are closer to votives. In terms of the folded lead coins it is unlikely that they were manufactured specifically as tokens for votive deposition in place of genuine coins, and so instead should be categorised as votive coins. The rings from Uley meanwhile may well have been deposited as votives, but proving they are tokens (representing a value and therefore ‘ring-money’) is problematic.

The tokens categorised as Roman theatre tickets are instead Post-Medieval turnpike tokens, a case study which demonstrates the difficulties in discerning whether tokens without archaeological context are Roman or not. This is further exemplified by the specimens from the PAS database, most of which cannot be firmly assigned a Roman date and token function due to their discovery in the plough zone rather than archaeological excavation.

This discussion has highlighted not only the variation in the definition of what comprises a token in Roman Britain, but also the difficulties associated with assigning a firm identification to potential tokens. The following section discusses the small

quantity of monetiform objects from Roman Britain that do not pose a problem in their identification as tokens.

### **4.3. Exploring tokens from Roman Britain**

A small quantity of certifiably Roman tokens has been discovered in Britain. We can be more confident in their identification as tokens as they fulfil the criteria set out in the methodology (chapter 1), of having a monetiform aspect without being coins. Their imagery, legends or archaeological context further suggest compatibility with the term ‘token’, based upon parallels from elsewhere in the Roman empire. Despite these characteristics, identification as tokens is not always a foregone conclusion, and so the uncertainties around their identifications will also be discussed. Through exploration of these examples, this section will highlight the diversity in their types and assess the possibilities as to their function, while also demonstrating that tokens were little used in Roman Britain.

The distribution of these tokens lies mainly to the south of the province, with deposition occurring on sites which include the military baths and amphitheatre at Caerleon, the fort at Richborough, the shrine of Nettleton, the Walbrook area of London, the town of Verulamium and an area of Kent associated with the Claudian invasion. Tokens discussed in this section are outlined in the attached appendix (Britain nos. 1-6) and their findspots are shown in Figure 109. The following assessment of these tokens will be structured alphabetically by site, followed by a thematic discussion of moulds.



Figure 109: Locations of tokens discussed in section 4.3. Image: author. Image: author; background map open access data: Esri, USGS, NOAA.

#### 4.3.1. Caerleon

The military site at Caerleon has produced two tokens of Roman date. The first was discovered in the legionary baths (Britain no. 1, Figure 110), and the second was found in the military amphitheatre (Britain no. 2, Figure 112).

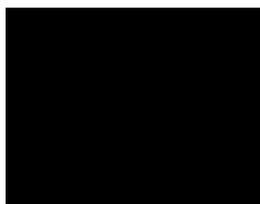


Figure 110: Token from the bathhouse at Caerleon. Obverse: L.II A inside wreath. Reverse: Blank (not shown). Metal: Lead. Diameter: 12mm. Weight: 1.15g. RIB 2408.3. Britain no. 1. Caerleon National Roman Legion Museum, accession no. 81.79H/9.22. Image: Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales.

The token from the baths is a thin lead disc, measuring 12mm in diameter and stamped on one side with the legend L.II A within a wreath, likely a reference to the 2nd Legion Augusta which was stationed at Caerleon from circa AD 74.<sup>77</sup> Like many of the small finds, it was found in the frigidarium drain, just downstream of the central sinkhole, in a context dated to AD 160-230.<sup>78</sup> This drain captured water from different sources

<sup>77</sup> Moore 1975, 9 for introduction to the stationing of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Legion Augusta at Caerleon.

<sup>78</sup> Boon 1986, 26-27 for the token itself. Zienkiewicz 1986b, 13 for discussion of ‘drain group 4’.

within the baths, not solely from the frigidarium, and so it is unclear where exactly in the bathhouse the token originated.<sup>79</sup> The authors note that the fact that the piece is uniface is not comparable with those published by Rostovtzeff, but that it poses no obstruction to its identification as a token, citing the example from the amphitheatre as a parallel. This is consistent with the findings of this thesis, which notes a trend for tokens in the north-western provinces to be uniface (cf. sections 4.3.5 - Richborough; 4.3.4 - Nettleton; 3.3.1 - Lyon).

This token is interpreted as an admission token for the baths, in that it enabled the control of civilian visitors. The fact that it is the sole example is accounted for due to the collection of tokens upon entry.<sup>80</sup> It is evident that civilians utilised the baths, evidenced by the quantities of artefacts that indicate women and children, particularly in the later deposits which are contemporary with the token.<sup>81</sup> However, other possibilities should be considered as there is no precedent for tokens bearing the name of a legion, or exhibiting military imagery, specifically functioning as admission tickets to bath houses.

It should be taken into account that there were a range of activities within a bath house that could require a token. For example, the baths at Caerleon have provided ample evidence for the sale and consumption of food in the area. The faunal remains comprise the bones from small snacks such as chicken joints and mutton chops, as well pig ribs and trotters, wildfowl, shellfish and eggshells. Additionally, the pottery vessels are small bowls and containers, as might be used to contain food.<sup>82</sup> A function related to the sale of foodstuffs or exchange for services could therefore also be postulated, although further examples would be expected if tokens were used frequently within the bath house itself.

Boon states that other tokens from baths, from Rostovtzeff's corpus, are from private establishments and are not comparable with the token from Caerleon.<sup>83</sup> The loss of excavation data from Rostovtzeff's corpus does not make it an accurate point of comparison, but tokens found within bath-houses or with legends that explicitly refer

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<sup>79</sup> Zienkiewicz 1986a, 63 for discussion of inlets to the drain.

<sup>80</sup> Boon 1986, 26.

<sup>81</sup> Zienkiewicz 1986b, 18.

<sup>82</sup> Zienkiewicz 1986b, 19-20 for discussion of the sale of ready prepared foodstuffs at baths in general and the material from Caerleon.

<sup>83</sup> Boon 1986, 26.

to baths do suggest that generally they were utilised within the private sphere or under imperial authority, and a military association would be unusual.<sup>84</sup> The reference to the 2<sup>nd</sup> legion on the token from Caerleon could instead indicate that it functioned in a context that was pertinent to the legion itself, rather than the civilian sphere, and it was mislaid through accidental loss in the same manner that coins and other small finds went missing in the baths.

It appears that utilisation of tokens by the military was not common in the Roman period. Boon cites examples from Rostovzeff to demonstrate parallels in the use of military tokens elsewhere in the empire.<sup>85</sup> One of these reads LI and refers to the 1<sup>st</sup> legion (see Figure 111). These, however, are few in number and it would seem that tokens were not heavily utilised by the military in Italy and Rome. This example from Caerleon is therefore interesting in that it is demonstrative of the use of tokens by the military community in Britain, an association that, while not at odds with their utilisation elsewhere in the Roman empire, is not found frequently.

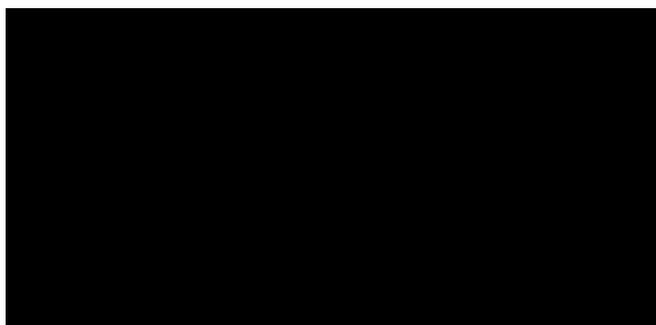


Figure 111: Obverse: Eagle facing right, with wings closed and head left; L to left, I to right. Reverse: Three standards. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.26g. Die axis: 12. British Museum accession no. B 9015. TURS 236. BMCRLT 1550. Image: British Museum.

The token from the amphitheatre (Britain no. 2, Figure 112) is the only specimen known from amphitheatres in Britain, although they are known from elsewhere in the empire (see section 3.2.9 for an example from Gaul).<sup>86</sup> It is a lead disc inscribed with

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<sup>84</sup> Pedroni 1997 for tokens from the baths at Fregellae; Carandini and Panella 1977 for tokens from the Baths of the Swimmer in Ostia; Spagnoli 2017 for tokens from the *Terme dei Cisiarii* in Ostia; Lagóstena Barrios 1993 for a token that depicts a dolphin and the inscription 'BALN'; Mora Serrano 2002 for 150 lead tokens from the baths at Alameda.

<sup>85</sup> Boon 1986, 26 cites TURS 236 (BMCRLT 1550) which reads LI (and referring to the 1st Legion) and 238 (IV Pia within a wreath).

<sup>86</sup> Their use and manufacture is also attested in theatres, particularly the *tabernae* - token moulds were found from the *tabernae* of the theatre of Ostia: *NSc.* 1913, 132 for one example, *Giornale degli Scavi* no. 6 1913 p. 234; *NSc.* 1913, 299 for another, and *Giornale degli Scavi* no. 6 1913 p. 274; *NSc.* 1913, p. 396 for a third example. A group of tokens still attached via their casting chain were also

the numeral XIII, enclosed within a triangle.<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately, no further details pertaining to exact context or findspot are given, owing to the antiquity of the initial excavation in which this was discovered.

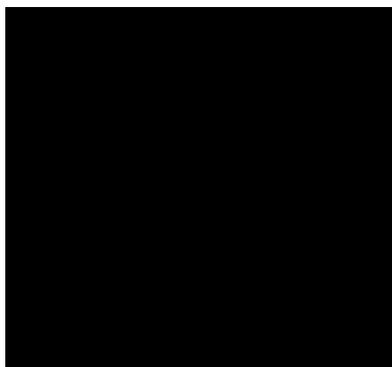


Figure 112: Token from the amphitheatre at Caerleon. Obverse: XIII within triangle. Reverse: Blank (not shown). Metal: Lead. Britain no. 2. RIB 2408.4. National Roman Legion Museum. Image: Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales. Not to scale.

Boon discusses the possibility that this specimen may refer to a specific seat within the amphitheatre, but dismisses this as there is no indication to which section the seat number refers to, which would be vital information as there would be a seat 13 in each block.<sup>88</sup> Instead he concludes that it refers to the thirteenth day of the games, based on parallels published in Rostovtzeff that refer to either the number 13 ('TER DEC' no.619), or days: 'first day' ('DIE I' no. 559) and 'the day of the hunt' ('DIES VENAT' no. 578). There is, however, no evidence that no. 619 is associated with the games or refers to a thirteenth day specifically rather than the number 13 generally. The lion depicted on this token is interpreted by Boon as referring to the games, but this is a very literal reading of this imagery. Whilst the other two examples do indeed refer to 'days', the token in question from Caerleon does not, and therefore the parallels are not necessarily pertinent. It is more probable that the presence of a numeral on this token is better explained by the use of numerals on tokens from Rome, such as on *spintriae* (see section 4.4.1) and lead tokens.<sup>89</sup> The difference is that this specimen from Caerleon is uniface, whereas the examples from Rome are paired with imagery. However, providing that this is a token, and not a gaming counter, it demonstrates how tokens from Britain exhibit similarities to wider trends in Rome. Boon does note its superficial resemblance to gaming counters of Roman date, and

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discovered: *Giornale degli Scavi* 1912, no. 5 p. 262; *NSc.* 1912, p. 393. Tokens were also found in the theatre at Nemi: *NSc.* 1931, p. 281.

<sup>87</sup> Boon 1986, 26-27; Wheeler and Wheeler 1928, 168, no. 46 and 167, fig. 15, no. 46.

<sup>88</sup> Boon 1986, 27.

<sup>89</sup> For *spintria* see Buttrey 1973; Jacobelli 1997.

this does hold true for those of bone, but the clay examples he cites are Post-Medieval turnpike tokens (see above for further discussion).<sup>90</sup> Its utilisation as a gaming counter should not be ruled out, but it is also possible that it could have served a function relating to the amphitheatre.

#### **4.3.2. Cookham Wood, Kent**

A token found in Cookham Wood, near Rochester (*Durobrivae*), Kent, is probably of Roman date (Britain no. 3), although it should be noted that when this token was described by Hubner, he identified it as a fake: '*certa falsa*'.<sup>91</sup> It is difficult to ascertain whether he is correct or not, as the only remaining evidence comprises the published drawing, and without viewing the object first hand it is impossible to identify the details that may mark an object as authentic or fake. Given that such an object is uncommon in Roman Britain, it is possible that it may have been identified as fake due to a paucity of comparanda. The uncertainty around the authenticity of this token further emphasises the difficulties in discerning the extent to which tokens were present in Roman Britain. Nevertheless, this example will be discussed in detail as it exhibits aspects that are not unexpected for tokens. The first aspect is that the imagery is paralleled by iconography found on other small finds, such as intaglios, in Roman Britain. It is not unusual for tokens to share iconography with other portable objects, including gems, lamps and coins.<sup>92</sup> The second aspect is the legend that implies creation under the auspices of the emperor Claudius and his wife Messalina, who appear on tokens from Rome and Egypt. The presence of their names is therefore consistent with tokens from elsewhere in the Roman empire.

The current location of the object is unknown, and the only record survives as a drawing.<sup>93</sup> On one face is the legend TI. CLAVD and two ears of corn along with a hand holding a pair of scales. On the other face the legend reads VAL. MESSALINA and is accompanied by the image of a bird (Figure 113).

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<sup>90</sup> See *RIB* II:III, 107-108 for bone roundels inscribed with numerals; Simco 1984 and British Museum 1964 for mis-identified turnpike tokens.

<sup>91</sup> Hubner 1873, no.20.

<sup>92</sup> See section 2.3.2 for discussion of the imagery of Athena-Thoeris on tokens and a gem.

<sup>93</sup> *Archaeologia* 1829, vol. 22, 435-7; ADS record:

[https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/SoA\\_images/detail.cfm?object=568](https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/SoA_images/detail.cfm?object=568) Accessed 18/02/2019.

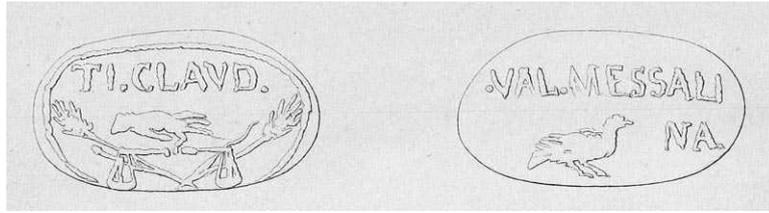


Figure 113: Token from Cookham Wood, Kent. Obv: TI. CLAVD.; two ears of corn and hand holding scales. Rev: VAL. MESSALINA; bird right. Britain no. 3. Image: *Archaeologia* 1829, vol. 22.

This imagery of a hand holding a pair of scales appears on *quadrantes* of Claudius, although the ears of corn are not present.<sup>94</sup> Scales (without the hand) and corn ears, accompanied by a modius and a bird also feature on intaglios.<sup>95</sup> The modius has been omitted in the case of the token, and the bird appears on the second face, but it is possible that the imagery of the token is referencing this scene. The ears of corn and the modius are indicative of prosperity, and the scales here perhaps fulfil a similar role. Dual balance scales were not used for the weighing of corn, instead utilised for weighing small objects of value.<sup>96</sup> There is however, some evidence from Roman Britain to suggest that they were symbolically associated with corn, the harvest and prosperity, and this may be the context in which they are pictured on the token.<sup>97</sup> There is no reason to read the imagery literally and posit an interpretation regarding the token's use in the distribution of grain. The iconography should instead be read in terms of prosperity and fertility, and viewed in light of the popularity of similar imagery on other portable objects in the Roman empire. This reading does not offer much assistance in interpreting the exact function of the token, as imagery relating to prosperity was often depicted on objects, such as the gems cited above, that did not have a function directly associated with this concept. The imagery is therefore flexible in its deployment.

<sup>94</sup> *RIC* I 85, 89, 91.

<sup>95</sup> Zienkiewicz 1987b, 129, no. 3 and pl V no. 3a. 129. Dates to AD 75-85 (drain group Ai), from military baths at Caerleon. Modius with tripod base, from which sprouts a single ear of corn. A pair of scales is balanced on the modius and a raven perches to the beam, facing right (on impression). See also British Museum 1987,0212.450 from the Charles Townley collection and 1986,0401.218 from Snettisham, Norfolk both of which feature a modius with three corn ears and scales, but does not feature the bird.

<sup>96</sup> Smither 2016

<sup>97</sup> Henry et al, in press: The Pewsey vessel hoard contained a number of vessels, including two sets of scale pans, and was buried in late summer at the time of the arable harvest. The hoard was likely a ritual deposition, aimed at ensuring a good harvest and continuing fertility. This deposition was buried in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, however, and therefore is not contemporary with the supposed date of the token.

The legends are simpler to interpret, referring to Claudius and his wife Messalina. The presence of the name Messalina leaves no doubt, however, that it is the emperor and his wife who are the relevant individuals rather than a private individual by the name of Claudius. This again links the token to wider trends within the Roman empire. Tokens issued by Claudius are known from Rome (*TURS* 833, Figure 114), and those issued by Messalina are present in Egypt. Another issue from Rome depicts and refers to Claudius on one face, and to Messalina on the other.<sup>98</sup> It is clear that these tokens are issued by, or in the name of, Claudius and Messalina, rather than just bearing their imagery or name. One token from Rome depicts Antonia (mother of Claudius) on one face, and the legend EX LIBERALITATE TI CLAVD CAE AVG on the other (*TURS* 10, Figure 115). This phrase ‘from the *liberalitas* of the Emperor Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus’ implies that this token was issued under his authority.<sup>99</sup>

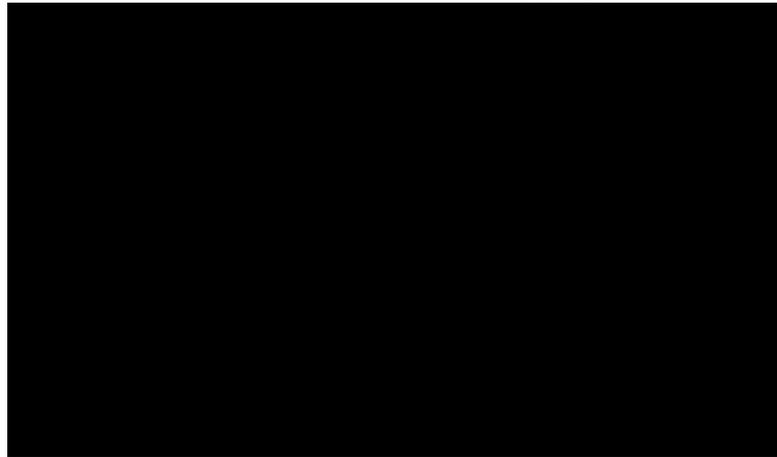


Figure 114: Token from Rome naming Claudius. Obverse: Male bust right; TI CLAVDIVS [CAESAR] AVG PP. Reverse: Figure probably holding branch, with a military trophy on the right; IVENTV around. Vatican Museums. *TURS* 833.

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<sup>98</sup> Specimen from auction: London Ancient Coins 60, lot 362, sale date 14.02.2017. Token Communities database record: <https://coins.warwick.ac.uk/token-specimens/id/londonancientcoinsauction60lot362> . Accessed 10/07/2020.

<sup>99</sup> *TURS* 10. See also 833 for another token issued by Claudius.



Figure 115: Token from Rome naming Antonia. Obverse: Bust of Antonia wearing a wreath of corn-ears enclosed by laurel; ANTONIA around. Reverse: EX LIBERALITATE TI CLAVD CAE AVG. TURS 10.

Those from Egypt bearing the name of Messalina also suggest manufacture under her auspices (see section 2.4.4). One example is inscribed with MECCAAINHC and bears her image as depicted on an Alexandrian billon tetradrachm on one face, and KTH CIC with the imagery of a baboon on the other.<sup>100</sup> The legend forms one phrase spread over the two faces of the token, and is translated as ‘property of Messalina’. The second example is inscribed with an abbreviation of this phrase MECCAAINA K, and depicts the bust of the river god Nilus on the same face as the legend, and Ganymede on an eagle on the other.<sup>101</sup> As these examples demonstrate that tokens are issued by Claudius and Messalina, it is reasonable to interpret the example from Cookham Wood in the same manner, *contra* the supposition that it was manufactured by one of Claudius’ military flatterers.<sup>102</sup>

The exact findspot of the token is not known, as the only information provided is ‘Cookham Wood, near the village of Frindsbury, Kent’.<sup>103</sup> Apparently a Roman road was discovered in the area during the construction of the Medway Canal, and led towards Frindsbury Church.<sup>104</sup> The unscientific nature and imprecise details of these antiquarian discoveries are not reliable enough to provide detailed conclusions as to how this token functioned, however, it is possible that the token served a purpose relating to Claudius’ invasion and subsequent occupation of Britain. The type is not consistent with those from Rome or elsewhere in the empire, so it is unlikely to have originated outside of Britain and arrived with the invading army.

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<sup>100</sup> Dattari 6506. *RPC* I 5113 for Alexandrian tetradrachm.

<sup>101</sup> ANS 1944.100.79863.

<sup>102</sup> *Archaeologia*, 1829, 436.

<sup>103</sup> *Archaeologia*, 1829, 435.

<sup>104</sup> *Archaeologia*, 1829, 436-7.

Claudius' forces arrived in AD 43, and probably advanced along the road later known as Pilgrim's Way, and fought a decisive battle at the Medway, near Rochester.<sup>105</sup> A fort was also probably established at Rochester to protect the main supply route from Richborough to London, although no evidence of this has been discovered to date.<sup>106</sup> A small town was present at Rochester, and various industries took place in the immediate area, including the manufacture of pottery located on both sides of the Medway estuary, and the extraction of chalk, which took place on the south banks of the estuary.<sup>107</sup> This in particular may have been subject to Imperial control, although it took place on the opposite bank of the river to the supposed findspot of the token.<sup>108</sup> Richborough and its environs have been little excavated and studied, and so while it is not possible to know exactly how the token (if it is genuine) may have pertained to the town and nearby area, possibilities are present relating to military presence and control, and the administration of nearby industries.

#### **4.3.3. London**

Excavations in Roman London have yielded a group of possible Roman tokens, as outlined in Table 5: Tokens from ONE94 and CID90 (London). These tokens are from two sites: One Poultry (ONE94) and 72-75 Cheapside (CID90). Both of these sites are in the area of the Walbrook Valley, which in the Roman period comprised the Walbrook stream and an area of Roman activity from AD 45. The tokens from these sites are unpublished, and are provenanced from a variety of Roman contexts. The majority of the tokens in this corpus do not have clear surviving iconography or legends. Some may have been blank and from their contexts it is not certain that they functioned as tokens, others have traces of imagery and legends, but they are now unidentifiable. Only a minority have any surface decoration that can be discerned, and these are worth discussion, particularly because they are from sealed contexts dated to the Roman period.

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<sup>105</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 60.20; Frere and Fulford 2001, 48; Webster 2003, 98.

<sup>106</sup> Burnham and Wachter 1990, 76; Webster 2003, 139.

<sup>107</sup> Burnham and Wachter 1990, 80.

<sup>108</sup> Burnham and Wachter 1990, 81.

Site	Small Find Number	Context	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Obverse	Reverse	Metal	Notes
ONE94	2371	11593	8	0.31	Indiscernible	Indiscernible	Lead	
ONE94	2427	8472	12	0.84	Indiscernible	Indiscernible	Lead	Incomplete
ONE94	2473	11594			Blank	Blank	Lead	
ONE94	2592	8928	15	3.68	Blank	Blank	Lead	
ONE94	2738	11725	14	1.67	Bust right(?)	Indiscernible	Lead	
ONE94	3253	11513	11	0.77	Blank	Blank	Lead	
ONE94	3909	12631			Indiscernible	Indiscernible	Lead	
ONE94	3398	12530	16	2.02	Indiscernible	Indiscernible	Lead	Edges folded inwards
ONE94	3572	17848	18	3.88	Indiscernible	Indiscernible	Lead	'Date depends on context'
ONE94	3157	12360	11	1.27	Bust?	Indiscernible	Lead/silver	
ONE94	3269	12482	14	2.12	Indiscernible	Indiscernible	Lead	Label on bag indicates 'Medieval', but patina consistent with Roman tokens, and design not indicative of either period
CID90	303	2437	9	1.12	Blank	Blank	Lead	Casting waste?
CID90	304	2437	14	0.73	Indiscernible. Possible standing figure and lettering.	Indiscernible	Lead	High copper content. Broken in half. Date noted as c.330-360.
CID90	373	2530	15	2.34	Possible triangle, with two projections extending from one edge	Blank	Lead	Possible casting sprue folded over onto body. Or a seal.
CID90	563	2550	18	4.12	Indiscernible lettering, including R or A. Central design, possibly palm branch		Lead	

CID90	586	2464	14	3.10	Blank	Blank	Lead	Not noted as Roman on label
CID90	793	2629	15		Blank	Blank	Lead	
CID90	1028	+	15	2	Blank	Traces of lettering?	Lead	One edge folded over. Possibly a seal?
CID90	1040	2745	19	2.46	Indiscernible	Indiscernible	Lead	Traces of design definitely present. Pierced.
CID90	1043	2711	11	1.42	Raised border, Indiscernible. Possibly lettering	Indiscernible	Lead	
CID90	1056	2717	10	1.03	Wreath	Indiscernible	Lead	Edges worn and incomplete
CID90	1464	933	9	1.07	Blank	Blank	Lead	D shaped cross-section. Could be drop of casting waste.
CID90	1465	933	9	0.48	Light scratches	Blank	Lead	D shaped cross-section. Could be drop of casting waste.

*Table 5: Tokens from ONE94 and CID90 (London).*

Tokens from One Poultry with traces of iconography and an archaeological context include SF nos. 2738 (Figure 116) and 3157 (Figure 117). The former is lead and possibly has a bust facing right on one face, as well as indiscernible lettering, while the other face has traces of a design, but this is no longer clear. The token was found in a context which comprises the backfill of a late Roman culvert on the former site of a building.<sup>109</sup> The rubble dumps sealing the culvert contained coins that date to AD 355-365, and therefore the infilling is earlier than AD 355. The plant remains within the rubble indicate that the fill came from a range of sources, and therefore this is not a primary deposition for the coins and the token. In terms of dating the token, it must

<sup>109</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 246-247.

have been manufactured and in use before the fill was laid down around AD 355-360, but it is not possible to assign a firm date within the Roman period. No. 3157 is interesting in that it appears to be manufactured from lead and silver. One face depicts a bust right, perhaps helmeted, and the second face also possibly depicts a bust right. This token comes from a dump sealing a roadside drain, which was probably deposited in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>110</sup> These roadside drain sequences are apparently quite difficult to date, but if we accept this date of deposition for the dump, then the token must date to before the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century.



*Figure 116: Token from ONE-94. Obverse: Bust right and indiscernible legend. Reverse: Indiscernible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 14mm. Weight: 1.67g. SF no. 2738. Image: author.*



*Figure 117: Token from ONE-94. Obverse: Head right. Reverse: Bust right? Metal: Lead and/or silver. Diameter: 11mm. Weight: 1.57g. SF no. 3157. Image: author.*

Other possible tokens from Roman contexts from One Poultry include SF nos. 2592, 3253, 3909, 3398, 3572 and 3269. All of these are too worn for any iconography or legends to be identified, although traces are present on the surface. No. 2592 is from a context which is pit refuse associated with Road 1, which is phased to AD 95-125, with the possibility that it could be earlier.<sup>111</sup> No. 3253 is from the fill of a roadside drain, again associated with Road 1, but is later in the sequence and probably dates to AD 350-400.<sup>112</sup> However, this contained many residual finds, such as a plate brooch dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century, and therefore the token may be earlier. No. 3909 is from a context associated with the bedding/metalling of Roads 2 and 4, and was probably deposited c.AD 250-300, but again, residual finds are also present so it could well be

<sup>110</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 200.

<sup>111</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 130.

<sup>112</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 227-228.

earlier.<sup>113</sup> No. 3398 is from a pit fill dated to AD 350-400, so is likely to have been deposited by the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century, and again this is probably not its primary deposition.<sup>114</sup> 3572 is from a context associated with Road 2 in a phase that dates to AD 95-125/35.<sup>115</sup> No. 3269 is noted as Medieval on its archive labelling, but the context is from the fill of the roadside drain of Road 1, which could date from AD 250-300.<sup>116</sup> The patina is not inconsistent with the other tokens from Roman contexts, and the traces of surface design or imagery do not favour either date.

The material from 72-75 Cheapside is of a similar nature, and comprises some tokens that have discernible imagery that are from Roman contexts, some that are noted as Roman by the excavators but are not from Roman contexts, and some from Roman contexts where traces of imagery or letters are present but not fully discernible.

SF nos. 373, 1042 and 1056 have traces of discernible imagery. No. 373 appears to have stamped on one side a triangle with two projections extending from one edge, while the other face is blank. This is from a layer of dark earth that overlaid an area of pitting and dumping across a road which was in use until the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore the layer is likely to be 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>117</sup> It is, however, not a primary deposition, and it is probable that the token came from elsewhere. It can, however, be dated to before the deposition of the layer of dark earth in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. No. 1043 has a raised border and traces of lettering that are indiscernible on one face, and possible imagery on the other face. This token is from a ditch or drain beside Road 1, which dates to post the Hadrianic fire in c. 125 AD, but before 200 AD.<sup>118</sup> No. 1056 has imagery which resembles a wreath on one face, while any remaining imagery on the other face is no longer discernible. The token is from a context which is made up of an area of dumping dating to post the Flavian fire, but likely to be pre AD 100, which gives an overall date range of c.90-100 AD.<sup>119</sup> No. 304 is noted as dating to AD 330-360, but is from a period of Early Medieval activity dating to between AD 1000-1050. One face possibly depicts a standing figure and lettering, and therefore it is possible that it is a Roman find that is residual in the later context or that it is of a later date. Similarly,

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<sup>113</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 200-205.

<sup>114</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 226.

<sup>115</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 130-131.

<sup>116</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 211.

<sup>117</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 249.

<sup>118</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 249.

<sup>119</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 129.

no. 563 is noted on the archive labelling as Roman, but again is from an Early Medieval context. This token possibly exhibits lettering in the form of an R or an A, and imagery in the form of a palm branch on one face, but this is not easily discerned from photographs.

Other possible tokens from this site that are from Roman contexts, but have no identifiable lettering or imagery include nos. 793 and 1040. The former is from an area of dumping and truncation across a road that is in use until the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, which dates the layer to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>120</sup> This is again unlikely to be the primary place of deposition for the object, but suggests the token was in use before the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The latter is pierced and therefore is not necessarily a token, but instead may have served as a lead pendant or amulet, or first as a token and then had a secondary use as a pendant. This is from a roadside area outside building 4, which was established at the same time as building 3 that has been dated to AD 59/60. The token was therefore deposited after this date, but before the Boudican fire of AD 60/61.<sup>121</sup> This gives a very tight date range for the deposition of this possible token, and implies that it was in use before AD 59. Nos. 1464 and 1465 are from Roman contexts, but they have the appearance of drops of molten lead, and the lack of any imagery or epigraphy suggests that they were not tokens.

Although a lack of identifiable imagery results in difficulties in assigning a definite token function to all of the objects discussed above, it is probable that some of them were tokens based on the fact that traces of designs were present and they are not the correct form for seals. This highlights the merit in attempting to discern imagery or legends on what might appear to be a blank lead disc at first glance. Many of the contexts in which they were found were those associated with dumped material that was spread over disused areas or filled into pits, and therefore these contexts were not the primary place of deposition. Although this cannot inform as to the exact way in which these objects were utilised, it does demonstrate that they were present in Roman London, possibly throughout the period given the wide date range. It should be noted that a token of a type from Rome was also discovered in the area of the Walbrook stream, and this is discussed in section 4.4.2 below.

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<sup>120</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 249.

<sup>121</sup> Hill and Rowsome 2011, 70 and 22.

Lead tokens of types from Rome were also found in London by metal detectorists pre the Portable Antiquities Scheme. These are unpublished and are mainly from the shores of the Thames, although exact grid references are not known.<sup>122</sup> Given that these tokens are lacking precise findspots it is not possible to infer much as to how they functioned in Roman London, although a secondary use as small change is most likely. It is also possible that due to the fact that they were found on the foreshore, they instead arrived in the material that was utilised as ships ballast in the post Roman period. The same publication lists some tokens from elsewhere in England, such as Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, also found by metal detectorists. Given that no further tokens have been forthcoming from either East Anglia or the Thames foreshore in the 20+ years that the PAS has been in existence, their provenance cannot be taken for granted.

#### **4.3.4. Nettleton**

The shrine of Nettleton Scrubb, Wiltshire, has yielded one possible token (Britain no. 4), aside from the discs discussed in section 4.2.1 above. This specimen is lead, and measures 38mm in diameter and 4mm in thickness. It is from a 3<sup>rd</sup> century context within the shrine area. On one face it is incised with the numeral V in the centre, before which a secondary inscription is squeezed in, that reads LII with a superscript bar (Britain no. 4, Figure 22).<sup>123</sup> The inscription itself could refer to the number 57, with the numerals in the wrong order, but this is not the interpretation favoured by Wright. It is unlikely that the LII refers to the 2nd legion, as it has no connection with the shrine and were based at Caerleon during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, however, the possibility is worth mentioning.

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<sup>122</sup> Mitchiner *unpublished*.

<sup>123</sup> Wright 1982, 177 and 215, fig 92, no. 4.



Figure 118: A token from the shrine of Nettleton Scrub, Wiltshire. Obverse: LIIV. Reverse: Blank (not shown). Metal: Lead. Diameter: 38mm. Weight: 4g. Britain no. 4. Image: Wright 1982, 215, fig 92, no. 4.

The nature of the inscription implies that this type of token was not mass produced, and the secondary inscription adds further weight to the possibility that it is a unique specimen. At 38mm in diameter it is slightly large for a token, but by no means impossible that it functioned as such. An alternative use could be as a gaming counter that had then been further adapted by the secondary inscription. Gaming counters inscribed with numerals are known in the Roman period, although they are often made of bone.<sup>124</sup> Other inscribed counters were discovered on the site, including those made from pottery. One was inscribed with PAET and another with A BE.<sup>125</sup> The function of these is not certain, but they provide comparanda for inscribed round objects that were not necessarily tokens.

The token was discovered within the shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, but not within any context firmly associated with the ritual or religious activity. The building in which it was found has been interpreted as the priest's or custodian's lodging (building IX), due to its position facing the shrine's gateway.<sup>126</sup> This, however, seems pure conjecture based on its location, and the true function of the building remains uncertain. This example highlights the difficulties in discerning the intended use for a possible token, given its similarity to gaming counters, and especially when the immediate archaeological context does not assist with an identification.

#### 4.3.5. Richborough

A probable lead token from the fort of Richborough indicates a clear association with the military (Britain no. 5, Figure 119). It is flat and uniface, with no sign of attachment on the reverse, therefore implying that it is not a seal or mount. On the obverse an

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<sup>124</sup> See *RIB* II:III, 107-108 for bone roundels inscribed with numerals.

<sup>125</sup> Wright 1982, 177.

<sup>126</sup> Wedlake 1982, 30.

eagle is depicted, with wings slightly raised and head to the right. It is anepigraphic, and measures 18mm in diameter.

Richborough was first a town and the main port of Roman Britain, with the fort created at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>127</sup> The token is from the middle triple ditch of the fort, and therefore is likely to date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>128</sup> A use connected to the legion that was stationed at the fort is a plausible explanation. It is unlikely that the ditch was an intended place of deposition for this token, and instead it represents a casual loss.

Eagles are a common feature on tokens from Rome and Italy, as catalogued by Rostovtzeff. Two examples in particular have a clear association with the military, due to the presence of a named legion on them (*TURS* 236, Figure 111, and *TURS* 238).<sup>129</sup> However, there are numerous other examples which do not have an explicit reference to legions, and therefore the association is by no means certainly applicable in the case of every token.<sup>130</sup> It should also be noted that Rostovtzeff's catalogue does not provide any exact parallels for the Richborough token, even amongst those that have a blank reverse (nos. 320-325), but instead provides examples that demonstrate eagles are found on tokens in the Roman period, and they sometimes have military connotations.

It should be acknowledged that as Richborough was one of the key ports of Roman Britain, it would be expected that large quantities of tokens would be found here, if Roman Britain utilised tokens in a similar manner to other provinces, such as Gaul or Italy, where they are found in large quantities at port sites. The absence of tokens at Richborough is therefore notable.

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<sup>127</sup> Mattingly 2006, 242.

<sup>128</sup> Richborough small finds register, unpublished. *Pers comm* Cobbett 2017.

<sup>129</sup> *TURS* 236: see Figure 111; *TURS* 238: Obv: V I, eagle standing right, head left, holding a laurel wreath in its beak, possible palm branch at feet. Rev: PIA in middle of palm wreath. The numeral in conjunction with the eagle imagery refers to the 6<sup>th</sup> legion. Legions were awarded the titles *Pia Fedelis* (loyal and faithful) by the emperor upon good service.

<sup>130</sup> *TURS* 84, 261-283, 285-287, 289-325, 515, 859, 869, 1132, 2603, 2873.

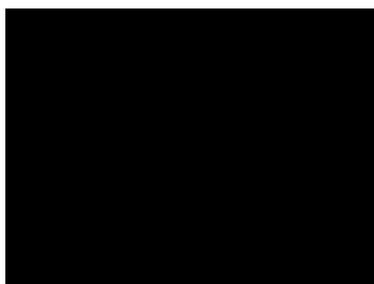


Figure 119: Token from the fort at Richborough. Obverse: Eagle left, head right, wings slightly spread. Reverse: Blank (not shown). Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Britain no. 5. Image: English Heritage.

#### 4.3.6. St. Albans - A Mithraic token

An unusual token was discovered during the excavations at St. Albans (*Verulamium*) in 1931 (Britain no. 6, Figure 120).<sup>131</sup> It is adapted from a silver denarius of Augustus, and refers to the god Mithras. The denarius type dates to 18 BC, and has the head of Augustus right and legend CAESAR AVGVSTVS on the obverse, and Tarpeia half-buried under shields with the legend TVRPILIANVS III VIR on the reverse (Figure 121).<sup>132</sup> The obverse imagery and legend, and the reverse legend, have been intentionally smoothed away and instead the obverse bears the legend MIΘPAC WPOMACDHC/ ΦPHN. Mattingly translates the inscription as ‘Mithras, Ormuzd, Re’, which links the token to the cult of Mithras and the Zoroastrian deity Ormuzd (Ahura Mazda).<sup>133</sup> It is possible that the central ΦPHN does not refer to Re, but instead means ‘will/purpose’ or refers to the seat of the heart or intellect. The reverse imagery of Tarpeia remains intact, although the detail has been smoothed from the shields, and instead it is likely to represent the legend of Mithras born from the rocks.

The token was discovered under the floor of a room, which dates to c. AD 150-200, giving a date for the token to before the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>134</sup> If we accept this rough dating, the adaptation of the token must have occurred between 18 BC and AD 150, and its arrival or creation in *Verulamium* cannot be earlier than the Roman conquest of AD 43. The details of the ‘room’ under which the token was found are not given in the published literature, and so the exact nature of the area where it was discovered is unknown. It is, however, reasonable to assume that *Verulamium*’s military links

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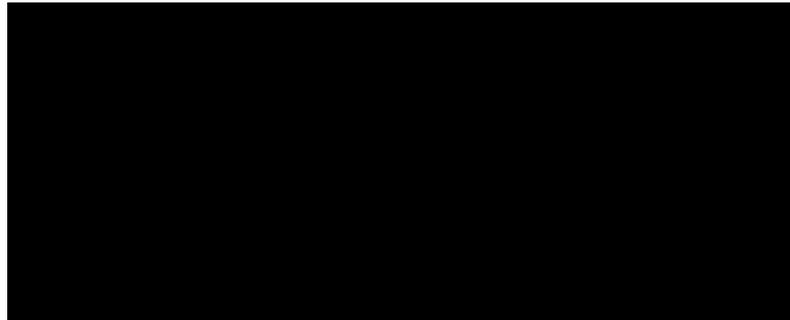
<sup>131</sup> Wheeler 1932, 23; *RIB* II.I 2408.2, although this incorrectly identified the letters DM on the edge as referring ‘to the god Mithras’. They are in fact the manufacturers mark of the company who made the electrolyte copy, currently in St. Albans Museum. The original does not have a wide enough edge to accommodate lettering, and is held in the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum. Accession no. R.16472. (Cabinet 249.24).

<sup>132</sup> Mattingly 1932, 54-55; *RIC* I<sup>2</sup> 299.

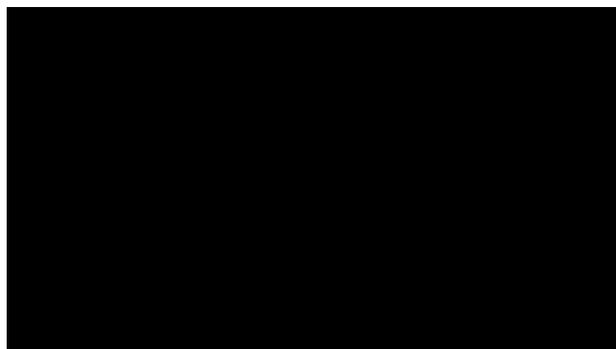
<sup>133</sup> Mattingly 1932, 54-55.

<sup>134</sup> Wheeler 1932, 23; Mattingly 1932, 54.

played a part in the token's creation and utilisation. The god Mithras was associated with soldiers, and the reference to Ormuzd and Re suggests an awareness of his syncretism to Eastern gods, perhaps as a result of military postings.<sup>135</sup> The fact that Greek is the language of the inscription further implies either an origin further afield, or creation in *Verulamium* by an individual familiar with the language, although as Mattingly points out, the D in place of Δ suggests that this is the Greek of a Latin speaking province.<sup>136</sup>



*Figure 120: A Mithraic token from St. Albans. Obverse: Mithras born from the rocks. Reverse: MIΘPAC WPOMACDHC/ΦPHN. Metal: Silver. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 2.38g. Britain no. 6. British Museum accession no. R.16472. Image: British Museum.*



*Figure 121: Denarius of Augustus. Obverse: Head of Augustus right; CAESAR AVGVSTVS. Reverse: Tarpeia facing with hands raised, half buried under shields; TVRPILIANVS IIIIVIR. Metal: Silver. Weight: 3.71g. Die axis: 3. Mint: Rome. Date: 19-4 BC. RIC P 299. British Museum accession no. R.6022. Image: British Museum.*

The labour intensively required to create this object implies that it was not mass produced. The act of smoothing down the surface to remove the unwanted imagery and legend, and then the engraving of the new inscription required a significant investment of time. It would have been difficult to source a large quantity of the same denarius type, and inefficient to then adapt them, if they were needed in great quantity.

<sup>135</sup> Irby-Massie 1999, 72-97 for an overview of the eastern origins of Mithras, and discussion of the demographics involved in Mithraic worship in the Roman period.

<sup>136</sup> Mattingly 1932, 54.

It therefore seems probable that this was adapted by an individual, and unlikely that it was utilised as a token to show membership of a Mithraic cult, *contra* Mattingly.<sup>137</sup> It may be that the token was kept as a personal effect, rather than serving a purpose within the cult of Mithras, or was perhaps intended as an offering to the god. Transactions with the gods usually required investment of money or time in order to make a demand, and this token embodies both of these aspects.<sup>138</sup> When coins were offered to the gods, they were often defaced in order to take them out of circulation, and the adaptation of the coin into a token is consistent with this. The adaptation of coin into token is another stage in the use-life of this object, thereby adding another stage to its biography (see section 1.1.2).

#### 4.3.7. Moulds

There is some evidence for the presence of tokens and moulds at the temple of Sulis Minerva, Bath (*Aquae Sulis*) in the form of a stone mould (Figure 122), along with the mention of two pewter ‘amulets’ found in the culvert at the dipping place.<sup>139</sup> This is the only example of a token mould from Roman Britain, and does imply that the objects were manufactured on site. Further information pertaining to these two amulets is lost, and so it is unknown whether they carried any iconography or legend, or indeed whether they were amulets or tokens. The mould in question has a round hollow, which carries a cross, at the centre of which is a square pellet. A channel links the token to the edge of the mould, and provides the means by which the molten metal was poured into the mould. Again, it is impossible to know if the finished item was intended for use as an amulet or token, but given that tokens are found on temple sites in Gaul, it is possible that they were also utilised in Britain. A similar object from the shrine of Lowbury Hill comprises a bronze disc, bearing a cross in relief. A projection extends out from the edge, which apparently was pierced, although now there is a worn break and the piercing is no longer extant.<sup>140</sup> It is difficult to discern this from the image in the excavation report, and another possibility is that the projection is actually the casting sprue. If this is the case then the disc could have functioned as a token and provides a parallel for the example from *Aquae Sulis*, although at 36mm it would be large for a token.

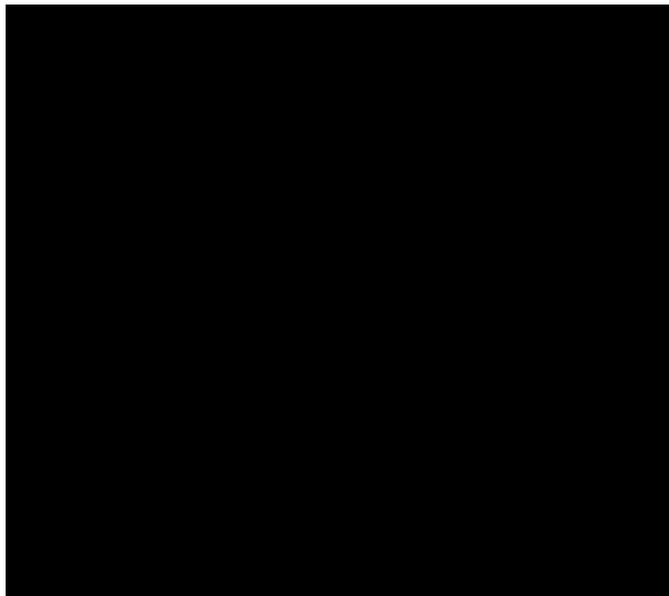
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<sup>137</sup> Mattingly 1932, 57.

<sup>138</sup> Henig 1984, 149 on the dedication of personal wealth to temples.

<sup>139</sup> Cunliffe 1988, 24 and nos. 84-85; Cunliffe 1969, 66, nos. 5-6.

<sup>140</sup> Atkinson 1916, 46.



*Figure 122: A stone mould from Aquae Sulis engraved with a cross with central pellet. Image: Cunliffe 1988. Not to scale.*

Crosses are also present on a strip of binding found at Nettleton, and seven tokens from Digeon in Gaul bear a cross on one face (section 3.2.3).<sup>141</sup> This symbol would therefore not be out of place on tokens from a religious site in Britain. It may be a simplification of a solar motif, and Cunliffe states that the motif on the mould from *Aquae Sulis* was likely to have solar connotations, which were also known to be present in the cult at the site.<sup>142</sup> This is perhaps an unsubstantiated leap, although evidence in favour of this reading can again be seen at Digeon, where the majority of tokens exhibited a ‘rayed motif’ or solar design, and therefore it is possible that the tokens depicting crosses from Digeon also shared similar solar connotations.<sup>143</sup> Miniature wheels are also thought to have had solar associations in the Roman period, and also provide comparanda for the meanings associated with this design.

A lead coin mould from the temple site of Great Walsingham has undergone scrutiny as to its use regarding the fact that lead has too low a melting point to be useful as a mould for the manufacture of metal objects with higher melting points. Instead it has been interpreted as being for the manufacture of wax coins which functioned as ‘temple money’ that have not survived in the archaeological record.<sup>144</sup> This is a

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<sup>141</sup> Wedlake 1982, 207 and fig.85.

<sup>142</sup> Cunliffe 1988, 24.

<sup>143</sup> Kiernan 2009.

<sup>144</sup> Bagnall-Smith 1999, 39-40.

possibility that is difficult to prove, and therefore does not provide any useful avenues for this study.

#### **4.3.8. Section summary**

The above examples demonstrate a sporadic and occasional use of tokens in Roman Britain. There is a marked association with military contexts (Richborough and Caerleon), which is not unsurprising given the militarised nature of the province, but is not consistent with the utilisation of tokens in other provinces of the Roman empire, and Rome itself. Tokens were present to a small extent in London, although discerning their purpose is difficult, and they are not present on the same scale that they are found in other large towns such as Lyon, Ostia or Rome. The overall picture that emerges from Roman Britain is one largely devoid of tokens. All specimens are unique, and it is unlikely that they were manufactured in large numbers. In the case of the tokens from *Verulamium* and Nettleton, their handmade aspect suggests that no other examples were produced at all. The sparse evidence for moulds is consistent with the little evidence of tokens, but implies production happened on-site. Despite the paucity of examples from Britain, the lack of homogeneity between the specimens from each site is consistent with the local character of tokens in the Roman empire as a whole.

#### **4.4. Tokens from Rome**

A number of tokens from Rome have been found in Britain. It is unlikely that they fulfilled the same function that they did in Rome, and were perhaps used as small change, or simply arrived as part of an individual's personal possessions. The below discussion comprises *spintriae*, a bronze token featuring a *kantharos*, and a Festival of Isis token. These tokens are listed in the attached catalogue of tokens from Roman Britain - Roman tokens found in Britain of types from Rome and Italy.

##### **4.4.1. *Spintriae***

A small corpus of *spintriae* are known from Britain, two from the shores of the Thames, and one from Skegness beach, which is likely to be a Renaissance or modern copy and therefore is not discussed further here.<sup>145</sup> *Spintriae* originate from Rome, and whilst they are found in the provinces, their presence is uncommon.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Lincolnshire HER record:

[https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results\\_Single.aspx?uid=MLI41709&resourceID=1006](https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MLI41709&resourceID=1006) . Accessed 24/11/2016.

<sup>146</sup> Ralite 2009, for a *spintria* found near Narbonne, Gaul.

The first example was discovered in the borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, and reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme (Britain no. 7, Figure 123).<sup>147</sup> One face depicts a female figure lying right on her stomach, head turned back, and male figure poised behind her (Buttrey scene 5). The other face has the numerals XIII enclosed within a wreath. The second specimen was found in the river Thames in the borough of Chelsea (Britain no. 8).<sup>148</sup> It depicts a male figure reclining left on a couch, with a second figure performing fellatio on the first (Buttrey scene 6). The reverse has the numerals VIII enclosed within a wreath.

The series to which these examples belong is termed *spintriae*. They have a numeral or the legend AVG on one face, and imagery on the other. They are commonly and mistakenly believed to be ‘brothel tokens’, due to the nature of the erotic imagery. This view does not, however, take into account that they are die linked with tokens that have Imperial portraits, and that other diverse iconography such as a Capricorn, a biga, or a figure on a camel, is paired with numerals on similar tokens.<sup>149</sup> Those with erotic scenes are clearly part of a larger corpus, all manufactured at the same workshop, probably between AD 22-37.<sup>150</sup> Indeed, it seems increasingly likely that *spintriae* were manufactured alongside other bronze tokens from Rome that do not feature numerals, due to the discovery of die links between series.<sup>151</sup> Separating the series into those with numerals and those without may not accurately reflect why they were made and how they were used.

In terms of the *spintriae*, there is also no correlation between the imagery and the numerals, with diverse combinations possible, therefore it appears highly unlikely that the numeral referred to the price for a service (depicted via the erotic imagery on the other face) in a brothel.<sup>152</sup> Furthermore, to assign a function related to the sexual imagery fails to account for the nuance in how attitudes to sex and sexuality are culturally constructed, and the way that we understand them in the present day is different to the manner in which the Romans did.<sup>153</sup> Sexual imagery is found on other aspects of the mundane environment in the Roman period, such as lamps and wall

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<sup>147</sup> PAS database reference: LON-E98F21

<sup>148</sup> Numismatic Circular 1979, 514, no. 10129.

<sup>149</sup> Buttrey 1973, 56-57 for discussion of die links; 61-62 for table B ‘Portrait and genre tokens’.

<sup>150</sup> Buttrey 1973, 57.

<sup>151</sup> Rowan *forthcoming*

<sup>152</sup> Fishburn 2008, 226.

<sup>153</sup> Clarke 1998, 8.

paintings, and was part of a visual language that was not intended to be taken literally.<sup>154</sup> In short, just because modern society perceives the sexual images as ‘erotic’, it does not mean that past societies did.

The exact function of this series is still uncertain. Arguments have been made for their utilisation as gaming counters, entry tickets, reckoning counters and gift tokens distributed as largesse.<sup>155</sup> However they were utilised in the Roman period, it is unlikely that those found in Britannia served the same original function they had when struck in Rome.

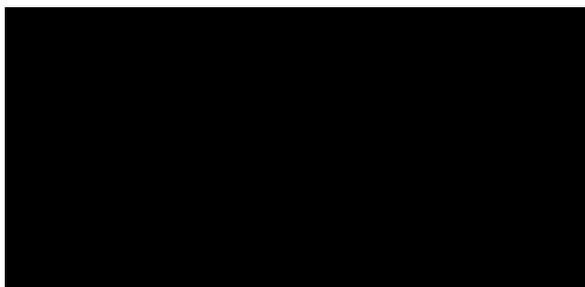


Figure 123: A spintria from London. Obverse: Sex scene depicting female reclining right on her stomach, head turned left. Male right poised behind her. Reverse: XIII within wreath. Metal: Copper alloy. Diameter: 18.9mm. Weight: 3.85g. Britain no. 7. PAS reference: LON-E98F21. Image: Museum of London.

#### 4.4.2. A token from the Walbrook Stream

Amongst the finds discovered by workmen undertaking the building of Bucklersbury House (City of London) in 1955, was a copper alloy token, of the type from Rome (Britain no. 9). On one side it depicts a modius with three ears of corn, and on the other a *Kantharos*.<sup>156</sup> The site is that of the Walbrook stream, and it yielded a continuous series of coins from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Therefore, it is with reasonable certainty that the deposition of the token can be dated to this period. Whilst an exact context was not recorded for the provenance of this token, due to the fact that excavation was not undertaken and that the majority of the finds were made by workmen, it is apparent that the finds were made in the lower levels of black mud and gravel that represented the bed of the

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<sup>154</sup> Vout 2013, 117 for example of wall painting and p.112 for oil lamp.

<sup>155</sup> Fishburn 2007, 232-233 discusses the possibilities of gaming counters, entry tickets and gift tokens. Buttrey 1973, 53-54 for discussion of reckoning counters, admission tickets and gaming counters. Clarke 1998, 246-247 makes an argument for their utilisation as gaming tokens, with the images copied from illustrated, numbered sex manuals, which provided a convenient source for images paired with numbers, the latter of which were required for the game. This does not, however, acknowledge the *spintriae* with no sexual imagery or provide any evidence for such manuals actually being illustrated.

<sup>156</sup> Merrifield 1962, 45 ‘Tessera’. For type see Cohen VIII, 272, no.55.

stream, and the surrounding area.<sup>157</sup> It is also likely that any artefacts found in the surrounding waterlogged silt of the banks had originally been deposited in the stream itself, and were incorporated into the banks when they were built up through clearance of the stream.<sup>158</sup> It is probable, therefore, that the token is provenanced from the stream itself.

Other finds from the area included craftsmen's tools, leather and metal waste, as well as iron *styli*, toilet and surgical instruments, personal ornaments, and fittings.<sup>159</sup> The area was a key zone for industrial activity in the Roman period, and it is possible that the finds were lost through the day to day commerce that took place in the vicinity.<sup>160</sup> There is also, however, some evidence that the banks of the Walbrook, and the stream itself, saw religious activity in the form of numerous shrines on the bank. The deposition of human skulls in the stream is also an indication of ritualised activity.<sup>161</sup> This is not inconsistent with the incorporation of religion into quotidian life, including in industrial areas.<sup>162</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the token was utilised as a votive in this area.

The initial function of the token is likely to relate specifically to Rome, given that they form part of a series of copper alloy tokens struck in the city. Cohen lists this type under the sub section 'tokens of the games', which incorporates chariot racing, the games proper and baths.<sup>163</sup> It is indeed possible that they had an original function related to games or festivals, and therefore would not have been utilised in such contexts in Roman Britain.

This type of token is known to travel beyond the confines of Rome, as four were discovered in tombs in Lepcis Magna, perhaps for utilisation as 'Charon's obol'.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Merrifield 1962, 38.

<sup>158</sup> Merrifield and Hall 2008, 126; Merrifield 1995, 31. *Contra* Wilmott 1991, 64, which states that the material was moved to the site from rubbish dumps elsewhere in London. Merrifield counters this with the assertion that the metal finds are not characteristic of the finds profile usually found in rubbish pits in the city.

<sup>159</sup> Merrifield 1962, 38-39.

<sup>160</sup> Merrifield 1962, 38.

<sup>161</sup> Shrines: Merrifield and Hall 2008, 127; Wilmott 1991, 29. Skulls: Merrifield 1995, 33-36.

<sup>162</sup> Merrifield 1995, 36-40.

<sup>163</sup> Cohen 1880, 246.

<sup>164</sup> Rowan, 2017 [https://blogs.warwick.ac.uk/numismatics/entry/charons\\_obol\\_and/](https://blogs.warwick.ac.uk/numismatics/entry/charons_obol_and/) Accessed 14.04.2019.

Therefore, there is precedent for these tokens to be utilised in a secondary context, for a ritualised purpose, in a province of the Roman empire.

#### 4.4.3. Isis token

A Festival of Isis token was found on Kingscote site 2 in Gloucestershire (1998/96/14/2) from a context that is dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries by coin finds (Britain no. 10, Figure 124).<sup>165</sup> The obverse depicts the bust of Sol-Serapis right, although the wear on this face makes exact identification of the type difficult. The reverse type is not common; it depicts Isis standing left on a ship, with the ship travelling left. Usually the ship travels right, and Alföldi notes that the reason for this is that the left was associated with bad luck.<sup>166</sup> His conclusion that the image in this direction was a mistake is unlikely, given that as well as this specimen, other examples are known.<sup>167</sup> The presence of a Festival of Isis token in Britain is unusual; a search for ‘Festival of Isis’ and ‘Isis’ on the PAS database indicates that none have been recorded (out of a total of 288,844 Roman coins). Even taking into account the bias of the rural nature of PAS findspots, and therefore accounting for the fact that they may be present in urban areas, their absence on the PAS database indicates that they are unlikely to be prevalent in the province. The exact function of these tokens is not certain, and the series is often still referred to as the ‘Festival of Isis Coinage’, following Alföldi. However, more recent publications refer to the series as tokens, and acknowledge their striking in Rome for a festival context.<sup>168</sup>

The utilisation of this token here in Britain is unlikely to be the primary use for which it was intended upon striking. A full study of the circulation patterns of this series is beyond the scope of this thesis, but as they are not often found in Britain, it is most probable that it arrived either through curation (due to the association with a specific festival context that was important to the owner), or through repurposing as small change.<sup>169</sup> Despite noting the presence of the token in the tabulated coins, it is not discussed or signposted as an unusual find in the discussion of the coins in the

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<sup>165</sup> Timby 1998, 63.

<sup>166</sup> Alföldi 1937, 23. See Pl. XIX, no. 17 for reverse type.

<sup>167</sup> Münzen & Medaillen, auction 45, lot 1077. Date of auction: 09.06.2017.

<sup>168</sup> Ramskold 2016.

<sup>169</sup> Study on the Isis Coinage is currently being undertaken by Cristian Mondello, University of Warwick.

excavation report.<sup>170</sup> This further exemplifies how tokens do not receive due attention in archaeological site reports and literature.



Figure 124: Festival of Isis token. Obverse: Isis on galley left, holding sail; VOTA PVBLICA. Reverse: Bust of Sol-Serapis right. Metal: Copper alloy. Diameter: 14mm. Weight: 1.16g. Mint: Rome. Britain no. 10. Corinium Museum accession number: 1998/96/14/2. Image: author.

#### 4.4.4. Section Summary

The above tokens demonstrate that tokens from Rome did travel, and reached as far as the peripheral provinces of the Roman empire. The small quantity of examples implies that they were not utilised for their intended purpose, and secondary utilisation as small change is the most probable re-purposing.

#### 4.5. Tokens(?) in Corinium Museum: A case study

The above discussions suggest that tokens were not widely present in Roman Britain. In order to further test the extent of their presence, a case study will examine whether tokens are present in the Corinium Museum collection. This is achieved through searching the museum's online catalogue and visiting the museum to study possible tokens in person. As the second largest town in Roman Britain, which was founded in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and the probable capital of the Late Roman province of Britannia Prima, *Corinium* (Cirencester) and environs provide a valuable case study for an in-depth assessment of material that might comprise tokens.<sup>171</sup> A large town should be a promising site on which to find tokens, given the precedent set by London, Lyon and Rome, all sites where tokens are present. Furthermore, the Cotswolds area is dense in terms of 'Romanised' material culture, for instance having a comparatively (for Roman Britain) high concentration of both high quality stone sculpture and mosaics.<sup>172</sup> *Corinium* itself had a substantial number of civic buildings and architectural features of a similar character to those found in more central parts of the empire.<sup>173</sup> The

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<sup>170</sup> Reece 1998, 91-92.

<sup>171</sup> White 2010, 36 for *Corinium* as capital of Britannia Prima.

<sup>172</sup> Stone sculpture: Croxford 2015, 601-602. See in particular figures 29.1 and 29.2 which show that the Cotswolds is dense in finds per site of anthropomorphic sculpture (29.1) and high quality stone (29.2); Mosaics: Cosh and Neal 2010, 2-4.

<sup>173</sup> White 2010, 101-102. These comprised town walls, a forum, public baths, an amphitheatre, temples and a cemetery.

influence of Roman culture in the town and surrounding area therefore imply conditions in which tokens could feasibly have been utilised, and so the collection of Corinium Museum, which holds material from this prolific area, makes a good case study.

The collection of Corinium Museum does not have any objects that are recorded as Roman tokens. Of the objects which were deemed, after initial searches, to have the potential for an identification as tokens, 19 objects were described as ‘discs’, one described as a ‘gaming piece’, and two described as ‘seals’. These pieces were selected by searching the terms ‘token’ and ‘disc’ on the museum’s catalogue under the criteria ‘object name’, and ‘Roman’ and ‘Romano British’ under the criteria ‘period’.<sup>174</sup> The results were narrowed down to those outlined in Table 6 below, through disregarding any objects that did not conform to the normal size range for tokens from elsewhere in the Roman empire, or clearly did not have traces of design apparent from viewing the online photos. Those that were selected for viewing in person therefore had the potential to be tokens both through their size and the possibility that they carried a worn surface image or legend. This latter point was particularly pertinent for study due to the fact that there are instances where the surface designs on tokens are not evident upon initial assessment, as is the case with specimens from London (see section 4.3.3).

No.	Accession number	Diameter (mm)	Length (mm)	Width (mm)	Weight (g)	Material	adlib object category	description of findspot/excavation
1.	1998/21/793	22mm	-	-	-	lead	disc	Claydon Pike, Fairford, Gloucestershire. Exc. 1981-1984
2.	1998/21/755	65	-	-	116	lead	disc	Claydon Pike, Fairford, Gloucestershire. Exc. 1981-1984
3.	1998/21/794	-	62	45	88	lead	disc	Claydon Pike, Fairford, Gloucestershire. Exc. 1981-1984
4.	1998/21/765	9	-	-	0.7	lead	disc	Claydon Pike, Fairford, Gloucestershire. Exc. 1981-1984

<sup>174</sup> Available online at <http://adlib.everyoneactive.com/AIS5/search/advanced> .

5.	1998/95/1 1/17	28	-	-	-	copper alloy	disc	Kingscote site 1, Gloucestershire Exc. 1973-1975
6.	1998/96/1 8/139	32	-	-	-	lead	disc	Kingscote site 2, Gloucestershire Exc. 1973-1975
7.	1980/53/5 94	45	-	-	-	copper alloy	disc	Cirencester Excavation Committee excavations at Leaholme, Cirencester, 1961.
8.	1980/65/8 5	17	-	-	3.26	copper alloy	disc	The Police Station, Cirencester. Exc. 1962.
9.	1980/65/1 71	-	22	18	-	copper alloy	disc	The Police Station, Cirencester. Exc. 1962.
10.	1980/121/ 34	-	-	-	-	lead	disc	Cirencester Excavation Committee excavations Purley Road, Cirencester (CIR 72 B : DB)
11.	1980/97/4 4	12	-	-	-	lead	disc	Rescue excavation at Watermoor School. Exc. Easter 1967.
12.	1980/109/ 467	19	-	-	-	copper alloy	disc	Cirencester Excavation Committee excavations at the Bath Gate Roman cemetery, Cirencester. Exc. 1973.
13.	1980/102/ 5	28	-	-	-	fired clay	Gaming piece	Cirencester Excavation Committee excavations, 17 The Avenue, Cirencester. Exc. 1968.
14.	1980/103/ 8	23	-	-	4.18	copper alloy	disc	Cirencester Excavation Committee, 16 Victoria Road. Exc. 1968.
15.	1983/110/ 7	30	-	-	-	copper alloy	disc	Michael's Field, Cirencester, Gloucestershire. Exc.1983. Site of

								temporary changing rooms.
16.	1988/1/25 38	31	-	-	16.66	lead	disc	Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire. Exc. 1961-1979
17.	1988/1/24 32	c.25	-	-	12.13	lead	disc	Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire. Exc. 1961-1979
18.	1998/21/4 05	27	-	-	-	copper alloy	disc	Claydon Pike, Fairford, Gloucestershire. Exc. 1981-1984
19.	1998/21/1 0176	22.5	-	10.4	1.11	copper alloy	disc	Claydon Pike, Fairford, Gloucestershire. Exc. 1981-1984
20.	1989.89	-	-	-	-	lead	seal	
21.	1998/96/1 4/2	-	-	-	-	lead	seal	

*Table 6: Objects explored as tokens in the collection of Corinium Museum.*

The objects described as ‘discs’ yielded one possible token, and the others were either too large (in mass or thickness), did not have discernible imagery or lettering on the surface, or were Post-Medieval. The possible token (Table 6, no. 19, Figure 125) is copper alloy and is incomplete in that it has been broken in half, as evidenced by a worn break along the straight edge, and now only half of the object remains. There is a border discernible at the edge in places, and the possible outline of a bust visible within the border. The other face is completely blank, and does not show any trace of iconography or lettering. The surface is smoother than the bordered face, thereby implying that there never was a design present. Whilst the form of the object looks to be cast, the edges appear unfinished in that they are not shaped to the line of the border. The break shows the disc has a shallow D-shaped cross section, which tapers towards the plain face. This could indicate that the object was once set into a casing, and therefore an identification as a token is not certain. On balance, it is likely that the object was either a token or a mount, but neither can be assigned with certainty. The roughness to the surface perhaps suggests that it was not finished and therefore was manufactured locally.



Figure 125: Possible Roman token. Obverse: Bust(?) within beaded border. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Copper alloy. Diameter: 22.5mm. Weight: 1.11g. Table 6. Corinium Museum accession number: 1998/21/10176. Image: author.

Of the discs studied, one at least can be assigned to the Post-Medieval period (Table 6, no. 15) based on both the patina of the copper alloy, and the style of the lettering placed around the outer edge of an incised circle. This had been recorded as Roman, and whereas this object had distinct features which allowed a reassessment of its date, other similar objects do not have such diagnostic features. Undecorated lead, for example, would be harder to assign to a period if the context is not secure. This therefore demonstrates the difficulties of identifying potential Roman tokens, even when they have come from a site or context which is Roman in date.

This study investigating the potential for tokens at Corinium Museum has resulted in the identification of only a single possible token, the identification of which is by no means certain, thereby suggesting that tokens were not utilised in *Corinium* and the Cotswolds. The lack of tokens from an area with a preponderance of other material culture linked to cultural discourses shared with the core of empire, further reinforces the conclusion outlined in section 4.3.8 that tokens were not utilised to a great extent in the province of Britannia. The reasons for this will be explored in the discussion below.

#### 4.6. Discussion

In analysing the range of objects that had the potential to function as tokens in Roman Britain, a number of artefact types could be termed tokens. It is probable that blank discs were utilised as tokens in votive contexts to represent coins, as evidenced by those from the South Wiltshire Temple, Uley, Nettleton, Teffont and Piercebridge. Coin impressions from religious sites may also have been used as tokens, as at Woodeaton, although other evidence does suggest that they may sometimes have formed part of a larger plaque. Some objects cannot be termed ‘tokens’ in the true

sense, and perhaps instead should be thought of as ‘votives’. These include the rings from Uley and the lead coins from Piercebridge. This serves to assist in elucidating what constitutes a token in Roman Britain (and elsewhere) and highlights the difficulties in defining what objects fall into this class.

It should be noted that it is possible that tokens were manufactured from other materials, as is the case with pottery tokens found in Gaul.<sup>175</sup> An assessment of tokens in other materials is beyond the remit of this thesis, but may have implications for the below conclusions. In terms of organic materials that do not survive well in the archaeological record, no wooden tokens have been discovered to date in places where anaerobic conditions might preserve them, for example, Vindolanda or Roman London.<sup>176</sup>

Through collating the corpus of tokens from Roman Britain for the first time it is evident that tokens did exist within the province, but their numbers are not great. The implication is that tokens were not widely utilised within Roman Britain. A few lead tokens have discernible iconography or legends, including those from Caerleon, Cookham Wood, Richborough, St. Albans, Nettleton and London, and these are unique to Roman Britain. It is evident, however, that these objects do not form a corpus of the same type, in that they differ considerably in their execution and choice of imagery and legends. Two of the above examples, those from St Albans and Nettleton, were adapted by hand and can be considered one-offs. In contrast to other provinces in the empire, such as Egypt and Gaul, there is no type that is found on multiple sites, nor any multiples of the same type found on each site. Instead each type is unique on both an inter-site and intra-site basis. The local variation is however consistent with the local character of tokens in other provinces of the Roman empire. The paucity of tokens from Britain is also reflected in the PAS data, which does not have many firm examples of objects likely to be Roman tokens. A small quantity of types from Rome implies that there was some movement of tokens, although it is unlikely that they served a comparable purpose in Britain.

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<sup>175</sup> Barthelemy 1985, 140-142.

<sup>176</sup> Vindolanda museum stated that they do not have any Roman period tokens on their database when enquiries were made by the author (pers comm Barbara Birley 2017). London: no wooden tokens have been discovered at sites in London that have yielded other types of wooden artefact, such as tablets.

Tokens from Britain do have some similarities with tokens from the wider empire. The specimen from Cookham refers to Claudius and Messalina, who are known to have issued tokens in both Egypt and Italy. Similarly, the iconography on tokens from London echoes that found on tokens from outside Britain. Busts and a wreath are present, as well as lettering. In this respect it seems that the imagery of coins is influential to some extent in the choice of appearance. The Mithraic token from St. Albans also demonstrates connections with the influences of the wider empire through both its reference to Mithras and the fact that the inscription is in Greek. Other tokens of Mithras are known, for example the specimen from Gaul discussed in section 3.2.6, and this therefore perhaps forms part of a larger corpus of artefacts that mediated the worship of Mithras and contributed to the running of the cult. Tokens from Rome also arrived in Roman Britain, although it is unlikely that they were utilised in the same manner as was intended for their primary function, perhaps instead serving a use as small change. The paucity of tokens in Roman Britain is reflected in the frontier provinces of *Germania Superior* and *Germania Inferior*. Very few tokens are present in these provinces, and those known to date are either types that were minted in Rome, or the occasional single find that is without parallel.<sup>177</sup>

Comparisons can be drawn between the material from London and elsewhere in the empire, due to the fact that there is detailed contextual information. Through analysis of their contexts it appears that they are frequently found in secondary deposits where they were gathered along with other rubbish and rubble in order to fill pits or cover over disused areas. The presence of coins in these deposits implies that the rubbish comprised artefacts that were initially a casual loss, and therefore the same could be posited for the presence of tokens. A similar situation is apparent in Egypt where tokens were found in the rubbish dumps of Oxyrhynchus in Egypt (see section 2.2.3), and in Italy where many tokens are found in redeposited fills and rebuilding contexts.<sup>178</sup> The implication for discovery in these immediate archaeological contexts is that they were utilised in quotidian life, lost, and through taphonomic processes cleared away with other rubbish.

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<sup>177</sup> *FMRD* VI.1 232 for a *spintria*; *FMRD* V 1.1 1655 for a token of a type from Rome; *FMRD* VII.1-3 2013.1 for a *spintria*; Dembski 1973/4 for two tokens from Carnuntum.

<sup>178</sup> Clare Rowan *pers comm* October 2019.

The tokens from the sites outlined in this chapter exhibit a trend in that there is a strong military connection. One of the two examples from Caerleon refers explicitly to a legion, and was found in the fortress baths, and the other is from the military amphitheatre. The token from Richborough fort bears an eagle on one face, which is imagery that was associated with the military and is even found on tokens that have an explicit reference to a legion. Interestingly, the 2nd Legion moved from Caerleon to Richborough at some time in the late 3rd century or early 4th century, with the latest known reference to it recorded at Richborough.<sup>179</sup> It therefore seems probable that this legion at least had a known point of reference as to what tokens were and how they could function. The token from Cookham Wood, Kent, is provenanced from close to Rochester, which may have had a military presence. Additionally, the token from St. Albans, that references Mithras, was probably created by a member of the military, given both the knowledge of Greek and the link between soldiers and the cult of Mithras. This link with the military is an important point to make, as while tokens associated with the military are catalogued by Rostovtzeff, and therefore must have been in use to a certain extent, they are not frequently found in military contexts or with military associations in either Gaul or Egypt. However, in Britain tokens are absent from military sites on Hadrian's Wall, and therefore even in Britain the utilisation by the military was limited.<sup>180</sup>

The paucity of tokens in Roman Britain has previously been theorised as the result of a focus on excavations of villas, towns and forts where tokens would not have circulated, with finds expected instead from rural sites, and these have not been excavated to the same extent.<sup>181</sup> This can be refuted on a number of counts. Firstly, tokens did circulate in villas and towns within the Roman empire. Indeed, where tokens are found in their hundreds or thousands it is on sites of an urban nature, such as Lyon (section 2.3), Oxyrhynchus (section 2.2.3), Palmyra or Ostia.<sup>182</sup> The built environment is therefore exactly where it is expected tokens would be found in their greatest quantities. Secondly, the assessment in this chapter of the evidence from the PAS suggests that tokens are not found on rural sites to a greater extent than they are

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<sup>179</sup> Mattingly 2006, 244.

<sup>180</sup> Birley *pers comm* 2019 following an email enquiry into the Vindolanda collections. The large assemblage from Coventina's Well also does not include tokens, see Allason-Jones and McKay 1985.

<sup>181</sup> Fletcher 2005, 14.

<sup>182</sup> Palmyra: Seyrig 1940; Ingholt et al 1955; Al-As'ad et al 2005; Raja 2015a; Raja 2015b; Raja 2016. Ostia: Rowan *forthcoming*.

found on urban sites in Britain. The data from the Roman Rural Settlement Project further supports this evidence in that no examples are present within the literature on its database.<sup>183</sup> The other previously hypothesised reason for the lack of tokens in Roman Britain is that they are not recognised by excavators or museums and so are deposited unrecognised in archives.<sup>184</sup> Whilst this might be accurate to a certain extent, it appears unlikely that significant quantities of tokens are languishing in archives, given the investigation into museum holdings for this research, and the case study analysis of Corinium Museum's holdings. The dearth of tokens in museum collections is consistent with the picture from excavation and PAS data, namely, that very few tokens are present in the province.

The reasons for the absence of tokens on any significant scale must therefore be otherwise to those given by Fletcher. One possibility is the fact that there are not the same quantities of Romanised material culture present in Britain, in comparison to provinces that were not on the periphery of the Roman empire. For instance, there are fewer inscriptions on stone in Roman Britain, in contrast to other provinces.<sup>185</sup> While this might be the case, it cannot be denied that there is still enough classical material culture in Britain that tokens would be expected in larger quantities. As discussed above in reference to *Corinium*, there are areas where art, including mosaics and sculpture, are found in significant quantities. In some cases these are executed with a considerable level of skill, to the extent that the mosaics at the imperial palace at Trier are believed to have been made by the *Corinium* school.<sup>186</sup> Other artefacts types, such as coins or pottery, are found in substantial quantities in Britain, and the province still had a quota of public buildings including amphitheatres and baths, as well as private villas.<sup>187</sup> This evidence suggests that although Britain does not rival other provinces in terms of the amount of material culture that has been discovered, it is still present

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<sup>183</sup> Roman Rural Settlement Project:

<https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/romangl/query.cfm>. Accessed 24.09.2019.

<sup>184</sup> Fletcher 2005, 14.

<sup>185</sup> Hope 2016.

<sup>186</sup> Cosh and Neal 2010, p.no.

<sup>187</sup> Coins: Walton and Moorhead 2016, 834. Over 2570 coin hoards are known from Roman Britain, as well as over 180,000 stray losses recorded on the PAS, and more than 450 assemblages found from excavations. Pottery: de la Bédoyère 2000, 9. As Roman influence spread across Britain, pottery usage dramatically increased on civilian sites; Mattingly 2006, 518. At its peak the Romano-British pottery industry produced several million vessels each year. Villas: Millet 2016, 703. It is estimated that there are around 2000 villa sites in Britain, although their distribution is largely confined to southern and eastern England. They represented an aspiration to the cultural values associated with Roman power.

to an extent easily discernible in the archaeological record. This is not the case for tokens, where very few specimens have been found in relation to the quantity of archaeological investigations.

If the dearth of tokens in Roman Britain cannot be attributed to a general lack of Romanised material culture, then another explanation must be sought. It is probable that the economic and cultural conditions of Roman Britain did not create a need for tokens. In other Roman provinces tokens were used for reasons such as facilitating euergetism on the part of wealthy individuals (Athens, Palmyra) or perhaps enabling port administration (Lyon).<sup>188</sup> The absence of tokens in ports can perhaps be attributed to the fact that Britain did not have the same quantity of through trade in comparison to large ports such as Lyon.<sup>189</sup> Personal euergetism appears not to have existed as a cultural practice in Roman Britain.<sup>190</sup> Blagg notes that there is little epigraphic evidence for personal euergetism in terms of the construction of public buildings, instead there is a stronger trend for corporate munificence.<sup>191</sup> This is reflected in the epigraphic evidence from Gaul and Germany, where Frezouls observed that the further north from the Pyrenees the fewer instances of personal euergetism, which was instead replaced by collective initiatives in Belgica and military initiatives in Germania Inferior.<sup>192</sup> This is also consistent with the evidence from Gaul, which does not suggest that tokens were utilised for individual euergetism (see section 3.2.6). This explanation does not, however, account for why tokens of a civic nature are not found in Britain, in the same manner that they are found in north-east Gaul (see section 3.4 for discussion of tokens bearing ethnics) and further afield in Egypt (see chapter 2.3.2 for discussion of types local to towns). For this to be elucidated firmer conclusions than are possible at present must be made as to how civic tokens functioned in these other provinces.

The trend for tokens with military connections in Roman Britain is perhaps not surprising given the heavily militarised nature of the province. Areas with a strong

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<sup>188</sup> Athens: Crosby 1964, 166. In the Roman period in Athens tokens were issued as entry tickets to the games and festivals hosted by the *agonotheti*. Palmyra: Raja 2016, 345. The banqueting tokens indicate that private or group euergetism took place in the form of holding banquets for a broader group of individuals.

<sup>189</sup> Mattingly 2006, 493-494: no through trade in Britain.

<sup>190</sup> Mattingly 2006, 527.

<sup>191</sup> Blagg 1990, 28.

<sup>192</sup> Frezouls 1984, 34.

military presence also had greater quantities of classical material culture, as evidenced by the concentrations of classical inscriptions on stone from military sites, as well as more classical temples and religious cults.<sup>193</sup> It is feasible that in these areas the concept of tokens would also be known, although clearly not employed to the same extent as other provinces or for the purpose of personal euergetism. One of the most heavily militarised areas in Britain, Hadrian's Wall, has not, however, yielded any tokens and so military use appears to still have been limited. This limited use is consistent with the little use of tokens by the military elsewhere in the empire.

#### **4.7. Chapter summary**

This chapter has demonstrated that tokens were present in Roman Britain, and has collated all the evidence together for the first time. It has explored the range of objects that have previously been termed 'tokens' or have the potential to be interpreted as such (blank discs, rings, lead coins, coin impressions), and due to the presence of these objects primarily on religious sites has concluded that there is often a distinction between 'votive' and 'token' that is mis-applied. Despite this, certain objects such as blank discs or coin impressions could be termed 'votive tokens'. Even so, these are not overwhelmingly present in the archaeological record.

An assessment of the evidence from Britain for the first time has also shown that the province differs considerably from others, in that the quantities of tokens are not numerous and their utilisation was therefore not common. On the whole, tokens are absent from quotidian life in Roman Britain, with the exception of the small quantity from London. A handful of examples exhibiting iconography or legends are primarily limited to military sites or have military associations, but this is not applicable to the area of Hadrian's Wall. It is probable that the dearth of tokens is due to limited need for them in the province; the roles that tokens fulfilled in other provinces, such as facilitating personal euergetism, are not applicable to Roman Britain.

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<sup>193</sup> Inscriptions: Hope 2016, 287. Temples, cults: Mattingly 2006, 521.

## Chapter 5: Discussion

This chapter will draw together some of the key themes that have emerged from the preceding case studies, and address the aims outlined in the introduction. The first section below discusses the distribution (5.1) of tokens across Egypt, Gaul and Britain, accounting for differences and similarities in tokens' appearance on an inter and intra province basis. The second section (5.2) summarises the types of site on which tokens were found, and identifies and contextualises some of the common uses for tokens in the case study areas. Section 5.3 discusses tokens from the case studies in relation to coins, while section 5.4 recognises the range of issuing authorities. Section 5.5 demonstrates how tokens were a distinctly local phenomenon but were tied into wider 'global' networks within the Roman empire, exemplified through their imagery and legends.

### 5.1. Distribution

It is evident from the data presented in the preceding three chapters that tokens were present, to greater or lesser extents, in all three of the case study provinces. The evidence from Britain is so sparse, however, that it is unlikely that tokens played a significant role in social or economic life in this province. This is accounted for by the scarcity in Roman Britain of the practice of personal euergetism, a practice which was an important factor in the use of tokens in other provinces of the empire which had adopted it from Rome or the Hellenistic east.<sup>1</sup> The appearance of tokens in Britain does, however, follow conventions of how tokens looked in the Roman empire, in that imagery and/or legends are present and they are made from lead. Other objects such as blank lead discs or rings might theoretically have been used as tokens, but are perhaps better characterised as 'votives'.

Similarly, north-western Gaul has a dearth of tokens, although there is an even distribution across north-eastern Gaul in *Gallia Belgica* and parts of *Gallia Lugdunensis*. For the most part, tokens in Gaul conformed to the expected appearance for Roman tokens, being made of lead and bearing imagery and/or legends, although often either the imagery or the legend formed the most prominent component of a

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<sup>1</sup> Blagg 1990, 28 for lack of personal euergetism in Britain, in comparison to corporate initiatives.

token's design. There is perhaps a trend for tokens with a heavier iconographic component to be found on sites which had a religious nature, whilst those with legends were more likely to be found on quotidian sites where they were used in administration.

Tokens in Egypt, however, consistently have prominent iconography in comparison to their legends. Whilst legends are present on tokens from Egypt, in the form of an ethnic or the date, this is often abbreviated, and the majority of tokens are anepigraphic. There are very few tokens that feature only a legend with no iconography, and therefore the visual element of tokens was clearly a design feature that was prioritised.<sup>2</sup> This is even more apparent when we consider that the iconography was heavily influenced by coinage, but legends that accompanied the imagery were not chosen for inclusion on the design of tokens. There are no abbreviations of personal names, unlike in Roman Gaul, so it is likely that tokens were not issued by individuals, but instead on a civic level by group initiatives in the case of those with ethnics, or perhaps a state level for the dated series with resemblance to the Alexandrian coinage. These differences between the appearance of tokens between provinces and between sites can be accounted for due to the local conditions in which tokens were made and used. While tokens in all three provinces broadly conformed to conventions including having iconographic and written components and having a monetiform shape, they were adapted on local levels depending on who issued them and how they were used.

The manufacturing process is another aspect which differs according to locality. This is evident on both an inter- and intra- province scale. Tokens in Egypt, for example, appear to be uniformly struck. The absence of any casting sprues or moulds, which are found in areas such as Rome where tokens are known to have been cast, implies that striking was the preferred method of manufacture. The offset design on some flans, as well as the thinness of some specimens further suggests that tokens in Egypt were not cast. In contrast, tokens from Gaul exhibit much more diversity in their manufacturing processes. Lyon alone presents a range of manufacturing techniques; although most are cast or struck, some have stamped designs resulting in a raised perimeter while others appear to have been struck onto square flans after they were cut from a strip of

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<sup>2</sup> An exception being Egypt no. 108 and 144, although both have imagery on the other side.

lead. Those at Fos-sur-Mer were struck on lead discs which were made through the unusual method of being cut from sheet through the incision of two semicircles, which resulted in the two halves of the circle being offset. Tokens from Mare-aux-Canards also appear to have been struck, due to the uniform appearance of the monogram across different specimens implying use of the same die. The token from Liberchies, however, was most probably cast due to the presence of casting sprues and the high relief of the imagery. Another unique feature of the appearance of some tokens from Gaul is the use of a higher value metal, sometimes alongside a base metal as at Digeon, or sometimes as the sole material as at Nîmes. This implies that the material value of the tokens was important for their use (see below). Tokens from Gaul, therefore, exhibit greater variation in their manufacture and in the metals used, even within one town, whilst in Egypt there was greater homogeneity in that tokens were made from lead and struck. It is interesting to note that local manufacture resulted in more diverse manufacturing techniques in Gaul but not in Egypt, perhaps due to greater variation in the manufacturing authority in Gaul (see below).

There are also several similarities between the appearance of tokens in the three case study provinces. The use of ethnics, for example, is found on tokens in north-eastern Gaul, where a series comprises a repertoire of images that appear alongside the ethnic of a locality or people, as well as on tokens in Egypt which circulated within a local area. In this respect, the design of tokens could be used to reinforce the cohesion of civic or tribal groups and consolidate identities of individuals within the group. There is, however, nuance to this generalisation in that tokens from Gaul with an ethnic clearly belong to the same series, despite the local circulation patterns and the variation in the ethnic. This implies either central manufacture or itinerant tradesmen. In the case of the latter, the implication is that there was a unified function for these tokens across localities, and so although the ethnic gave them a distinct hyper-local character, the overarching conditions for their creation were on a regional scale encompassing *Gallia Belgica*, and extending as far south as Lyon. This is in contrast to the tokens with an ethnic from Egypt, which appear to have been created at the level of administrative districts (nomes), or even just for the main town within the district. The heterogenous nature of the imagery and style of these tokens according to their ethnic suggests that manufacture was not co-ordinated on a scale greater than that of the

nomes. These two examples serve to highlight that even when similar concepts are employed on tokens, variability between provinces must be taken into account.

Another commonality between tokens from the three case studies is that deities feature frequently in their imagery. The images are part of a common repertoire of iconography, which also often features on coinage, paintings, lamps and gems. It is apparent, therefore, that the images used on tokens were uniformly intended to be easily recognisable to the viewer. Deities were instantly identifiable and easily copied from coinage, which perhaps accounts for the commonality of their employment across provinces. Despite this general theme there were, however, distinct choices of deity according to locality within each province. The nuance of local interpretation of generic imagery is discussed below in section 5.5, demonstrating that local context was an important element in the design and use of tokens.

## **5.2. Use in society**

There is diversity in the types of sites on which tokens are found, but generally this diversity is not characterised by differences between provinces. Instead, the archaeological contexts and findspots are varied across all three case studies. Tokens are found in bath houses (Mont-Berny – Gaul no. 63, Caerleon), domestic buildings (Karanis, St. Albans), the *pars rustica* of a villa (La Mare aux Canards), amphitheatres (Caerleon, Nyon), in rubbish dumps or redeposited within contexts associated with disuse (Oxyrhynchus, London, Liberchies, Châteaubleau), a tomb (Abydos), a shipwreck (Haifa coast), religious sites or areas associated with votive deposition (Saqqara, Qasr Ibrim, Nîmes, Digeon, Côte Vitlet, Châteaubleau, Nettleton), as well as near rivers or ports (Lyon, Fos-sur-Mer). This summary indicates that tokens are found on sites of a varying size: they are present on country villas, rural shrines, as well as in administrative towns and, in the case of Lyon, a town so large it is considered to be the capital of Gaul. The implication of this diversity of site-type and size is that tokens had varied uses across a variety of social and economic contexts, a selection of which are discussed below.

A caveat to the above patterning is that in Roman Britain there is a tendency towards the presence of tokens on military sites, such as Richborough and Caerleon, although this is not prevalent enough to include other heavily militarised areas such as Hadrian's Wall on the northern frontier. It should also be acknowledged that even when tokens are associated with military sites, their use was not necessarily exclusive to the military

personnel themselves, as evident from the token from the baths at Caerleon, which were frequented by civilians, including women and children. Tokens from baths are also known from Gaul (Mont-Berny), as well as from Italy, although it is not known whether these had a use associated with the baths.<sup>3</sup> It does not seem likely that the example from Gaul was utilised specifically in the bath house, given that it is part of the wider ethnics series which have diverse findspots. It isn't possible to discern whether the specimen from Britain was intended for specific use in the bath house, or whether it instead should be characterised amongst the other small, portable items that were lost in baths and are frequently found in drains.

Within Roman Gaul there is an indication that a common social context for the utilisation for tokens might have been in a harbourside environment, due to their presence in the area of Roman port at Fos-sur-Mer. They are also found redeposited in a quayside area at Lyon, although in this case the tokens might instead have had a function pertaining to the festival of the *Concilium Galliarum*. Their presence at the riverside of Lyon is, however, noteworthy due to parallels with other riverine deposits such as those from the Tiber in Rome.<sup>4</sup> Tokens are also present in their hundreds in other ports, such as that of Ostia.<sup>5</sup> It is possible, therefore, that one function fulfilled by tokens in Gaul was administration in ports, especially given that this is one use that has been posited for shipping tokens from Ostia and Minturnae.<sup>6</sup> These shipping tokens are, however, made from bronze, implying that they were meant to last. This is not the case for the Gallic tokens from ports which are made from lead. Although this does not of course preclude them from reuse, their use-life was likely to have been shorter than that of tokens made from harder metals such as bronze. Without further detailed archaeological contexts, or references in historical sources, it is not practical to expand upon the possibility of a function associated with port administration further. It should be noted, however, that the discovery of tokens in areas of towns that were used as ports is not echoed in Britain or Egypt. Whilst we cannot discount the possibility that this may be the product of preservation or excavation bias, the general

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<sup>3</sup> Pedroni 1997: tokens from the baths at Fregellae; Carandini and Panella 1977: tokens from the Baths of the Swimmer in Ostia; Spagnoli 2017: tokens from the *Terme dei Cisiarii* in Ostia.

<sup>4</sup> Dressel 1922 for a group of tokens from the Tiber.

<sup>5</sup> Rowan 2019; Spagnoli 2017. See also Token Communities database where many of these are catalogued: <https://coins.warwick.ac.uk/token-specimens/>.

<sup>6</sup> Stannard, 2015, 150: a possible use for these tokens was perhaps as tallies for offloading cargoes. Minturnae: Medas et al 1998.

dearth of tokens in Britain leads to the conclusion that it would be unlikely that they were used significantly at ports in the province. For Egypt, the commercial importance of the Nile in the province suggests that if tokens were used in port administration then they would have been discovered in riverine contexts, which is not the case.

Tokens are also often found on sites of a religious nature, or sites associated with votive deposition. They can perhaps be defined as votive tokens, used in place of votive coins. Votive objects are the result of the fulfilment of a vow made as part of a contract with a deity. This involved the request of a certain outcome from a deity, and upon the petitioner getting the desired result, a sacrifice was made, known as the *solutio*.<sup>7</sup> This could take the form of the sacrifice of an animal and a written dedication in the form of an altar, although for many people other forms of wealth, including coins, were offered upon fulfilment of the vow.<sup>8</sup> In the north-western provinces this practice of dedicating portable objects is a development of earlier Iron Age votive depositional practices where coins and brooches are found as votives on Gallo-Roman sanctuaries.<sup>9</sup> It has been posited that in the Iron Age some coin types were made at sanctuary sites for deposition at those sites only, and Kemmers suggests that counterfeit coins in the Roman period fit within this tradition of tribal groups minting coins for circulation, and eventually, deposition on their sacred sites which assisted in the (re)creation of local identities in the face of an invading power.<sup>10</sup> To some extent then, tokens from cult sites in Gaul could also have fulfilled a similar function based upon earlier Iron Age ritual traditions of manufacturing coins for a specific cult site with an intention of votive deposition. This is most apparent at the site of Digeon where tokens are known in significant enough quantities, and within the temple area, to suggest that this could be the case. Therefore, Kemmers' theory works, but in the case of Digeon tokens rather than counterfeit coins were made for deposition. This doesn't preclude deposition within the framework of 'the vow' as outlined by Derks, given that deposition took place within the Roman period. It is possible that tokens from other cult sites in Gaul, such as Châteaubleau, and Côte Vitlet were also utilised

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<sup>7</sup> Derks 1995, 115.

<sup>8</sup> Derks 1995, 115; Rey-Vodoz 1991, 217 for references regarding coins used as votives to fulfil vow.

<sup>9</sup> Derks 1995, 123: cites Roymans 1990, table 4.4.

<sup>10</sup> Kemmers 2018, 205. This is based on the fact that some Iron Age coins were minted on site (Wellington 2006:82; Haselgrove & Wigg-Wolf 2005:12–13) and a theory suggested by Roymans and Aarts (2009, 20–22) that in the Iron Age coins were minted as part of ritualised ceremonies at cult sites and were either deposited straight away, or circulated amongst the tribe in various spheres of exchange before being returned to the cult site and deposited.

in this manner. The low quantities of tokens at these sites do not, however, suggest substantial use and so any conclusions must remain speculative.

Another possibility as to why tokens were used instead of coins as votives at cult sites is that it facilitated income to the cult administration. If tokens were purchased in the same manner as other votives made on site presumably were (miniature weapons and brooches in the case of Digeon), then this income could go directly towards the income of the cult centre. There is evidence for the collection of deposited coins at sanctuary sites, which were then used to fund sacrifices.<sup>11</sup> The purchase of a token means that all income could be accounted for and no coins missed in the efforts of collection. In the instances of Digeon and Nîmes (where silver tokens were found deposited in a well), the materiality of the token was clearly important due to the choice of silver as either the main metal (Nîmes), or a secondary component (Digeon). In this respect, these tokens are not just a representation of a coin in the same manner that other miniature objects represent the full-sized artefact. The precious metal content implies an attempt to achieve a higher value than that of lead (which was commonly used for tokens), thereby suggesting to shrine visitors that the value could be equated with that of certain coins. This is in contrast to other miniature objects whose materials have much less value in comparison to full sized objects. Therefore, tokens were used as votives, and to a certain extent can be interpreted as one of many types of votive object. However, they should not necessarily be viewed within the same framework as that of miniature objects.

The use of votive tokens is also present in Roman Egypt. It is plausible in the case of tokens from Memphis, where local coins were apparently dedicated to the gods, and where tokens may have provided a substitute for real coins given that one example bears a legend referring to a denomination. At Qasr Ibrim, the presence of tokens amongst coins found in votive deposits (characterised by an oily layer where libations were poured, as well as an area around the base of a statue plinth) suggests that either these tokens functioned specifically as votives, or more plausibly, that they were repurposed as votive dedications in the same manner that modern congregations frequently put buttons or tokens in church collection boxes.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Wigg-Wolf 2018, 24.

<sup>12</sup> Kemmers 2018, 193.

Another plausible use for tokens found on cult sites from Gaul and Egypt is that they facilitated euergetic practices, such as ritual banqueting. It is in this capacity that tokens were used at Palmyra, where they were issued by priests as tickets to banquets held within temples.<sup>13</sup> The term ‘euergetism’ was first explored by Veyne in his seminal work on the topic, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, in which he defines the practice as ‘private munificence for public benefit’.<sup>14</sup> The range of activities encompassed by euergetism in the classical world included the construction and repair of buildings, putting on games and plays, handouts of money (*sportulae*) and the sponsorship of public banquets (*epula*), as well as the distribution of meat and wine, most of which were funded by the local elite, although the emperor and the imperial elite also initiated euergetic acts.<sup>15</sup>

The practice is attested in Roman Egypt through inscriptions and papyrological records detailing those who funded, for example, public building works, provided oil for the gymnasium or wheat for the populace.<sup>16</sup> Euergetic practices in Egypt were carried out on a local basis, and so were restricted to a geographically defined community, usually a town, although there is some indication that in the Fayum this was extended to the villages outside of a nome capital.<sup>17</sup> It is therefore possible that tokens in Egypt were used to facilitate euergetic practices that involved access to sacred banquets, or the distribution of goods such as oil or wheat.<sup>18</sup> The local scale on which euergetism took place suggests that the tokens of a local nature (e.g. those discussed in section 2.3.2) would be more likely to be used for euergetic distributions, rather than those with more widespread distributions. Although the explicit evidence for the use of tokens in this capacity is lacking at the cult sites where tokens were found in Egypt (Saqqara and, just outside of Egypt, Qasr Ibrim), the presence of tokens in their hundreds in the rubbish dumps of Oxyrhynchus perhaps indicates single use objects which were thrown away after they served their purpose, rather than staying in use on the site. Van Minnen states that the beneficiaries of euergetism in Roman Egypt were the privileged Greek citizens, rather than the population of a town as a

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<sup>13</sup> Raja 2015a, 182.

<sup>14</sup> Veyne 1976. Translation of phrase from Lomass and Cornell 2003.

<sup>15</sup> Horster 2014, 528.

<sup>16</sup> Van Minnen 2000, 453-468 for an overview of euergetism in Roman Egypt.

<sup>17</sup> Van Minnen 2000, 439-441.

<sup>18</sup> See Otto 1908, 131 for description of twins taking a token to a temple to receive their allotment of oil.

whole.<sup>19</sup> Due to the classical style of the tokens' imagery, and the use of Greek script in the legends, it is possible that the intended audience for tokens in Roman Egypt were the inhabitants from Greek (or Roman) backgrounds who were most likely to benefit from euergetism. It is, however, acknowledged that identity and ethnicity in the classical world was more nuanced than simply distinguishing between 'Greek', 'Roman' and 'Egyptian'. The civic nature of some of the tokens perhaps suggests group initiatives for the euergetic practices which needed tokens, group initiatives being an aspect of euergetism attested in Roman Egypt.<sup>20</sup> Alternatively, tokens were perhaps issued by individuals who wished to highlight the civic nature of their benefaction, rather than name themselves.

Euergetic banquets or distributions are also a plausible use for tokens in Roman Gaul. The Mithraic token from Liberchies, despite deposition in a ditch rather than a cultic site, is also indicative of euergetic use. In this instance, personal initiative seems the most likely reason for the token's use, based on the supposition that three of the letters of the legend refer to the name of an individual and that it was used in the distribution of largesse (in the form of a banquet or otherwise) upon the individual in question commencing or advancing in the priesthood. The tokens bearing initials from Lyon were also possibly used to facilitate euergetic activities at the festival of the *Concilium Galliarum*.

In Gaul and Egypt, there is therefore some evidence for the use of tokens to facilitate the urban elite in their euergetic practices. The exact nature of how the tokens were used in this capacity is not explicitly clear from the available evidence, in contrast to the evidence from Palmyra. However, in light of the fact that evidence from elsewhere in the Roman world suggests use of tokens to facilitate distributions, banquets and games, it is an option that must be considered for some of the corpus of tokens from Gaul and Egypt. It may also help account for the dearth of tokens in Roman Britain, where it seems euergetism was not a common cultural feature, and personal euergetism in particular was not a common practice.

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<sup>19</sup> Van Minnen 2000, 463.

<sup>20</sup> Van Minnen 2000, 457-458 for group initiatives.

### 5.3. Tokens and coins

Tokens are frequently classed as paranumismatic objects, and as outlined in the introduction, can hold a monetary value and often look similar to coins. For this reason, the two types of objects are often associated with one another. It is evident, therefore, that tokens and coins are often interlinked entities, an aspect which deserves some discussion in relation to the case studies.

The evidence from Gaul and Egypt both utilise imagery found on coins, although to differing extents. In Egypt, the imagery on tokens is heavily influenced by the Alexandrian coinage, and to some extent follows the categorisation of image types outlined by Chezum.<sup>21</sup> The categorisation of the motifs found on coins as ‘indigenous’, ‘classical’ or ‘compound’ are broadly applicable to tokens, although this framework does not take into account the double meanings inherent in the imagery of tokens, particularly when they are placed in their local context. In many instances, token imagery is very clearly directly influenced by coin types, such as the reaper cutting corn type, the tableau of Euthenia crowning Nilus, or Antinous-Hermes riding right on horseback, to name but a few.

This is in contrast to tokens in Gaul, where some tokens have imagery inspired by coinage (Côte Vittelet, Châteaubleau, some examples from Lyon, the Segetia type, and Mercury type from the series with ethnics), but the majority do not. There are instances where imagery is used that is not found on coins (the Mithraic token from Liberchies, Digeon, Nîmes), so there was perhaps greater flexibility in the types of images chosen for inclusion on tokens in Gaul. However, it is worth noting that an imperial coin type, which depicts Segetia and was minted in Trier (or Lyon), is specifically chosen for use on tokens that circulated in north-eastern Gaul. This could be an instance of a ‘local’ coin type (although only local in the sense of its place of production, rather than its area of circulation which would have extended over the western empire), influencing the choice of regionally circulating token types. This is, however, only one instance in Roman Gaul where coin imagery plausibly affected the choice of token imagery, whereas the examples from Roman Egypt are many. One reason for this is perhaps that the closed currency system in Egypt meant that imagery from coinage was used to a greater extent than in Gaul because it was deemed to have greater local

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<sup>21</sup> Chezum 2014, 216-240.

relevance. The idea that tokens in Egypt functioned as an all-purpose coinage has already been discounted (section 2.4), so it is unlikely that the similarity in imagery is due to tokens serving the same function as coins.

In many instances tokens are discovered with coins, and then analysed and catalogued alongside them in subsequent reports. This leads to a natural association between the two types of object, which further emphasises their similarities without accounting for their differences in both appearance and function. This process is evident in the case of the shipwreck from the Haifa coast and the temple at Qasr Ibrim. It does, however, seem possible that at both these sites tokens were reused as coins, which perhaps explains their presence in areas outside of the province where their original function would no longer apply.

#### **5.4. Issuing authorities**

This thesis has demonstrated that tokens were commissioned by a range of people. At the higher end of the social scale it is apparent that emperors and the imperial elite issued tokens in their name, evidenced by the type bearing the legend ‘CAES’ from Fos-Sur-Mer, as well as the token (if genuine) from Britain which refers to Claudius and Messalina. A specimen from Egypt also suggests that the emperor’s family could issue of tokens. This is reflected in tokens from Rome where legends and portraits reference both emperors and their family. In Egypt it is also possible that tokens were issued by an authority such as the Roman state (although not specifically in the name of the emperor), due to the close similarity between the Alexandrian coinage and in particular the dated series of tokens.

Local elites also appear to issue tokens, especially as this demographic were most frequently responsible for the initiation of euergetic practices, some of which might have required tokens. The Mithraic token from Liberchies was likely commissioned by a priest on the occasion of receiving his priesthood or promotion. Similarly, in Egypt tokens may have been struck under the auspices of local elites, but as part of group initiatives of a civic nature. The presence of three letters on tokens from Lyon implies the use of initials, and so may indicate that these were made for distribution by individuals with Roman citizenship who had the *tria nomina* that was afforded to citizens. One example from Lyon bears the name Erotis, which was commonly, although not exclusively, a name for slaves and freedmen, thereby suggesting that this demographic may also have issued tokens.

This range of issuers outlined above is notably diverse. Tokens as a general class of object were not uniformly within the domain of one class or group, and were utilised throughout society. Each series of tokens, however, usually only had local relevance to a specific group within society.

### **5.5. Local tokens in global context**

The case studies demonstrate that tokens were used on a hyper-local basis in the Roman provinces of Gaul and Egypt. This is also apparent in the very few examples from Britain, all of which differ in their types. In Gaul, tokens are specific to a particular site or region, and even in the case of larger series which may not have been produced locally - such as those bearing an ethnic - the local circulation of types is apparent. Tokens were used locally in Egypt as well, with certain series limited in their geographical circulation, which often referenced a town or nome through their legends and depicted imagery that had particular resonance with the locality. In contrast to the western provinces, Egypt also had a series of tokens with wider distribution which circulated across the province and even outside of it. The imagery on these tokens did not have any association with a locality within Egypt, instead they depict deities which were widely recognised within the province, such as Serapis or Nilus. Even so, this iconography had relevance to Egypt and the types were local to the province. This pattern of local circulation on a province-wide scale mirrors the circulation of the Alexandrian coinage in Egypt, which was a closed currency system. The hyper-local tokens with limited geographical range within each of the three case study areas are, however, in contrast to coinage distributions (both Alexandrian and imperial), which did not have such a limited circulation. This is especially apparent in Gaul and Britain, which used imperial coinage that circulated throughout the whole of the western empire. The majority of tokens, therefore, were manufactured under the auspices of local authorities, and were meant to be understood by the local population, both in terms of how they functioned and how their imagery should be read.

A key theme that has emerged from this research is that because tokens had local distributions, their imagery should be understood primarily on local terms, even when the image portrayed was ubiquitous within the province or Roman world. Therefore there is often a duality of meaning to the iconography of tokens. Imagery in the Roman period was part of a wider repertoire of visual material culture that circulated in the Hellenistic and Roman world. This repertoire is referred to as a *koine* ('common

language’) and encompasses shared style and subject matter.<sup>22</sup> In this respect there was a ‘global’ element to the images that circulated in the Roman world, and the viewer would have understood that these images belonged to this wider repertoire. Theories of ‘globalisation’ have gained traction in recent scholarship, and emphasise the connectivity of the ancient world, as well as the implications for it.<sup>23</sup> The imagery used on tokens from the Graeco-Roman *koine* can therefore also be interpreted within this framework. This is certainly the case for the Athena-Thoeris tokens from Oxyrhynchus, the token depicting Mars from Liry in Gaul, or the tokens from Châteaubleau that portray Jupiter and Vulcan. Viewing these images within a global framework emphasises the connectivity of the localities which used them, and highlights the choice of the issuing authority to depict imagery associated with the Roman milieu.

Imagery from a classical *koine* could, however, also have resonance on a more local scale, particularly in the case of classical deities who were equated with local gods. Häussler terms this process ‘*interpretatio indigena*’, defined as the way in which ‘local people adopted, adapted and re-interpreted those alien cults and religious features...which they had acquired from a different cultural and religious repertoire’.<sup>24</sup> This process also incorporated the use of new media, such as sculpture or epigraphy, to conceptualise their understanding of their local gods and cults, and required some knowledge of classical religion and mythology.<sup>25</sup> This process also worked in the reverse manner with *interpretatio Romana* and *interpretatio Graeca*, where the emphasis is placed upon the re-interpretation of indigenous deities from the perspective of the colonising power.

I prefer to see the process as reciprocal in nature, and therefore use the term *interpretatio* without suffix to refer to the reinterpretation of deities by either party.<sup>26</sup> This removes the dichotomy of ‘coloniser’ and ‘native’ that has often been the central focus of the ‘romanisation’ debate.<sup>27</sup> This *interpretatio* therefore provided a local

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<sup>22</sup> Versluys 2014, 154.

<sup>23</sup> Pitts and Versluys 2014, 10: globalisation is the ‘processes by which localities and people become increasingly interconnected and interdependent’. See also Hingley 2005.

<sup>24</sup> Häussler 2012, 144.

<sup>25</sup> Häussler 2012, 144.

<sup>26</sup> Versluys 2014, 149 demonstrates the complexities of deciding what *interpretatio* (Greek, Roman or indigenous) process occurred through the example of Isis where all players were involved to create a new goddess, rather than a process of acculturation between ‘Egyptian’, ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’.

<sup>27</sup> See Woolf 1997 for a framework moving beyond this.

context to global elements through a symbiotic exchange of religious ideas and elements, which could then be expressed and interpreted through visual material culture. It is therefore not surprising that when interpreting the imagery of tokens on local terms that there are multiple readings for the deities depicted. Athena in her local context at Oxyrhynchus is Athena-Thoeris, who is also equated with the Egyptian Taweret. Mars in the territory of the Remi is Mars Camulus, the classical deity being subsumed in an indigenous one. The token from Châteaubleau that depicts Jupiter appears to incorporate indigenous elements in its style and may reference a local deity, while the specimen that depicts Vulcan may have been equated with an indigenous deity such as Sucellus, especially as an inscription to Sucellus was also found at the site. It is not necessarily immediately obvious that multiple deities can be read in an image, but in the above cases the local context helps to elucidate this. This serves to highlight that the imagery of tokens should always be put in its local context where possible.

It is not just imagery that that is understood on local terms, whilst also incorporating global concepts. The same is also true of legends on tokens. Legends not only are understood on the terms of their locality through language which is part of a wider cultural milieu (e.g. Greek in Egypt, Latin in Gaul and Britain), but also through content, particularly when abbreviations are used that require local knowledge to understand them fully. The abbreviation of the name of Oxyrhynchus to OΞ on tokens only makes sense within the local context of the town and Roman Egypt more broadly, where papyrological evidence suggests that the abbreviation was frequently used in written documents. Similarly, the use of initials on tokens from Lyon required local knowledge of individuals within the locality who might have issued the tokens with only their initials to identify them rather than their full names. In some instances, such as the token depicting Mithras-Sol from Liberchies, whole phrases were abbreviated along with initials, which required knowledge of the cultural concepts behind such phrasing as well as local knowledge to identify the initials. In this respect legends on tokens, as well as imagery, encapsulate both global and local networks.

This process of *interpretatio* has further relevance for the use of tokens, as Häussler views the provincial elite and sub-elites as the main agents of this process, due to their wider social and economic links within the empire resulting in a diverse knowledge of

classical religion and cults.<sup>28</sup> It is perhaps no coincidence that these classes were also a key group responsible for the making of tokens for euergetic purposes. Given that new media were used to express the *interpretatio* of deities, tokens provided an apt means through which to achieve this.

The concept of tokens itself is a result of globalised interactions in the Roman period. There is no evidence for the use of monetiform metal tokens in Britain and Gaul before the Roman conquest, and in the instance of Egypt, before the Hellenistic period.<sup>29</sup> The evidence for pre-Roman tokens in the latter province is difficult to ascertain fully, but the most probable indication of their use is a series of tokens published by Milne, all from the Peckitt sale and without provenance other than Egypt.<sup>30</sup> The choice to depict imagery and legends on tokens also points to clear Roman influences, with the chosen subject matter part of wider cultural concepts within Roman society. The use of the convention of imagery alongside legends, which is found on tokens in all three case study areas, is evidenced most clearly on other types of Roman portable material culture such as coins and gems. The subject matter of the iconography is from the repertoire of images of the classical *koine*, whilst the language of the legends is Greek or Latin. Furthermore, classical epigraphic conventions are used, such as abbreviations or the use of motifs (palm branches, stars etc) as on the tokens from Lyon. These conventions are part of a broader spectrum of knowledge and understanding of how to read inscriptions. The important point here is that even though the appearance of tokens can be adapted or interpreted on a local basis, the overriding concept of what a token is and broadly speaking, how it should look, comes from a Roman milieu. This, in turn, suggests that some knowledge was needed of how tokens functioned, and of the cultural practices for which one might need to utilise a token, which could only be found in the classical cultural sphere. There is therefore, despite the local variation of tokens, a unifying factor in the understanding of their use, which was achieved through the 'global' connectivity of the Roman empire.

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<sup>28</sup> Häußler 2012, 145.

<sup>29</sup> There is, however, evidence for the use of wooden objects that have been interpreted as military ration tokens that date to 1980-1630 BC (Middle Kingdom): Boston Museum of Fine Arts: 24.747; 24.732; 24.733; 24.754.

<sup>30</sup> Milne 1933, nos. 5320-5329, 5347-5349, 5353, 5354-5389. The types of these tokens bear resemblance to the iconography on Hellenistic coins from the Greek *koine*, as well as being smaller and thicker than most Roman tokens. These differences indicate that they are not likely to be contemporary with Roman tokens and more likely to date to a pre-Roman period.

The use of a token therefore required a twofold understanding. The first was of ‘global’ aspects such as how tokens were used in certain Roman cultural practices, and the second was how to read and understand the contents of the token (imagery and legend) through the application of local knowledge to classical elements. Design theory posits that objects are made with certain users in mind, which assists in reinforcing the ideals and biases of a society and in turn consolidates the power of those who are at the top of social hierarchies.<sup>31</sup> The manufacture of Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) to ‘standard’ sizes which only fit men rather than women accentuates the gender divide, for example.<sup>32</sup> The use of tokens, therefore, and the understanding of both imagery and legend, catered to a specific group of individuals who understood the design, which in turn consolidated the values prevalent in that society. This then created ‘imagined communities’ which are not necessarily geographically close (but can be), but are comprised of individuals that have a unifying factor.<sup>33</sup>

These communities and the values reinforced by tokens might be apparent on different scales, for example the widespread token types from Egypt required understanding of Greek (to read the date) and classical iconography to understanding the imagery of Serapis or Nilus, and understanding of how to use the tokens, but required no local knowledge beyond that of the province of Egypt generally. The ‘imagined community’ for these tokens was therefore dispersed across the province. The Athena types from Oxyrhynchus, or the Mars Camulus token from Liry, or the tokens from Lyon with abbreviated names, however, required local knowledge alongside an understanding of classical concepts. The ‘imagined communities’ that used these tokens were therefore much smaller and geographically contained, although they by no means comprised every individual within a locality. The creation of ‘imagined communities’ through the use of tokens is further reinforced because the community is not just created through the inclusion of those who are able to read a token’s imagery or understand the societal events which merit its use, but those who are *permitted* to. Tokens, in their key function of representing something else, are able to represent an individual’s entitlement to gain something (e.g. grain, oil, meat at a ritual feast) or gain access (e.g. attendance at a festival, play or ritual banquet). They work through processes of

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<sup>31</sup> Swift 2017, 12: for design theory in context of the ancient world. She cites Winner 1985, 29-30 and Buckley 1986, 12, who explore this idea.

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-52454741> Accessed 15.05.2020.

<sup>33</sup> Anderson 1983.

inclusion and exclusion, which further reinforce the values of the community (imagined or otherwise) for which their use is intended.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that tokens were frequently used objects in the Roman provinces of Gaul and Egypt, and that they were rarely used in Britain. Whilst many of the tokens studied in this thesis had previously been published, no collated corpus had been created, and in the case of Egypt, no recent study of the material undertaken. Other collections, such as the tokens from London housed by MOLA, had not been studied previously, while some tokens (e.g. the Mithraic token from *Verulamium*) have been reinterpreted by this study. Together with the few examples from Britain, the tokens of Gaul and Egypt are characterised by their diversity and local character. This heterogeneity is apparent on both on inter- and intra- provincial scales, and comprises aspects such as their appearance, use, circulation patterns and issuing authority. Despite this, tokens are also tied into wider ‘global’ networks.

This study is the first to comprehensively assess the use of tokens in Roman Britain, through collation and analysis of different types of objects that might have functioned as tokens. Whilst the evidence suggests that most of these objects were not likely to have been used as tokens, there is some very sparse evidence for tokens in the same form that they are found elsewhere in the classical world. This is not, however, extensive, and so it is unlikely that tokens were used to a significant degree in Roman Britain. A possible reason for this is the dearth of personal euergetic initiatives in the provinces, which is a common context of use for tokens in other provinces of the Roman empire.

This study has demonstrated that tokens did not generally circulate at an extra-provincial level for use in multiple contexts as is the case with coins. The exception to this is a few tokens from Egypt which were found just to the south of the province, and off the coast of Israel, and were most likely repurposed as coins, as well as a few examples of types from Rome in Britain. The circulation patterns of tokens from the three case studies were mostly limited to local areas, even when there is suggestion of an overarching authority co-ordinating their manufacture as part of a larger series, as with the ethnics series from Gaul. The exception to this very local patterning is the dated series from Egypt that is found throughout the province. In this instance the collation of data from recent excavations has confirmed Milne’s hypothesis for a regional series of tokens alongside highly variable local types.

It is apparent from the evidence presented in the three case studies that there is considerable variation in the types of sites on which tokens are found in Gaul, Egypt and Britain. This implies utilisation in different social contexts. They are frequently found in rubbish dumps or archaeological contexts associated with disuse, suggesting that they were often single use items suitable for casual discard, or that, like many small portable objects they were not infrequently lost. Other types of site that have yielded tokens in more than one instance across the three case studies include amphitheatres, baths and sites with a cult or religious component. The scale of sites also differs considerably, comprising large towns, as well as middling-sized towns and small rural settlements.

A variation in function for tokens can be posited for all three case studies, due to the diversity of sites and contexts outlined above. These possibilities include utilisation in euergetic activities, use as votives and use in port administration. This study does, however, reject Milne's supposition that tokens were a low denominational coinage that filled a gap in the official striking of bronze issues in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries in Egypt. This is because tokens were also in use when there was no shortage of bronze coins, and because their weights and diameters imply that they were not standardised like coinage. Instead, the variety of possible uses for tokens in Egypt has been highlighted.

The appearance of tokens across the three case studies also exhibits local variation, despite most being made from lead. Whilst there are common elements used in the design of tokens, such as deities and legends, these often had specific local significance. A local reading of imagery is also evident in instances where the image is ubiquitous and at first appears to only have relevance to a wider *koine*, as with the imagery of Athena-Thoeris at Oxyrhynchus or Mars Camulus at Liry. Likewise, even though inscriptions were a common feature of life in the Roman world, the use of legends on tokens is tied into local networks. Local knowledge was needed to know to where an abbreviated ethnic referred, or which individual was denoted by a set of initials.

There is also variation in the manufacturing techniques used to make tokens. In Egypt tokens appear to be struck, whilst in Gaul there are a variety of techniques including casting, striking, and stamping. This variation in Gaul is one of many indications of

the hyper-local nature of tokens. The diverse nature of the appearance and function of tokens also extends as far as the issuing authority, which encompassed a wide range of individuals including the emperor and his family, the local elite and even possibly freedmen or slaves.

The distinct local character of tokens with the three provinces of Gaul, Egypt and Britain therefore demonstrates that tokens were tied into specific local networks, and facilitated the activities of certain groups within a community. Their appearance was intended to have resonance to a particular group or locality, and therefore they mediated interactions in different local social spheres in the Roman world. At the same time, the concept of a token as well as the use of classical imagery and inscriptions was tied into broader networks that extended across the Roman world, and so their use was linked to wider 'global' networks. Tokens in the Roman provinces of Egypt, Gaul, and – to a much lesser extent – Britain, were therefore everyday objects that simultaneously operated on local, provincial and global scales to facilitate quotidian life in communities.

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## Appendix: Tokens mentioned in the text

This appendix comprises objects that are certainly Roman tokens. Objects that are not Roman tokens or are explored for their possibility to be Roman tokens, are tabulated in the text. These include the objects discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.5.

All information is given where known. Where the information was taken from publications that did not provide all the data pertinent to each token e.g. die axis, weights, diameters, it could not be included in this appendix.

Specimens are indicated by individual numbers where differences between the tokens are significant e.g. they are different types or the data pertaining to each specimen is relevant to the arguments within the thesis, such as the weights and measurements of the Athena-Thoeris types from Oxyrhynchus. Where this is not the case, multiple specimens are encapsulated as a type within one number. In this instance the weight and diameter ranges are given, and the number of specimens are clearly indicated.

### Egypt

#### Abydos

1. Obverse: Bust of Athena right. Reverse: Seated animal right, forepaw raised(?). Within incuse circle. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 14mm. Weight: 3.31g. British Museum no.: 1922,0511.2. *BMCR*LT 928. Milne 1914, p.93 (a).
2. Obverse: Male bust right; solid border. Reverse: Egyptian mongoose (ichyhtumon) right. Within incuse circle. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15mm. Weight: 3.58g. British Museum no.: 1922,0511.4. *BMCR*LT 935. Milne 1914, p.93 (b).
3. Obverse: Male head right; border of dots. Reverse: Hippalectryon(?) right; border of dots. Within incuse circle. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 14mm. British Museum no.: 1922,0511.3. *BMCR*LT 925. Milne 1914, p.93 (c).
4. Obverse: Male head right. Border of dots. Reverse: Hippalectryon(?) right; border of dots. Within incuse circle. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 13mm. Milne 1914, p.93 (c).

5. Obverse: Male head right. Border of dots. Reverse: Hippalectryon(?) right; border of dots. Within incuse circle. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 13mm. Milne 1914, p.93 (c).

### **Abu Qir Bay**

6. Obverse: Pylons of Egyptian temple, between them statue of deity posed left; border of dots. Reverse: Pylons of Egyptian temple, between them atop steps, canopic jar(?); line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.74g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5450.

### **Antinoopolis**

7. Obverse: Bust of Horus(?) right, wearing headdress; LB. Reverse: Euthenia reclining left, holding two ears of corn in right hand and lotus flower in left. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19.5mm. Nachtergaeel and Pintaudi 2002-2003, no.12.
8. Obverse: Apollo standing facing, holding lyre resting on column in left hand; double border of dots. Reverse: She-wolf standing left, suckling twins; star and crescent above; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 4.07g. Die axis: 3. British Museum no.: 1914,0906.4. Milne 1947, p.114.
9. Obverse: Bust of Serapis right; LH; border of dots. Reverse: Nilus reclining left, holding reeds in right hand and cornucopia in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 4.77g. Die axis: 12. British Museum no.: 1914,0906.3. Milne 1947, p.114.

### **The Fayum**

10. Obverse: Head. Reverse: ARCE[...]WI[...]O[...]. Metal: Lead. Milne 1900, 71-74.
11. Obverse: Serapis seated left on throne. Reverse: Nilus reclining left. Metal: Lead. Milne 1900, 71-74.
12. Obverse: Serapis seated left on throne. Reverse: Nilus reclining left. Metal: Lead. Milne 1900, 71-74.
13. Obverse: Bust of Nilus with cornucopia behind. Reverse: Bust (uncertain). Metal: Lead. Milne 1900, 71-74.

14. Obverse: Human figure to waist, with serpent's tail for lower half of body, holding in left hand a cornucopia and in the right a genius. Reverse: Unrecorded. Metal: Lead. Milne 1900, 71-74.
15. Obverse: Too worn for identification. Reverse: Too worn for identification. Metal: Lead. Milne 1900, 71-74.

### **Haifa**

16. Obverse: Nilus reclining left holding Pharos(?) in right hand and cornucopia in left. Reverse: Euthenia reclining left with three corn ears in right hand and cornucopia in left; LZ. Metal: Lead. Possibly copper-alloy plated.<sup>34</sup> Weight: 4.95g. Meshorer 2010, 132, no. 160.
17. Obverse: Nilus facing, holding reeds in right hand and cornucopia in left. Reverse: Agathodaemon erect right, with head of Serapis, entwining ear of corn.<sup>35</sup> Metal: Lead. Weight: 3.24g. Meshorer 2010, 132, no. 161.
18. Obverse: B. Reverse: B. Metal: Lead. Weight: 5.09g. Meshorer 2010, 132, no. 162.

### **Karanis<sup>36</sup>**

19. Obverse: Nilus seated left, holding reed in right hand, cornucopia in left; border of dots. Reverse: Isis-Pharia standing front, wearing headdress of horns and plumes, right arm raised, to left, superstructure of Pharos tower, to right stalk of corn (?); border of dots. Metal: Lead. Kelsey Museum accession no.: 0000.02.3115.

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<sup>34</sup> Described as AE plated lead in the catalogue. See Meshorer 2010, p.132. This is a phenomena observed by the author when studying other Roman tokens from Egypt, however, it is difficult to know whether the copper-alloy is a result of plating or a transfer occurring from copper-alloy objects in contact with lead tokens in post-depositional environments.

<sup>35</sup> See Dattari no. 6498 for reverse type.

<sup>36</sup> The six tokens listed below are those that were identified by the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Currently no photos are available, and identifications are taken from the descriptions on the museum database. From the same collection are eight tokens from Karanis which are not identified (Accession numbers: 0000.02.3113, 0000.06.4736, 0000.06.4738, 0000.06.4739, 0000.06.4740, 0000.06.9210, 0000.06.9211, 0000.06.9209). Additionally, the Cairo Coptic Museum holds a further three (Accession numbers: 65685, 65686, 65687), and another two are in an unknown location. No details as to iconography are given for any of these. Weights and measurements are not provided by either museum.

20. Obverse: Serapis standing left, wearing modius, holding sceptre in left hand (?). Reverse: Gazelle right, lying down, with forefeet extended in front.  
Metal: Lead. Kelsey Museum accession no.: 0000.02.3116.
21. Obverse: Bust of Egyptian king right, wearing uraeus and linen headdress.  
Reverse: Helios seated left, radiate, right arm raised, on back of throne hawk left, in front, star. Metal: Lead. Kelsey Museum accession no.: 0000.06.4733.
22. Obverse: Egyptian bust right. Reverse: Serapis seated left, wearing modius.  
Metal: Lead. Kelsey Museum accession no.: 0000.06.4734.
23. Obverse: Serapis standing left, wearing modius, right arm raised, sceptre in left. Reverse: Isis or Alexandria seated left, wearing headdress of lotus buds (?) and turrets, right hand raised. Metal: Lead. Kelsey Museum Accession no.: 0000.06.4735.
24. Obverse: Serapis(?) standing left, right arm raised. Reverse: Nilus reclining left, crowned with lotus, holding reed and cornucopia; crocodile right below.  
Metal: Lead. Kelsey Museum accession no.: 0000.06.4737.

### **Narmouthis**

25. Obverse: Euthenia(?) reclining left, holding two ears of corn in right hand and cornucopia in left. Reverse: Serapis seated facing, right arm raised.  
Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Nachtergaele and Pintaudi 2002-2003, no.12.

### **Oxyrhynchus<sup>37</sup>**

26. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike standing left on globe, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 28mm.

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<sup>37</sup> Milne numbers correspond to the tokens published in Milne 1933, and are the exact specimens from his catalogue. Those without a Milne number are not published in his catalogue and have been assigned a supplementary number, indicated by an 's' before the number and correspond to the entries on the Token Communities database. All those listed here are currently in the Ashmolean Museum collection and have therefore been available for study by the author, and identifications revised where appropriate. However, these 147 tokens do not comprise the total number from Oxyrhynchus, which Milne notes is 271 specimens. These 271 specimens (including the 147 studied by the author) are published by type in Milne 1908.

EEF= Egypt Exploration Fund, followed by date of donation to the Ashmolean. Exc. = date of excavation by the EEF.

- Weight: 3.70g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5280. EEF 1906, exc. 1906.
27. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike standing left on globe, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 5.12g. Die axis: 8. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5280a. EEF 1919.
  28. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike standing left on globe, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 14g. Die axis: 6. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5281. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
  29. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 6.01g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5283a. Given by Mrs Hunt - from Behnasa 26.06.1935.
  30. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 5.73g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5283b. Given by Mrs Hunt - from Behnasa 10.08.1934.
  31. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 26mm. Weight: 6.74g. Die axis: 4. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5283c. EEF 1919.
  32. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 25mm. Weight: 5.54g. Die axis: 6. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5283d. EEF 1919.
  33. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 4.95g. Die axis: 5. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5283e. EEF 1919.

34. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 5.15g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5283f. EEF 1919.
35. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 5.83g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5283g. EEF 1919.
36. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 6.78g. Die axis: 8. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5283h. EEF 1919.
37. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 5.97g. Die axis: 11. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5283i. EEF 1919.
38. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 1.91g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5283j. EEF 1919.
39. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 3.85g. Die axis: 4. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5283k. EEF 1919.
40. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 6.13g. Die axis: 2. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5284. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
41. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 8.18g. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5285. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
42. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and

- palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 21mm. Weight: 4.81g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5286. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
43. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 4.63g. Die axis: 2. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5287. EEF 1906, exc. 1905.
44. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 7.36g. Die axis: 6. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5288. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
45. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 6.69g. Die axis: 11. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5290. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
46. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike standing left on globe, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 19.64g. Die axis: 4. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5291. EEF 1906, exc. 1905.
47. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike standing left on globe, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 21mm. Weight: 3.64g. Die axis: 6. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5293. EEF 1906, exc. 1905.
48. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 2.9g. Die axis: 6. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5453. EEF 1919.
49. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 4.58g. Die axis: 1. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5453a. EEF 1919.

50. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet.  
Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.91g. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5453b. EEF 1919.
51. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet.  
Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 1.26g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5453c. EEF 1919.
52. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet.  
Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15mm. Weight: 1.33g. Die axis: 4. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5453d. EEF 1919.
53. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet.  
Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15mm. Weight: 1.40g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5453e. EEF 1919.
54. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet.  
Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16. Weight: 2.19g. Die axis: 2. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5453f. EEF 1919.
55. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet.  
Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 2.16g. Die axis: 10. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5453g. EEF 1919.
56. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet.  
Reverse: Nike left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 14mm. Weight: 1.3g. Die axis: 1. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5453h. EEF 1919.
57. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing right holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 21mm. Weight: 3.54g. Die axis: 4. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5454. EEF 1919.

58. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Indiscernible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 8.26g. Die axis: 3. Ashmolean Museum, s5451. EEF 1919.
59. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet; line border. Reverse: Indiscernible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 1.64g. Die axis: 5. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5451a. EEF 1919.
60. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Indiscernible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5451b. EEF 1919.
61. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Indiscernible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 3.89g. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5451c. EEF 1919.
62. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front. Reverse: Indiscernible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 16.48g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5452. EEF 1919.
63. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Wreath. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 5.7g. Die axis: 1. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5318. EEF 1906, exc. 1905.
64. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 4.22g. Die axis: 3. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5292. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
65. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 2.81g. Die axis: 8. Ashmolean Museum, s5292a. EEF 1919.
66. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 3.58g. Die axis: 5. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5292b. EEF 1919.
67. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front; border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in

- right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 4.42g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5292c. EEF 1919.
68. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 4.83g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5292d. EEF 1919.
69. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 2.98g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5292e. EEF 1919.
70. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 3.12g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5292f. EEF 1919.
71. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 2.15g. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5292g. EEF 1919.
72. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 4.59g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5292h. EEF 1919.
73. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.27g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5292i. EEF 1919.
74. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.87g. Die axis: 5. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5292j. EEF 1919.
75. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and

- palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 5.38g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5294. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
76. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front; border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 4.69g. Die axis: 13. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5295. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
77. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front; border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 2.92g. Die axis: 10. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5296. EEF 1904, exc. 1897.
78. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.27g. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5297. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
79. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet. Spear or *labrys* to front; border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 4.44g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5298a. EEF 1919.
80. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front; border of dots. Reverse: Nike standing left on globe, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 3.48g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5299. EEF 1906, exc. 1906.
81. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, spear to front; line border. Reverse: Nike standing left on globe, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 4.73g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5300. EEF 1906, exc. 1906.
82. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, *labrys* to front; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter:

- 18mm. Weight: 3.75g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5301. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
83. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, *labrys* to front; border of dots. Reverse: Nike standing left on globe, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 21mm. Weight: 3.28g. Die axis: 6. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5301a. EEF 1919.
84. Obverse: Bust of Athena / Athena-Thoeris right, wearing Corinthian helmet, *labrys* to front; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 3.34g. Die axis: 11. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5302. EEF 1906, exc. 1906.
85. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her. Reverse: Zeus seated left, in right hand holding Nike right holding wreath, and in left hand holding sceptre. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 7.72g. Die axis: 1. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5303. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
86. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her. Reverse: Zeus seated left, in right hand holding Nike right holding wreath, and in left hand holding sceptre. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 26mm. Weight: 9.07g. Die axis: 3. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5305. EEF 1906, exc. 1906.
87. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her. Reverse: Zeus seated left, in right hand holding Nike right holding wreath, and in left hand holding sceptre. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 26mm. Weight: 5.56g. Die axis: 2. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5306. EEF 1906, exc. 1906.
88. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 2.79g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5307a. Given by Mrs Hunt - from Behnasa 10.08.1934.

89. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her; border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 4.40g. Die axis: 8. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5307b. Given by Mrs Hunt - from Behnasa 21.06.1935.
90. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.15g. Die axis: 2. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5307d. EEF 1919.
91. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her; border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 4.73g. Die axis: 11. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5307e. EEF 1919.
92. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 21mm. Weight: 4.41g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5308. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
93. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 4.87g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5309. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
94. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 21mm. Weight: 6.19g. Die axis: 8. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5310. EEF 1906, exc. 1905
95. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of

dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.29g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5311. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.

96. Obverse: Athena / Athena-Thoeris advancing right, holding *labrys* in right hand and shield in left, attacking serpent before her. Reverse: Indiscernible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18. Weight: 1.99. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5456c. EEF 1919.
97. Obverse: Statue of Athena / Athena-Thoeris standing facing, head left in classical temple, holding spear in left hand and figure of Nike in right hand. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 7.82g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5312. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
98. Obverse: Statue of Athena / Athena-Thoeris standing facing, head left in classical temple, holding spear in left hand and figure of Nike in right hand. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 5.43. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5312a. EEF 1919.
99. Obverse: Statue of Athena / Athena-Thoeris standing facing, head left in classical temple, holding spear in left hand and figure of Nike in right hand. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 4.90. Die axis: 1. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5312b. EEF 1919.
100. Obverse: Statue of Athena / Athena-Thoeris standing facing, head left in classical temple, holding spear in left hand and figure of Nike in right hand. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 4.71g. Die axis: 3. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5313. EEF 1906, exc. 1905.
101. Obverse: Statue of Athena / Athena-Thoeris standing facing, head left in classical temple, holding spear in left hand and figure of Nike in right hand; to left, altar(?). Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 25mm. Weight: 10.27g. Die axis: 6. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5314. EEF 1906, exc. 1906.
102. Obverse: Statue of Athena / Athena-Thoeris standing facing, head left, in classical temple, holding spear in left hand and figure of Nike in right hand.

- Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 25mm. Weight: 6.95g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5315. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
103. Obverse: Statue of Athena / Athena-Thoeris standing facing, head left in classical temple, holding spear in left hand and figure of Nike in right hand. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 1.5g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5316. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
104. Obverse: Tyche reclining left; LB(?). Reverse: APCINOITWN ΠΟΛΕWC; in centre Φ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 28mm. Weight: 13.94g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5276. EEF 1922.
105. Obverse: Serapis standing facing, wearing modius, holding sceptre in left hand and raising right hand; to left, Egyptian altar; to right sphinx lying left; behind sphinx, two pyramids of different sizes; [ANT/E]/OYC (last three letters retrograde); line border. Reverse: Hawk-headed Horus standing facing, head right, wearing *skhent* and military dress, holding sceptre in right hand and hawk(?) in left; to right, female figure standing left, crowning Horus with laurel wreath; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 4.74. Die axis: 11. Ashmolean Museum, Dattari 6412. Given by Mrs Hunt - from Behnasa 10.8.1934.
106. Obverse: Isis standing facing, wearing solar disc, to right Apis bull facing left; [MEMΦIC]; border of dots. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Euthenia-Isis standing before him holding corn wreath aloft in right hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 28mm. Weight: 3.70g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5279a. Given by Mrs Hunt - from Behnasa 10.8.1934.
107. Obverse: Emperor standing facing, head left, wearing radiate crown, holding upside-down spear in left hand, and Nike holding laurel wreath aloft, in right hand. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 3.38g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5335. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
108. Obverse: Emperor standing facing, head left, wearing radiate crown, holding upside-down spear in left hand, and Nike holding laurel wreath aloft, in right hand. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in

left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 2.78g. Die axis: 11.

Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5336. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.

109. Obverse: Emperor standing facing, head left, wearing radiate crown, holding upside-down spear in left hand, and Nike holding laurel wreath aloft, in right hand. Reverse: Nike advancing right, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 1.75g. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5337. EEF 1906.
110. Obverse: Emperor standing facing, head left, wearing radiate crown, holding upside-down spear in left hand, and Nike holding laurel wreath aloft, in right hand; line border. Reverse: Athena-Dikaiosyne standing facing, head left, wearing Corinthian helmet, holding scales in right hand and cornucopia in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 21mm. Weight: 5.49g. Die axis: 5. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5339. EEF 1906, exc. 1906.
111. Obverse: Sobek(?) standing facing, head left, holding sceptre in left hand. Double border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing right, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 7.73g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5338. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
112. Obverse: Antinous-Hermes riding right, wearing HemHem crown and holding caduceus. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 4.34g. Die axis: 1. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5420. EEF 1906, exc. 1906.
113. Obverse: Bust of Antinous right, wearing HemHem crown, before bust of Isis left; border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 2.62g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5432. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
114. Obverse: Bust of Antinous right, wearing HemHem crown, before bust of Isis left; line border. Reverse: Nilus sitting right, holding cornucopia in right hand and reeds in left, Euthenia standing before him holding corn wreath aloft in right; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 1.99g. Die axis: 4. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5433. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
115. Obverse: Hermanubis standing left, jackal to left; border of dots. Reverse: Elephant advancing left, emperor(?) atop holding eagle-tipped sceptre(?).

- Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 2.96g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5345. EEF 1906, exc. 1905.
116. Obverse: Hermes standing left, holding purse in right hand and caduceus over right shoulder(?). Reverse: Vexillum(?); L[...]; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 3.01g. Die axis: 11. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5409. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
117. Obverse: Sphinx standing left; double border. Reverse: Winged horse galloping left; CE; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 25mm. Weight: 9.64g. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5390. EEF 1906, exc. 1905.<sup>38</sup>
118. Obverse: Torso of Nilus facing, head left, holding cornucopia in left hand. Bust of Athena right, wearing Corinthian helmet; LKE. Metal: Lead. (copper-alloy plated?). Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 3.75g. Die axis: 1. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5391. EEF 1906, exc. 1905.
119. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and figure of mummiform Osiris(?) in outstretched right hand; line border. Reverse: Bust of Serapis right, wearing modius; L[...]; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.24g. Die axis: 11. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5392. EEF 1906, exc. 1905.
120. Obverse: Nilus or Euthenia reclining left; border of dots. Reverse: Serapis seated facing, wearing modius, right arm raised; L[...]; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 3.56g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5394. EEF 1915, exc. 1904.
121. Obverse: Torso of Nilus reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and figure of mummiform Osiris in outstretched right hand; border of dots. Reverse: Two canopi standing on cushions, facing each other, one crowned with horns, disc and plumes. To right, Harpocrates standing left holding club(?) in left hand and raising finger of right hand to lips; L[...]; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.94g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5396. EEF 1904, exc. 1897.
122. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in outstretched right hand; crocodile below. Reverse: Euthenia reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand, and two ears of corn in right hand; L[...];

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<sup>38</sup> Identification and die axis from Milne 1971, as token now too worn to discern imagery or legend.

- line border. Metal: Lead. (copper-alloy plated?). Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 4.52g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5398. EEF 1915, exc. 1904.
123. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding lotus flowers in outstretched right hand; crocodile below; border of dots. Reverse: Euthenia reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand, and two ears of corn in right hand; LIB; border of dots. Metal: Lead. (copper-alloy plated?). Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 4.62g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5400. EEF 1904, exc. 1897.
124. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding lotus flowers in outstretched right hand. Crocodile below; border of dots. Reverse: Semasia galloping right on horse; LIA. Dotted border. Metal: Lead. (copper-alloy plated?). Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 4.25g. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5402. EEF 1915, exc. 1904.
125. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and uncertain object in right hand; double border of dots. Reverse: Reaper right, wearing pileus, cutting down three stalks of corn with sickle; L[...]; border of dots. Metal: Lead. (copper-alloy plated?). Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 2.55g. Die axis: 8. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5403. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
126. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right hand. Reverse: Two fishes, aligned vertically with heads upwards; L $\zeta$ . Metal: Lead. (copper-alloy plated?). Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 3.13g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5405. EEF 1906, exc. 1905. Pierced at 12 o' clock on the obverse.
127. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right hand; line border. Reverse: Three ears of corn; LA; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 21mm. Weight: 2.35g. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5406. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
128. Obverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Euthenia standing before him holding corn wreath aloft in right hand; border of dots. Reverse: Emperor standing left, and Nike standing left(?); border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 2.09g. Die axis: 8. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5416. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.

129. Obverse: Bust of Nilus(?) right; border of dots. Reverse: Serapis seated facing; LIB; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 4.06g. Die axis: 3. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5408. EEF 1904, exc. 1897.
130. Obverse: Serapis standing left, wearing modius and radiate crown, holding cornucopia in right hand, and in left hand sacrificing with patera over altar. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.77g. Die axis: 2. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5422a. EEF 1919.
131. Obverse: Serapis standing left, wearing modius and radiate crown, holding cornucopia in right hand, and in left hand sacrificing with patera over altar. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 1.28g. Die axis: 4. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5422e. EEF 1919.
132. Obverse: Serapis standing left, wearing modius and radiate crown, holding cornucopia in right hand, and with left hand sacrificing with patera over altar. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 1.74g. Die axis: 3. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5422c. EEF 1919.
133. Obverse: Serapis standing left, wearing modius and radiate crown, holding cornucopia in right hand, and in left hand sacrificing with patera over altar; double border of dots. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.23g. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5422. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
134. Obverse: Serapis standing left, wearing modius and radiate crown, holding cornucopia in right hand, and in left hand sacrificing with patera over altar; line border. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.16g. Die axis: 7. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5423. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
135. Obverse: Serapis standing left, wearing modius and radiate crown, holding cornucopia in right hand, and in left hand sacrificing with patera over altar. Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.35g. Die axis: 6. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5424. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.

136. Obverse: Serapis standing left, wearing modius and radiate crown, holding cornucopia in right hand, and in left hand sacrificing with patera over altar. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 2.30g. Die axis: 5. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5425. EEF 1919, exc. 1897.
137. Obverse: Bust of Serapis right, wearing modius. Reverse: Bust of Hermanubis right, wearing modius. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 25mm. Weight: 6.03g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5426. EEF 1915, exc. 1904. Pierced at 2 o' clock on the obverse.
138. Obverse: Bust of Serapis right, wearing modius; line border. Reverse: Bust of Hermanubis right, wearing modius; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 26mm. Weight: 6.13g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5427. EEF 1906, exc. 1905.
139. Obverse: Bust of Serapis right, wearing modius. Reverse: Indiscernible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 6.72g. Die axis: 1. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5431. EEF 1906, exc. 1905. Pierced at 12 o' clock on the obverse.
140. Obverse: Wreath, within which ΔIOB(?); line border. Reverse: Egyptian style altar; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 26mm. Weight: 7.12g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5441. EEF 1904, exc. 1903.
141. Obverse: Altar(?); line border. Reverse: Altar(?); line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15mm. Weight: 1.5g. Die axis: 3. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5444. EEF 1904, exc. 1903. Pierced at 3 o' clock on obverse.
142. Obverse: Figure standing facing, head left. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.06g. Die axis: 5. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5422b. EEF 1919.
143. Obverse: Figure standing left. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 3.05g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5456g. EEF 1919.
144. Obverse: Standing figure. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.07g. Die axis: 5. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5422d. EEF 1919.

145. Obverse: Figure standing facing, head left. Reverse: Indiscernible; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.36g. Die axis: 2. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5457. EEF 1919.
146. Obverse: Indiscernible. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 2.19g. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5456. EEF 1919.
147. Obverse: Indiscernible. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 3.13g. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5456f. EEF 1919.
148. Obverse: Standing figure. Reverse: Nike standing left on globe, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 1.66g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5422f. EEF 1919.
149. Obverse: Indiscernible. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 1.6g. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5456h. EEF 1919.
150. Obverse: Indiscernible. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; OΞ. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 26mm. Weight: 11.95g. Die axis: 11. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5455. EEF 1919.
151. Obverse: Indiscernible. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 1.85g. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5456a. EEF 1919.
152. Obverse: Indiscernible. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19. Weight: 2.01g. Die axis: 11. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5456b. EEF 1919.
153. Obverse: Indiscernible. Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 1.39g. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5456d. EEF 1919.
154. Obverse: Two standing figures. Reverse: Indiscernible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15mm. Weight: 1.79g. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5458. EEF 1919. Pierced at 12 o' clock on the obverse.

A further 19 specimens, designs now too worn to discern, are present in the Ashmolean Museum collection, all provenanced from EEF 1919.

### Saqqara<sup>39</sup>

155. Obverse: Apis bull facing right, with solar disc between horns; to left Isis(?) standing right wearing solar disc and to right janiform figure(?) standing left and holding uraeus serpent; crescent and garland above in field. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Alexandria-Euthenia standing before him holding ear of corn aloft in right hand; OBOΛOI B; border of dots. Metal: Lead.
156. Obverse: Isis standing facing, wearing solar disc, to right Apis bull facing left; MEMΦIC. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Euthenia-Isis standing before him holding corn wreath aloft in right hand. Metal: Lead.

### Tebtunis<sup>40</sup>

157. Obverse: Apis bull facing right, with solar disc between horns; to left Isis(?) standing right wearing solar disc and to right janiform figure(?) standing left and holding uraeus serpent; rescent and garland above in field. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Alexandria-Euthenia standing before him holding ear of corn aloft in right hand; OBOΛOI B; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 30mm. Die axis: 12. Milne 1900, Pl XXVI, no.1.
158. Obverse: Apis bull facing right, with solar disc between horns; to left Isis(?) standing right wearing solar disc and to right janiform figure(?) standing left and holding uraeus serpent; crescent and garland above in field. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Alexandria-Euthenia standing before him wearing elephant headdress(?) and holding ear of corn aloft in right hand; OBOΛOI B; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 30mm. Die axis: 12. Milne 1900, Pl XXVI, no.2.
159. Obverse: Apis bull facing right, with solar disc between horns; to left Isis(?) standing right wearing solar disc and to right janiform figure(?) standing left

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<sup>39</sup> Descriptions taken from drawings in Longperrier 1861, pl XVIII, in conjunction with images of tokens from Tebtunis outlined below.

<sup>40</sup> Identifications based on images in Milne 1935, pl. XXVI. Diameters and die axis based on data from Milne 1935, p.213. No weights given.

and holding uraeus serpent; crescent and garland above in field. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Alexandria-Euthenia standing before him wearing elephant headdress(?), and holding ear of corn aloft in right hand; OBOΛOI B; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 31mm. Die axis: 3. Milne 1900, Pl XXVI, no.3.

160. Obverse: Apis bull facing right, with solar disc between horns; to left Isis(?) standing right wearing solar disc and to right janiform figure(?) standing left and holding uraeus serpent; crescent and garland above in field. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Alexandria-Euthenia standing before him holding ear of corn aloft in right hand; OBOΛOI B; double border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 28mm. Die axis: 9. Milne 1900, Pl XXVI, no.4.
161. Obverse: Apis bull facing right, with solar disc between horns; to left Isis(?) standing right wearing solar disc and to right janiform figure(?) standing left and holding uraeus serpent; crescent and garland above in field. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Alexandria-Euthenia standing before him holding ear of corn aloft in right hand; OBOΛOI B; triple border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 30mm. Die axis: 11. Milne 1900, Pl XXVI, no.5.
162. Obverse: Apis bull facing right, with solar disc between horns; to left Isis(?) standing right wearing solar disc and to right janiform figure(?) standing left and holding uraeus serpent; crescent and garland above in field. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Alexandria-Euthenia standing before him holding ear of corn aloft in right hand; OBOΛOI B; double border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 30mm. Die axis: 12. Milne 1900, Pl XXVI, no.6.

### **Qasr Ibrim**

163. Obverse: Nilus reclining with cornucopia in left hand and lotus in right. Reverse: Euthenia reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and corn ears in right; LB. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Frend 2004, 174 no. 31.

164. Obverse: Nilus reclining left. Reverse: Illegible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. 'Pierced by two holes as if used as a seal.' Frensd 2004, 174 no. 32.
165. Obverse: Head of Serapis facing between two torches, wearing modius. Reverse: Euthenia reclining (probably). Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Frensd 2004, 174 no. 33.

### **Unprovenanced tokens from Egypt**

166. Obverse: Upper body of Nilus, facing, head left, holding cornucopia in left hand, and holding reeds in right hand; line border. Reverse: Hawk-headed Horus(?) standing facing, head left, wearing cuirass, holding spear in left hand and hawk in outstretched right hand; AOP BIC. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 4.54g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5277.
167. Obverse: Bust of Serapis, wearing modius, right; crescent in field to left, star in field to right; border of dots. Reverse: Bust of Hawk-headed Horus right, wearing HemHem crown and cuirass; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 6.14g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5331.
168. Obverse: Bust of Serapis(?), wearing HemHem crown, right; eight petalled flower(?) in field to right; border of dots. Reverse: Two sphinxes, facing one another, each on a rectangular plinth; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 13mm. Weight: 1.16g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5333.
169. Obverse: Hermes/Hermanubis standing facing, holding caduceus in left hand; line border. Reverse: Jackal-headed Hermanubis, seated left on throne, holding sceptre in left hand and purse in outstretched right hand; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 13mm. Weight: 1.16g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5340.
170. Obverse: Isis standing facing, wearing solar disc, to right Apis bull facing left; MEMΦIC. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Euthenia-Isis standing before him holding corn wreath aloft in right hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 29mm. Weight: 9.02g. Die axis: 11. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5278.
171. Obverse: Isis standing facing, wearing solar disc, to right Apis bull facing left; MEMΦIC. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand

- and reeds in right, Euthenia-Isis standing before him holding corn wreath aloft in right hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 5.34g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne 5279.
172. Obverse: Apis bull walking left, wearing solar disc, Egyptian altar before it; standing figure to left, holding uraeus serpent; border of dots. Reverse: Nilus sitting left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right, Euthenia-Isis standing before him holding corn wreath aloft in right hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15mm. Weight: 1.26g. Die axis: 9. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5448.
173. Obverse: Isis standing facing, wearing solar disc, to right Apis bull facing left; [MEMΦIC]. Reverse: Indiscernible. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 28mm. Weight: 3.7g. Die axis: 12. Ashmolean Museum, Milne s5279a.
174. Obverse: Jugate busts of Isis and Osiris, right; border of dots. Reverse: Isis Thermouthis right, torch to left and right; crescent in field to top left, star in field to top right; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 3.85g. Die axis: 12. ANS no. 1935.117.1114.
175. Obverse: Jugate busts of Isis and Osiris, right; border of dots. Reverse: Isis Thermouthis right, torch to left and right; crescent in field to top left, star in field to top right; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 3.16g. Die axis: 12. ANS no. 1944.100.79879.
176. Obverse: Tyche standing facing, holding rudder in right hand; female figure (Euthenia?) standing facing, head left; double border of dots. Reverse: Homonoia(?) standing facing, wearing modius and holding cornucopia in right hand; Dikaiosyne standing left wearing modius, holding scales in right hand and cornucopia in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 25mm. Weight: 7.34g. Die axis: 11. ANS no. 1944.100.79781.
177. Obverse: Female figure (Homonoia?) standing left, wearing modius, holding cornucopia in left hand and raising right hand; ibis to left, standing left; border of dots. Reverse: Dikaiosyne standing left, wearing modius, holding scales in right hand and cornucopia in left hand; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 3.4g. Die axis: 5. ANS no. 1944.100.79807.
178. Obverse: Hawk-headed Horus standing left, holding spear in left hand and hawk in outstretched right hand; solid line border. Reverse: Hawk in

tabernacle? Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 8.25g. Die axis: 11. ANS no. 1944.100.79851.

179. Obverse: Bust of Nilus right, cornucopia over right shoulder; palm branch to front; solid line border. Reverse: Dikaiosyne standing left, wearing modius, holding scales in right hand and cornucopia in left hand; solid line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 5.9g. Die axis: 2. ANS no. 1944.100.79854.
180. Obverse: Nilus reclining left, holding cornucopia in left hand and reeds in right hand; border of dots. Reverse: Ibis walking right; LE; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 3.2g. Die axis: 2. ANS no. 1944.100.79860.
181. Obverse: Bust of Nilus right, wearing lotus buds; MECCAAINA K [THCIC]. Reverse: Ganymede flying right on eagle; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 8.72g. Die axis: 6. ANS no. 1944.100.79863.
182. Obverse: Messalina standing left, holding ears of corn in right hand; MECCAAINHC. Reverse: Baboon walking right; [KTHCIC]. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 25mm. Weight: 8.96g. Die axis: 12. ANS no. 1944.100.79864. Cf. Dattari 6506.
183. Obverse: Isis standing left, holding sistrum in raised right hand, and holding globe in outstretched left hand; lion at feet to left, sitting left, head right. Reverse: Harpocrates standing left, raising right hand to put finger to lips, and holding cornucopia in left hand; to left, Bes standing facing; solid line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 3.6g. Die axis: 12. ANS 1944.100.79893.
184. Obverse: Hawk-headed Horus standing left, holding spear in left hand and hawk in outstretched right hand; solid line border. Reverse: Agathodaemon with two coils, erect, head right; stalk of corn to each side. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Weight: 9.45g. Die axis: 8. ANS 1944.100.79902.
185. Obverse: Bust of Antinous right, wearing HemHem crown; E[II AΓ]AΘW. Reverse: Bust of Antinous right, wearing HemHem crown(?); illegible legend. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 30mm. Weight: 11.86g. Die axis: 9. ANS no. 1944.100.79912.
186. Obverse: Bust of Antinous right, wearing HemHem crown; EII AΓAΘW. Reverse: Bust of Zeus Ammon right, [...]OAEI. Metal: Lead. Diameter:

22mm. Weight: 8.25g. Die axis: 12. ANS no. 1944.100.79801. Cf. Mitchiner (1984), no.10.

187. Obverse: Athena standing left, wearing Corinthian helmet, left hand resting on shield at feet to right, outstretched left hand holding Nike with wreath and palm; line border. Reverse: AΓO; solid line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 9.98g. Die axis: 12. Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde no. AL\_3560.
188. Obverse: Athena standing left, wearing Corinthian helmet, left hand resting on shield at feet to right, outstretched left hand holding Nike with wreath and palm; line border. Reverse: AΓO; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Weight: 10.92g. Die axis: 1. Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde no. AL\_3561.
189. Obverse: Athena standing left, wearing Corinthian helmet, left hand resting on shield at feet to right, outstretched left hand holding Nike with wreath and palm; line border. Reverse: AΓO; line border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 24mm. Weight: 11.95g. Die axis: 12. Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde no. AL\_3562.

## **Gaul**

### **Châteaubleau**

1. Obverse: Vulcan standing right, hammer in raised left hand and tongs in extended right hand; V to left in field, O to right in field. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight 3.93g. Inventory no.: CH.05.X.20.17280.M.03. Hollard and Pilon 2007, 28, fig. 1.
2. Obverse: Head of Jupiter right, laureate. Reverse: Lightning bolt. Diameter: 15mm. Weight: 2.14g. Die axis: 1. Inventory no.: CH.04.X.31.M.01 Hollard and Pilon 2008, 36, fig. 1.

### **Côte Vitlet (Liry)**

3. Obverse: Eight petalled flower; cordiform leaf, MARTIS. Reverse: Mars Camulus(?) advancing left, holding uncertain attributes in left hand and in crook of right elbow, holding shield in right hand. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20.5mm. Weight: 4.04g. Private collection. Doyen 2017, 219, fig. 2.

## Digeon

4. Obverse: Rayed motif comprised of 11 rays. Reverse: Rectangle, inset with a silver plate (some missing). Average diameter: 15mm. Metal: Lead and silver. 13 specimens: 10 found together with three examples of no.2 in a layer at the foundation of the eastern end of the *cella*. Delplace 1986, p.180, figs. 1 and 2; and three surface finds, found within Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, p.89, 1<sup>st</sup> type, figure 1.
5. Obverse: Rayed motif comprised of 11 rays, short horizontal line below. Reverse: Rectangle, inset with a silver plate (some missing). Average diameter: 15mm. Metal: Lead and silver. 3 specimens: Found together with 8 examples of no.1 in a layer at the foundation of the eastern end of the *cella*. Delplace 1986, p.180, figs. 1 and 2
6. Obverse: Rayed motif comprised of 11 rays. Reverse: Rectangle. Length range: 14-16.5mm. Width range: 8-12mm. Metal: Bronze and silver. Shape: Rectangle. 10 specimens: 8 (no silver plate) found together in a layer at the foundation of the eastern end of the *cella*, approximately 1m away from cache comprising token types 4 and 5. Delplace 1986, p.180, figs. 3 and 4; and 2 (silver plate present) surface finds. Gendre 1992, nos. Aa1 and Aa2.
7. Obverse: Rayed motif comprised of 6 rays, each originating at the centre. Reverse: Uncertain. Design comprised of a group of indeterminate elements and incomplete border of right-angled symbols. Diameter: 16.5mm. Weight: 2.86g. Metal: Lead. Surface find. Gendre 1992, no. Ab3.<sup>41</sup>
8. Obverse: Rayed motif comprised of 7 rays, each originating at the centre and terminating in three prongs. Reverse: Uncertain. Design comprised of a group of indeterminate elements and incomplete border of right-angled symbols (trace of silver plate no longer intact at centre). Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 3.01g. Metal: Lead. Surface find. Gendre 1992, no. Ab4.
9. Obverse: Central dot, enclosed by a circle from which emanates 8 rays. Reverse: Uncertain. Design comprised of a group of indeterminate elements

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<sup>41</sup> Tokens 4-8 apparently have the same reverse die according to Gendre 1992, p. 20-121, nos. 3-8. This cannot, however, be corroborated by the images due to the poor conditions of the tokens resulting in images with insufficient detail.

- and incomplete border of right-angled symbols. Diameter: 19mm. Metal: Lead. Surface find. Gendre 1992, no. Ab5.
10. Obverse: Central dot, enclosed by a circle from which emanates 8 rays. Reverse: Uncertain. Design comprised of a group of indeterminate elements and incomplete border of right-angled symbols. Diameter: 17mm. Weight: 4.10g. Metal: Lead. Surface find. Gendre 1992, no. Ab6.
11. Obverse: Central dot, enclosed by a circle from which emanates 13 rays. Square silver plate at centre. Reverse: Uncertain. Design comprised of a group of indeterminate elements and incomplete border of right-angled symbols. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 4.01g. Metal: Lead. Surface find. Gendre 1992, no. Ab7.
12. Obverse: Central dot, enclosed by a circle from which emanates 16 rays. Reverse: Uncertain. Design comprised of a group of indeterminate elements and incomplete border of right-angled symbols (incision, perhaps indicating removal of silver plate). Diameter: 18mm. Metal: Lead. Surface find. Gendre 1992, no. Ab8.
13. Obverse: Central rectangle, radiating lines, all within a circle. Reverse: Disordered lines within a beaded circular border. Metal: Lead. 6 specimens: all surface finds from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 2<sup>nd</sup> type.
14. Obverse: Central rectangle, radiating lines, all within a circle. Reverse: Disordered lines within a beaded circular border. Metal: Bronze. 4 specimens, all surface finds from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 2<sup>nd</sup> type.
15. Obverse: Globule enclosed by a circle with radiating lines. Reverse: 3 lines, each with bulbous terminals, enclosed by a beaded border. Metal: Lead. 3 specimens, all surface finds from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 3<sup>rd</sup> type.
16. Obverse: Globule enclosed by a small circle with irregular radiating lines. Reverse: three lines, each with bulbous terminals, enclosed by a beaded border. Metal: Lead. 3 specimens, all surface finds from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 3<sup>rd</sup> type.

17. Obverse: A series of regular rays, emanating from a pellet at the centre.  
Pellets in gaps between rays. Reverse: As obverse. Metal: Lead. 4 specimens, all surface finds from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 4<sup>th</sup> type.
18. Obverse: Spiralling rayed wheel motif. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Surface find from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 7<sup>th</sup> type.
19. Obverse: Thick central circle, enclosed by a circular border around the perimeter. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Surface find from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 9<sup>th</sup> type.
20. Obverse: Circle or O. Reverse: Blank. Weight: 2.9g. Die axis: Not given. Metal: Lead. Surface find. Gendre 1992, B10.<sup>42</sup>
21. Obverse: Cross, with 2-3 short lines in each quadrant. Reverse: A series of short lines, arranged randomly. Metal: Lead. 2 specimens. Surface finds from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 5<sup>th</sup> type.
22. Obverse: Cross, with pellet in each quadrant. Reverse: A series of short lines, arranged randomly. Metal: Lead. 4 specimens. Surface finds from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 5<sup>th</sup> type.
23. Obverse: Quatrefoil. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Surface find from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 8<sup>th</sup> type.
24. Obverse: Cross with bulbous terminals; retrograde legend SVR [...].  
Reverse: pellet enclosed by circle, all surrounded by circle of pellets. Metal: Lead. Surface find from the Gallo-Roman zone of sanctuary or upper embankment throughout the site. Delplace 2001, 6<sup>th</sup> type.
25. Obverse: Scattered pellets. Reverse: Incomplete and illegible circular legend; possibility of a restrike or remnants of silver plate. Diameter: 17.5mm.

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<sup>42</sup> Gendre 1992, 21 interpreted as the letter O or O/O, but notes that the condition of the token is too worn to be able to assign a firm identification.

Weight: 2.41g. Die axis: Not given. Metal: Lead. Surface find. Gendre 1992, B9.

26. Obverse: Four-spoked wheel; in one quadrant is a globule, from which extends a ray and a crescent; in the neighbouring quarter the end of the ray forms an open angle. Reverse: Blank. Diameter: 14.5mm. Weight: 2.90g. Metal: Lead. Surface find. Gendre 1992, C11.<sup>43</sup>

#### *Coin impressions*

27. As. Obverse: Head of Claudius left; TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG PM TR P IMP. Reverse: Minerva helmeted and draped, advancing right, with spear in right hand and holding round shield in left arm (BMC I, p.185, no.149, pl.35, 4). The obverse design was used on three lamelles, and the reverse on one. Delplace 1986, nos. 5 and 6.
28. Dupondius. Obverse: Bust of Antonia right; ANTONIA AVGVSTA. Reverse: Claudius togate standing left, holding *simplum* in his right hand and bringing the left arm in front of him; TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG PM TR P IMP; in field SC (BMC I, p.188, no.166, pl 35, 8). This reverse type was used on one lamelle (Delplace 1986 fig 7). Delplace 1986, no. 7.
29. Dupondius. Obverse: Head of Claudius left; TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG PM TRP IMP. Reverse: Ceres veiled and draped sitting left on a throne, holding an attribute in the right hand and a long torch in the left hand; CERES AVGVSTA; in exergue SC (BMC I, p.183, no.137, pl 35, 1). This reverse type of this coin provided the design of one lamelle, in two fragments. Delplace 1986, no. 8.

#### **Fos-Sur-Mer**

30. Obverse: CAE/S. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 14-22mm. Weight range: 4.1-9.4g. 80 specimens. Sciallano 1987, nos 1-78; Raynaud 2011, nos. 79-80.

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<sup>43</sup> Gendre 1992, 21 interpreted as a geometric pattern or monogram.

## La Mare aux Canards

31. Obverse: MVTR(?) (monogrammed). Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead.  
Diameter: 17mm. Context no. 20000. SF no. 841. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.1.
32. Obverse: MVTR(?) (monogrammed). Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead.  
Diameter: 17mm. Context no. 22196. SF no. 873. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.2.
33. Obverse: MVTR(?) (monogrammed). Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead.  
Diameter: 17mm. Context no. 20003. SF no. 57. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.3.
34. Obverse: MVTR(?) (monogrammed). Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead.  
Diameter: 17mm. Context no. 20001. SF no. 636. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.4.
35. Obverse: MVTR(?) (monogrammed). Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead.  
Diameter: 17mm. Context no. 20012. SF no. 635. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.5.
36. Obverse: MVTR(?) (monogrammed). Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead.  
Diameter: 17mm. Context no. 20028. SF no. 921. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.6.
37. Obverse: Indiscernable. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm.  
Context no. 20005. SF no. 850. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.7.
38. Obverse: Central globule surrounded by circular beaded border (flower?).  
Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Shape: Square. Context no. 20604. SF no. 982. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.8.
39. Obverse: Cross enclosed within circle. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Width: 13mm. Shape: Square. Context no. 52059. SF no. 1158. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.9.
40. Obverse: Blank. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Context no. 20001. SF no. 836. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.10.
41. Obverse: Blank. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Width: 18mm. Context no. 20000. SF no. 58. Dubuis and Muylder 2014, 23, fig. 1.11.

### **Liberchies**

42. Obverse: Head of Sol-Mithras right, wearing Phrygian cap, from which extends five rays. Reverse: O H SOL M Q R S A P around a blank field. Diameter: 19.6mm. Weight: 1.23g. Die axis: 12. Nivelles, Musée communal accession no: BV.12174.67. van Heesch 2000, 9, figs 1 and 2.

### **Mandeure**

43. Obverse: TCLA; star above, palm branch below. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.05g. Mazimann 2001, no.1.
44. Obverse: TCLA; star above, palm branch below. Reverse: Male head, right. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.20g. Mazimann 2001, no.2.
45. Obverse: TCLA; star above, palm branch below. Reverse: Male head, right. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.30g. Mazimann 2001, no.3.

### **Nîmes**

46. Obverse: LPI. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16.8mm. Weight: 3.15g. *Jean-Jeurès Parking*, context no. Us6084. Manniez 2012, p.26.
47. Obverse: AL. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18.6mm. Weight: 1.46g. *Clérisseau*, context no. Us8122. Manniez 2012, p.26.
48. Obverse: Two shells. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Silver. Average diameter: 12.5mm. Weight range: 0.26-1.07g. Shape: Hexagonal. 7 examples. Found within a well, context nos. Us5803 and Us5813. Manniez 2012, p.26.
49. Obverse: Shell. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Silver. Diameter: 14.5mm. Weight: 0.64g. Context no. Us5813. Manniez 2012, p.26.

### **Nyon**

50. Obverse: Six spoked wheel in upper field, palm branch centre right, palm branch or human figure centre left, indeterminate motif centre. Reverse: Undulating motifs. Metal: Copper alloy or lead. Diameter: 19.8mm. Weight: 2.23g. Die axis 12. Musée Romain de Nyon accession no. 142/NY96/14106-257. Consiglio and Hiltmann 2015, 29, fig. 4.

### **Unprovenanced (collection Récamier)**

51. Obverse: CLA; palm branch below. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 16mm. Weight: 2.3g. BnF, Récamier no. 991.

**Lyon (selection of tokens from the Collection Récamier)<sup>44</sup>**

52. Obverse: LOA; palm branch above, three stars below. Reverse: BAL, palm branch above, three stars below. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 7.4-12.5mm. Weight range: 0.53-1.11g. 3 specimens. Récamier nos. 1026.01-1026.03.
53. Obverse: D. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 6.77mm -unknown. Weight: 0.33-unknown. 2 specimens. Récamier nos. 1254.01-1254.02.
54. Obverse: K. Reverse: C. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 11mm. Weight: 1.3g. Récamier no. 1498.
55. Obverse: CSA; three pellets above and below legend, crescent above. Reverse: Leaf. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 4.1-7.7mm. Weight range: 0.10-0.34g. 11 specimens. Récamier nos. 1060.01-1060.11.
56. Obverse: MVAI. Reverse: Eight-petalled rosette (arranged in a circle). Metal: Lead. Diameter: 7.9mm. Weight: 0.69g. Récamier no. 836.
57. Obverse: AES. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 9.3mm. Weight: 0.97g. Récamier no. 842.
58. Obverse: TCA; horizontal palm branch above and below. Reverse: eight-petalled rosette; beaded border. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 11.8mm. Weight: 3.08g. Récamier no. 866.
59. Obverse: B (field to left); E (field to right); standing figure facing, holding crown in left hand and palm branch in right hand. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Length range: 9.9-13.6mm. Width range: 9.3-11.4. Weight range: 0.46-1.2g. 6 specimens. Récamier nos. 796a-796f.
60. Obverse: TCA; horizontal palm branch above and below. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 10.3-12.4mm. Weight range: 0.99-1.57g. 3 specimens. Récamier nos. 865.01-865.03.
61. Obverse: C.A.V; horizontal palm branch above and below. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 7.9-12.9mm. Weight range: 0.31- 1.87g. Récamier no. 834.01-834.39.
62. Obverse: ACCIP/IO; palm branch to each side. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 12-14mm. Weight range: unknown. Récamier no. 763 (6 specimens). No longer in the BnF.

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<sup>44</sup> All tokens currently in La Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), unless otherwise stated.

63. Obverse: ACCIP/IO; palm branch to each side. Reverse: Theatre mask within a laurel crown; P. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15.1mm. Weight: 2.7g. Récamier no. 764.
64. Obverse: EROTIS; star. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 6.9-11.1mm. Weight range: 0.20-1.47g. 6 specimens. Récamier nos. 903a-903f.
65. Obverse: EROTIS; star. Reverse: E. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 10.9-16.9mm. Weight range: 1.64-4.12g. 6 specimens. Récamier nos. 904a-f.
66. Obverse: EROTIS; star. Reverse: Helmeted head facing. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 9-9.3mm. Weight range: 0.43-0.79g. 2 specimens. Récamier nos. 905a-905b.
67. Obverse: EROTIS; star. Reverse: Helmeted head left. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 7.1-11.2mm. Weight range: 0.39-1.37g. 15 specimens. Récamier no. 906a-o.
68. Obverse: EROTIS; star. Reverse: Skull facing. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 12.6mm. Weight: 1.84g. Récamier no. 907.
69. Obverse: E; star. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 9.7-11.7mm. Weight range: 0.97-9.7g. 2 specimens. Récamier nos. 1269.01-1269.02.
70. Obverse: E; star. Reverse: Globule. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 9-10.3mm. Weight range: 1.07-1.5g. 3 specimens. Récamier nos. 1272.01-1272.03.
71. Obverse: L+I+V (arranged in a circle); central pellet. Reverse: Helmeted head left. Metal: Lead. Diameter range: 11.5-14.3mm. Weight range: 1.31-1.84g. 4 specimens. Récamier nos. 971-971c.
72. Obverse: OFIC III. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Length range: 30.3-46.7mm.<sup>45</sup> Width range: 8.8-16.6mm. Weight range: 3.38-6.96g. 25 specimens. Récamier nos. 766.01-766.25.

### **Tokens with Ethnics**

#### *Alisianses*<sup>46</sup>

73. Obverse: Mercury standing left in temple, holding purse in right hand and caduceus in left hand, chlamys over left arm; to left at feet, cockerel.

<sup>45</sup> Does not include folded examples.

<sup>46</sup> Weiller 2000 is the most comprehensive catalogue of this token type, therefore the primary reference given is to this catalogue.

Reverse: ALISIENS; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm.

Provenance: Mount Auxois, Alesia. Weiller 2000, no. 4a.

74. Obverse: Mercury standing left in temple, holding purse in right hand and caduceus in left hand, chlamys over left arm; to left at feet, cockerel.

Reverse: ALISIENS; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm.

Provenance: Noyon(?). Weiller 2000, no. 4b; Rostovtzeff and Prou, 172, no.89.

75. Obverse: Mercury standing left in temple, holding purse in right hand and caduceus in left hand, chlamys over left arm; to left at feet, cockerel.

Reverse: ALISIENS; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 15mm.

Weight: 5.9g. Die axis: 7. Provenance: Darcey, Alesia. Berdeaux-le-Brazidec 2009, 29.

76. Obverse: Two clasped right hands, border of heart shaped leaves. Reverse: ALI; border of dots. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Provenance: Mount Auxois, Alesia. Weiller 2000, no. 5.

77. Obverse: Standing figure facing, holding bow in right hand; Λ/ΛV; border of triangles. Reverse: ALI; border of triangles. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Provenance: Alesia, south-east of the forum. Weiller 2000, no. 6.

78. Obverse: Uncertain. Reverse: Uncertain. Metal: Lead. Provenance: Alesia, north portico of the area of the temple. Excavated 1976. Rabeisen, E. (1994) 'Teseres au nom des habitants d'Alesia' in Bianchini (ed.) *Vercingetorix et Alesia*. Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux: Paris. Nos. 312-313.<sup>47</sup>

#### *Ambiani*

79. Obverse: Bull standing left. Reverse: AMB. Metal: Lead. Weiller 2000, no. 7.

#### *Ansens*

80. Obverse: Segetia standing right, both arms extended, holding a round object in each hand; Jupiter standing left, draped, holding thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his right hand; border of dots. Reverse: ANSENS; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20.7mm. Weight: 4g. Die axis:

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<sup>47</sup> This reference needs following up, but library closures due to Covid-19 have prevented it.

6. Provenance: River Saône, Lyon. BnF, Collection Récamier no. 772.

Weiller 2000, no. 8.

81. Obverse: Mercury standing left in temple, holding purse in right hand and caduceus in left hand, chlamys over left arm; to left at feet, cockerel.

Reverse: ANSENS; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19mm.

Weiller 2000, no.9.

### *Lingones*

82. Obverse: God of the spring standing left, holding reeds in his left hand and patera in his right hand, his right foot placed on a flowing urn; above in field B; to the right Apollo standing left, holding lyre in his left hand; above in field A; solid border. Reverse: Central pellet; LINGONE. Metal: Lead.

Diameter: 26mm. Musées des Beaux-Arts, Lyon. Weiller 2000, no. 10.

83. Obverse: Fortuna (or Abundantia) standing right, holding cornucopia in right hand; to her right, Mercury standing left, holding a caduceus towards the ground in right hand and purse in left hand. Reverse: LIN. Metal: Lead.

Diameter: 21mm. Musées des Beaux-Arts, Lyon. Weiller 2000, no. 11.

### *Lugdunum*

84. Obverse: Fortuna (or Abundantia) standing right, holding cornucopia in right hand; to her right, Mercury standing left, holding a caduceus towards the ground in right hand and purse in left hand. Reverse: LVG. Metal: Lead.

Diameter: 19.6mm. Weight:2.91. Die axis: 6. Provenance: Lyon. BnF, Récamier no. 767. Weiller 2000, no. 12.

85. Obverse: Fortuna (or Abundantia) seated left, holding patera and cornucopia; to her right, Mercury standing right holding caduceus in his left

hand;[.OVS]. Reverse: LVG. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17.2mm. Weight: 2.07. Die axis: 6. Provenance: Lyon. BnF, Récamier no. 768. Weiller 2000, no. 13.

86. Obverse: Soldier facing right, in military uniform, holding spear in left hand; shield at feet to right; P[...]. Reverse: R|LVGD. Metal: Lead. Diameter:

17mm. Weight: 2.85. Die axis: 12. Provenance: Lyon. BnF, Récamier no. 769. Weiller 2000, no. 14.

### *Mediolenses*

87. Obverse: Segetia standing right, both arms extended, holding a round object in each hand; Jupiter standing left, draped, holding thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his right hand; border of dots. Reverse: MEDIOL; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 21mm. Provenance: Mont Berny, outside Sanctuary area, exc. 1861. Weiller 2000, no. 15a.
88. Obverse: Segetia standing right, both arms extended, holding a round object in each hand; Jupiter standing left, draped, holding thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his right hand; border of dots. Reverse: MEDIOL; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Provenance: Mont Berny, Carrière du Roi; exc. 1867. Weiller 2000, no. 15b.
89. Obverse: Deer standing right, tree to each side; beaded border. Reverse: MED[DI]O/S; vertical palm branch above legend. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 21mm. Provenance: Mont Berny, bath-house; exc. 1864. Weiller 2000, no. 16.
90. Obverse: Fortuna (or Abundantia) standing right, holding cornucopia in right hand; to her right, Mercury standing left, holding a caduceus towards the ground in right hand and purse in left hand; bucranium in field between them; C/M. Reverse: MED/L. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Provenance: Mont Berny, exc. 1863. Weiller 2000, no. 17.

### *Nasiensis*

91. Obverse: Horse walking right; border of leaves; R N. Reverse: NA/SI. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 17mm. Provenance: Gorzum. Weiller 2000, no. 18

### *Pertes*

92. Obverse: Mercury standing left in temple, holding purse in right hand and caduceus in left hand, chlamys over left arm; to left at feet, cockerel. Reverse: PERTE; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 22mm. Provenance: Perthes. Weiller 2000, no. 19.

### *Riccicensis*

93. Obverse: Segetia standing right, both arms extended, holding a round object in each hand; Jupiter standing left, draped, holding thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his right hand; border of dots. Reverse: RICCIAC;

- vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 26mm. Weight: 4.79g.  
Provenance: Dalheim-Petzel; surface find. Cabinet de Médailles du Musée National d'Histoire et art, Luxembourg no. 1451. Weiller 2000, no. 1a.
94. Obverse: Segetia standing right, both arms extended, holding a round object in each hand; Jupiter standing left, draped, holding thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his right hand; border of dots. Reverse: RICCIAC; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Weight: 4.80g.  
Provenance: Dalheim-Petzel; surface find. Cabinet de Médailles du Musée National d'Histoire et art, Luxembourg, no. 1449. Weiller 2000, no. 1b.
95. Obverse: Segetia standing right, both arms extended, holding a round object in each hand; Jupiter standing left, draped, holding thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his right hand; border of dots. Reverse: RICCIAC; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Weiller 2000, no. 1c.
96. Obverse: Fortuna standing right, holding sceptre in right hand, and a corn of abundance in left hand, left leg resting on prow; to her right city-Tyche, wearing turreted crown, seated left on a throne, holding in extended right hand a patera(?) and in left hand a cornucopia; beaded border; FOR.VES. Reverse: Crown; beaded border; RICC. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 19.5mm. Weight: 2.58g. Provenance: Dalheim-Petzel; surface find. Cabinet de Médailles du Musée National d'Histoire et art, Luxembourg, no. 1452. Weiller 2000, no. 2a.
97. Obverse: Fortuna standing right, holding sceptre in right hand, and a corn of abundance in left hand, left leg resting on prow; to her right city-Tyche, wearing turreted crown, seated left on a throne, holding in extended right hand a patera(?) and in left hand a cornucopia; beaded border; FOR.VES. Reverse: Crown; beaded border; RICC. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Weight: 3.61g. Provenance: Dalheim-Petzel; surface find. Cabinet de Médailles du Musée National d'Histoire et art, Luxembourg, no. 1453. Weiller 2000, no. 2b.
98. Obverse: Boar and man. Reverse: RICC. Metal: Lead. Weiller 2000, no. 3.

*Treveri*

99. Obverse: Segetia standing right, both arms extended, holding a round object in each hand; Jupiter standing left, draped, holding thunderbolt in his right

hand and a sceptre in his right hand; border of dots. Reverse: TREV; vertical palm branch. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 23mm. Provenance: The Moselle, Trier. Weiller 2000, no. 20.

100. Obverse: Standing figure facing, holding bow in right hand; Λ/ΛV; border of triangles. Reverse: TRE; border of triangles. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 20mm. Provenance unknown. Weiller 2000, no. 21.

## **Britain**

### **Exploring tokens from Roman Britain**

1. Obverse: L.II A within wreath. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 12mm. Weight: 1.15g. Provenance: Caerleon legionary baths, frigidarium drain. National Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon accession no. 81.79H/9.22. Boon 1986, 26-27; RIB 2408.3.
2. Obverse: XIII within triangle. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Provenance: Caerleon amphitheatre. National Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon. Boon 1986, 27; Wheeler and Wheeler 1928, 169, no.46.
3. Obverse: Hand holding scales, behind which two ears of corn; TI. CLAVD. Reverse: Bird right; MESSALINA. Provenance: Cookham Wood, Kent. *Archaeologia* 1829, no.22, 435-437.
4. Obverse: LII V. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 38mm. Weight: 4g. Provenance: Nettleton Scrubb. Wright 1982, 177 and 215, fig 92, no. 4.
5. Obverse: Eagle standing left, head right, wings half open. Reverse: Blank. Metal: Lead. Diameter: 18mm. Provenance: Richborough Roman fort. 204 Middle Triple Ditch 4'-6' (Ill.) English Heritage Archive, Dover, small find number: SF5318.
6. Obverse: Mithras born from the rocks. Reverse: MIΘPAC WPOMACDHC/ΦPHN. Metal: Silver. Diameter: 19mm. Weight: 2.38g. Provenance: St. Albans. Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, accession number: R.16472. Mattingly 1932.

## **Tokens from Rome found in Britain**

7. Obverse: Sex scene depicting female reclining right on her stomach, head turned left. Male right poised behind her. Reverse: XIII enclosed within wreath. Blank. Metal: Copper alloy. Diameter: 18.9mm. Weight: 3.85g. Provenance: Hammersmith and Fulham, London. PAS reference: LON-E98F21. Cf. Buttrey 1973, scene 5.
8. Obverse: Sex scene depicting male reclining left on couch, figure before performing fellatio. Reverse: VIII enclosed within wreath. Blank. Metal: Copper alloy. Provenance: The Thames, Chelsea, London. *Numismatic Circular* 1979, vol IXXXVII, p.514, no. 10129. Cf. Buttrey 1973, scene 6.
9. Obverse: Modius with three ears of corn. Reverse: Double handled cup. Metal: Copper alloy. Provenance: The Walbrook, Bucklersbury House builder's excavation, London. Merrifield 1962, p.45.
10. Obverse: Bust of Sol-Serapis right. Reverse: Isis standing left holding sail, on ship travelling left. Metal: Copper alloy. Diameter: 14mm. Weight: 1.61g. Provenance: Kingscote site 2, Gloucestershire. Corinium Museum, Cirencester, accession number: 1998/96/14/2.