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# Rethinking Athenian Lead Tesserae: the Alexandros N. Meletopoloulos Collection

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## Abstract

The paper discusses Athenian tokens, a numismatics category, which has rarely been touched upon by specialists, although it has been known since at least the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Over the last decades, the discovery of numerous Late Classical and Hellenistic documents curved in stone and the progress in the study of Athenian politics and societal life in general calls for a fresh discussion on the possible functions of these objects. The opportunity is given by the re-discovery of a significant part of the Alexandros N. Meletopoloulos Collection of Athenian tokens.

## Scholarship on Athenian tokens from nineteenth century onwards

Research on Athenian Tesserae can proudly look back at more than a century and a half of research when Ernest Charles Beulé first signalled in 1858 that the bronze ‘coins’ with a head of Athena on one side and a letter on the other are in fact as tesserae used in the Courts and the Assembly.<sup>1</sup> It is now established that the Athenian Tesserae are divided into four distinct categories based on material and technical features: the bronze lettered tokens for the jurors, the small bronze tokens, the lead tokens and the clay tokens. All bronze lettered tokens bear letters on both or at least on one side and have been forcefully related to the functions of the courts.<sup>2</sup> The bronze lettered tokens and the small bronze tokens are all struck, the former pertain to the Late Classical Period, while the latter to the Hellenistic period.<sup>3</sup> The lead tokens include also lettered series, they have a remarkable longevity expanding from the Early Hellenistic to the High Imperial Period. The

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<sup>1</sup> Beulé 1858, 79.

<sup>2</sup> Svoronos 1898; Svoronos 1923-26, pls. 100-102; Boegehold 1995, 67-76, pls. 10-12.

<sup>3</sup> For the Small Bronze Tokens: Postolakas 1880; Postolakas 1884; Svoronos 1912; Kroll 2015, 107-116

Hellenistic types are struck while the ones of Roman Athens are cast from moulds.<sup>4</sup> The survival rate of the clay tokens is particularly low. The whole of the Athenian Agora Excavations had by 1964, augmented by five more published from the excavations of the Pnyx in 1943.<sup>5</sup> A substantial lot of Clay tokens with letters on one side has been associated to the Pnyx and has enriched our knowledge in this category.<sup>6</sup>

Achilles Postolakas once declared proudly that the Numismatic Museum has been acquiring tokens for its collections from 1861 onwards.<sup>7</sup> The presentation of Athenian lead tokens in two successive (1866 and 1868) and extensive papers by Postolakas himself gave the incentive for the first monograph ever dedicated on the uses and functions of these tokens, published by Albert Dumont in Paris in 1870. Dumont based his conclusion mainly on the iconography and the legends these tokens carry and identified tokens issued by individuals and bearing their personal badges as juxtaposed to tokens for the workings of the democracy and tokens with religious iconography for distributions at the festivals. Ioannes Svoronos, Postolakas' successor, more than doubled the acquisitions of the Numismatic Museum and refined research on tokens by systematically publishing all known varieties and types of the jurors and the small bronze tokens.<sup>8</sup> The systematic study of the legends on the lead Athenian tokens was a further refinement. For the cases for which the find spot was known to him, Svoronos did not fail to record it.

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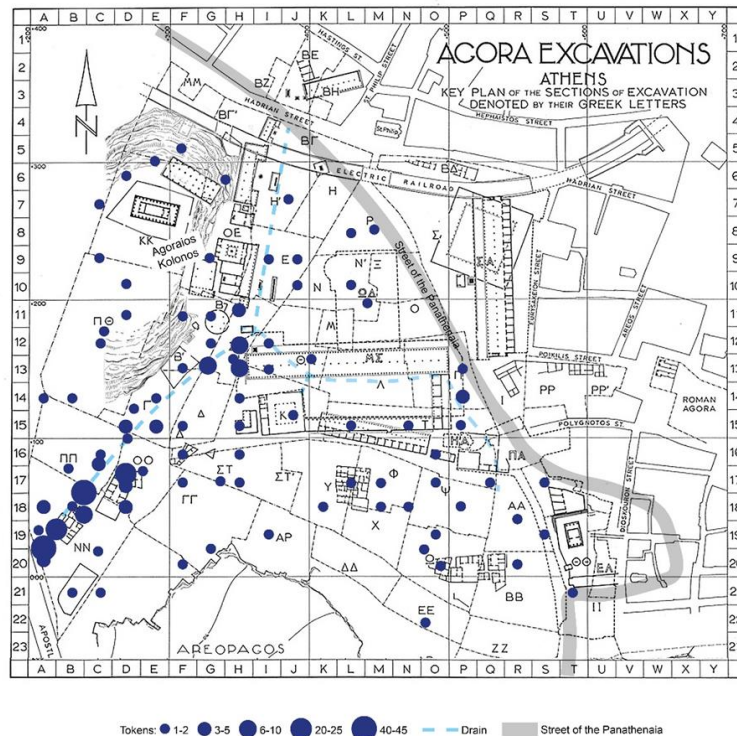
<sup>4</sup> Svoronos 1900; Crosby 1964; Gkikaki 2020.

<sup>5</sup> Agora: Crosby 1964, 124-130; Pnyx: Davidson, Burr Thompson & Thompson 1943; Crosby 1964, 130 C26 pl. 32. For Athenian clay tokens in the Collections of the Numismatic Museum in Athens: Svoronos 1905.

<sup>6</sup> Makrypodi 2019; Makrypodi forthcoming

<sup>7</sup> Postolakas 1880, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Svoronos 1898; Svoronos 1912. Informative is the note written by Svoronos (1900: 319-320).



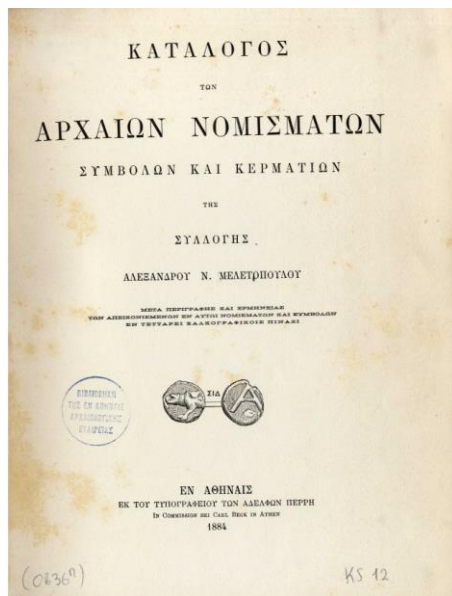
**Fig. 1. Findspots of lead tokens in the Athenian Agora.**

From the 1930's and onwards, the excavations of the American School at the site of the Athenian Agora brought to light several hundreds of tokens. It is as late as 1964 that tokens in lead and clay were presented in connection to their find context thanks to Margaret Crosby. Crosby arranged the material in a rough chronological order and drafted the history of seven centuries of continuous issue, use and circulation of tokens in Athens. A generation later A.L. Boegehold presented the bronze jurors' tokens of the Athenian Agora and arranged the material in series. It showed that the lead tokens were frequently found in the SW corner of the Agora inside or in the immediate neighbourhood of the state buildings which dominate this side of the Agora with the building complex of the Metroon to the North and the west end of the Middle Stoa and the Aiakeion further to the South and the Poros Building to the Southwest following a road leading from the Agora (NE) to the Hill of the Pnyx (to the NW) and along the southern branch of the Great Drain. Substantial were the finds at the bottom of the Great Drain, where some pockets retained material from the Middle Hellenistic Period, while parts of the filling above were related to the debris of

the Sullan destruction of the city (**fig. 1**).<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the lead tokens, the bronze jurors' tokens were found concentrated in two distinct poles: one inside or around the Tholos and the Strategion in the Southwest Area of the Agora and the other in the Square Peristyle, the court building of the early fourth century BC, the foundation of which lie beneath the North end of the Attalos Stoa.<sup>10</sup> It was precisely this latter findspot, where tokens co-existed with courts paraphernalia, which contributed to the definite attribution of the bronze lettered tokens to jurors and invalidated earlier assumptions for connections to the Assembly when sitting in the theatre.<sup>11</sup>

### The History of the Collection

The Alexandros N. Meletopoulos Collection of lead tokens, a part of which has been made possible to recover and present in this paper, reflects the early history of research, still in the nineteenth century, when tokens were presumably picked up from the surface, the muddy streets and the rural site that the capital of the recently founded Greek state once was.<sup>12</sup>



**Fig. 2. Front-page of the publication of the Alexandros N. Meletopoulos Collection of Ancient Coins (1884). A copy is kept at the Library of the Archaeological Society in Athens.**

<sup>9</sup> Gkikaki (forthcoming monograph).

<sup>10</sup> Boegehold 1995, fig. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Boegehold 1995, 68 with references.

<sup>12</sup> A similar collection was the Haller von Hallerstein Collection, which was compiled in the earlier part of the nineteenth century: Gkikaki 2020, 94-96.

Alexandros N. Meletopoulos in the 1884 publication of his coin collection noted that his collection counted seven bronze lettered tokens, thirty-one small bronze tokens and a hundred and forty lead tokens (**fig. 2**). It is only some in 1947/48 when we hear again about the Meletopoulos Collection of lead tokens. At that time Alexandros N. Meletopoulos' son donated – among other antiquities which once belonged to his father's collection – twenty-four lead symbola, of which eight were considered as illegible, to the Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus. In accordance to the donator's wish, the symbola were exhibited in the Museum.<sup>13</sup> Apparently the Alpha Bank acquired also some lead tokens as late as 1973/74<sup>14</sup> These two lots are presented here.

Alexandros N. Meletopoulos was a well-known collector of antiquities of the last quarter of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Valuable information for Meletopoulos' activities and the history of the Collection derive from the extensive account published in the journal *Polemon* in 1948 narrating the donation of a part of this collection to the Peiraeus Archaeological Museum. It is a romantic account of how the fortuitous discovery in 1872 of grave monuments and inscriptions in an extensive plot of land, which Meletopoulos owned in the centre of modern Peiraeus, instigated the beginning of his collecting activity.<sup>15</sup>

Meletopoulos was a passionate collector of antiquities and an enthusiastic collector of coins. In the closing words of the introduction of the aforementioned Catalogue of Ancient Coins he had announced the publication of his rich collection of lead tokens, which never happened. Nevertheless, in the catalogue four bronze lettered tokens and another one with a depiction of kernos on both sides are included and illustrated by engravings.<sup>16</sup>



**Fig. 3. Lead Token with the representation of a tripod in round incuse. 11mm. Brauron Museum N6 from the site of Poseidon Temple at Sounion.**

<sup>13</sup> Arvanitopoulos 1947/48, 25 (listed with short descriptions but not listed).

<sup>14</sup> ArchD 29, 1973-74, B' 3 *Khronika*, 1010.

<sup>15</sup> Arvanitopoulos 1947/48, 17-18.

<sup>16</sup> Meletopoulos 1884, 86-87 nos. 29-33 pl. II. Nos. 31 and 32 are kept at the Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection. No. 29 is a 'Thesmothetai token', of which the present whereabouts are unknown.

The forty-three lead tokens presented for the first time in this paper constitute approximately one third of the original collection and in a way fulfil the collector's wish, which was the presentation of the collection to the public. The study of these forty-three tokens permit some insight into the practicalities of Meletopoulos' collecting activity. Many of them find their closest parallels among the ones excavated on the Pnyx and in the Agora or spotted as surface finds some decades later. While, a specimen with tripod of the same type as cat. no. 32 was picked up from the surface at the site of Poseidon's temple at Sounion in 2014 (**fig. 3**). Surprisingly, among the Athenian tokens there is an Ephesian type (**cat. no. 23**). This bears witness of the habits of collectors to exchange objects among them in the nineteenth century. This is something we are better informed of from the case of a major coin and tesserae collector of the nineteenth century, Wilhelm Froehner and his social circle of collectors.<sup>17</sup>

### Functions of tokens

The Greek word for token is *symbolon*. As John H. Kroll and Fordyce W. Mitchel put it:

‘In its primary sense the word σύμβολον denoted an object comprised of two joining halves, each one kept by a separate party for identifying the bearer of the other half. The term was more generally applied to anything used for identification as well as to ordinary tokens of bronze, lead, and clay employed as admission and seating tickets and as vouchers to be exchanged for pay, allotments of grain, and the like.’<sup>18</sup>

Tokens serving as proofs of civic identity were exchanged for the stipend of the Assembly goers and the Jurors. Lettered tokens served for the seating arrangements of the Assembly and the Jurors' Courts and also in the Council, as a measure against potential conspirators seating together, shouting down the orators or plotting against the normal procedures.

Token types inscribed with the names of Demes and Tribes designate these two organisations also as issuers of tokens but the purpose remains obscure.

In the introduction to the publication of the Athenian Agora tokens, Margaret Crosby noted that ‘a quick review of the workings of the Athenian government shows the need for some such objects (originally in vast numbers and in great variety) to be used either as entrance tickets to the Greater Dionysia or as evidence of attendance at the Assembly, the Courts and probably the Council. A

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<sup>17</sup> Hellmann & Masson 1994.

<sup>18</sup> Kroll & Mitchel 1980, 93-94.

third important, but lesser, need was for tokens to be used in the collection of wheat at the occasional free distributions.’<sup>19</sup>

The close interrelations to the public sphere has been – probably unintentionally – further supported by Svoronos’ publication in 1900 of a lengthy catalogue of tokens with complete or almost complete inscriptions, which can be plausibly related to the tribes and the demes, the Assembly and the Boule, the prytaneis and the agoranomoi. Research has therefore considered the ‘great majority of Athenian tokens as official’.<sup>20</sup> While this view largely holds its validity, the advances of research in Athenian history and archaeology in the last decades calls for revision of old views and in cases refinement of what seemed to be absolute rules.

A more complex and nuanced picture emerges, with different entities issuing and distributing tokens for purposes concerning the community but can only be characterised as semi-official in character when related to the affairs of the central government. This is the case of token inscribed ΑΓ and ΑΓΟΡ. For long time they were considered as issued by a board of magistrates called agoranomoi (ἀγορανόμοι). The discovery of two inscriptions detailing the *agorastikon* and careful consideration of the iconography revealed that *symbola agorastika* were distributed among members of a religious associations society for having raised funds for the institution of a cult and a sacrifice and then were exchanged as vouchers for participation in the communal festive meal.<sup>21</sup>

### **Athenian tokens and Polis**

Tokens were in use in Athens from the fourth century BC to the destruction of the city by the Heruli in 267 AD. This longevity is unprecedented for a city of the ancient world. Athenian tokens have been arguably related to the workings of the Classical Democracy. They covered the needs of societal life and its numerous aspects. As Athens was transformed in the centuries following the Classical period and the history of the city took new courses, tokens demonstrated remarkable adaptability to the changing circumstances of the Later Hellenistic Period and assumed a variety of roles in the city of the Roman Imperial Period.

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<sup>19</sup> Crosby 1964, ; Cf. Crisà, Gkikaki & Rowan 2019, 4-8.

<sup>20</sup> Bubelis 2010, 185.

<sup>21</sup> Gkikaki 2020, 118-120.



The overwhelming majority of Athenian tokens – with almost no exception – has turned up in the Athenian Agora as detailed above, just a few from the Pnyx and the Hill of the Muses and even fewer from the rest of Attica.<sup>22</sup> For the specimens, for which Alexandros N. Meletopoulos asserts that they were found in Athens, it can be regarded as more than probable that he refers to this area.<sup>23</sup>

Tokens were connected to procedures of identification, participation and decision making. It can only be thought as natural when tokens are found in the Agora and that they bear designs which aspire to the community. The designs chosen are sometimes typical Athenian, while others carry imagery that evoke particularly aspects of Athenian identity and history. This is the case of the owl in wreath (**cat. no. 20**) and the beautiful owl's head (**cat. no. 21**) as well as the image of the cicada (**cat. no. 24**). Because Athenians thought of themselves as having been borne from the earth, the latter was the metaphor of Athenian citizen. It made an eloquent reference to Athenian citizenship, the political rights of all citizens irrespective of birth, status, or abilities and made an appeal to patriotism. Citizenship remained particularly important to the Athenians for the entire Hellenistic period.<sup>24</sup>

The owl in wreath is the development of the triobol type, the fourth century coin type of the triobol denominations – owl framed by two olive sprays. Lead tokens with owl in wreath have been considered as tokens to be exchanged for pay<sup>25</sup>. The three designs just mentioned bear a distinct similarity to other official media and coins in particular, but they are not identical. They have a uniqueness that makes them pertinent to tokens, so that they are not found with the same intensity on other media. To reconstruct the exact uses constitutes a true challenge but what can be still traced are the emotions and thoughts the imagery of these tokens evoked to the users. They were designed to induce a sense of belonging and to transcend feelings of unity and – in cases where applicable – national pride.

The images can vary from what seems to modern eyes naïve to highly sophisticated. As typical example of the former can be considered the roses, palmettes and rosettes, generic, decorative

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<sup>22</sup> A lead lettered token countermarked with a small owl on amphora, known from the reverse of the New Style coins was spotted in the ancient theatre of Thorikos. Achilles Postolakas and Ioannes N. Svoronos record sporadic finds made in the Peiraeus, Eretria, Carystus and Chalkis,

<sup>23</sup> Meletopoulos (1884, 86-87 nos. 29-32) published four bronze jurors tokens among the coins. For these, two are reported to have been found in Peiraeus and the other two to have been found in Athens.

<sup>24</sup> Gkikaki forthcoming monograph.

<sup>25</sup> Gkikaki 2020, 105-106 discussion for cat. no. 26

designs (**cat. nos. 25-28**). Nevertheless, these designs with the fineness of their style would have served very well their purpose, the sharing of a code between the members of a community, the pre-defined signal which the symbola literally were.

Far more eloquent is the head of a mature, bearded man. It looks like a portrait head but is by far idealised to be considered the prosopography of a person. It is attested on clay as well as on lead token and on the latter the figure's identity is signalled more often than not by the legend DEMOS (ΔΗΜΟΣ). The stamp on the token at the Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection has been struck slightly towards the upper right part of the flan, leaving most of the letters 'off flan'. The term Demos meant the whole citizen body and it also meant the citizens in the Assembly. Even if only a quorum of 6,000 turned up for the Assembly meetings, the standard formula 'edoxe toi Demoi' declared that it was the whole of the sovereign Demos who had made the decision.<sup>26</sup> The other side bears the stamp of a Gorgoneion. The Gorgoneion stamp was placed on the bronze allotment plates of the fourth century BC and denoted citizenship, that a citizen enjoyed full political rights and was eligible for selection to magistracies and to the duties of a juror.<sup>27</sup>

The tokens with Demos can only approximately be dated to the Late Classical and Hellenistic period and certainly before the Sullan destruction of the city in 87/86 BC because two specimens have been excavated in the Sullan debris contained in the sand at the bottom of the Great Drain in the Athenian Agora.<sup>28</sup> Mogens Hermann Hansen thought that the Demos-and-Gorgoneion tokens could be the symbola, which served as vouchers and were exchanged for pay for having attended the Assembly.<sup>29</sup> The locus classicus for these symbola is Praxagora's words in the Assembly Women.<sup>30</sup> Instead, John H. Kroll thinks that a Hellenistic date for these tokens is far more probable because they are fine detailed and small in size.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, another possibility should be considered: the tokens in question could be Hellenistic copies or survivals of prototypes of issues first created and used in the fourth century BC. In favour of this we can cite the Gorgoneion stamp which was in use at the fourth century BC as detailed above and that Demos personified makes its earliest appearance from the late fifth century BC on paintings now lost, while from the middle

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<sup>26</sup> Hansen 2010, 502-516.

<sup>27</sup> Kroll 1972, 43-44 ; Crosby 1964, 103; Rhodes 1981, 704; Gkikaki 2020, 104-105 discussion for cat. nos. 31-32.

<sup>28</sup> Crosby 1964, 98 L112.

<sup>29</sup> Hansen 1987, 169 fn. 557.

<sup>30</sup> Aristophanes, *Ekklesiazousae* (Assembly Women), 290-297.

<sup>31</sup> Kroll forthcoming.

and the second half of the fourth century BC there exist document reliefs – reliefs crowning decrees inscribed on stone.<sup>32</sup>



**Fig. 4. Clay token from the Pnyx with Demos personified. Pnyx T134. Kept at the Athenian Agora.**

A clay token type stamped with the head of Demos has been excavated from fourth century context on the Pnyx and proves that the type can indeed originate from the fourth century BC.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, I find far more plausible that the lead tokens derive from a prototype of the fourth century BC. But neither the function of the former nor the function of the latter can be identified with any certainty. Nevertheless, an official function can be deduced with certainty but its particular or precise character remains conjectural. In any case it must have been something which appealed to the whole citizen body.

### **Questions of Chronology**

Coin like tokens make their first appearance in the first half of the fourth century BC. These are the bronze tokens used by the jurors. Their dating is based on the find context among the architectural remains of the Square Peristyle, beneath the North end of the Attalos Stoa. Lead tokens are a somewhat later phenomenon. There exist excavation pieces from the Athenian Agora and the Pnyx securely dated to the fourth century BC. It would be reasonable to believe that the inauguration of the lead issues is closely connected to the beginning of bronze coinage in Athens in the third quarter of the fourth century, the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ coinage and can roughly coincide with this

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<sup>32</sup> Glowacki 2003, 447-466 with references.

<sup>33</sup> Davidson, Burr Thompson & Thompson 1943, 108 no. 14 with figure on p. 107; Makrypodi 2019, 28-29 figs. 4-6 with references.

major innovation. The Athenians deliberately re-appreciated bronze and reserved the cheaper lead for the tokens. Nevertheless, there exist evidence that the issuing of bronze lettered tokens continued parallel with the lead tokens into the third century.<sup>34</sup>

Margaret Crosby rightfully argued that dating based on style or workmanship can prove a particularly hazardous affair because good or bad workmanship can be easily confused to good or bad preservation, due to the peculiarities of the material. At the same time, it is particularly difficult to assign tokens to a series. The very low preservation rate of this object category, prevents us from identifying series.

Instead, each token should be treated individually. The only trustworthy method of dating is by external evidence and in particular by excavation context – in the cases where this was found intact and not disturbed, such as a closed deposit – or by a dated parallel to the stamp used on the token.<sup>35</sup>

The devices on tokens prove to be a further parameter for secure dating. If designs and legends pertain to particular functions, then some basic trends can be observed. Typical for Late Classical and Hellenistic tokens are simple designs and devices, such as the amphora (**cat. no. 29**) the kernos (**cat. nos. 30-31**), the tripod (**cat. no. 32**) or a ship's prow (**cat. nos. 33-34**). Additionally, Hellenistic tokens may bear species from fauna and flora, purely decorative designs such as rosettes and palmettes (**cat. nos. 25-28**). Human or divine figures are rare (e.g the Nike **cat. nos. 10-12**). On Hellenistic tokens the divine is suggested by symbols, such as the kerykeion. On the contrary, lead tokens of Roman Athens can be easily distinguished in terms of iconography. They bear narrative scenes, gods and heroes in scenes or standing in full figure or busts. Unanimated objects continue but are not so frequent.<sup>36</sup>



**Fig. 5. Lead token from the Pnyx with a representation of kernos with myrtle sprays through the handles. Pnyx M69 (The American School of Classical Studies).**

<sup>34</sup> Gkikaki monogram forthcoming.

<sup>35</sup> Crosby 1964, 83.

<sup>36</sup> A quick review in the types catalogued by Crosby: Crosby 1964, 109-123 L242-L336.

Returning to Hellenistic tokens, it is evident that their iconography presents greater flexibility in matters of design. Kernos (**cat. nos. 30 and 31**) makes its first appearance on tokens long before becoming the device of Athenian bronze coins of the late second century BC.<sup>37</sup> Evidence for this brings the lead token from the Pnyx, dated to the fourth century based on excavation evidence (fig. 5).<sup>38</sup>

Kernos, the ceremonial vessel of the Eleusinian Mysteries, was one of the official state designs. It is uncertain whether the tokens with kernos – which have been preserved in great variety and types – should be understood as tokens pertaining to the central authorities of the Athenian state for some official function or if they should be related to the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>39</sup> For the former alternative speak tokens with kernos inscribed ‘DEMOS ATHENAION’ and thought to be tokens for the Assembly.<sup>40</sup> In that case, the ‘Eleusinian’ tokens were issued for the occasion of the festival regulating distributions, participation or even the provision of goods and services. The bacchos rings, which held together the myrtle branches of the participants, were stamped with a kernos stamp.<sup>41</sup> The connection of the kernos lead tokens to the Eleusinian Festivals serving some practicalities seems to attract attention because of an important parallel: tokens depicting Panathenaic Amphoras have been found in a context relevant to the Panathenaic Festival.<sup>42</sup> Similar considerations apply for the Triptolemos on his serpent car (**cat. no. 13**).

### The ΠΕΝ tokens

The Meletopoulos Collection contains two tokens with the legend ΠΕΝ (**cat. nos. 39-40**). This is a known category of tokens first signaled by Ioannes N. Svoronos. Svoronos published twenty-nine different types which had the inscription ΠΕΝ in common. This is the most populous category of tokens among the inscribed token types. Svoronos assigned it to the Council of Five Hundred.<sup>43</sup> The most serious objection to this attribution is that the Council is always referred to as the Boule. Indeed, tokens inscribed Βολε or Boule have long been known among the types hoarded in the

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<sup>37</sup> Kroll 1996, 58-60, coinage of the period following the evacuation of the Macedonian garrisons from the forts of Attica in 229 BC.

<sup>38</sup> Davidson, Burr Thompson & Thompson 1943, 107 no. 7 with fig. on p. 108.

<sup>39</sup> For the kernos as an official state stamp: Killen 2017, 181-182.

<sup>40</sup> Svoronos 1923-26, pl. 102, 37-39. For the interpretation: Kroll forthcoming and Gkikaki forthcoming monograph.

<sup>41</sup> Mitsopoulou 2021, 133-154 pls. 31-33.

<sup>42</sup> Gkikaki 2020, 106-108 with references.

<sup>43</sup> Svoronos 1900, 334-336 nos. 181-228.

Collections of the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> They are deprived of excavation context but the use of O in the place of OU indicates a relative early date, probably the first half of the fourth century BC, given the fact that the introduction of Eukleidian script happened at 403BC.<sup>45</sup> The religious iconography of the ΠΕΝ tokens can only partially be explained with the functions and the workings of the Council. Instead, a far more probable interpretation is the connection to the pentedrachmia (πεντεδραχμία). In the later part of the fourth century BC the theōrikon – money distribution for attending the festivals – amounted to five drachmas, pentedrachmia.<sup>46</sup> Although the literary sources pertaining to the theōrikon make no reference to symbola but always to the amount of money distributed, tokens provide compelling evidence that at least for the period when the theōrikon amounted to five drachmas the distributions was made by the intermediate of symbola. The iconographic repertory of the ΠΕΝ tokens is closely related to activities of a festival. The theatre mask, the tripod and the boukranion connect one way or another to festivals. The figures of gods on some of the ΠΕΝ tokens are almost the only figures of gods known for Hellenistic tokens before the omnipresence of gods on tokens of the Roman Imperial Period.

Theōrika as *ad hoc* – one-off – payments have definitely existed in the fifth century BC at a time when other state subsidies and in particular the assembly pay had not yet come into existence.<sup>47</sup> It is no coincidence that the lexikograph Harpokration attributes theōrika to Agyrrhius, the same person who increased the *misthos* for the Ekklesiasts from two to three obols in the late fifth-early fourth century.<sup>48</sup>

A new era for the theōrika began when Eubulus was in charge of the financial administration of the city in the 350s as some sort of ‘financial minister’. The evidence is not decisive but it is more than probable that Eubulus was the initiator of the theōrikon.<sup>49</sup> Distributions of theōrika had already existed, but as it can be inferred by Libanius Hypothesis to the first Olynthiac and Demosthenes the difference with Eubulus is that a board was now established: οἱ ἐπὶ το θεωρικόν<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Svoronos 1900, 333, no. 172 pl. III.15 and nos. 173-176 pl. III.16 (where no. 173 is depicted). Both these types are inscribed with BOΛΗ. Svoronos 1900, 333 nos. 177-179: these types are inscribed BOΥΛΗ.

<sup>45</sup> Kroll forthcoming. For the use of O in attic script instead of OU before 403 BC: Threatte 1980 (vol. I), 19 and 49-50.

<sup>46</sup> Valmin 1965, 191-193.

<sup>47</sup> Roselli, 29-30.

<sup>48</sup> Loomis 1998, 20-22. Critic to the story with Agyrrhius: Ruschenbusch 1979, 308; Roselli 2009, 12-13.

<sup>49</sup> Philinos and Theopompus, both contemporaries to Eubulus name him as the initiator: Ruschenbusch 1979, 305-306 with references.

<sup>50</sup> Rhodes 1972, 234-240; Rhodes 1981, 514-516.

Member of the board was also Eubulus himself. The board served for a whole year from Panathenaia to Panathenaia (with the Panathenaia signalling in Athens the beginning of the New Year). The board received money not only from the *merismos* (=annual allotment of the revenues of the city), the general budge, also named as the revenues of the city but it was further stipulated that surplus money that previously was allotted to the Military – Stratiotic – Fund (τα στρατιωτικά) were redirected to the Theoric Fund. In the earlier part of the fourth century the theorikon was just two obols, one for the entrance and one to provide the attendants with food for the day of performances.<sup>51</sup> But, we learn that in the late fourth century distributions for the Great Dionysia rose to five drachmai (*pentedrachmia*), whether per day or for the whole festival remains unclear.<sup>52</sup> It is not too daring to attribute to Eubulus' financial policy the introduction of tokens as a more convenient device or medium for the distribution of theōrika. The symbola could well relate to the inflation of the later part of the fourth century BC.<sup>53</sup> They should have been introduced as a special measure to thwart inflation. An indirect testimony for the employment of symbola for distributions of Theōrika comes from Aischines. Sources preserve the information that the distributions of theōrika occurred not only for theatre performances or festivals in general but also to any other purpose. Aischines, *In Ktesiphontem* 24 states that distributions not just in money but also in kind took place under the pretext of theōrika.<sup>54</sup>



Fig. 6. Token with the legend PEN and a tripod on the Delphic Omphalos. Excavated on the PNyx. M63, fourth century, the token is kept at the Attalos Stoa.

A specimen inscribed PEN comes from a Late Roman Context NE of Tholos<sup>55</sup>, another one can likewise loosely dated because it was found in the Hellenistic fill of the Great Drain South (D16)<sup>56</sup>,

<sup>51</sup> DEMOSTHENES *De Corona* 28; Libanius in the hypothesis to the First Olynthiac (Dem. 1 Hyp. 5); Böckh 1828, 219-220; Wilson 2008, 92. The fact that the amount was the same as the Diobelia resulted in the confusion of the two institutions, the theorikon and the diobelia: Valmin 1965, 171-206.

<sup>52</sup> Wilson 2008, 95 with n. 34 and 38.

<sup>53</sup> Gallo 1987.

<sup>54</sup> Valmin 1965, 177-178.

<sup>55</sup> Crosby 1964, 96 L90 Pl. 22.

<sup>56</sup> Crosby 1964, 106 L209 Pl. 26.

while a third one has been excavated on the Pnyx in a context pertaining to the architectural arrangements of the fourth century BC.<sup>57</sup>

Tokens inscribed with a sum of money are not uncommon. The token type with a theatre mask of a female character and a tripod inscribed TPI clearly refers to a sum of money – at all probability Triobolon, half drachm – in a festive context.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, the token inscribed TPIΩBO and featuring the Isis crown between the pilei of Dioscouri is another reference to a sum of money.<sup>59</sup>

## Nike

Nike, the winged goddess, is represented thrice on tokens of the Meletopoulos Collection (**cat. nos. 10-12**). All three come from different dies and belong to what proves to be a well attested iconographic type: Nike clad in long dress, probably originally designed to designate peplos and is turned to three quarter view to the right. Her left arm is depicted lowered, resting without holding anything but the raised right hand, flexed in the elbow, holds something. The goddess seems to be looking at it. While for **cat. no. 12** the object is probably struck off flan, for cat. nos. 10 and 11 the long hanging ends indicate a tainia, ribbon which pertains to the iconography of athletic victories. The tainia can probably be ascertained also on a token at the Numismatic Museum in Athens.<sup>60</sup>



**Fig. 7. Lead token with Nike holding a statuette of Athena in the extended right hand. The American School of Classical Studies IL1580. On the other side: letter A.**

<sup>57</sup> Davidson, Burr Thompson & Thompson, 106 no. 6 fig. on p. 107.

<sup>58</sup> Rowan 2020, 121 no. 106.

<sup>59</sup> Crosby 1964, 105 L199.

<sup>60</sup> Athens Numismatic Museum inv. No. 672; Schäfer forthcoming fig. 5.





**Fig. 8. Lead token, uniface, with Nike holding a statuette of Athena in the extended right hand. The American School of Classical Studies IL944, 16mm diameter.**

On other types there seems to be a small figure, a statuette at which Nike has fixed the gaze, which at all probability can be interpreted as an Athena Statuette. This is the case for the famous piece from the lot of the ‘Armor tokens’ (**fig. 7**) as well as on another token from the typical Late Hellenistic context which was excavated at the bottom of the South branch of the Great Drain in the Athenian Agora (**fig. 8**). This ‘proximity to Athena, the patron goddess of the polis, enables a certain course of reasoning

Nike is involved in the Panathenaic Festival and closely associated to Athena in the cult practice as well as the iconography and the topography of the sanctuaries.<sup>61</sup> The golden Nikai dedicated to Athena after an enactment by Kallias formed a focal point of the state treasury and possessed an indisputable representational value.<sup>62</sup> Returning to the ‘armour tokens’ the importance of the link between the Nike imagery and the lettered tokens should not be missed. Although the function of the lead ‘armour tokens’ has been narrowed down to the distribution of state armour, it is significant to bear in mind that lettered tokens— made either of bronze, lead or clay – fulfilled state functions, as it is now universally unacknowledged.<sup>63</sup> The figurative designs with which the lettered sides are paired or the added symbols or even the countermarks are chosen from a standard repertory of state devices.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, it is only reasonable to believe that even the uniface lead tokens with Nike such as the ones of the Meletopoulos Collection should have fulfilled some state function. The connections of the tokens depicting Nike to the inscribed NIKE and varying iconography have yet to be explored.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Shear 2001, 76-77, 79-80, 779-787

<sup>62</sup> Harris 1995, 272-275; SEG 48, 21 and 73 and SEG 50, 68 dated to 430/29-406 BC.

<sup>63</sup> Compare the material assembled by Crosby (1964) and Boegehold (1995).

<sup>64</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Svoronos 1900, 339 nos. 252-256, 257 and 340 nos. 269-270



**Fig. 9 Lead token, side a: Nike, striding right, with palm branch on shoulder, letters A-Θ-Φ-A[?], side b: A[?]ΘΕ. The American School of Classical Studies IL722, 17mm.**

Few anchor points concerning the dating of the specimens of the Meletopoulos Collection and the dating of the Nike tokens in Athens, there exist. The Nike of the lot of ‘armor tokens’ shows beyond any doubt that by the mid-third century BC the figure of Nike was in use on tokens. Several tokens among the Sullan debris at the bottom of the Great Drain demonstrate not only that the figure of Nike was still current in Late Hellenistic Athens but that the image was loaded with political overtones.<sup>66</sup> These are even more pronounced in the case of a type from the Acropolis South Slope and from a loosely dated context. The imagery with the linear design of a Nike striding left and palm branch on her shoulder bears explicit connections to Mithridates’ coinage (**fig. 9**).<sup>67</sup> Athens had sided with Mithridates and the majority of the citizens were in solidarity with the King of Pontus and confident – if not over-optimistic – of the coming victory.<sup>68</sup>

### **Ships and the imagery of sea power**

A significant proportion of Athenian tokens are distinguished for the imagery of ships, a category which has been largely overlooked. What makes the identification of their uses even more puzzling is the lack of inscription, none of the tokens with ships is accompanied by a legend. Margaret Crosby records a total of ten tokens from the Athenian Agora Excavations.



<sup>66</sup> More on that: Gkikaki forthcoming monograph.

<sup>67</sup> Crosby 1964, 89 L34.

<sup>68</sup> Habicht, 297-304.

**Fig. 10. Lead token with ship's prow right. The American School of Classical Studies IL1299, 15mm. Side b shows a bull's head right.**

The pattern of finds indicate that ships and ship's prows make their first appearance as early as the late fourth and the early third centuries BC (**fig. 10**).<sup>69</sup>



**Fig. 11. Lead tokens with ship's prow right with tall figure-head. The American School of Classical Studies IL1123, 17mm, third century BC(?).**

Such images are usually uniface, such as the token which found in context of the last quarter of the second century, but is dated by Crosby to the third century on account of workmanship (**fig. 11**).<sup>70</sup> Crosby has noted on occasion the quality of the dies and the flans and some times the similarities to coins and in particular coin types of Hellenistic Athens.<sup>71</sup> The ship imagery continues in the Roman period.



**Fig. 12. Lead token with ship. The American School of Classical Studies IL656, 18mm, Roman period.**

In Late Roman Contexts uniface Tokens with rather linear representations of ships show clearly traces of having been recycled and re-struck (**fig. 12**).<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Crosby 1964, L69 (IL1299) paired with bull's head on the other side. From the same die as cat. no. 30 of the Meletopoulos Collection.

<sup>70</sup> Crosby 1964, 107-108, L224 (IL1123) found in the Great Drain (deposit H 12:1). Very similar to cat. no. 31 of the Meletopoulos Collection.

<sup>71</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Crosby 1964, 108 L225 (IL656 and IL1451). Cf. Engel 18804, 21 no. 219.



Fig. 13. Athena bust left in ship. The American School of Classical Studies IL1270, Roman period 20mm.

Other tokens with ship prows connect to the Panathenaic Festival because of the addition of the figure of Athena as if ‘floating’ above the ship or the eloquent legend ΠΑΝΑ (fig. 13).<sup>73</sup>



Fig. 14. Token with ship and ear of wheat in the field above. The American School of the Classical Studies IL817, 13mm, Hellenistic.

From a context that can only loosely dated – disturbed fill in the sand of the east side of the South Branch of the Great Drain – comes a token with the back half of a ship (ship’s stern) and an ear of wheat in the field above the ship (fig. 14).<sup>74</sup> For this token a date to the Hellenistic Period could be suggested because of the 13mm diameter, the obvious round incuse, the difference in fabric when compared to the recycled tokens with ships mentioned above.<sup>75</sup>

The two ‘ship-tokens’ of Meletopoulos Collection are Hellenistic because they find their closest parallels among the Hellenistic tokens of the Athenian Agora referred to above.<sup>76</sup> The ship

<sup>73</sup> For tokens with ship’s prow and Athena bust in the field above: Crosby 1964, 111 L254 (IL1270); L255 (); L256. Also Crosby 1964, 118 L309 (IL396, IL466, IL553, IL577, IL581) and Gkikaki 2019.

<sup>74</sup> Crosby 1964, 108 L226 (IL817)

<sup>75</sup> Despite Crosby’s suggestion that the token with ship and ear of wheat should be dated to the Roman period, I think that it could be a Hellenistic token, which ended up in a much later context.

<sup>76</sup> Footnotes 17 and 18 above.

presentations on tokens refer by no means to the reality of their time. For most of the third century – 290 to 229 BC – Athenian naval power had diminished and the Peireaus was no longer under Athenian control. The ship imagery should be considered as strongly idealistic. It could and should have reinforced feelings of civic pride because it related to the glorious past, when the Athenian's sea power was unquestionable and was mainly based on imperial revenues. Athenian ships were not only military ones but were also transport ships who procured grain for Athens. Scholarship has not reached agreement to the amounts produced locally and the amounts imported. The production was short and grain was covered by means of imports via sea routes coming from the Black Sea and the Athenian Cleruchies of Euboea as well as Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros.<sup>77</sup> None of the Hellenistic tokens with ships bear any inscriptions which would help define their uses, the groups of peoples who issued and exchanged them or at least the broad spectrum where they were used. Nevertheless, the key lies in the imagery. In *Politics* Aristotle notes the connections between social groups, constitutional forms and types of weaponry, the upper class serve in the cavalry and support oligarchy, the middle class serve as hoplites and prefer a more moderate constitution but it is the propertyless who are light-armed or row in the fleet and agitate for Democracy.<sup>78</sup> Scholarship has estimated to several thousands the Athenian citizens – mainly the less privileged among them – who served in the fleet rowing and as simple sailors. To those one should count the men who manned the state ships and the sacred vessels.<sup>79</sup> Special insignia are lacking on tokens and association to such state ships can be done only with great caution. The ship with an ear of wheat (**fig. 14**) could even be associated to the naval and grain networks of wealthy Athenians who retained control over the grain supply in the Hellenistic period, as attested by inscriptions.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Garnsey 1988; Moreno 2007; Oliver 2007.

<sup>78</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* 1321a5-15. Potts 2013, 87-92

<sup>79</sup> Potts 2013, 87-92 and 95-103

<sup>80</sup> Gabrielsen 2015, 177-205.



**Fig. 15.** Clay token with seated figure on the forecastle of a ship's prow. Black glaze all over. One of the five tokens of the same type found in or around the Tholos, the seat of the Prytaneis. The American School of Classical Studies MC168, 18mm, Hellenistic.



**Fig. 16.** Lead token with a human figure seated next to a Herm. The American School of Classical Studies IL150, 15mm, Hellenistic.

It is the iconography and the find contexts which would be of help to discover possible uses. So, the token referred to as coming from a context of the late fourth/early third century BC was found in the South Stoa, which has been acknowledged as a building with a public function (**fig. 10**).

Human figures are rarely found on tokens of the Hellenistic Athens. And ships along with Herms constitute these rare occasions. A clay token type, of which five specimens are preserved, all found in the same approximate area and in the immediate vicinity of the Poros Building, another state building, preserve the impression of a stamp of exceptionally quality.<sup>81</sup> A man is squatting on the forecastle of what seems to be an Athenian trireme identifiable by its ram (**fig. 15**). The tokens

<sup>81</sup> Crosby 1964, 128 C15 pl. 32. The image is very similar to the grave stele of Dromokleides at the National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 752. A telling example that in terms of iconography the boundaries between official/state and private were fluid.

could be used for those sessions of the Assembly, which in the fourth and third centuries BC were held in the Peiraeus, when dealing with naval matters. This is only a hypothesis, because not enough evidence exists.<sup>82</sup> Not unsimilar is the representation of a figure similarly squatting beside the shaft of a Herm (**fig. 16**). Herms and Triremes express comparable meanings. They stand for the cityscape of Athens and they are both rooted in Athenian popular cultural and traditions. Interestingly they have both to do with Democracy and the democratic-minded part of the population.<sup>83</sup> The blatant demonstration of ships on Athenian token relates well to the democratic constitution and social realities of the city.

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<sup>82</sup> Gkikaki forthcoming monograph.

<sup>83</sup> For Herms: Ober 2007, 212-247.

## CATALOGUE

All the tokens listed below were minted in Athens, except otherwise indicated.

### *I. Human figures*

1.) Lead 13mm, 2.08g, 2h. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 513.

Side A: Demos personified: male bearded head right, in the field left traces of letters ΔΗΜ (?).

The image is struck towards the upper part of the flan.

Side B: Gorgoneion with protruding tongue.

Engel 1884, 7 no. 27; Svoronos 1900, 327 nos. 92-97 pl. II,40. On some dies the male head is laureate, what has instigated Postolacca (1868) to think that this was a representation of Zeus.

2.) Lead, 11mm, 1.97g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1180.

Male bearded head right. (Demos personified ?)

For parallels see cat. no. 1.

3.) Lead, 9mm, 0.75g (partial), 10h. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1181.

Side A: male head right with mitra (?) (Dionysos?)

Side B: male head right with elephant exuvie (?)

No known parallels.

4.) Lead, 14mm, 2.49g. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1168.

Side A: Pan head right.

Side B: Facing female figure with sickle-shaped wings and legs ending in ranks

For Pan on Athenian tokens: Postolacca 1868 no. 115

5.) Lead, 8mm, 0.43g, 6h. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1171.

Side A: Demeter (?) head right (similar to the Nymph of Histiaia)

Side B: Two poppy heads with ear of wheat in the middle, crossed stems.

No known parallels.

6.) Lead, 15mm, 3.76g, 12h. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1167.

Side A: Small Athena or Demeter (?) head right.

Side B: Vase or Kernos (?), above, left and right the letters: Α, Ε, Υ.



No known parallels.

7.) Lead 11mm, 1.90g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archeological Museum MII876.1.

Athena head facing with three-crested helmet

The uniface token of the Meletopoulos Collection shares the same obverse die as the token Rostovtsew & Prou 1900, 269 no. 765 pl. VII,16.

8.) Lead, 11mm, 1.90g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum MII876.2.

Athena (?) head facing with pearl-like locks around the forehead.

No known parallels. It is close to cat. no. 7 above.

9.) Lead, 12mm, 1.27g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1174.

Side A: Gorgoneion

Side B: Astragal.

No known parallels. The gorgoneion is probably of the same stamp as Crosby 1964, L78 (IL1132 only side A).

Gorgoneion is found either on uniface tokens (Postolacca 1868, 275 nos. 122) or paired with other types on the other side. The astragal is a rather uncommon design for tokens, no known parallels.

Tokens with a Gorgoneion on one side are paired with a male head right inscribed ΔΗΜ-ΟΣ on the other (cf. cat. no. 1 of this paper) or with divine attributes/symbols such as a lizard (Crosby 1964, L77) or a snake (Crosby 1964, L78), or with an owl standing frontal with her wings spread and the legend [A] - ΘΕ (Postolacca 1866, no. 47; Svoronos 1900, no. 80) or with an owl standing framed by two olive sprays (Svoronos 1900, no. 84 not depicted).

10.) Lead, 16 x 14 mm oval, 2.63g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum MII876.3.

Nike standing left

There is a parallel among the unpublished tokens of the Athenian Agora, IL2194.

11.) Lead, 13mm, 2.79g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum MII876.4.

Nike standing left.

For parallels see cat. no. 10 above.

12.) Lead, 11x10 mm (oval)1.20g, uniface. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum MII876.5.

Nike pouring libation (?) to the left.

13.) Lead, 12mm, 1.72g, uniface. Fourth century BC. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 515  
Triptolemos seating left in serpent driven car

Postolacca 1866, no. 101; Crosby 1964, 96 L94a-b, one of the two specimen is dated to the fourth century BC on account of excavation evidence.

14.) Lead, 13mm, 3.10g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum MΠ876.19  
Kneeling figure with right leg, left leg bent forward, head bent over with long hair hanging, arms extending.

No known parallels.

## *II. Fauna*

15.) Lead, 13mm, 1.75g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum MΠ876.7  
Lion head right.

The lion head on this lead token is very similar to the lion head found on a fourth century series of bronze jurors' tokens, the most extensive publication of which can be found in: Svoronos 1923-26 Pl. 100, 29-41 and Boegehold 1995, 75 nos. T29-30 pl. 11.

16.) Lead, 14mm, 1.33g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1172.  
Ram right on ground line.

No known parallels.

17.) Lead, 10mm, 0.82g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 519.  
Dolphin.

Postolacca 1866, 353 no. 257; Postolacca 1868, p. 285, nos. 338–349; Crosby 1964, p. 99 L125; Gkikaki 2020, 122 no. 4 and 130 no. 43.

18.) Lead, 11mm, 1.32g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 520.  
Dolphin right.

For parallels see cat. no. 17 above.

19.) Lead, 12mm, 2.04g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1178.  
Dolphin right above sea waves.

For parallels see cat. no. 17 above.

20.) Lead, 16mm, 3.11g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 514.

Owl standing right in olive wreath, all in incuse.

Postolacca 1866, 342–343 nos. 57–59; Crosby 1964, 94 L73; Gkikaki 2020, 127 no. 26 with references.

21.) Lead, 16mm, 4.29g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 876.18.

Owl head in round incuse.

No known parallels.

22.) Seal? Lead, 9mm, 0.5g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1170.

The manufacture of the flan points to a seal. But the type is closely associated to Athenian tokens.

Bird right with long tail and head bent to the right.

No known parallels.

23.) Lead, 15mm, 2.37g, cast. Ephesus. Hellenistic or Roman Imperial? The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 517.

Frog seen from above in round incuse.

The same as a specimen at the Museum at Ephesus, to be published by Bulgurlu & Hazinedar forthcoming.

24.) Lead, 16mm 2.36g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1169.

Cicada seen from above.

Postolacca 1868, 288 no. 414; Crosby 1964, 98 L120. Tokens with cicada bearing the letters Δ-H denoting DEMOSION (=official): Svoronos 1900, no. 100 pl. II, 43. Cf. Crosby 1964, 100 L139 (IL1185). For cicada tokens and their official uses: Gkikaki forthcoming monograph.

### III. Flora

25. Lead, 9mm, 0.63g, uniface. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 521.

Rose.

Very similar to Crosby 1964, L218

26. Lead, 13mm, 1.71g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1179.

Rosette

Postolacca 1868, nos. 497 and 500 (the same dies).

27. Lead, 15mm, 2.52g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus ΜΠ876\_14  
Rosette

Very similar to Postolacca 1868 no. 499 and Crosby 1964, L219-L220 Pl. 27



**Fig. 17. Lead token with palmette, 12mm. The American School of Classical Studies IL2014.**

28. Lead, 14mm, 1.94g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus ΜΠ876\_13  
Palmette.

A poor impression of the same die as Postolacca 1868, no. 700 and the unpublished token from the Athenian Agora (fig. 17).

#### IV. Unanimated

29.) Lead, 14 x 22mm, 2.74g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus ΜΠ876\_11.

Amphora.

The amphora is not clearly stamped. It is clearly an amphora because of the two handles. The shape is not the typical shape of the Panathenaic Amphoras of the Hellenistic Period.

For Panathenaic Amphoras: Gkikaki 2020, 109-110, 132-133 cat. nos. 57-58.

30.) Lead, 11mm, 1.26g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus ΜΠ876\_9.  
Kernos in slight incuse.

Gkikaki 2020, 106-107, 121, 130, 133 cat. nos. 45 and 61 with references.

31.) Lead, 11mm, 1.59g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus ΜΠ876\_10.

Kernos.

For parallels see cat. no. 30 above.

32.) Lead, 12x11mm, 1.23g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus MPI876\_8.

Tripod.

A uniface token with tripod was recently found after surface cleaning in the immediate vicinity of Poseidon's temple, Sounion and is kept at the Museum of Brauron with inventory number N6 (**fig. 3**).

33.) Lead, 15x16mm, 3.82g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum MPI876\_15.

Ship's prow left.

The same die as: Postolacca 1868, 298 no. 675; Crosby 1964, 107-108 L224 (IL1123). For ships on lead tokens: Postolacca 1868, 297-298 nos. 668-677.

34.) Lead, 12x14mm, 2.54g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum. MPI876\_16.

Ship's prow right.

The ship's prow on this lead token is very similar to the Hellenistic type Crosby 1964, L69 (IL 1299) and also very similar to the ship's prow with figure seated on the forecastle on a series of clay tokens, of which five specimens have been found in Hellenistic contexts at the Athenian Agora: Crosby 1964, 128 C15a-e.

35.) Lead, 16mm, 1.8g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1177.

Quiver.

Svoronos 1900, 327 no. 7=87 pl. II.7; Crosby 1964, 107 L216 pl. 27 from the foot of the Pnyx and dated to the third century BC; Schäfer 2019, 53.

36.) Lead, 15x16mm, 2.00g, uniface. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum 876\_17.

Quiver.

See cat. no. 32 for parallels.

37.) Lead, 17mm, 3.82, pierced in the middle, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archeological Museum 876\_12

Gallic shield.

Parallels from the Athens Numismatic Museum: Schäfer 2019, 52 figs. 26-27.

38.) Lead, 12mm, 1.13g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1173.

Theatre mask facing right.

Probably from the same die as: Davidson, Burr Thompson & Thompson 1943, 106 no. 2 (M62)

### Inscribed tokens

39.) Lead. 14mm, 1.99g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 516.

Theatre mask of a tragic play facing right, letters Π-E on either side.

Svoronos 1900, 336 no. 209, pl. III.51 ; Crosby 1964, 106 L209 Pl. 27. All three from the same die.

40.) Lead, 12mm, 1.55g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum. MII876\_6

Boukranion, letters Π-E-N to the right, up and left.

Svoronos 1900, 335 nos. 200-201 pl. III, 44.

41.) Lead, Hellenistic. The Peiraeus Archaeological Museum. MII876\_21.

Triskeles

A type with triskeles is inscribed Π-E-N: Svoronos 1900, 336 no. 217-222, pl. IV.3. Another type with triskeles is inscribed BOY.



**Fig. 18 Lead token from the Pnyx, fourth century BC. Pnyx M66, kept at the Athenian Agora.**

42.) AIAN token

The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 518. Lead, 14mm, 0.8g (partial), uniface. Athens. Hellenistic.

Hydria with a cylindrical object in the field left.

The specimen is in bad condition. It is the same as Davidson, Burr Thompson & Thompson 1943, 106 no. 6 with fig. on p. 107 (**fig. 18**), which is preserved in excellent condition. It was originally inscribed AIAN, not preserved on the specimen of the Meletopoulos Collection. For tribal tokens: Russo forthcoming.

43.) Monogram, 17mm, 5.11g, uniface. Hellenistic. The Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection 1177 Monogram.

No exact parallels known. For monograms on Athenian tokens: Postolacca 1866, tav. di aggiunti K; Crosby 1964, 88-89 L23-L36 pl. 19.

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