

WORKSHOP



Registration

TOKENS

The Athenian Legacy to Modern World

The British School at Athens
16th - 17th December 2019

Keynote speakers: John H. Kroll and Quinn Dupont

Ephory of Antiquities of Eastern Attica, Brauron Museum BE6461

design: matthiasdemel.de

grafik: www.matthiasdemel.de



Registration



Workshop Programme and Abstracts

Workshop Programme

Monday 16th December 2019

1.30-2 pm Registration

2-2.10 pm *Welcome* John Bennet (British School at Athens)

2.10-2.30 pm *Welcome* Mairi Gkikaki (University of Warwick)

Session 1: Communication, community and social cohesion

Chair: Panagiotis Tselekas (University of Thessaloniki)

2.30-3 pm **Tragic tokens: Sophoclean symbola in context**

Patrick Finglass (University of Bristol)

3-3.30 pm **The Council of Five Hundred and Symbola in Classical Athens**

Mairi Gkikaki (University of Warwick)

3.30-4.30 pm Coffee

Session 2: 'Breaking the code': the cryptic character of tokens

Chair: Katerina Panagopoulou (University of Crete)

4.30-5 pm **Nike on Hellenistic lead tokens: Iconography and meaning**

Martin Schäfer (Archaologiki Etaireia)

5.-5.30 pm **Athenian clay tokens: New types, new series**

Stamatoula Makrypodi (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and University of Athens)

5.30-6 pm **A New Type of Roman Period Clay Tokens from Jerusalem**

Yoav Farhi (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

6.-6.15 pm Break

6.15-7 pm Keynote Address by John H. Kroll (University of Texas at Austin)

**The Corpus of Athenian Tokens: 150 Years of Expansion and Study
from Postolakas to the Present**

From 7 pm onwards: Reception

This workshop forms part of 'Tokens and their Cultural biography in Athens from the Classical Age to the End of Antiquity' project, a MARIE SKŁODOWSKA-CURIE action under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No AMD-794080-2.

Tuesday 17th December 2019

Session 3: Political devices of the participatory democracy

Chair: Harikleia Papageorgiadou (National Hellenic Research Foundation)

10-10.30 am **Tokens and Tribes: an Iconographic Overview**

Daria Russo (Sapienza University of Rome – Anhima UMR 8210)

10.30-11 am **Tokens and Corruption in Fourth Century BC Athens**

Alessandro Orlandini (University of Milan)

11-11.30 am **Symbola and Political Equality in Classical Athens**

James Kierstead (Victoria University of Wellington)

11.30-12 pm Coffee

12-12.45 pm Keynote Address by Quinn Dupont (University College Dublin)

The Social Order of “Crypto” Communities

1-2.30 pm Lunch

Session 4: New Finds

Chair: Aliko Moustaka (University of Thessaloniki)

2.30-3 pm **Tokens from the Koile Area**

Olga Dakoura-Vogiatzoglou (Ephory of Antiquities of the City of Athens)

3-3.30 pm **New Hellenistic and Roman clay tokens from Sicily through local identities, museum and archival Research**

Antonino Crisà (Ghent University)

3.30-4.30 pm Coffee

Session 5: Athenian tokens in the world of the Eastern Mediterranean

Chair: Sophia Kremydi (National Hellenic Research Foundation)

4.30-5 pm **Contextualising Athenian Tokens**

Clare Rowan (University of Warwick)

5-5.30 pm **Lead tokens in Graeco-Roman Egypt: A Reassessment of Dating and Purpose**

Denise Wilding (University of Warwick)

5.30-6 pm **Alexander the Great' in Lead and Bronze: The evidence of Greek and Roman tokens**

(3rd-5th centuries AD)

Cristian Mondello (University of Warwick)

6-6.15 Break

6.15-6.30 pm Thanks and Farewell

Tokens: The Athenian Legacy to the Modern World'

#tokathe @mairigkikaki

https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/classics/research/dept_projects/tcam/events/athens/

Workshop at the British School at Athens

16th -17th December 2019

Workshop Abstracts

(Ordered alphabetically by author name)

Hellenistic and Roman clay tokens from Sicily through local identities, Museum and archival research

Antonino Crisà (Ghent University)

Sicily has always arisen interest among scholars due to its complex culture, traditions and history, shaped by centuries of dominations. The Greeks colonised Sicily beginning from late 8th century BC, when the first colonisers founded new centers mostly in the eastern coastal areas, meeting previously settled local populations. The Roman conquered the island in 241 BC, creating a new Provincia Sicilia. At that point, most of local poleis were still maintaining a certain independence and could issue coins with their ethnic names (both in Greek and Latin). Local communities were therefore keeping alive a stratified set of civic and religious traditions. Tokens, which were locally produced, distributed and used, can offer vital data on this traditional 'heritage', which has many connections with the Greek world and Athenian legacy. The scope of my paper is to present results of a recent research on token production in Sicily during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, a theme which has been previously neglected by scholars. My investigations have been carried out in local museums in Sicily, assessing sets of finds from past collections or excavations. First, I contextualise token production in the island, focusing on the historical and archaeological contexts. Second, I provide a brief outline on past research and results, offering a record of cases which are currently under studying and publication. Third, I asses a set of new, clay tokens, recently discovered in Palermo's museum, providing all documentary data on their provenance and acquisition. Finally, such artefacts, including their symbolic, religious and civic iconographies, offer essential terms of comparisons with Athenian token production and clearly represent local identities of the small communities in Hellenistic and Roman Sicily.

The Social Order of "Crypto" Communities

Quinn Dupont (University College Dublin)

It is widely accepted that cryptocurrency ("crypto") communities are, by and large, committed to an ideology of moral and methodological individualism, free and competitive markets, and robust personal freedoms. These principles are enshrined in control technologies that utilize coded rules (prohibitions) and token economics (incentives) to mandate adherence, a form of "algorithmic authority." Yet, careful observation of these crypto communities reveals a different story. Based on six years of close analysis of cryptocurrency and blockchain communities of practice, commercial justifications and self-narratives, and my own participation in commercial and academic enterprises, I have found that these communities live in a constant "state of exception" to their own political commitments. Rather than being ruled by their algorithms, they use them to negotiate their social order, which is characterized by interpersonal forms of power, negotiation, and trust. Like many acephalous communities, disputes and internecine conflict are common yet generative, ritual and symbolic productions mark belonging and exclusion, and rank, honor, and regard create a surprisingly durable social order. This talk details the real and lived social order of crypto communities, offering a point of contrast to espoused ideologies and social imaginaries.

A New Type of Roman Period Clay Tokens from Jerusalem

Yoav Farhi (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

In this lecture I would like to present several clay objects which were found as stray finds in Jerusalem and dated to the early Roman period. Some are bearing legends, some only designs, and some both. These interesting objects, which probably served as some kind of tokens, differ much in their dimensions and shape from other Hellenistic and Roman period clay tokens. Their common characteristics - their extremely small size and their unique shape - raise questions about their function and how they were used. These tokens from Jerusalem seem very local in character and similar phenomenon seems so far unknown from other cities in the Hellenistic-Roman world.

Tragic tokens: Sophoclean symbola in context

Patrick Finglass (University of Bristol)

The commonplace symbolon, a token broken in two such that the bearers of each half could recognise a relationship with the bearer of the other even if the bearers were personally unknown to each other, makes a number of appearances in Greek tragedy, a genre which often eschews contact with features of everyday life. This paper focuses in particular on two Sophoclean passages. First, Philoctetes 403-4, where Philoctetes tells Neoptolemus that he has a symbolon of grief that matches his own, which thus permits him to recognise him as a fellow-sufferer at the hands of the other Greeks. But Neoptolemus' tale is entirely false: it is a forged 'token' deliberately designed to match Philoctetes' story in order to convince him of Neoptolemus' good will. Second, Oedipus the King 219-23, where Oedipus tells the assembled Thebans that he has a symbolon that connects him with them, having been made a citizen, and thus having standing to investigate the killing of

their long-dead king Laius. Yet the 'token' that connects him to the Theban people is in fact much closer than that: for he is no mere adopted citizen but their legitimate king, and both son and killer of the man whose killer he is now seeking. Both passages exploit ambiguities intrinsic to the symbolon, which is such a potentially fallible tool; this paper explores how that image evokes ideas of deception and ignorance bound up in this everyday, apparently unremarkable object.

The Council of Five Hundred and Symbola in Classical Athens

Mairi Gkikaki (University of Warwick)

It is commonly accepted in scholarship that Classical Athens is to be credited with the introduction of tokens in public administration and that tokens (gr. Symbola) were from their beginnings conceived as political devices. Is it possible to pin down more precisely these first appearances of tokens? Aim of the present paper is to argue that the Council of the Five Hundred (gr. Boul) initiated the use of Symbola and soon promoted them to linchpin equipment for the Democracy. The premises lay within the functions and the jurisdiction of the Council: The Council and in particular the prytaneis, its executive committee, safeguarded access to the treasury as well as a broad array of normative devices, including the state seal. The Council supervised the selection of various boards of magistrates, worked closely with them and controlled their efficiency. Magistrates were allotted to offices by lot and not elected. The potential office holders were selected by demes and tribes, a representative and proportionate mixture of the citizenry in order to prevent fraud and vote-buying. The pertinent allotment machinery were controlled by the Boul . The Council was the principal authority concerned with the finances of the city administering public income and public expenditure. The Council represented the polis in the intra-state relationships.

The earliest testimony of the Council as issuer of tokens is the Kleinias' Decree dated probably to 448/7 BC (IG I3 34). It stipulates that Symbola should be issued by the Council and given to the ally city-states so that the delegates coming from the allies and charged with transferring the tribute are officially sanctioned for their mission. Around the same time the clay tokens inscribed with the names of tribes and demes as well as the office of the Poletai - the lessors of public contracts - were at all probability issued by the Council as well. The Council administered Symbola also in their materiality: tokens were distributed and collected back again, destroyed or - in some cases - kept in archive.

Symbola and Political Equality in Classical Athens

James Kierstead (Victoria University of Wellington)

For some time, a certain proportion of magistracies in Athens were apportioned by a system involving tokens (symbola). Each tribe received 50 tokens with its name written across it. Each token would then be irregularly cut in two and on the reverse of one half the names of demes would be written on the number of tokens corresponding to each deme's bouleutic quota; on the reverse of the other half the names of the various offices would be written. 'Not until the symbola were fitted together again on the allotment-day in the Theseion would it emerge which deme had secured the opportunity to fill which office' (Whitehead 1986, 282).

Some time around 388, though, this system was done away with, apparently because some demes 'began to sell' (ἐπώλουν: Ath. Pol. 62.1) either particular slots in their quotas to individuals within the demes (Staveley 1972), or numbers of magistracies in their quotas to other demes (Lang 1959). The symbola were replaced by pinakia ('tickets'), and the tribes were made the basis of the apportionment rather than the tribes.

I ask what effect this reform had on Athens' political sociology. Taylor 2007 shows that fourth-century officials were less likely to be drawn from urban demes, and to come from wealthy families. I suggest that poorer outlying demes may have been open to bribes, either from wealthy individuals looking to secure important offices, or from demes nearer to Athens' economic core, who wanted to increase their political representation. The reform, which switched from a system rooted in localities (the demes) to one that cut across geography (the tribes), may have been intended partly to eliminate one source of bias towards the urban wealth elite, and thus to restore and consolidate political equality.

The Corpus of Athenian Tokens:

150 Years of Expansion and Study from Postolakas to the Present

John H. Kroll (University of Texas at Austin)

Abstract: Since the 1860s, when Achilleas Postolakas published the 1121 Athenian lead tokens then in the National Numismatic Museum in Athens, the corpus has more than doubled in size and has been joined by a substantial quantity of tokens in bronze and terracotta. The purpose of this survey is to identify key contributions to the understanding of the various functions that these tokens served, including contributions that have emerged in just the past two years from the impetus of the Warwick Token Communities Project.

Athenian Clay Tokens: New types, new series

Stamatoula Makrypodi (Hellenic Ministry of Culture

National Kapodistrian University of Athens)

Athenian clay tokens from known excavation contexts are very limited in number. As a result, few Athenian clay tokens have been published. The recent study of clay tokens from the collections of the Numismatic Museum in Athens brought to light more pieces of Athenian provenance. These new pieces more than triple the total specimens. Quite a few of them bear well known types, however, many new specimens provide previously unknown iconographic types. A significant number displays letters of the Greek alphabet.

After the preliminary presentation at the International Conference on Tokens (Warwick, June 2017), the present paper attempts a further, enriched contribution. On the basis of the new data, we will attempt a further presentation and study of the Athenian clay tokens. In the first place, it is of great significance to correlate the NMA pieces with excavation finds, as well as with more museum pieces. What is more, there will be a distinction of stamps used for their production, classification in series of issuing, as well as a comparison with their lead and bronze counterparts. We hope that our paper will be a valuable groundwork and will encourage any further effort to approach the role of clay tokens in the polis of Athens and to determine their chronological framework.

'Alexander the Great' in Lead and Bronze:

The evidence of Greek and Roman tokens (3rd–5th centuries AD)

Cristian Mondello (University of Warwick)

Whilst a number of studies have been conducted on the fortune of Alexander the Great attested on coins as well as in the literary tradition, the evidence provided by ancient tokens constitutes a component still not properly addressed about the reception of the Macedonian king's myth in the Graeco-Roman world.

Athenian lead tokens bearing a youthful head to be interpreted as Alexander the Great were found in the Agora deposits amongst the debris of the Herulian destruction (267 AD) as well as on the floors of the shops and around the Stoa of Attalos. Partly published by M. Crosby (1964), these tokens have been dated to the period between the first and third century AD. Late Roman bronze tesserae and contorniates, produced perhaps only in Rome over the fourth and fifth centuries AD, also adopt the portrait of Alexander, which is represented in some cases according to late antique fashion. What is the meaning of the image of Alexander the Great on these different artefacts? Is there any continuity between Greek and Roman tesserae showing the portrait of the Macedonian king?

This paper will aim at giving a typological, morphological and iconographic overview of these groups of tokens. The different series produced in the Greek East and the Roman West will be compared by examining parallels and discontinuities. By tackling issues of iconography and stylistic development, religious and political patterns which these objects give insight into will be investigated in order to explore the variety of meanings and functions that were assumed by the tokens bearing the image of Alexander.

Token and Corruption in the Fourth Century BC Athens

Alessandro Orlandini (University of Milan)

In my graduation thesis I dealt with the issue of judicial corruption with the Kleroterion system in the 4th century BC Athens. The aim was to demonstrate that it was possible to corrupt judges with tokens even with the Kleroterion system. At the beginning, for the first time ever, I simulated the allotment of the judges in order to establish the duration of the procedure and the possible flaws in the allotment (with the advice of Professor J. H. Kroll and Professor P. J. Rhodes). Then I reconstructed the cost of living, the prices, the daily wages and the annuities of the wealthiest citizens in the Athens of the fourth century BC in order to estimate a possible cost of judicial corruption with tokens. My contribution would concern the role played by tokens in the Athenian political and judicial systems, as well as the availability of tokens by the Athenian social classes and in particular by the hetaireiai. I would focus on the role of tokens as a tool of corruption used by the hetaireiai and on the convenience of using tokens as the most direct way to corrupt judges with an allotment system – the Kleroterion – created in order to eradicate corruption with tokens.

Contextualising Athenian Tokens

Clare Rowan (University of Warwick)

To what extent are the tokens of ancient Athens unique in the ancient Mediterranean? Home to the best studied set of tokens from antiquity, Athens is often highlighted by scholarship as the city of tokens par excellence; Rostovtzeff, for example, believed that the Romans adopted tokens when they saw them in use in Athens in the late Republic. Ironically, when it came time to interpret the tokens from the excavations of the Athenian Agora, it was the Roman tokens studied by Rostovtzeff that served as a model for understanding the function of many of these items; a kind of scholarly full circle. Material that has since come to light in Italy from the second century BC demonstrates that the Romans did not adopt tokens from the Athenians in the late Republic, but the tendency to interpret finds of tokens elsewhere in light of our knowledge of Athens persists in scholarship. This paper seeks to reverse this trend by asking whether our knowledge of tokens from elsewhere can inform our understanding of Athenian tokens. Is there anything unique or unusual about tokens in Athens? Can we find examples where Athenian practice influenced other regions, or where innovations elsewhere were adopted in Athens? For the first time we possess a broad, pan-regional understanding of this type of artefact, which underscores the local, individual nature of token use. Thus, even if Athens proves to be unique in its approach to tokens, this would paradoxically fit into a broader pattern emerging from elsewhere. By providing a clearer backdrop against which to understand Athenian tokens, this paper continues to develop a better understanding of the functions of tokens in human society.

Tokens and Tribes: an Iconographic Overview

Daria Russo (Sapienza University of Rome – Anhima UMR 8210)

The post-Cleisthenic tribes and their role in the life of the polis are relatively well known (especially for what concerns the 5th and 4th centuries) from literary sources, inscriptions, and archaeological evidence. The tribes functioned as associations and constituted the framework regulating participation in many collective occasions (e.g. attendance to the main governing bodies or festivities). Lead tokens were certainly used by these groups, as inscriptions and/or figurative representations on them seem to indicate, but their precise contexts of use are not always easy to understand. These objects are difficult to assign to a precise chronological horizon; moreover, the findspot of many specimens is unknown. Therefore, a detailed analysis of their extremely variable iconographic motifs is particularly important: the aim of the paper is to identify the main criteria on whose basis they have been chosen to represent or allude to a specific group. Particular effort will be put in delineating the relationship between these objects and the imagerie related to the tribes which can be observed on other media. Beside the groups themselves, also individuals (e.g. magistrates) and the whole polis had an interest in representing tribes or themes linked to them, for example in collective monuments or dedications, opting for several iconographic possibilities. The small size of the tokens certainly narrows the choice of the figurative theme, which nonetheless has to be straightforward and unmistakable: as a result, the chosen themes are sometimes particularly linked to the specific identities of the groups, and thus, very worth investigating.

Nike on Hellenistic lead tokens: iconography and meaning

Martin Schäfer (Archaeological Society at Athens)

Subject of the study is the iconography of the standing Nike on Hellenistic lead tokens, which has not attracted research interest so far. It examines pieces from the Athenian Agora and in the Numismatic Museum at Athens concerning the origin and evolution of the iconographic types and the attributes held by the goddess, who traditionally occupied a special position in the Athenian iconography, especially since the 5th century B.C. These figurative types are considered in the context of Nike representations from other monument categories, especially coins and clay seals. Interestingly, unlike corresponding Nike figures on early and middle Hellenistic coins, the goddess usually does not appear with stilus (naval standard) and palm branch, a clear indication that there was a difference in meaning. The question is raised as to whether the figures on the tokens mainly depend on the coin iconography or whether they derive from a different model, maybe a piece of sculpture or a painting.

Also, the roles and purposes of the tokens with Nike are discussed. Only exceptionally the functional context can be reconstructed, indicating an official use. This is the case for example with a piece that belongs to the ensemble of armour tokens from the 3rd century B.C. excavated in the Athenian Agora, which have been interpreted by researchers as exchange tokens, that served citizens to receive armour of the Athenian state arsenal. According to I.N. Svoronos other tokens with the representation of Nike may be related to the Council (Boulé) of the Five Hundred on the basis of the accompanying inscription ΠΕΝ or ΠΕ, referring to Pentakosioi (=Five Hundred), the number of the Council members in the 4th century B.C., although divergent opinions have also been expressed. Even more puzzling is the legend with the goddess' name along with various iconographic motives on a few known Hellenistic specimens.

Tokens from the Koile Area

Olga Vogiatzoglou (Ephory of Antiquities of the City of Athens)

In 2001, during field research in the Koile's suburb Agora and just a short distance from the Koile road, a total of 20 lead tokens together with silver and bronze coins came to light. Most of them are in poor condition and they all appear to depict different subjects and only on one side, where the image is discernible. In addition, most are exceptionally small (no more than 1 cm), which is the only uniform feature they seem to share. Based on the evidence of their metal (lead), their size and the most recent coin, a bronze from Myrina of Lemnos, which was minted sometime between 167-86 BC, they can be dated back to the 2nd century BC. Although it is not easy to assume the reason why they were found together with coins dating back to the later Archaic until the later Hellenistic years, nor the identity of their collector and the tokens themselves, the finding is of interest in terms of its exact location as well as the chronological context.

Lead tokens in Graeco-Roman Egypt: A Reassessment of Dating and Purpose

Denise Wilding (University of Warwick)

The lead tokens of Graeco-Roman Egypt have long assumed to have functioned as a low denomination currency, following the work of Milne (1908; 1922; 1930; 1971). His position was based upon the similarity of their imagery to that of the Alexandrian coinage, and the lacuna in low denominational bronze coins during the period AD 180-260 which was purportedly filled by the production of tokens. Milne never explicitly explained how he believed tokens functioned within the Alexandrian currency system, exemplifying the difficulties in the interpretation of these monetiform pieces which defy neat categorisation as either coins or objects. Nevertheless, his hypothesis is due re-examination based on additional evidence that has come to light since the early 20th century.

This paper will therefore reassess the tokens from the province of Egypt in order to ascertain whether they were utilised as coinage. This will be undertaken through assessment of weights and diameters from a selection of types to determine that there was no standardisation, and therefore no possibility they functioned as an all-purpose coinage. The dating evidence will also be re-examined in order to demonstrate that the period of use for tokens in Egypt was longer than that of the date range posited by Milne, thereby implying that their utilisation was more diverse than simply filling a gap in low denominational bronze. This is achieved through analysis of their iconography which is then compared to Alexandrian coin types, and through investigation of excavation data that includes deposition alongside an earlier Athenian token. Lastly, the evidence for other uses will be examined in order to suggest alternative possibilities as to how tokens functioned in Graeco-Roman Egypt.