Tokens: Culture, Connections, Communities: Final Programme

The University of Warwick

The Oculus, OC1.04

Thursday 8th June

11.00am: Welcome (Clare Rowan)

Token "Becoming": The creation and alteration of tokens and belief
Chair: Antonio Crisà (Warwick)

11.15-11.45am: *'Success to the seventeen united bright stars'; the Spithead mutiny of 1797 recorded on a sailor's love token.*
    Bridget Millmore (University of Brighton / British Museum volunteer)

11.45am-12.15pm: *"Blessings made of dust": Byzantine pilgrim tokens and their role in the devotional practices of pilgrimage.*
    Vicky Foskolou (University of Crete)

12.15-12.45pm: *Tokens as amulets? Some remarks about Christian iconographies on contorniates.*
    Cristian Mondello (Università degli Studi di Messina, Italy)

12.45-1.45pm: Lunch

Tokens and the Representation of Future Potential
Chair: David Swan (Warwick)

1.45-2.15 pm: *Athenian Tokens, Knowns and Unknowns: An Overview.*
    Jack Kroll (University of Oxford)

2.15-2.45 pm: *Tokens in Hindu Marriage Ceremonies: Forming a Bond and Beyond.*
    Shipra Upadhyay (Srishti Institute of Art, Design and Technology, India)

Tokens, Money, and Value
Chair: Fleur Kemmers (Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main)

2.45-3.15pm: *'Currency or coupons? The role of lead tokens in Roman Egypt'*
    Denise Wilding (Warwick)

3.15-3.45pm: *The foreign bronze coins of the Athenian agora in the 4th century BC as token money.*

Kenneth Sheedy (Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies, Macquarie University, Australia)

3.45-4.15pm: Coffee

4.15-4.45pm: *The unpublished Iberian tokens in the Richard B. Witschonke Collection at the American Numismatic Society.*
    Lucia Francesca Carbone (American Numismatic Society, NY, USA)

4.45-5.15pm: *Towards a Commodity Theory of Token Money: (Material-)Semiotic Approaches to the Intrinsic Value of Fiat Currencies.*
    Chris Vasantkumar (Macquarie University, Australia)

5.15-6.15: Plenary lecture: *Tokens, Honor, Tribute, Tithe: Rank and Recognition in the Making of Money*
    Bill Maurer (UC Irvine)

6.15pm: Drinks reception

7.30pm: Dinner at Xananas restaurant, University of Warwick.

Friday, 9th June

Tokens in Museums: Problems and Potential
Chair: Denise Wilding (Warwick)

9.30-10am*: "Naughty by nature". Notes on the iconography of bronze tesserae in the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.*
    Alexa Küter (Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

10-10.30am: *Tokens from the Collections in the Numismatic Museum Brought to Light.*
    George Kakavas (Athens Numismatic Museum)

10.30-11am: *Tokens inside and outside the excavation context: seeking the origin. Examples of clay tokens from the collections of the Athens Numismatic Museum.*
    Stamatoula Makrypodi (Athens Numismatic Museum)

11-11.30am: Coffee

Tokens within the Landscape: Interpreting Archaeological Context
Chair: Alessandra Tafaro (Warwick)

11.30am-12pm: *A hoard of tokens in the Agora: advertising prestige and exclusive civic identity in Roman Athens*. Mairi Gkikaki (University of Warwick) and Brian Martens (Oxford)

12-12.30pm: *A terracotta token in context: a fortunate and recorded discovery from the necropolis of Tindari* (Messina, 1896)
    Antonino Crisà (University of Warwick)

12.30pm-1pm: *The Holme Cultram Abbey series and English tokens 1200-1530.*
      Kate Rennicks (University of Bristol)

1-1.45pm: Lunch

Tokens and their creators: authority and community
Chair: Charlotte Mann (Warwick)

1.45-2.15pm: *How royal tokens constituted an art medium which strengthened the monarchical system of the 17th century.*
      Sabrina Valin (Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense)

2.15-2.45pm: *Seventeenth Century Tokens and their Issuers: Placing Tokens in their Social and Economic Context.*
      Laura Burnett (Portable Antiquities Scheme, Somerset)

2.45-3.15pm: *Casting Communities. The tokens and moulds from ancient Rome.*
      Clare Rowan (University of Warwick)

3.15-3.45pm: *Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor and the World of Ephesian Tesserae.*
      Christina Kuhn (Oxford)

3.45-4.15pm: Coffee

Tokens, Authority and Government

4.15-5.15pm: **Plenary Lecture:** *The Invention of Tokens*
        Denise Schmandt-Besserat (Texas)

Conference dinner: The Queen and Castle, Kennilworth, 7pm.

Saturday, 10th June

Tokens, Authority and Government (continued)
Chair: Andrew Burnett (British Museum).

10-10.30am: *Owls Depicted on Lead Tokens/Symbola: A General Approach.*
      Efterpi Ralli (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)

10.30am-11am: *The armour tokens from the Athenian Agora.*
      Martin Schäfer (Archaeological Society, Athens)

11am-11.30am: Coffee

Tokens and Cognition
Chair: Mairi Gkikaki (Warwick)

11.30 – 12pm: *How a (material) token becomes a (conceptual) one: insight from numbers in the ancient Near East*.
    Karenleigh A. Overmann (University of Oxford)

12-12.30pm: *Healing and Harming: the Token in early modern England.*
    Annie Thwaite (University of Cambridge)

12.30-12.45pm: Thanks and farewell.

Abstracts

Session 1: Token "Becoming": The creation and alteration of tokens and belief

'Success to the seventeen united bright stars'; the Spithead mutiny of 1797 recorded on a sailor's love token. - Bridget Millmore (University of Brighton / British Museum volunteer)

In 1797 sailors from the British fleet anchored at Spithead near Portsmouth mutinied. A dramatic action given the severity of the punishment for such behaviour and the fact that Britain was at war with France and the ships might be ordered to defend their country at any moment. This paper introduces a love token made from a silver shilling that records this event. It is engraved with the words 'success to the seventeen united bright stars'; a reference to the ships involved in the Spithead mutiny. The sailors were demanding improvements to their pay and conditions; what they described as the 'many hardships and Opressions we have Laboured under for many years.' Scholars have studied the actions of the mutineers by consulting a range of sources including letters, petitions, handbills and newspaper reports. The focus has been on the scale, organisation and discipline of the mutiny and the risks for those who spearheaded the negotiations. This paper takes another approach by examining an example of the material culture crafted by sailors that records this event. Why was this token crafted? What does it tell us about the mutiny? Sailors traditionally gave love tokens to family members as farewell gifts. They were made by altering copper and silver coins; erasing the original portraits of the King and Britannia and re-engraving the blank surfaces with biographical details and affectionate messages. What might a close reading of this object reveal about those involved in the mutiny, given that love tokens were part of the customary practices that commemorated the importance of family and kinship bonds; bonds that at the end of the eighteenth century were under threat of poverty and famine, war and separation.

"Blessings made of dust": Byzantine pilgrim tokens and their role in the devotional practices of pilgrimage. - Vicky Foskolou (University of Crete)

"Let us not attempt to enumerate the countless cures effected by St Symeon... many believers were lucky enough to experience an abundant source of healing through his word, some by a touch from his holy staff or through visions, and others using his sacred earth."

These are the concluding words in the Life of Saint Symeon the Younger, a famous stylite recluse of the second half of the sixth century CE. Symeon's "sacred earth", or "blessing made of dust" referred in his vita have been identified by modern scholarship with a large group of clay tokens depicting the saint in bust atop his column, flanked by angels or other figures. These tokens belong to the so-called eulogies of the sources, i.e. the objects which pilgrims took from a holy place as a souvenir of their visit. These were clay or metal tokens depicting subjects connected with the locus sanctus, or clay and metal ampullae containing some consecrated substance (water, oil or myron). The faithful credited these mementoes with

miraculous properties: they could protect against any danger known to man, provided miraculous cures, even protection from the hazards of travelling and acquiring them was an essential part of religious practice on a Christian pilgrimage.

Aim of my presentation would be to present this special kind of tokens of the early Byzantine period. Through a combined reading of the information from the written sources and the material remains, I would try to present the practices and beliefs connected with pilgrim tokens, investigate their economic dimension and understand their role was the religious observance and experience of pilgrims.

Tokens as amulets? Some remarks about Christian iconographies on contorniates. - Cristian Mondello (Università degli Studi di Messina, Italy)

This paper aims to investigate the iconographic and functional significance of Christian symbols depicted on contorniates, which are not irrelevant figurative elements, although not adequately researched by scholars, in the context of the enigmatic phenomenon of contorniates in Late Antiquity. The examined documentation is based on the collection of the specimens published by A. Alföldi (Budapest, 1943, Berlin-New York, 1976-1990) and M. Guarducci (Città del Vaticano, 1958), to which two new specimens, identified in recent auction sales (2009; 2014), are added to integrate the series in question.

The survey of these iconographies, represented mainly by the chi-rho monogram and the globus cruciger, involves at least two kind of problems: the authenticity of Christian symbols, since the incision is the technique used in some cases and might imply the inclusion of the iconographies in later times than the issue of contorniates; the interpretation itself of Christian symbols on these specimens, of which the analysis has to deal with the theory of Alföldi, who has considered the contorniates as an expression of "heidnischen Reaktion" with anti-Christian purpose in the IV-Vth centuries. The study will be carried out by a diachronic and diatopic analysis of Christian iconographies in question, focusing attention to their historical and ideological meaning in the development of the late antique Christian language; in addition, a comparison of contorniates in exam will be done with some coeval literary, numismatic and archaeological documents, where Christian symbols are often associated with syncretistic and "magic" features or contexts.

The investigation allows to cast light on the *vexata quaestio* about the function of contorniates, suggesting that at least part of them could have fulfilled the functions of amulets and *instrumenta* with apotropaic value, on the basis of religious and cultural syncretism which was widespread to all levels of Roman society in Late Antiquity.

Session 2: Tokens and the Representation of Future Potential

Athenian Tokens, Knowns and Unknowns: An Overview. - Jack Kroll (University of Oxford)

Despite the huge Athenian corpus of bronze, lead, and clay tokens, which now extends to more than two thousand published pieces, and the exceptional amount of literary evidence that pertains to Athenian public institutions and daily life, the number of these tokens that can be confidently identified with a specific institution and function is actually quite limited. They include mainly inscribed tokens that were used as pay vouchers for participation in large, democratic bodies, but a few less obvious uses are also assured, such as the uninscribed Athenian tokens used in the distribution of state-owned armor. After this short list of firmly-documented uses, scholars have no choice but to speculate about the purposes of the great number of remaining tokens, although in the end there is good reason to think that most of them were exchange vouchers for receiving one benefit or another.

Token in Hindu Marriage Ceremony: Forming Bond and Beyond. - **S**hipra Upadhyay (Srishti Institute of Art, Design and Technology, India)

Hindu marriage ceremony most vibrant and it involves a series of rituals which runs for a week and sometimes a month. Token plays a very significant role during this ceremony. The object or things which are shared among individuals and group is a holistic way of understanding family and community in South Asia. It also features the very notion of intimacy and belonging; role and responsibilities of men and women and a sense of harmony which exists among the people of multiple races. Paper is an outcome of series field work conducted in the eastern Gangetic plain from 2002 till now. A pinch of vermilion is symbol of conjugal fortune, a piece of fine fabric symbolizes fertility, a red shawl is the symbol of grandeur and privilege, a beetle box with areca nuts stands for partnership and intimacy shared between two individuals; a kohl case represents sexuality. Tokens shared during Hindu marriage ceremony brings together the elements of economy, culture, politics and community all together.

Session 3: Tokens, Money, and Value

'Currency or coupons? The role of lead tokens in Roman Egypt'. - Denise Wilding (Warwick)

The leaden tokens of Roman Egypt have been little studied in the past century, especially in terms of the role that they played in the everyday lives and identities of past communities. Previous work has not reached a consensus as to their purpose, therefore this paper aims to investigate how the place of discovery and known contexts of these tokens have a bearing on their interpretation. This shall be undertaken through an analysis of findspots to establish to what extent the distribution

of the tokens across a variety of different contexts (temples, houses, rubbish dumps) demonstrates an embeddedness in everyday life and the implications this has for their use. However, many tokens were discovered through antiquarian excavations and the quality of the data is not to the standard of modern archaeological investigation. Therefore the difficulties associated with attempting to ascertain their purpose through this method shall be explored.

The foreign bronze coins of the Athenian agora in the 4th century BC as token money. - Kenneth Sheedy (Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies, Macquarie University, Australia)

This paper explores the identity and status of the petty currencies in the Athenian Agora prior to the introduction of an Athenian bronze coinage in the 330s BC. Although the city returned to prosperity after the Peloponnesian War and networks of trade linking Athens with major centres across the Mediterranean were re-established no attempt was made by the city to facilitate small-value exchange. The importance of foreign bronze coins for a 4th century BC city with extensive trade is examined with reference to Olynthus. This paper considers, as case studies, coins minted in Athens for the settlement on Salamis (Agora 26, 640-642), the issues produced for Timotheus in the Chalcidice (Agora 26, 35-36) and the Eleusinian bronzes (Agora 26, 38). If none had any legal status as Athenian coinage (and the arguments for official recognition are examined) on what terms did they circulate in the Agora? Is it possible that they were accepted more or less as tokens? The possible role of Athenian bronze and lead tokens as a form of circulating currency has been debated. Despite the common translation of symbola as tokens it needs to be recognized that they were state issues often linked to payment for services to the state, and had an official status quite different to the later European privately minted tokens or even emergency currency. Is it possible the 'cunning bronzes' of Aristophanes (Frogs 725-6) were the bronze issues of other Greek states (and included the bronzes of Salamis?) rather than plated coins minted in Athens? These mysterious bronzes were briefly made legal tender (dokimon nomisma) and accepted by the state at a still unknown value.

The unpublished Iberian lead tokens in the Richard B. Witschonke Collection at the American Numismatic Society. - Lucia Francesca Carbone (American Numismatic Society, NY, USA)

The use of lead tokens in antiquity has been an object of speculation among scholars since the influential work of M. Rostovzeff at the very beginning of the twentieth century (Rostovzeff 1900), in which the Russian scholar functionally classified tesserae and leaden coinage. The use of lead coinage is explained there by the scantiness of bronze divisional currency, while tesserae served as alternative currency for various functions connected to public life. In their catalogue of Iberian lead tokens from Roman times, F. Casariego, G. Cores and F. Pliego (Casariego et alii 1987) divided them according to their module and types. They also adopted Rostovzeff's

functional division between the tokens that supplemented bronze fractionary coinage and those that were probably used as a private currency, particularly the mines series (group III, series de las minas). This functional division is confirmed by Villaronga 1993, who suggests that smaller lead tokens with city types should be considered proper coinage, while larger ones were mainly used as private currency.

The mixed circulation in mine areas of lead tokens of different modules with bronze and silver coinages (Arevalo Gonzalez 1996), however, suggests that the functional division between larger and smaller module lead tokens in the ancient Iberian peninsula could be more nuanced than previously thought.

The Richard B. Witschonke Collection at the American Numismatic Society includes five previously unpublished Iberian lead tokens which seem to support the same nuanced functional division suggested by circulation evidence Even larger module specimens present the names of Roman magistrates and Roman numerary types which were previously thought to be mainly reserved for tokens of smaller modules. The specimens of the RBW Collection could therefore advance the ongoing scholarly debate over the function of Iberian lead tokens in Roman times.

Bibliography:

* A. Arévalo González, La circulación monetaria en las minas de Sierra Morena: ell distrito de Córdoba, *Numisma* 237 (1996), pp. 51-82.
* A. Casariego, G. Cores and F. Pliego, *Catalogo De Plomos Monetiformes De La Hispania Antigua*. Madrid 1987.
* M. Rostovtzeff, Etude sur les plombs antiques in M. Rostovtzeff – M. Prou, Catalogue des plombs de l'antiquité, du moyen âge et des temps modernes : conservés au Département des médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale, Paris 1900.
* L. Villaronga, Plomos monetiformes de la Citerior de época romano-republicana, RIN 95 (1993), pp. 307-320.

Towards a Commodity Theory of Token Money: (Material-)Semiotic Approaches to the Intrinsic Value of Fiat Currencies. - Chris Vasantkumar (Macquarie University, Australia)

Historically the boundary between token (chartalist) and commodity (metallist) theories of money has been strongly demarcated. Broadly speaking, the latter ground money's value in the material substance of particular money-objects. The former, by contrast, look beyond the materiality of currency to state power, national sentiment and/or trust as central factors in money's continued efficacy. A division of explanatory labor that posits commodity theories of money as most appropriate for reckoning with precious metal based currencies and token theories as most germane to fiat money has long been an implicit operating assumption in anthropology, economic sociology and allied fields.

Yet historically, things have been rather more complex. Alfred Mitchell-Innes for example, writing early in the twentieth century, argued strongly for token theories of gold and silver coinage. More recently economic sociologist Geoffrey Ingham and

renegade economist L. Randall Wray have adapted Innes' ideas for new and wider readerships. Elsewhere, legal scholar Christine Desan (2010) has brilliantly reread the history of European and British coinage, highlighting how one particular commodity, gold, "came to be configured as money," not as the outcome of natural market processes but through contingent human histories of defining the terms and terrain of exchange. Significant work has been devoted, in other words, to unpacking a token theory of commodity money.

My proposed paper intends, by contrast, to elaborate a commodity theory of token money via a (material-)semiotic exploration of folk approaches to contemporary Western fiat currencies that treat them as inherently valuable. Once upon a time a tendency to treat money-objects as if they are valuable of their own accord may have been linked to the precious metal content of coinage, yet what one might term intrinsicism has seamlessly crossed the metal/paper (and now digital) divide. Exploring the semiotic convergence between gold (Ferry 2016), bitcoin (Maurer et. al., 2013) and modern paper money (Koning 2011, 2015), I argue that contemporary modes of engagement with fiat money's material forms that treat them as intrinsically valuable despite the absence of precious metal content are best understood in terms of a modified version of C.S. Peirce's theory of iconicity. In particular, I suggest, to understand the dynamics of a semiotic process by which particular money-objects are chronically taken to be one and the same as the value they denote, iconicity must be conceptualized as working not on the basis of "resemblance" as it is commonly glossed but via the blurring of the distinction between icon and object (medium and money). Approached in this vein, iconicity can no longer be seen as special preserve of gold or other forms of commodity money but as characterizing a number of different monetary forms that straddle and begin to deconstruct received commodity/fiat divides. Tokens it turns out may also be perceived as entailing inherent value.

Plenary lecture: *Tokens, Honor, Tribute, Tithe: Rank and Recognition in the Making of Money*. Bill Maurer (UC Irvine)

Friday, 9th June

Session 4: Tokens in Museums: Problems and Potential

"Naughty by nature". Notes on the iconography of bronze tesserae in the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. - Alexa Küter (Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

The Münzkabinett holds about 90 tesserae made of bronze in the collection. Among those are 55 pieces which are subject of my lecture. Minted over a timespan of various decades, they do not represent a homogeneous group. Rather, they belong to different sub-groups, produced for various purposes. Most of them share one feature in common though: In contrast to the iconography found on regular coinage, the images used here are rather playful and distinctively non-numismatic in their appearance. Charming and entertaining pictures are abundant. This joyful character

can additionally be stressed through the legends, if used. This lecture aims at providing an overview of the Berlin collection of tesserae and discussing a possible relationship between the iconography employed and the function of those tokens.

Tokens from the Collections in the Numismatic Museum Brought to Light. - George Kakavas (Athens Numismatic Museum)

The Numismatic Museum in Athens is one of the oldest public museums in Greece. It was established in 1834, shortly after the National Archaeological Museum. After many adventures our museum found its permanent home in 1998, at the Iliou Melathron (Palace of Troy), the former house of the archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann in the center of Athens, designed by the renowned architect Ernst Ziller. One of the few purely monetary museums internationally, it is perhaps the only public and autonomous museum of its kind in the world.

Our collections cover the ancient Greek world, the Roman and Byzantine periods, the Middle Ages and the Modern and Contemporary times, including the charming world of Medals, with more than 600.000 objects, talents and obeloi, coins and weights, golden and lead seals. Staffed by trained experts (numismatists, archaeologists and conservators) the museum is a living science producing organization, while the very rich material and scientific publications have made it a meeting point for the international numismatic and sigillographic research.

Apart from one of the world's largest collections of Ancient coins, the Numismatic Museum possesses an important quantity, approximately ten thousand speciments, of miniature coin-like objects made from various materials, found in excavations in Greece, or inherited by private collectors in the course of time. These tokens are mainly categorized according to their material composition in separate groups, those made of lead, of bronze, of clay, and any other materials. Although initially attributed to various city-states of the Greek world, most of these objects are now believed to originate from Attica.

Parts of this material were published in separate articles made in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by the founding figures in Greek numismatics, A.Postolakas and I.Svoronos. Later contributions include publications made in recent years by P.N.Protonotarios and E.Ralli. A certain quantity of our tokens are inscribed. The meticulous study of these samples by Svoronos has thrown light in their use in various sectors of the public life, as for example the function and spatial organization of the Theater of Dionysus in Athens (theorika), particularly in the period spanning from the late 4th to the late 3rd centuries B.C. Other possible uses could be connected with officials of the city, grain distribution (sitonika), or other commercial, political, religious and judicial procedures.

The vast majority, however, bearing only iconographical types and symbols, similar to those found on ancient coins. Their great variety includes gods, heroes, humans, animals and mythical creatures, plants, and a wide range of everyday objects. The precise nature and actual use of these objects remains a subject of debate for modern scholars.

In our presentation, we will attempt to present to the interested public a selection of the various types of tokens stored in our Museum, in an effort to demonstrate both the wealth of our collection, and the need for further study of the available material.

Tokens inside and outside the excavation context: seeking the origin. Examples of clay tokens from the collections of the Athens Numismatic Museum. - Stamatoula Makrypodi (Athens Numismatic Museum)

Tokens, as many other small ancient artifacts, have often constituted objects of collections. Nowadays, we can find several of them in museums and private collections. As it is known, the ancient artifacts which were removed from their context are of value only as works of art, because the data that can provide us with an overall picture of their role in ancient society are lost. Therefore, they cannot prove to be useful, when we endeavor our "reconstruction" of history, which is the main purpose of the archaeological science.

For those of us who have been field archaeologists, it is a highly sensitive issue. The question that always comes to mind is: Where does it come from? How easy is it to identify the origin of tokens? With what methods can this research be achieved? How can it contribute to the scientific research concerning the role and the significance of these ancient artifacts?

We will attempt to provide answers to these questions, through examples of clay tokens from the Athens Numismatic Museum Collections.

Session 5: Tokens within the Landscape: Interpreting Archaeological Context

A hoard of tokens in the Agora: advertising prestige and exclusive civic identity in Roman Athens - Mairi Gkikaki (Warwick) and Brian Martens (Oxford)

The functions and the meanings of tokens in Roman-period Athens remain insufficiently understood. The paucity of contemporary literary sources and the frequent lack of archaeological contexts are especially problematic, and in this respect, it has been difficult to establish a refined chronology that could better situate the roles of individual issues of tokens against the historical backdrop of the ancient city. At the Athenian Agora, excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies have brought to light a substantial number of tokens in the debris of the Herulian sack, thereby establishing a terminus ante quem of AD 267 for these examples. In particular, an impressive group of 96 tokens discovered in the destruction debris of a luxurious house on the Kolonos Agoraios and in its associated cistern deserves further attention. Though preliminarily published in the excavation series, much remains to be said about the functions of these tokens and the intentions of the individuals who possessed and used them. In this paper, the authors contextualize the assemblage alongside the architectural and sculptural remains of the residence. This interdisciplinary approach reveals an urban elite that participated

actively in the civic and domestic religious activities of second- and third-century AD Athens.

A terracotta token in context: a fortunate and recorded discovery from the necropolis of Tindari (Messina, 1896). - Antonino Crisà (Warwick)

Current research, performed at regional and state archives in Rome and Palermo, has revealed vital data on the history of Sicilian archaeology after the Italian Unification (1861). Sicily was benefitting of a quite efficient archaeological safeguarding system, already tested and perfected by the Bourbon authorities. After the Unification, Palermo became a nerve centre for protecting antiquities. Antonino Salinas (1841-1914), Director of the Palermo Museum, played a leading role in exploring unknown sites, acquiring finds and digging.

Among his long-standing research activity in the Messina province, excavations at Tindari's necropolis (1896) represent a crucial event in the history of Sicilian archaeology. Salinas performed extensive explorations in the lands of Baron Domenico Sciacca della Scala (1846-1900), a powerful local landowner and politician in Rome, discovering massive Roman *columbaria* and other monumental graves. Finds were substantial and included lead and glass urns, pottery, gold jewellery, coins and a terracotta token, which has been neglected by scholars until now.

The scope of my paper is to provide a focused analysis of this unpublished token, whose iconographies show intriguing connections with numismatics and cults of the ancient *Tyndaris*. Lastly, fresh and newly-found archival documentation help us understand the discovery context, the function and use of tokens at Tindari, revealing essential information on local communities, religion and civic life in the Hellenistic and Roman Sicily.

The Holme Cultram Abbey series and English tokens 1200-1530. - Kate Rennicks (University of Bristol)

English medieval tokens have been rarely studied since Mitchiner and Skinner's seminal work in the 1980s. In 2015 a collection of over 40 were recovered from the vicinity of the chapter house at the Cistercian abbey of Holme Cultram Abbey in West Cumbria. This cache is the largest single, excavated collection to be recovered from one place in in the recent past. The collection is unusual in decoration and it's volume and position allows study of tokens in a way that is often difficult with this type of artefact. The resulting research has revealed as yet unexamined tokens in excavations from East Anglia, Gloucester, the Welsh Marches, Yorkshire and most recently in Cumbria, close to the Scottish border.

This paper will challenge assumptions of previous researchers on the geographical bias in the distribution of medieval tokens and consider the insights that can be discerned from finds made over the last 30 years. Following review of previously unknown tokens from a number of other monastic sites including the abbeys of

Rievaulx and Fountains, it will also go on to propose a particularly Cistercian use-case for tokens and explore the role of tokens within a 'Cistercian Economy'. Using charter evidence, analysis of landholdings, and comparison with other English medieval tokens, suggestions are made for the meaning and potential use of tokens within medieval society.

Session 6: Tokens and their creators: authority and community

How royal tokens constituted an art medium which strengthened the monarchical system of the 17th century. - Sabrina Valin (Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense)

We often consider royal tokens as items that were used for playing or counting. Actually, in the 17th century, they were used to commemorate Louis XIII and the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV glorious events. These "little medals" were given to Louis XIII and Louis XIV for the gifts in a purse of a hundred tokens. The name "little medals" comes from Affry de la Monnoye in 19th century. They are closer to medals than money because of their commemorative function. Still, they have an economic value but they could not be used to buy goods.

These tokens contributed to strengthen the link between the king and his subjects. For them, these items are a retribution and a communication tool. In 1604, Sully created a token that he gave to Henri IV. It represents pomegranate with its grains and symbolizes the harmony between the king and his subjects. Nobody else but the king and his treasurer were able to understand the meaning of this picture. This relationship is based on the "aristocratic language" of that motto, according to Alain Boureau. This situation persists under the reign of Louis XIII and Louis XIV. An organization of men of letters, designers, worked for the king before *la Petite Académie* created by Colbert in 1663.

Only the material value and the artistic quality of these tokens were perceived by the population who received this gift from the king. They were thrown during royal ceremonies like coronations, weddings, and so on.

These thoughts implies various interrogations: Who was the patron of these tokens ? Who gave these items to Louis XIII and Louis XIV ? How royal tokens constituted a reward for the officer who gave these little medals to the king and conversely ?

Seventeenth Century Tokens and their Issuers: Placing Tokens in their Social and Economic Context. - Laura Burnett (Portable Antiquities Scheme, Somerset)

Seventeenth-century trade tokens issued in the British Isles between 1648 and 1679 seem deceptively easy to 'understand'. Miniature documents, they are an archaeologist's dream. They tell us who issued them, when, where and, sometimes,

the intentions behind issuing: 'FOR CHANGE AND CHARITIE' for example, on a Tamworth token. Much cataloguing has been done, with an almost comprehensive work appearing as early as 1858, and many detailed county studies since. More recently, more reflexive and scholarly investigations have started, of method of production (Thompson 1989), and of the distances over which they were used (unpublished paper given by this proposer at the Portable Antiquities Scheme conference 2012). However, while people have looked at individual issuers' biographies in detail, there has been little work on placing them in context. For example, we know many were prominent in their local community, as mayors, aldermen etc., but was this true of most in their professions? Or, does the trust they were asking of the public in accepting their tokens reveal people more trusted in their communities, more in the public eye or in public service? Similarly, while it is established that certain professions have more token issuers, how does this correlate to the commonness of the profession? Are innkeepers, for example, well represented because there were lots of them, or because their business had a higher need for tokens, or because they were the most prominent business in many small communities?

This paper will provide several case studies which use distribution data and contemporary historical documents, mostly tax returns, to allow us to consider some of these questions. In doing so it will advance discussion of why certain individuals are issuers and not others, providing broader insights into the choices people make about issuing, or not issuing, tokens in all periods.

Casting Communities. The tokens and moulds from ancient Rome. - Clare Rowan (Warwick)

Amongst the objects brought to light during the nineteenth century renovation works along the banks of the Tiber were several thousand lead tokens, traditionally identified as *tesserae*. Although listed in Rostovtzeff's larger corpus, *Tesserarum Urbis Romae et Suburbi Plumbearum Sylloge* (1902), these objects have featured rarely in scholarly discussion since, although scattered additional archaeological finds of tokens and token moulds continue to surface in the city and its surrounds.

Since little archaeological information survives, our interpretation of these objects is largely based on their design. In this paper I take the designs of tokens as a starting point to explore the types of groups who created tokens in the city of Rome and their role in communal celebrations and festivals.

Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor and the World of Ephesian Tesserae. - Christina Kuhn (Oxford)

While the provincial coinage of the cities of Roman Asia Minor has attracted much scholarly interest in recent years and has been well documented through the efforts of the Roman Provincial Coinage Project, only few scholars have paid attention to tesserae found in Asia Minor as a valuable subject for systematic investigation.

Against this background, the recently published catalogue of lead tesserae from Ephesos has come as an unexpected but most welcome surprise: O. Gülbay and H. Kireç, Efes Kurşun Tesseraelari (Selçuk Belediyesi 2008). It provides a useful starting - point for future discussions of this fascinating material from the Roman East.

The purpose of the paper is to set the Ephesian tesserae presented in the catalogue into their wider political, social and cultural contexts by analysing them alongside the extant epigraphic and numismatic evidence from the city. The paper will investigate the material from a socio - political and cultural perspective, focussing on what the tesserae reveal about Ephesian communal identity, the possibilities and limits of civic participation and the strategies and mechanisms of civic euergetism and elite self-representation. It will be shown that the Ephesian tesserae offer insight into a world in which the emperor is virtually absent, in which the formation of sub-communities and participatory limitations become visible and in which euergetism can be observed 'in practice'.

Thus the tesserae offer glimpses into various aspects of local civic life which have only little prominence in the archaeological and epigraphic evidence (see also C.T. Kuhn, Prosopographical Notes on Four Lead Tesserae from Roman Ephesos, *ZPE* 190 (2014) 137-140).

Session 7: Tokens, Authority and Government

Plenary Lecture: *The Invention of Tokens.* - Denise Schmandt-Besserat (Texas)

Starting about 7500 BC, clay tokens were used as counters in the prehistoric Near East to compute and record quantities of goods. The analysis of the timing of the appearance of tokens, their geographical extension and duration, shows that the counters coincided with the spread of farming and of cereals cultivation. The context and meaning of tokens further suggest that the new technology for counting was created to manage communal food reserves accumulated by the sedentary farming communities to survive over the winter months.

Owls Depicted on Lead Tokens/Symbola: A General Approach. - Efterpi Ralli (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports)

The illustration of owls became very popular throughout the ancient Greek world. Depictions of owls exist on every kind of ancient artifact such as vases, figurines, coins, etc. As the main symbol of the goddess Athena, the owl was firmly connected with the city-state of Athens and most of all with its coinage from the 5th century B.C to the 1st century A.D.

The depiction of owl could not be absent from the iconography of ancient tokens. Standing right or left with head facing frontal, on a piece of wheat, a branch or on an

amphora, with closed or spread wings, plain or within a wreath and sometimes double-bodied, the owl seemed to a constant presence, a very familiar subject to the users of the tokens. That is because behind the symbolism of the representation lies the message to the users, from the state, the official, or the individual who was responsible for issuing the tokens. The choice of the owl to decorate one or both sides of tokens is connected with the Athenian state or with free distributions from the state to its citizens. Within this general approach, we shall try to explore whether these owls are Attic or designated as connected to the particular bodies of Athenian democracy: the "theorikon", the "ecclesiastikon", the "dikastikon", the "bouleutikon" or the "sitonikon". In other words, we shall try to explore whether the lead tokens depicted with owls were used for a specific function within the complex and well organised Athenian system.

The armour tokens from the Athenian Agora. - Martin Schäfer (Archaeological Society, Athens)

A group of tokens from the Hellenistic period, more precisely from the middle of the 3rd century B.C., found on the Athenian Agora, depicts single pieces of armour, namely helmet, corslet, greave and shield on the obverse, and a letter on the reverse. In one case the goddess of victory, Nike, is depicted instead of armour. Found in a well on the ancient Agora in 1971, the civic and administrative centre of the city-state of Athens, these tokens are related by scholars to the provision of military equipment, which was in the possession of the state, for some citizen soldiers, who unlike others, could not afford such equipment themselves. According to J.H. Kroll, the tokens were issued to such citizens, so that they could exchange them for armour. This was important in order to maintain a certain level of equipment for the soldiers and to guarantee the operability of the troops. Therefore, these small objects together with lead tablets belonging to a cavalry archive, are the visible expression of an elaborate system of military organization, which the Athenian state maintained during the Hellenistic period.

A closer study of the iconography of these tokens, along with similar pieces in the Numismatic Museum at Athens, published only briefly in 1868 by A. Postolakas, and other published and unpublished finds from the Agora excavations, is intended to provide more detailed information on the significance of the depicted symbols and on their relation to a particular branch of service.

Session 8: Tokens and cognition

How a (material) token becomes a (conceptual) one: insight from numbers in the ancient Near East. - Karenleigh A. Overmann (University of Oxford)

Even the dullest oaf can be made to understand that specie is not money, but a form of money. Money, then, whatever its real nature, reveals itself to us through form.
~ Henry Miller, Money and How It Gets That Way, 1938

In answering the questions what makes money what it is and how does money get to be the way it is, novelist Henry Miller focused on the psychological entrapment of loving money, the so-called root of all evil and the dreary treadmill of hedonic pursuit. He also distinguished the concept money from the various material forms it could assume: coin, banknote, bottom line. Yet, he never really considered how a particular material form—a token—might become a concept in the first place, or how a concept might come to encompass multiple material forms so that it included but was bigger still than all of them together. Drawing on the record of material counting technologies used in Mesopotamia and the Material Engagement Theory of cognitive archaeologist Lambros Malafouris, the similar journey of how material number gets to be conceptual number is traced: Why a concept like number depends on the material forms that enable its content to be grasped becomes explicable when the human mind is reconceptualized to include not just brain but behaviors and materiality, a construct known as the extended mind. The effect of incorporating new material forms on the conceptual properties of number is illuminated through their affordances, the capabilities and constraints they provide as the material component of the extended mind. Finally, how the concept remains dependent on material forms for the tangibility that enables it to be literally grasped and manipulated, while becoming independent of any particular material form, yields the "abstractness" that makes number number and money money.

Healing and Harming: the Token in early modern England. - Annie Thwaite (University of Cambridge)

In early modern England, the word 'token' was commonly used in medicine. Medical records show that 'token' was often written a as a signifier for a particular type of disease, such as a spot on the body indicating the plague. However, this word was not only used in a figurative sense. Indeed in the casebooks of seventeenth century practitioners Simon Forman and Richard Napier, the word 'token' recurs several times in reference to a physical object offered contractually between patient and practitioner. [For instance: Case 10668, 5 May 1600, 'Mrs Ellen Neale sent me a letter & a token & signifyed that shee was never a whit the better.']

In this era, between roughly 1500-1750, the connections between signs and things and between words and materials were potent, and potentially fraught with danger. Objects had constant and ubiquitous roles in quotidian society, and often played a part in medical contracts such as these. Yet in this world ruled by tempestuous religious changes and the interrogation of superstition and idolatry, and in which the limits of the natural, supernatural and preternatural worlds were continually debated by theologians and natural philosophers, how was it possible to differentiate between a token used in an 'accepted' contract, and one that signified an implicit or explicit pact with the devil?

What methods might historians employ in order to understand and examine the meaning and potency of early modern tokens, both figuratively and materially? Using specific contemporaneous examples, this paper will explore the significance of the

'token' in early modern material culture, specifically in relation to two antithetical facts - of curing and healing, and of potentially vexatious actions.