

Roman Lead Tesserae and Seals from the Tom Vossen Collection

Gert Boersema & Bill Dalzell



Copyright © 2021 Gert Boersema, Hasselt, Netherlands.

Authors: Gert Boersema and Bill Dalzell.

Printed in the Netherlands by Habo DaCosta.

Typeset and cover design by Scriptura.

This publication uses the font Athena Ruby, courtesy Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C., USA.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

ISBN: 9789090347981

Roman Lead Tesseræ and Seals from the Tom Vossen Collection

Gert Boersema & Bill Dalzell

INTRODUCTION

Tesserae

The collection of lead tesserae acquired by Tom Vossen is one of the singular most important groups to be assembled in recent memory. Only two other notable collections have appeared on the market in the past fifty years: a collection of 407 pieces in lead and bronze from an anonymous collector, sold en bloc in Triton VIII, lot 2061 and 2124,¹ and the collection of Thomas O. Mabbot, sold primarily en bloc by Hans M.F. Schulman.² Occasionally, aesthetically pleasing examples appear in public auctions, but clearly, these little leads, while intellectually fascinating, do not carry the same numismatic cachet that more attractive bronze, silver, or gold coins do.

To begin to understand the dizzying variety available to the collector of tesserae, one need only look at the word itself. The Latin *tessera* is roughly analogous to the English word “token”. In English, one may have a token of friendship, an object bearing greater symbolic meaning. In computer science, access tokens bear security credentials and user identification information. In commerce and trade, tokens are used to control access to particular areas, such as parking facilities or toll roads, while token coinage, both private and official, has at times been used to facilitate trade in the absence of a standard currency.

Ancient Rome saw similar uses for *tesserae*. In the Roman world, a host and his guest might exchange *tesserae hospitales*, symbolic objects illustrating the bond of *hospitium*.³ Soldiers would be familiar *tesserae militares*, secret passwords used in military operations to distinguish friend from foe. Artisans would arrange glass or stone *tesserae* into mosaics and gamblers would throw *tesserae lusoriae* in games of chance. Bags of coins would be sealed with *tesserae nummulariae* and public grain distributions managed through exchange of *tesserae frumentariae*.⁴

Adding to this confusion, numismatists since the 18th century have been applying the

¹ 26 bronzes appeared in Triton VIII (10 January 2005), lot 2061, while 381 Roman and Byzantine tesserae and seals appeared in Triton VIII (10 January 2005), lot 2241. The lead tokens were purchased by Wayne Sayles and offered on vCoins from 2015 to about 2018.

² The bulk offered by Hans M.F. Schulman in Part I (6 July 1969), p. 149, with scattered Egyptian pieces in the same sale and some additional Roman tokens in Part II (27 October 1969). Mabbot acquired his specimens from 1925 to about 1960 and purchased the complete collections of Alcott, Feuadant, Rostowzew, and Webb. Mabbott’s notes were included in the lot, but have not been traced. The Triton VIII group may in fact be a portion of this collection.

³ Kotansky (1979) 2-6.

⁴ Van Berchem (1936) 299.

term to a series of coin-like objects known in lead and bronze.⁵ Several ancient texts can be interpreted as relating to these objects, including passages from Seutonius, Juvenal, and, most importantly, Martial.⁶ The allusions in these texts are uniformly vague. Though Martial in particular mentions *centum plumbeos* and *plumbea selibra*, none of the contemporary sources clearly and incontrovertibly demonstrate that objects of the type present in this collection should be necessarily referred to as “tesserae”.

The confusion regarding tesserae has only been compounding by the haphazard way in which the term is applied. In excavation publications, collections, and sales, any metal object not immediately identifiable as a coin is frequently termed a tessera, leading to a lamentable jumble of ancient objects all masquerading under the same banner. To separate the wheat from the chaff, one must first define the tesserae as a series. To begin, the ivory *tesserae hospitales* must be separated out, as their dramatically different form and well-documented use clearly sets them aside from the lead and bronze pieces. Likewise, the multitude of lead seals of the late Roman and Byzantine eras must be considered a different area of study. A seal has a closer tie to the individual than a tessera does, functioning in the ancient world roughly as a signature would today. In all cases, the pieces would retain evidence of being appended to an object in some way, usually by means of a thread passing through a central channel, though other methods are known. Next, various small *objets d'art* must be isolated, like amulets and other hand-carved coin-like pieces. The former can be identified by their iconography or by indications of a decorative function, like loops for suspension, whereas Thornton categorizes the latter through unusual subject matter, fine workmanship, and possible aberrant shape.⁷

At the highest level, the massive body of ancient lead tokens can be broken down geographically. In Spain, two or three groups can be identified. The earliest of these likely appeared in the 1st century BC and consists of large lead tokens, measuring about 40mm in diameter. This group is possibly related to a number of smaller pieces found in both Spain and Italy and dating to a slightly later period around the early 1st century AD. This region was also host to a small number of tokens from approximately the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, seemingly issued by private individuals with some relation to the olive oil trade.⁸ The earlier pieces from Spain are mostly bifacial, while many of the later types are uniface.

⁵ Eckhel (1792) 314-325; Ficoroni (1740).

⁶ See Thornton (1980) 349-353 for a discussion of the relevant ancient texts.

⁷ Thornton (1976) 65.

⁸ Mora-Serrano (2004).

Gaul was host to three separate occurrences of lead tesserae. The first is isolated to the city of Lugdunum and its immediate environs. These pieces are thematically similar to those from Rome, bearing depictions of various objects and deities, but are most often seen with two or three letters between horizontal palm fronds. This group is uniformly uniface and small, measuring about 10-12mm. Other extremely rare tokens are known for various cities in northeastern Gaul, including Alesia, Ambianum, Ricciacus, and others. Measuring between 18 and 26 mm, these pieces bear on the obverse one or two deities, generally Fortuna and Mercury, and the name of the city on the reverse. A third group of pieces are known from finds at Fos-Sur-Mer (see catalogue no. 28).

As would be expected, the largest body of tesserae is found in the city of Rome and its suburbs, notably Ostia. The earliest tokens date to the Julio-Claudian period, with the series seemingly continuing sometime into the 3rd century AD. Individual examples are known to measure up to 30 mm in diameter, though the vast majority settle between 12 and 18mm. Unlike tesserae from almost any other region, the pieces found at Rome are cast, rather than struck. The types routinely feature a deity on the obverse and a second deity, an inanimate object, animal, or series of letters on the reverse. Mercury and Fortuna are by far the most common figures,⁹ though Hercules, Apollo, Venus, Genius, and the Three Graces are also found in large numbers. Scarcer figures include Cybele, Silvanus, and the Egyptian deities Isis and Harpocrates. A handful of types also bear the names or portraits of members of the imperial family, ranging from Livia to Antoninus Pius.¹⁰ Nero is by far the most commonly depicted emperor.¹¹

Athens is the scene of what is likely the earliest appearance of lead tokens. Pieces from as early as the Hellenistic era are known, with scattered occurrences until the Roman period. There is no clear typology for the early types, but the late pieces of the 2nd-3rd century AD appear to be generally distinguished from the earlier pieces by a thinner fabric and the presence of a beaded border around the edge. None have been noted in trade and none are present in this collection. Zeus, Serapis, Athena, and Herakles are common themes on these generally uniface pieces. One exceptional type bearing the legend ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥ/ΜΕΝΗ and three theater masks is undoubtedly somehow related to the play *Theophoroumene* by Menander.¹² Athenian tokens clearly served a wide variety of purposes, with many showing a particular connection to the political life of the *polis*. Others were clearly connected with festivals or religious offices.¹³

⁹ Rostowzew (1903) 414-416.

¹⁰ But cf. Rostowzew (1903), no. 74, a piece of Carinus, but the fabric and bilingual legends separate this from the main issues of tesserae at Rome.

¹¹ Rostowzew (1903), nos. 12-34

¹² Lang/Crosby (1964) no. L329a-f.

¹³ Gkikaki (2019); Gkikaki (2020).

Lead tokens are also known for Asia Minor. Many are likely attributable to Ephesus or nearby settlements – an important corpus of 269 tesserae from the region of Ephesus was published by Gülbay and Kireç.¹⁴ About fourteen identifiable pieces of lead were found in the Sardis excavations. Some of them appear to belong to the 1st-3rd century AD.¹⁵

The Roman province of Egypt features a wealth of lead tokens. These issues are complex, but exceptionally well documented by Milne.¹⁶ He describes the classes as such: small dumpy pieces of 10-15mm, found near Akhmim; neat engraving on broad, spread flans of 15-30mm, found in Middle Egypt; similar sized pieces, but of a thicker fabric, from the Fayum area; and rough cast pieces, possibly attributable to the Delta. These groups are all bifacial, featuring a myriad of deities. Milne's first class could be considered more Greek in style and theme, but all classes utilize some local types, generally reminiscent of, but not directly copied from the official issues of Alexandria. A further class is not described, but known from pieces illustrated in Dattari,¹⁷ all uniface struck pieces of 10-15mm. Some are attributable by find spot and type to various cities, but none are known for Alexandria, which was likely already well-supplied with coinage. The Middle Egyptian and Fayum classes appear to be the most common, although this may be a result of the tremendously productive nature of the sites in these regions. New research into the tokens depicting Antinous ties them to the cult of Antinous and provides a tighter chronology for the dated specimens in the early part of the reign of Antoninus Pius.¹⁸

The identity of the issuing authority for many of the aforementioned areas is uncertain. In general, only pieces from Rome and Ephesus name any sort of officials. At Rome, *curatores* and *procuratores*, as well as various institutions – *iuvenes*, *soldales*, and some bath houses – all signed tesserae. Beyond these, many individual names can be reconstructed, albeit without any titles or positions noted, though the majority of pieces either bear undeciphered initials or are completely anonymous. The same holds true for the issues of Lugdunum. Considering the number and type of individuals named, we can assume that the majority of Roman pieces were privately issued.

In Ephesus/Asia Minor, tesserae were signed by the *boularches*, the president of the city council (*boule*), by the *grammateus boules*, the secretary of the council, and by the *agoranomos*, the master of trade. Some pieces also mention the *gerousia*, the council of

¹⁴ Gülbay/ Kireç (2008).

¹⁵ Buttrey c.s. (1981).

¹⁶ Milne (1930) 300–316, in particular. See bibliography for additional studies.

¹⁷ Dattari (1999). See particularly nos. 11979-12200.

¹⁸ Wilding (2019).

elders.¹⁹ A further piece citing a *boularches* is known for Athens.²⁰ In addition to these is a body of anonymous pieces. This evidence indicates that the tokens in this area were at least periodically issued under the auspices of a local magistrate, suggesting some form of official function or sanction.

Likewise, tesserae from northeastern Gaul and Egypt routinely bear the names of cities. In Gaul, the settlements of Lingones, Alesia, Mediolanum, Pertenes, Nasienses, Ansenses, Ambianum, Ricciacus, and Treveri are named on tesserae.²¹ Egyptian tokens bear the names of Arsinoite, Athribis, Leontopolis, Memphis, and Oxyrhynchus.²² Those tesserae from Egypt that do not bear a city name frequently bear types significant to a particular location. The naming of these cities on tesserae suggests that, in these regions, tesserae were issued by civic officials for local use.

Now that we have established what the tesserae are, where they come from, and who made them, we are left with only the thorniest of problems: why were they made? The first to carefully consider the tesserae and their purpose was Michael Ivanovich Rostowzew, also spelled Rostovtseff, a Russian classicist and the last of the great 19th century scholars. Initially teaching Latin at the University of St. Petersburg, he fled Russia in 1918 following the Bolshevik Revolution, and emigrated to the United States. He later taught for several years at the University of Wisconsin, before eventually settling down at Yale. His traumatic experience during the Revolution greatly colored his later works, particularly his monumental *Economic and Social History of the Roman Empire*, for which he is perhaps most famous. It was in his earliest works that Rostowzew examined Roman lead tesserae. His interpretation of the series is presented in two foundational texts, a series of studies initially published in *Revue numismatique* and gathered in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale, and the seminal *Römische Bleitesserae*.²³ For him, every tessera had its own unique purpose. Pieces depicting grain ears and modii were for grain distributions, those with race horses or exotic animals for entry to the games, other types were for regulatory or currency use by various private institutions, though this latter function received little attention. Overall, he argued that the majority of Roman tesserae were official in nature.

¹⁹ See for *grammateus boules*: Gülbay/ Kireç (2008) 24, 69, 100, 226 and our catalogue nos. 34, 42; *boularches*: our catalogue 45; *agoranomos*: Gülbay/Kireç (2008) 234 and our catalogue 64; the *gerousia*: Gülbay/ Kireç (2008) 38, 257 and our catalogue nos. 39, 94. See Kuhn (2014) for additional personal names.

²⁰ Dattari (1901) nos. 6557–6564.

²¹ Le Gall (1974) 45–53. For Ricciacum: Weiller (1994) 19–23.

²² Milne (1927) 125. For Leontopolis, see Dauwe (2008) 14–17 and Elsen 87 (11 March 2006), lot 1764.

²³ Rostowzew/Prou (1900) and Rostowzew (1905b). Rostowzew's monumental corpus of Roman tesserae (1905a) remains the primary reference even today.

Denise van Berchem re-examined the series thirty years later.²⁴ Her conclusions differed dramatically from Rostowzew's. She determined that, rather than entrance or redemption tickets, the majority of tesseræ were solely used as *calculi*, pieces or counters used in the board game *duodecim scripta* and as reckoning counters on the counting board. This theory is revisited by Catherine Virlouvet in her eminent examination of the procedure of grain distribution in ancient Rome.²⁵ Virlouvet argues that, despite the fact that many types appear to bear some relation to the donatives, the actual practice of distributing grain did not involve lead redemption tickets as described by Rostowzew.

Mary Thornton, however, seized upon a different aspect of Rostowzew's theory. She focused on the possibility that lead tesseræ could have functioned as a substitute or necessity coinage, placing the majority of issues during the lull in striking of bronze coinage in the reign of Nero.²⁶ Though perhaps the timeframe she suggests is too small, her work is in line with that done by Milne on the lead tokens of Egypt.²⁷ Turcan also considers a possible monetary function for at least some of the tesseræ, though he maintains that they could also have served other purposes.²⁸

Mechtild Overbeck has undertaken publication of several collections of tesseræ – notably Milan and Munich.²⁹ In her introduction to the Munich collection, she clearly outlines the aforementioned studies, providing a general layout of the state of knowledge on these tokens. While she declines to suggest a definitive interpretation of the role of tesseræ in Roman social or economic life, she does acknowledge the many problems that must be addressed before coming to such a conclusion.

The past several years have seen a flurry of research into ancient lead tokens. In 2017, the European Research Council awarded a grant for the *Token Communities in the Ancient Mediterranean* project. This project has led to multiple conferences, each notable for the interdisciplinary nature of their participants and the cross-Mediterranean connections they draw.³⁰ Scholars are also working to publish the many tokens held in museums.³¹ Most current researchers remain open-minded about the ultimate function of these tokens, with some examining their relation to the many religious festivals of the ancient world and others considering their possible monetary context.³²

²⁴ Van Berchem (1936).

²⁵ Virlouvet (1995). See also Virlouvet (1988).

²⁶ Thornton (1980) 335–355. Her theory was first tentatively proposed in Thornton (1976).

²⁷ Particularly Milne (1930), though see our bibliography for further studies.

²⁸ Turcan (1987).

²⁹ Overbeck (1995 and 2001).

³⁰ Crisà et al (2019); Kroll et al (2019); Crisà (Forthcoming 2021).

³¹ Arzone & Marinello (2019); Rowan (2021).

³² Dalzell (2020).

Seals

Contrary to a tessera, a seal did not serve a purpose by itself. Its basic function was to secure the thing it was sealing and therefore it was always applied to something else. Some seals might have actually protected against theft, but the majority would have been used primarily to certify that the sealed object had remained whole and untampered with.³³ On lead seals (sometimes called “sealings”), traces of the method that put the seal in place are usually discernable, most notably the “string-hole” or channel through which a thread ran, securing the contents. Even if their legends and designs never tell us anything about the type of object they were attached to, there is a wide consensus that the Romans applied lead seals to goods – probably crates and sacks rather than bales.³⁴ At the same time, other sealing methods were at their disposal for different objects: wax and seal boxes were used to secure diplomata and writing tablets, while papyrus was sealed with terracotta *bullae*.

In its initial period, the study and publication of Roman seals and tesserae ran parallel. Ficoroni devoted the first part of his monumental 18th century work *I Piombi Antichi* to lead seals from Roman and Byzantine times, and reserved the second part for tesserae.³⁵ Michael Rostowzew can be regarded as the founding father of modern scholarship of both tesserae and seals. He examined both in his catalogue of “plombs” in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris in 1900, in collaboration with Maurice Prou.³⁶ Rostowzew’s basic classification of the material (public, civic, military and private) has proven itself to be useful and is still being applied by scholars in one form or another. A few years later, in 1905, another major addition to the corpus of Roman seals was published with Paul Dissard’s catalogue of the collection Récamier, containing some 2000 lead objects, mostly Roman seals.³⁷

Perhaps because most seals are poorly preserved or maybe because their minimal designs yield only a small amount of information, Roman seals did not receive much attention after these major contributions from the beginning of the 20th century. In the last decades however, there have been some important publications of seals in connection to their find spots in Britain, Romania, Hungary, Lyon, Trier and Carnuntum.³⁸ A comprehensive

³³ Still (1995b) p. 408. Kritzinger (2012) p. 197.

³⁴ Leukel (1991) p. 10; Still (1995a); Still (1995b) p. 406. Weiss (2006) 233; Kritzinger (2012). Weiss (2013) p. 685.

³⁵ Ficoroni (1740).

³⁶ Rostowzew/Prou (1900).

³⁷ Dissard (1905).

³⁸ Britain: Collingwood and Wright (1990); Romania: Culică (1975-1979); Hungary: Toth (1991); Lyon: Turcan (1987); Trier: Cüppers (1974) and Leukel (1991-2002); Carnuntum: Dembski (1975, 1995).

corpus of Roman lead seals does not exist, but an unpublished doctoral thesis by M.C.W. Still offers a systematic overview of some 1800 examples.³⁹

The Romans used several different methods to produce lead seals. Several typologies have been offered over the years, but no system has been universally adopted.⁴⁰ A very crude and early type of seal dated to the 1st century was found in Velsen, the Netherlands. These tiny seals were made by pushing a thread into a droplet of molten but solidifying lead. Only a small number of them show impressions.⁴¹ Most uniface Roman seals must have been produced using similar methods, either by applying the hot metal onto the thread or a knot⁴² or by pushing the thread into the metal. During the sealing process or shortly afterwards, an impression was made using a die. Several uniface seals show an imprint of textile or wood on the reverse, indicating that they were directly attached to the goods they were sealing.⁴³

Double-sided seals were used alongside uniface seals. Several types exist, indicating different methods of production: freely applied dies, hinged matrices and, starting in the 2nd century, we see evidence of the use of a *boulloterion*, a tool resembling a pair of pliers, with two dies engraved on the inside. After careful placement of a blank, it was hammered to simultaneously fasten the seal to the thread and produce impressions on the surfaces. A considerable advantage must have been that a *boulloterion* did not require molten lead.

Rostowzew already introduced the basic distinction between public and private seals more than a century ago, on the basis of their inscriptions and types. The most evident “official” issues are the seals bearing the portraits and names of emperors. Typically, these would not have been issued by the emperor himself, but by officials acting on his behalf. The seal of Septimius Severus in our catalogue (no. 122) likely names such an official: Tib(erius). Sometimes these imperial seals have legends relating to the account (*ratio*) of the emperor, or to a kind of tax.⁴⁴ Next to these, some seals mention officials or state institutions,⁴⁵ while another group refers to the military.⁴⁶ Still others mention various toponyms of provinces⁴⁷ and cities.⁴⁸

³⁹ Still (1995a).

⁴⁰ Rostowzew/Prou (1900) p. 7-8; Leukel (1991) 14-23; Still (1995a) p. 35-53.

⁴¹ Vons (1980). The sealing method was reproduced in experiment by the author.

⁴² Cüppers (1974) p. 171; Dembski (1975) p. 51; Vons (1980) p. 46.

⁴³ Leukel (1991) p. 19; Still (1995b) p. 407. See catalogue nos. 210 and 228.

⁴⁴ Turcan (1987) p. 21-23; Collingwood (1990) p. 90, no. 2411.19; Still (1995a) 54-58; Weiss (2006) p. 233-234; Kritzinger (2012) p. 218-219. See catalogue no. 123.

⁴⁵ Still (1995a) p. 72 and Weiss (2006) p. 233.

⁴⁶ Still (1995a) p. 98-117. Collingwood (1990) p. 95-115. Seals mentioning legions and cohorts are mostly provenanced to Britain.

⁴⁷ Still (1995a) p. 91-96.

⁴⁸ Weiss (2013); Kritzinger (2019).

By far the largest group of seals is “private”, which means their legends and designs are lacking any obvious indications that they are connected to the emperor, the state administration or the military. Many of these seals may have belonged to merchants. A seal matrix would have been privately commissioned and this has resulted in an astounding diversity of subject matter. We see a plethora of gods, goddesses and heroes, as well as animals, ships and buildings and even portraits of the seal’s owners, alone or with their families. Already in the 3rd century there appears distinctly Christian iconography on seals.⁴⁹ Lastly, the appearance of grylloi, theater masks and pastoral scenes remind of Roman engraved hardstone gems, another distinctly personal medium. Intaglio engraved gems were used for decorative purposes in pieces of jewelry, but they could also serve as personal seals. The Romans used gems to seal in wax and clay, but some lead seals also show the impressions of gems that were set into the bezels of seal rings.⁵⁰

Lead seals are very likely connected to the Roman customs system. This was already proposed in the past,⁵¹ but recent scholarship has shown that it is no longer tenable to hold that the customs officials themselves routinely removed and applied seals.⁵² Seals are typically found at the place of their destination (notably in ports and centers of administration), not on the sites of customs stations.⁵³ Peter Kritzinger argues that seals served two major functions within the customs system: firstly they would allow – in combination with a shipping manifest – quick identification of ownership. Secondly, they would facilitate customs officials to identify duty-free wares, belonging to the emperor and the army and exempt from taxes.⁵⁴ This explains why the “account” of the emperor and some specific taxes are mentioned on seals.

There is a particularly interesting group of seals mentioning the names of cities located in Asia Minor. Until now, 15 cities were known, but our catalogue adds the otherwise unattested city of Mastaura to the group.⁵⁵ These seals are mostly provenanced to the lower Danube region, but some are found even further west.⁵⁶ They form a largely homogeneous group, showing the ethnics in similar square designs and with similar palaeography dating them to late antiquity. Their uniformity is indicative of a centralized and state-wide organization of their production. Peter Weiss proposed that this group of

⁴⁹ Asamer and Winter (1999); Spier (2007) 189-191; Boersema (2019); Vida and Kiss (2019).

⁵⁰ Many examples described by Dissard (1905); Cf. Still (1995a) p. 43. See also catalogue no. 124.

⁵¹ De Laet (1949); Dembski (1975) p. 53.

⁵² Kritzinger (2012); Weiss (2013).

⁵³ Still (1995b) 405; Weiss (2006) p. 233.

⁵⁴ Weiss (2006) p. 233; Kritzinger (2012); Kritzinger (2019) p. 304.

⁵⁵ Weiss (2013) p. 685-686: Smyrna, Ephesos, Hypaipa, Magnesia on the Maeander, Antandros, Adramytion, Nysa, Kyme, Klazomenai, Teos, Priene, Tralleis, Briula, Anineta and Koloe.

⁵⁶ Romania: Culică (1975); Britain: Collingwood (1990) p. 95, no. 2411.41; Trier: Leukel (1995) N415 (misread); Leukel (2002) 344. See also our catalogue nos. 170-180.

seals might be connected to the *annona*-system, identifying the cities in Asia Minor as the sources of the supplies – notably grain and produce – for the legions stationed in the Balkan area.⁵⁷ Peter Kritzinger also connects these seals to the supply of the Roman army. He shows that this was ultimately the responsibility of the *praefectus praetorio*.⁵⁸

Both tesserae and seals are complex subjects. They are difficult to photograph and are generally poorly preserved. Often, multiple examples of the same piece must be examined in order to properly interpret the type and legend. Many are poorly published in obscure works, or hidden among any number of different objects that bear the same name. We hope that the publication of the Tom Vossen collection can add to the material corpus and eventually lead to a better understanding of Roman lead seals and tesserae.

⁵⁷ Weiss (2013).

⁵⁸ Kritzinger (2019).

CATALOGUE

The catalogue is divided into two parts describing 121 tesserae and 109 seals. All objects are lead, except no. 27, which is bronze. If no precise dating is possible, centuries will be indicated using Roman numerals. All dates are AD. For each object, diameter and weight are given. In the descriptions of non-round objects more numbers are included: first the measurement left to right, then top to bottom, and finally thickness. Illustrations are actual size. It is not always clear which was the intended obverse and reverse. For this reason, in the descriptions of double-sided tesserae and seals, the sides are given as A and B. The reverses of uniface seals are described more or less according to the terminology of Still (1995a). We hope the reader will be able to judge the shape and fabric in combination with the photos and the dimensions. At the end of each description, earlier editions and provenance to public auctions are indicated by the = symbol. Finally, known parallel examples in earlier publications and public auctions will be signalled after the || symbol.

TESSERAE

Rome

- 1 Ø 19mm, 1.99 gram. AD 41–54
Claudia Octavia (daughter of Claudius)
A: OCTAVIA•AVG•F, draped bust right
B: Patera



The legend identifies the female portrait as Octavia Aug(usti) f(ilia) (“Octavia, daughter of the emperor”). The emperor alluded to must be Claudius, who with his third wife Messalina had a daughter named Claudia Octavia, born 39/40. Our tesseræ must be dated between 41, the year Claudius became emperor and 54, when Nero became emperor. Octavia, being married to Nero, would have been addressed as Augusta during her husband’s reign. A date even in the early 40’s of the first century is not inconceivable as children from the imperial family were regularly portrayed more mature than they actually were. Several tesseræ are known bearing the names and portraits of Julio-Claudians, most of which belong to the reigns of Claudius and Nero, a period that is marked by a decline in style. It should be noted that the largest part of Nero’s known tesseræ may well have been produced in the last years of the reign of Claudius, after his formal adoption in 50 (only 15 of the 57 examples published by Rostowzew have a clear laurel wreath, and only 8 published examples read **NERO AVG(ustus)** and can therefore be securely dated after 54). There is also a tesseræ bearing the name and portrait of Claudius’ son Britannicus that belongs to this period (Rostowzew 11). Rostowzew 33 very likely also depicts Claudia Octavia. It has a female portrait and the legend **OCTAVIA** on the obverse and Victory on the reverse. No further indications are present that would allow us to consider a more precise dating. Lastly, Rostowzew 874 and 875 have the legend **CLAVDIA AVG** and show a female portrait. Although the author prefers to attribute these types to Poppaea, it seems more likely that they belong to Claudia Octavia after her marriage to Nero, or to Claudia Augusta, the infant child of Poppaea who lived for only a couple of months.

- 2 Ø 19mm, 3.23 gram. I/II
 A: Aesculapius standing left, resting serpent-entwined staff on ground
 B: Open hand
 = Gorny & Mosch 156 (5 March 2007), lot 2718 (part) ||
 || Rostowzew 1990; Kircheriano 1053 corr. (Hercules); Rostowzew & Prou 290 corr. (same)



- 3 Ø 17mm, 2.27 gram. I/II
 A: Female figure standing facing, raising hands above head (Diana Lucifera?)
 B: Clasped hands
 || Rostowzew 2150



- 4 Ø 13x16mm, 2.79 gram. I/II
 A: Figure (Diana?) advancing right
 B: Ram (?)



- 5 Ø 16mm, 3.26 gram. I/II
 A: Diana standing right, holding bow and drawing arrow from quiver, hound to lower right
 B: Stag standing right
 || Rostowzew 2102; cf. Munich 356 (same types in finer style); Medas c.s. (1996) 39



- 6 Ø 13mm, 1.39 gram. I/II
 A: Fortuna standing left, resting rudder on ground with right hand, holding cornucopia in left
 B: DP
 || Rostowzew 2307; Kircheriano 808-9; CNG E-341 (17 December 2014), lot 333



Five examples are listed by Rostowzew. Other known examples are all exhibiting the same uneven sides, an indication that they were all cast from the same set of moulds.

- 7 Ø 12mm, 1.32 gram. I/II
As previous



- 8 Ø 11mm, 0.91 gram. I/II
A: Fortuna standing left, resting rudder on ground with right hand, holding cornucopia in left
B: LVG
|| Rostowzew 2343



21 examples of this type were dredged from the Tiber. Rostowzew notes an additional twelve from the Dressel collection, then in Berlin.

- 9 Ø 19mm, 2.42 gram. I/II
A: Fortuna standing left, resting rudder on ground with right hand, holding cornucopia in left
B: Palm branch
|| Rostowzew 2230



- 10 Ø 11mm, 0.91 gram. I/II
A: Fortuna standing left, resting rudder on ground with right hand, holding cornucopia in left
B: Victory advancing left, wings spread, holding wreath in right hand, palm branch in left



Victory is shown with her wings spread, which is a hitherto unattested iconographical variant.

- 11 Ø 16mm, 1.67 gram. I/II
A: Mercury standing left, holding purse and caduceus
B: Fortuna standing left, resting rudder on ground with right hand, holding cornucopia in left
|| Rostowzew 2647.9-11; Kircheriano 239, 242



12 Ø 17mm, 2.47 gram. I/II

A: Mercury standing left, holding purse and caduceus

B: Rooster standing right

|| Rostowzew 2664.1 = Rostowzew & Prou 571; cf. Overbeck, Milan 417-21 (smaller size)



13 Ø 17mm, 2.36 gram. I/II

A: Mercury standing right, holding purse and caduceus

B: Victory flying right (likely holding palm branch in outstretched hand)



14 Ø 15mm, 1.97 gram. I/II

A: Togate male figure standing right, offering sacrifice to Minerva standing left, holding shield and spear

B: Fortuna standing right, resting rudder on ground with left hand, holding cornucopia in right



15 Ø 18mm, 3.70 gram. I/II

A: Neptune standing left, holding dolphin and trident

B: ARMP

|| Rostowzew 2928; Overbeck, Milan 475; Münzzentrum Rheinland 134 (30 Aug-1 Sep 2006), lot 684



16 Ø 11mm, 0.91 gram. I/II

A: Head of Serapis right, wearing calathus

B: Mercury standing left, holding purse and caduceus

|| Rostowzew 3158 = Rostowzew & Prou 645



17 Ø 17mm, 2.83 gram. I/II

Ti(berius) C(laudius), p(rocurator)

A: Two spectators seated right on steps

B: TICP

|| Rostowzew 548 = Rostowzew & Prou 508



- 18** Ø 18mm, 3.97 gram. I/II
 A: P-R (“Populus Romanus”) flanking; male figure standing right, holding Victory in outstretched arm
 B: Two Aurae (?) standing facing, raising hands
 || Rostowzew 1599



In Greco-Roman mythology, the Aurae were goddesses of breezes and daughters of the Winds Boreas, Eurus, Zephyrus, and Notus. The type is virtually unknown in numismatics. Rostowzew records only two types featuring these rare deities, each with only two examples known.

- 19** Ø 14mm, 1.58 gram. I/II
 A: Dolphin right
 B: Shell
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 254
 || Rostowzew 2935.3-24; BM 1519-22; Kircheriano 1585-90, 1592



- 20** Ø 16mm, 4.01 gram. I/II
 A: Elephant standing right
 B: Palm branch
 || Rostowzew 631



- 21** Ø 18mm, 2.01 gram. I/II
 A: C above, N below; uncertain animal (hound?) seated right, holding palm branch in right paw
 B: Phallus
 || Rostowzew 920



- 22** Ø 11mm, 1.45 gram. I/II
 A: Winged caduceus
 B: Firebrand



23 Ø 14mm, 2.41 gram. I/II

Musa

A: Crossed cornucopia, winged caduceus, and trident

B: MVSA around central pellet

|| Emporium Hamburg 67 (10 May 2012), lot 743



24 Ø 24mm, 5.89 gram. I/II

A: Palm and riding whip

B: Wheel of eight spokes

|| Rostowzew 832



25 Ø 13mm, 1.52 gram. I/II

A: Star above crescent

B: L(VB)

|| Rostowzew 3057; Kircheriano 1822-1823



26 Ø 20mm, 3.17 gram. I/II

A: C

B: D



Numerous tesserae exist with combinations of single letters on either side, including C/C and D/D. Undoubtedly many more examples from this typological group remain undiscovered.

Ostia

27 AE Ø 12mm, 1.04 gram. I-III

A: AN|I-T; Horse advancing right

B: Blank

|| Stannard (2017) type 2C, 9 (same dies); Cf. Medas c.s. (1996) 2-6 (for series); cf. Emporium Hamburg 67 (10 May 2012), lot 375 = Gorny & Mosch 181 (13 Oct 2009), lot 2825 (obv. type); Gemini V (6 Jan 2009), lot 844; Künker 124 (16 March 2007), lot 9459 = Schulten & Co (1-3 April 1987), lot 586



This piece belongs to a group of slightly rough, usually uni-face bronze pieces, popularly attributed to Ostia, specimens of which were found at Minturnae.

Gaul

28 Ø 19mm, 4.66 gram. I BC (?)–III

Fossae Marianae

A: CAE|S

B: Blank

|| Sciallano (1987) p. 193-201



Between 1978 and 1979, during dredging for a new marina, a number of nearly identical lead pieces were recovered by metal detectorists at Fos-sur-Mer (Fossae Marianae) in southern France. A total of 78 of these individually recovered tokens were donated to the archaeological museum at Istres. Sciallano assigns them to the period of Julius Caesar's activities in Gaul on the strength of the obverse inscription, suggesting some use in relation to the activities of the port. However, such an early date is a complete outlier, with the tesserae in Rome not appearing in earnest until the Augustan period.

Asia Minor

29 Ø 17mm, 3.67 gram. II-1st half III

A: A|NΔPOKA|O-C; Androklos standing right, holding spear, attacking boar standing left

B: Blank

= Leu Numismatik Web Auction 3 (25 Feb 2018), lot 1247 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 266

|| Gülbay & Kireç 130



The legend is peculiarly placed: A in the lower center field, continuing above NΔPOKA, closing with O in upper center field and C to the right of the boar's head. The imagery of this tessera depicts a scene from the foundation myth of Ephesus, and thus ties the issue to this city. According to the legend Androklos, an Athenian prince, lead a group of colonists to Anatolia. He had received an oracle that a fish and a boar would reveal where he should lay the foundation of his new city. When the colonists were cooking their meal, one of the fish popped out of the fire, startling a boar that was hiding in the underbrush. Androklos hunted it down to fight and kill it. This last narrative scene appears on our tessera.

- 30** Ø 16mm, 3.82 gram. II-1st half III
 A: A-Π; hound setting upon Aktaion; countermark: palm branch on the upper border
 B: Blank



- 31** Ø 17mm, 3.19 gram. II-1st half III
 Hie(reus)?
 A: I-Є; Asklepios standing facing, resting serpent-en-twined staff on ground
 B: Blank
 || Cf. Gülbay & Kireç 3 corr. ("Eirene")



- 32** Ø 16mm, 3.97 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Facing bust of Artemis Ephesia (or Tyche?) wearing polos
 B: Caduceus over crossed cornucopiae
 || For the reverse, cf. Gülbay & Kireç 257 (crossed cornucopiae, without caduceus)



- 33** Ø 18mm, 3.23 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Є|K; cult statue of Artemis Ephesia; two countermarks: to left, three concentric circles; below, incuse circle (shields?)
 B: Blank
 || Cf. catalogue 93 for the first countermark



- 34** Ø 16mm, 3.54 gram. II-1st half III
 Iou(lianos?), grammateus of the Boule
 A: BOV Γ-PA IOV; Artemis Huntress to right, holding bow in left hand and drawing arrow from quiver with right
 B: Blank



The grammateus of the Boule who signed this tessera only reveals the first three letters of his name: IOV, which can be completed IOVΔIOV or, more likely, IOVΔIANOV, because the cognomen Julianus is attested for several individuals who belonged

to the civil aristocracy of Roman Ephesus (cf. Kuhn [2014], p.139, commenting on a tessera signed by Titus Flavius Julianus Proclus that was initially published by Gülbay & Kireç, no. 230.) Gülbay & Kireç no. 100 has the legend BOV ΓΡΑ IOVA and may also belong to a person who bore the cognomen Julianus.

35 Ø 17mm, 3.96 gram. II-1st half III
Alex(andos)?

A: Artemis kneeling right, bathing, within grotto surmounted by half-length figure of Aktaion, wearing antlers and raising arms

B: ΑΛΕ-Ξ; hippocamp right

= Dalzell (2020) 5

|| Gorny & Mosch 212 (5 March 2013), lot 3333; cf. Engel (1884) 74 = Rostowzew (1903b) 20 for another tessera type signed by a person named Alexandros.

The partial letter in the upper reverse field is more clear on the parallel example. If our reading is correct, the reverse legend may name an official named Alex(andos). The depiction of Aktaion stumbling upon the bathing Artemis is unparalleled in the corpus of Ephesian tokens. A similar scene of Ariadne in the grotto at Naxos can be found on a medallion of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, struck at Pergamum (SNG Paris 2210). For further discussion, see Dalzell (2020).



36 Ø 15mm, 3.37 gram. II-1st half III

A: Dionysos standing left, wearing nebris and holding kantharos and thyrsos; to left, panther; traces of inscription

B: Blank

|| Cf. Gülbay & Kireç 7-8 (“Jupiter”)



37 Ø 12mm, 3.00 gram. II-1st half III

All as previous, but legend somewhat clearer: Α-Δ (?) - Π|Ο



- 38** Ø 18mm, 3.15 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Λ|V-H; laureate and bearded head of Herakles right
 B: Blank



- 39** Ø 15mm, 5.59 gram. II-1st half III
 Gerousia
 A: ΓΕΡ-ΦΙΑ; herm
 B: Blank



The legend refers to the Gerousia, a city's council of elders. If the reading ΦΙΑ is correct, it might refer to "philosebaste", an adjective for the council as "emperor-loving", or to a personal name.

- 40** Ø 18mm, 5.56 gram. II-1st half III
 Norbanus and Leucimius
 A: NORBA-NNO; Neptune standing left, on ship, holding dolphin and trident
 B: LEVCIMIO|PISI (?); fish
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 January 2009), lot 252



- 41** Ø 17mm, 2.30 gram. II-1st half III
 Phl(abios) As...
 A: Φ-Λ•AC; Nike advancing right, holding wreath and palm branch
 B: Blank



- 42** Ø 18mm, 8.88 gram. II-1st half III
 Mar(kos), grammateus of the Boule
 A: MAP-ΓΡ-BOV; composite head of Silenos facing right and horned young Pan facing left; below, to right, countermark of a large bird (stork?) standing right
 B: Blank
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 161 (11 Jan 2012), lot 315 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 159 (4 May 2011), lot 357



The parallel countermark mentioned in the Münzzentrum Rheinland descriptions is clearly different (the cited tessera has a rooster countermark).

- 43 Ø 17mm, 3.26 gram. II-1st half III
A: ...ΠΠΟ; draped and radiate head of Serapis to left wearing kalathos
B: Blank



- 44 Ø 17mm, 5.16 gram. II-1st half III
A: Monogram ΓΘΜ above and monogram ΦVΛ to left; head of Silenos right
B: Blank



= Gorny & Mosch 156 (5 March 2007), lot 2718 (part) = Münzzentrum Rheinland 124 (12-14 Jan 2005), lot 372

- 45 Ø 21mm, 5.16 gram. II-1st half III
Laouphilos, boularches
A: ΛΑΟΥΦΙΛ·--·ΒΟΥΛΑΡ, Δ[Α?]; Tyche-Dikaiosyne standing left holding cornucopia and scales
B: Blank



= Münzzentrum Rheinland 161 (11 January 2012), lot 316 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 159 (4 May 2011), lot 359

The Münzzentrum cataloguer reads Δ[Α] at the end of the legend and reconstructs “boularches damosiè”, “president of the public council”.

- 46 Ø 15mm, 2.90 gram. II-1st half III
Euelpios
A: ΕΥΕΛ-ΠΙΟΥ; Tyche standing left, resting rudder on ground with right hand, holding cornucopia in left
B: Blank



|| Engel (1884) 117; Rostowzew (1903b) 163; Gülbay & Kireç 46

- 47 Ø 20mm, 5.52 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Nike flying right, holding wreath in extended right hand and palm branch over left shoulder
 B: Wreath



- 48 Ø 15mm, 1.82 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Zeus Aëtrophoros seated left; I to right
 B: Blank
 = Gorny & Mosch 156 (5 March 2007), lot 2718 (part)
 || Cf. Gülbay & Kireç 30



- 49 Ø 17mm, 5.14 gram. II-1st half III
 A: EV-T-VXHC; male figure (fisherman?) seated left on pile of rocks
 B: Blank



Greek “eutyches” means “fortunate”, a word encountered on numerous gem stones.

- 50 Ø 16mm, 4.90 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Diademed head of the deified Alexander right, with horn of Ammon
 B: Blank
 || Gülbay & Kireç 195, 197-200



The obverse type is directly copied from the tetradrachms of Lysimachos, illustrating a degree of cultural continuity between the Hellenistic and the Roman periods.

- 51 Ø 16mm, 4.63 gram. II-1st half III
 As previous



- 52 Ø 16mm, 5.34 gram. II-1st half III
 As previous



- 53** Ø 17mm, 5.82 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Diademed head of the deified Alexander right, with horn of Ammon
 B: Artemis Ephesia; crescent and star flanking
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 159 (4 May 2011), lot 356
 || Gülbay & Kireç 196a-b



- 54** Ø 15mm, 2.98 gram. II-1st half III
 A: NO-MH; female figure standing facing, carrying basket on her head
 B: Blank
 || Gülbay & Kireç 48-50



Gülbay & Kireç read MH-NO. If this reading is correct, then a name must be intended, like Menogenes, Menodotos or Menodoros. The alternative reading of NO-MH as proposed here, would, if accepted, indicate that this token type served a function during a public “distribution” (“nomè” or “dianomè”). Such distributions were usually associated with games, festivals and donations of wealthy benefactors. The figure on the obverse is identified by Gülbay & Kireç as Hekate, but we prefer to identify a “kanephoros”, a maiden carrying a basket, appearing in ancient art since archaic times.

- 55** Ø 15mm, 2.21 gram. II-1st half III
 As previous



- 56** Ø 17mm, 3.37 gram. II-1st half III
 A: NO-MH; female figure standing facing, carrying basket on her head
 B: Animal (deer or horse?) right
 || Cf. for obverse, Gülbay & Kireç 48-50 (reverse blank) and for reverse, Gülbay & Kireç 126b (paired with “two fishes” type) and Numismatik Naumann 52 (2 April 2017), lot 301-302 (reverse blank)



57 Ø 21mm, 6.53 gram. Dated Seleucid era year 469 (AD 157/8) (?)

A: YZΘ; rider on horseback right, holding whip

B: Blank

= Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 263 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 134 (30 Aug-1 Sep 2006), lot 404

|| Rostowzew (1903b) 88 (Rostowzew reports YZ€ as the legend, but no photo)



The legend may be interpreted as a date in the Seleucid era, but this would be exceptional for the series, and other explanations should be explored.

58 Ø 13mm, 1.70 gram. II-1st half III

A: Bee

B: Blank

|| Cf. Gülbay & Kireç 108-111



59 Ø 17mm, 5.56 gram. II-1st half III

A: X above, I• and star below; boar's head right

B: Blank

The boar may refer to the foundation legend of Ephesus (see comment no. 29).



60 Ø 15mm, 2.74 gram. II-1st half III

A: Crab

B: Crab

= Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 268



61 Ø 15mm, 3.13 gram. II-1st half III

A: Φ; dolphin swimming right; cornucopia and uncertain object above, rudder below

B: Blank

|| Cf. Gorny & Mosch 212 (5 Mar 2013), lot 3334 for a similar tessera with a dolphin, cornucopia and caduceus.



- 62 Ø 16mm, 4.51 gram. II-1st half III
As previous



- 63 Ø 17x21mm, 3.61 gram. II-1st half III
A: Eagle standing right, head left, crescent to left, star above; all within wreath; below, countermark of grain ears and poppy bound together
B: Blank



|| Gülbay & Kireç 72 (no countermark); cf. Münzzentrum Rheinland 124 (12 January 2005), lot 354 for a tessera with the same countermark.

The countermark on this tessera also appears on a tessera signed Π ΑΙ-Λ-ΚΕ (transcribed by the Münzzentrum cataloguer). If this reading is correct, this could be Poplios Ailios Demetrianos Keler, who also appears as a magistrate on coins of Kotiaion from the reign of Macrinus and Severus Alexander.

- 64 Ø 17mm, 5.02 gram. II-1st half III
(Ph)austos Philoseb(astos), agoranomos
A: T(?) [...Φ]ΑΥΣΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΕΒ-ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜ-ΟΥ; elephant's head right
B: Blank



Likely, two circular legends were engraved in the die for this tessera type. The outer legend gives the name (Ph)austos, the Latin cognomen Faustus, and his epithet “Philoseb(astos)”, “emperor-loving”. The beginning of the legend is partly off flan, but an initial T seems likely. An abbreviated praenomen (Titus or Tiberius?) and family name would be expected here. The inner legend gives Phaustos’ office as “agoranomos”, master of trade.

- 65 Ø 16mm, 3.37 gram. II-1st half III
A: ΝΕΙ; victorious horse advancing left, holding palm branch in mouth
B: Blank



66 Ø 19mm, 3.44 gram. II-1st half III

Aristion

A: APICTI-Ω-N; lion advancing right on exergue line

B: Blank

= Münzzentrum Rheinland 134 (30 Aug-1 Sep 2006), lot 403

|| Münzzentrum Rheinland 124 (12 January 2005), lot 356



Claudius Aristion was a famous Ephesian aristocrat and benefactor from the beginning of the 2nd century, known from several inscriptions. Notably, he funded the monumental nymphaeum of Trajan at Ephesus. Plinius the Younger (Letters VI.31.3) calls him “princeps Ephesiorum”. It is possible that our tessera was signed by this prominent Ephesian.

67 Ø 15mm, 3.35 gram. II-1st half III

A: Lion attacking hare right

B: Blank

|| Rostowzew (1903b) 102; Gülbay & Kireç 54, 55b, 58b; cf. Emporium Hamburg 67 (10 May 2012), lot 374 (bird flying above)



68 Ø 15mm, 1.31 gram. II-1st half III

A: K-Δ; prawn right, surrounded by scallop, dolphin, tunny, and shark (?)

B: Retrograde P within wreath, rondel at top

= Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 258



69 Ø 16mm, 3.30 gram. II-1st half III

A: Rooster riding right in biga of mice

B: Rooster standing right, head left, left foot raised



70 Ø 13mm, 2.88 gram. II-1st half III

A: Stylized incuse scallop shell

B: Blank



- 71 Ø 17mm, 3.82 gram. II-1st half III
 A: ΠΡ; Stag standing left
 B: Rosette
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 159 (4 May 2011), lot 822 (part)



- 72 Ø 17mm, 5.67 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Togate figure standing left, sacrificing at altar before temple containing cult statue of Priapus
 B: Blank
 = Hirsch 280 (9 Feb 2012), lot 4922 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 253 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 134 (30 Aug-1 Sep 2006), lot 411.
 || Cf. Rostowzew (1903b) 118 (“tetrastyle shrine”)



- 73 Ø 15mm, 4.22 gram. II-1st half III
 A: ΠΥ; bird cage
 B: Blank
 = Dalzell (2020) 6



Though at first glance, the object depicted on this token may appear to be an omphalos, it is in fact an exceptional depiction of an ancient bird cage. A similar bird cage can be found in the frescos of the “Painted Garden” at the Villa of Livia in Pompeii. Keeping of birds was popular in the Roman Empire, and the use of the type on a token likely speaks to a particular individual attachment, perhaps to a favorite pet of the issuer. For further discussion, see Dalzell (2020).

- 74 Ø 15mm, 2.74 gram. II-1st half III
 A: ΑΙΓ; stag standing right
 B: Blank
 = Gorny & Mosch 156 (5 March 2007), lot 2718 (part)



- 75 Ø 18mm, 2.55 gram. II-1st half III
 A: T to left; grape vine with bunches of grapes; below, to right, countermark: lion advancing left (?)
 B: Blank



- 76** Ø 14mm, 4.49 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Three grain ears bound together
 B: Blank



|| Rostowzew (1903b) 90; Gülbay & Kireç 155-6

- 77** Ø 15mm, 2.37 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Elaborate leaf
 B: Blank



- 78** Ø 18mm, 3.14 gram. II-1st half III
 Axi...
 A: AΞI; composite head of Silenos facing left and young Pan facing right
 B: Blank



|| Gülbay & Kireç 140-2; Leu Numismatik Web Auction 14 (12 Dec 2020), lot 1068.

The legend on this tessera may be completed to the names Axianax or Axiochos.

- 79** Ø 15mm, 1.78 gram. II-1st half III
 A: T-€; palm branch
 B: Blank



|| Rostowzew (1903b) 98 (quoting three examples, one in the Louvre reportedly found in Klazomenai)

- 80** Ø 14mm, 3.50 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Pelta
 B: Blank



= Gorny & Mosch 156 (5 March 2007), lot 2718 (part)

- 81** Ø 19mm, 4.48 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Kantharos with lions leaping inward from sides
 B: Blank



= Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 264 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 134 (30 Aug-1 Sep 2006), lot 406
 || Hirsch 253 (27 Sep 2007), lot 2819

- 82** Ø 15mm, 2.60 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Vessel containing poppy and grain ears; bearded head on either side
 B: Blank
 = Gorny & Mosch 156 (5 March 2007), lot 2718 (part) = Münzzentrum Rheinland 124 (12-14 Jan 2005), lot 375
 || Gülbay & Kireç 255-6



- 83** Ø 12mm, 2.14 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Wheel of six spokes with pellets between
 B: Blank
 || Gülbay & Kireç 147



- 84** Ø 12mm, 1.68 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Δ over O (?)
 B: Blank



- 85** Ø 16mm, 4.83 gram. II-1st half III
 A: BCI; pellet-in-crescent above and below
 B: Blank
 || Gülbay & Kireç 237



- 86** Ø 22mm, 6.17 gram. II-1st half III
 Eisas, or possibly Eisagoras
 A: EI|CA
 B: Blank



The name Eisas is attested for first century Ephesus. It appears as a magistrate's name on a bronze coin of Augustus (RPC 2578). Another possibility would be Eisa(goras).

- 87** Ø 16mm, 3.61 gram. II-1st half III
 A: ΕΦΕ|CΙΩ|Ν within laurel wreath
 B: Blank
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 267 = Fritz Rudolf Künker 124 (16 March 2007), lot 7993
 || Gülbay & Kireç 229



- 88** Ø 14mm, 3.59 gram. II-1st half III
 A: ΦΑΚΟ|V
 B: Blank



Greek “phakos” might refer to lentils and anything lentil-shaped, like a birthmark (Plu. 2.563a). Therefore, it is possible that it was used as a nickname, much like the Latin cognomen Gnaeus, which also means “birthmark”. Less likely, it refers to the small island of Phakos, near Pella in Macedonia.

- 89** Ø 18mm, 2.90 gram, II-1st half III
 Anonymous presbeutes or presbyteros (?)
 A: Monogram Π, Β, Ρ, Ε, Τ, V, C and O
 B: Blank



= Gorny & Mosch 156 (5 March 2007), lot 2718 (part)

The monogram might solve ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΟΥ, genitive of “presbeutes”, emissary or ambassador. Another solution might be ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ, “presbyteros”, member of the Gerousia, council of Elders. Or, of course, there may be a personal name concealed in the monogram.

- 90** Ø 18mm, 3.37 gram. II-1st half III
 A: ΙЄ retrograde; stag kneeling left, head right
 B: Shield over four crossed spears
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 269



The Münzzentrum cataloguer attributed this tessera to Hierapolis in Phrygia.

- 91** Ø 20mm, 5.22 gram. II-1st half III
 A: AN|ΠЄ|ΙΑΘ|ΟΥ; large cornucopia, six-pointed star to right; to right, countermark of rosette consisting of seven dots in circular punch
 B: A



|| See no. 92 for the same countermark.

- 92** Ø 14mm, 1.45 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Hero advancing right, holding spear and shield; countermark of rosette consisting of seven dots in circular punch
 B: Blank
 || See no. 91 for the same countermark.



- 93** Ø 18mm, 2.01 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Draped bust of Zeus or Serapis right; countermark: concentric circles, shield (?)
 B: Blank
 || See no. 33 for the same countermark.



- 94** Ø 15mm, 3.45 gram. II-1st half III
 Gerousia
 A: MAP-ΓΕΡ (retrograde); bare-headed and draped bust right
 B: Blank
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 265.



The letters ΓΕΡ can be safely interpreted as referring to a city's Gerousia, the council of Elders, as the issuing authority of this tessera. Several other tessera types refer to the Gerousia (cf. our no. 39 and Gülbay & Kireç 34, 38, 211a and 257). MAP may be interpreted as the name (Markos) of the individual acting on behalf of the Gerousia (as the council's president, secretary or treasurer). The letters ΓΕΡ appear retrograde, possibly to set it apart from MAP. Alternatively, if the bare head is identified as a young Marcus Aurelius, the legend may allude to the name of the young Caesar.

- 95** Ø 19mm, 2.61 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Krater
 B: Blank
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 159 (4 May 2011), lot 822 (part)



- 96** Ø 15mm, 4.96 gram. II-1st half III
 Anonymous tamias
 A: Monogram T, A, M, I and palm branch to right, all in wreath
 B: Crude facing head
 || Münzzentrum Rheinland 124 (12-14 Jan 2005), lot 360



On the parallel examples, the monograms and palm branches are clearly discernible. We follow the Münzzentrum cataloguer's plausible solution of the monogram as **TAMIA**, referring to the Greek word "tamias" which translates Latin "quaestor" and more generally "treasurer". The person who signed this tessera was probably not a quaestor in the Roman imperial administration, but a "treasurer" of his city or one of its councils.

- 97** Ø 13mm, 2.46 gram. II-1st half III
 A: ΔΟΙ|[N?]ATV
 B: Blank



- 98** Ø 19mm, 3.09 gram. II-1st half III
 Demeos
 A: ΔΗ|[M]Ε|ΟΥ
 B: Blank
 || Rostowzew (1903b) 24



Uncertain

- 99** Ø 15mm, 3.21 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Spes advancing left, holding flower and raising tip of garment (?)
 B: V above and AM below central pellet



- 100** Ø 16x13mm, 3.13 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Amphora flanked by two grain ears and two rearing lions
 B: Blank
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 255



- 101** Ø 23x14mm, 4.60 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Boar running left
 B: Blank
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 257



- 102** Ø 17x13mm, 3.15 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Lion standing right on plinth
 B: Blank
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 256



- 103** Ø 12mm, 1.70 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Male head right
 B: Blank



The features of the face are reminiscent of those of Trajan.

- 104** Ø 9mm, 0.65 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Male bust right
 B: Blank



- 105** Ø 12mm, 1.15 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Facing head
 B: Blank



The engraving of this piece has a distinct, vaguely Celtic style, as well as a remarkably circular and flat reverse.

- 106** Ø 17mm, 2.83 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Radiate and draped bust right (Helios?)
 B: Blank



- 107** Ø 13mm, 1.68 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Bearded male bust right
 B: Blank



- 108** Ø 18mm, 5,87 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Female bust right
 B: Blank



The bust bears some resemblance to Lucilla.

- 109** Ø 17mm, 3,96 gram. V/VI
 A: Facing head (Gorgoneion?)
 B: ΘΕ|ΒΟΗ|ΘΕΙ



Our dating to the 5th/6th century is based on the style of engraving and epigraphy and must remain tentative. The inscription is an invocation of divinity, “the(os)” or the vocative “th(e)”, for help. A later 5th to 6th century date also makes the reading “Th(eotok)e boethei” possible “Mother of God, help”.

- 110** Ø 13mm, 2.08 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Uncertain legend
 B: Uncertain legend



- 111** Ø 17mm, 4,98 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Modius overflowing with grain ears
 B: ΑΑ (or ligate AM)|ΑV



- 112** Ø 18mm, 5.08 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Boar advancing left
 B: Blank



= Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 260 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 134 (30 Aug-1 Sep 2006), lot 682

- 113** Ø 14mm, 1.47 gram. II-1st half III
 A: Hippocamp swimming right; cornucopia over shoulder, rudder below
 B: Blank



114 Ø 15mm, 3.23 gram. II-1st half III

A: Trompe-l'oeil of a horse's forepart with its head shaped like a nude, seated male figure, his right arm extended downward

B: Blank

= Gorny & Mosch 156 (5 March 2007), lot 2718 (part)

A remarkable iconographic parallel to this tessera is found on coins of Emporion, an ancient Greek colony located on the coast of Catalonia in Spain. The image of Pegasos that this city used as its central coin type is designed with its head shaped like a seated male figure. Perhaps he is Chrysaor, the brother of Pegasos.



115 Ø 15mm, 1.64 gram. II-1st half III

A: Vine leaf within pelleted border

B: Blank

The crudely designed die for this tessera was impressed on an oversized planchet.



116 Ø 12mm, 0.69 gram. II-1st half III

A: GK

B: Blank



117 Ø 15mm, 3.32 gram. II-1st half III

A: A to left; anchor

B: Uncertain figure standing left, extending right arm

= Münzzentrum Rheinland 150 (7 Jan 2009), lot 261

The obverse of this type is undoubtedly related to the ubiquitous hemidrachms of Apollonia Pontika in Thrace.



118 Ø 11mm, 1.06 gram. II-1st half III

A: Uncertain pelleted pattern

B: Blank



- 119** Ø 18mm, 8.41 gram. II-1st half III
A: Priestly implements
B: Shield or shield boss in high relief



Egypt

- 120** Ø 19mm, 3.07 gram. II-1st half III
Heracleopolis
A: Herakles-Heryshaf standing left, resting inverted spear on ground, being crowned by Nike held in right hand
B: Nike flying left, holding palm branch and wreath
= Emporium Hamburg 67 (10 May 2012), lot 745
|| Milne 5335-6; Dattari (Savio) 6540; Geissen & Weiser 3605-6



- 121** Ø 14mm, 2.00 gram. II-1st half III
Uncertain
A: Cheiron teaching Achilles: warrior, holding sword and shield, and centaur advancing left
B: Nilus reclining left holding reeds and cornucopia; crocodile below



SEALS

Imperial

122 Ø 22x21x6mm, 16.79 gram. 193-211

Septimius Severus, Tiberius

A: SEV-AVG-TIB; laureate head right

B: Flat

|| Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 14 (12 Dec 2020), lot 1353; Elsen 144 (14 Mar 2020), lot 865 = Elsen 145 (18 Sep 2020), lot 466; CNG 334 (3 Sep 2014), lot 338; CNG 197 (15 Oct 2008), lot 146; CNG 179 (2 Jan 2008), lot 304



This seal is possibly signed by an official named Tiberius.

123 Ø 17x17x5mm, 3.21 gram. 235-238

Maximinus I and Maximus caesar

A: Above, R; below, [R]; to right, P or R; confronted busts of Maximinus, laureate and draped facing right, and Maximus, bare-headed and draped, facing left

B: Small hemispherical swelling

|| Gorny & Mosch 152 (10 Oct 2006), lot 2676; Sternberg 35 (29 Oct 2000), lot 953 (attributed to Decius & Hostilian)



The two parallel examples clearly show two letters R, one above and one below, between the paludamenta. The letter P (or possibly, another R) to the right of the bust of Maximus is only discernible on our seal. Possibly, the letters refer to the phrase R(atio) P(atrimoni), indicating that the sealed goods were property of the emperor and therefore exempt from taxes (Cf. Collingwood [1990] p. 90, no. 2411.19 and Grenier [1934] p. 649, no. 4).

124 Ø 29x24x9mm, 20.97 gram. 249-251

Trajan Decius, Herennia Etruscilla and Herennius Etruscus caesar

A: In center, laureate bust of Trajan Decius (?) to right; on left a smaller, bare headed bust of Herennius Etruscus (?) facing right; on right, bust of Herennia Etruscilla (?) facing left

B: Large hemispherical swelling



= Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 863 (identified as Trebonianus Gallus, Hostilian and Volusian, but the bust on the right is clearly female)

The impression on this lead seal was evidently made with a hardstone gem set into the bezel of a seal ring. Part of the ring's shoulder can be seen on the right.

125 Ø 21x16x10mm, 10.16 gram. Late III

Imperial

A: Two confronted draped busts; to left, a third bust facing right; above, uncertain object; below, dolphin

B: Chestnut



126 Ø 17x16x7mm, 7.36 gram. Late III

Carus and Carinus caesar (?)

A: Two confronted draped busts

B: Chestnut



The bust facing right seems to be radiate, which would imply these are imperial portraits.

127 Ø 20x18x6mm, 5.86 gram. III/IV

Imperial

A: Confronted draped and laureate busts, the bust facing right bearded

B: Irregular, slightly rounded



128 Ø 17x27x8mm, 9.91 gram. 293-305

First Tetrarchy

A: Above, confronted busts of the two augusti; below, confronted busts of the two caesares; in between, two Victories facing, crowning the Tetrarchs with wreaths held in outstretched hands

B: Chestnut



|| Dembski (1975) 8-10; Weiser (2006), p. 215, fig. 4; Weiss (2006), p. 237, fig. 4

- 129** Ø 13x13x5mm, 2.51 gram. 293-305
 First Tetrarchy
 A: Confronted busts of Diocletian and Maximian (?)
 B: Large hemispherical swelling
 || Dembski (1975) 11; Weiss (2006) p. 240, fig. 6



- 130** Ø 19x14x7mm, 4.19 gram. 308-324
 Licinius I
 A: LICIN-IVS AVG; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust right
 B: Small conical swelling
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 868



- 131** Ø 23x22x12mm, 12.81 gram. 308-324
 Licinius I (?)
 A: Laureate and draped bust right
 B: Chestnut



- 132** Ø 14x17x7mm, 4.98 gram. 317-324
 Licinius II caesar (?)
 A: Bare-headed heroic bust right
 B: Large hemispherical swelling
 || Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 870



- 133** Ø 13x14x10mm, 6.85 gram. 307-337
 Constantine the Great
 A: CONSTA[NTINI VI]CTORIA; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust right
 B: Conical with rounded tip
 || Culică 1; Still 135-136; cf. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 14 (12 Dec 2020), lot 1477 (legend CONSTANTINI VICTOR) and Stiegemann (2001) p. 242, III.18; DNA 3 (28 April 2019), lot 440 (incomplete legend)



The legend ("The Victory of Constantine") possibly alludes to the adoption of the title of Victor by Constantine the Great (Eusebius, Vit. Const. II 24, 46, 48 et c.).

134 Ø 22x16x12mm, 13.49 gram. 307-337

Constantine the Great

A: Laureate, draped and cuirassed bust right

B: Chestnut

|| Leu Numismatik Web Auction 9 (7 Sep 2019), lot 1565; CNG 376 (15 June 2016), lot 552; Gorny & Mosch 196 (7 Mar 2011), lot 3188; Rauch 86 (12 May 2010), lot 86; Munzzentrum 138 (4-6 Jul 2007), lot 308 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 134 (30 Aug-1 Sep 2006), lot 695; CNG 160 (14 Mar 2007), lot 343; cf. Leukel (1995) N9-N10 (attributed to Philip and to Aurelian or Maximian)



135 Ø 21x16x13mm, 14.91 gram. 307-337

As previous



136 Ø 19x16x16mm, 16.79 gram 307-337 (?)

Constantine the Great (?)

A: Laureate and cuirassed bust right

B: Chestnut

This seal type is tentatively attributed to Constantine the Great. It could also belong to a third century emperor.



137 Ø 16x15x11mm, 8.26 gram. 307-337 (?)

As previous



138 Ø 20x17x8mm, 6.40 gram. 337-361

Constantius II

A: D N CONSTANTIVS * MAX AVGVSTVS; draped and cuirassed bust wearing pearl diadem right

B: Conical



139 Ø 14x14x7mm, 3.73 gram. 337-361

Constantius II

A: [D N CON]STA[N]-TIVS P[F AVG]; facing bust wearing pearl diadem, star in right field

B: Conical with rounded tip



= Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 874
|| CNG 486 (24 Feb 2021), lot 810; Numismatik Naumann 69 (2
Sep 2018), lot 444

The parallel examples allow the reconstruction of the legend
and the attribution to Constantius II.

140 Ø 15x11x4mm, 2.04 gram. 351-354

Constantius II and Constantius Gallus caesar

A: Confronted busts of Constantius II, wearing pearl
diadem, to right and Constantius Gallus, bare-headed,
to left, both busts draped and cuirassed

B: Slightly rounded, almost flat

|| Still 222-223; Gorny & Mosch 241 (10 Oct 2016), lot 2960;
Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 875



141 Ø 15x16x7mm, 6.17 gram. 351-354

Constantius Gallus (?)

A: Draped and cuirassed bust facing, holding Victory
on globe; to right, V

B: Rounded

= Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 876 = Münz-
zentrum Rheinland 114 (2003), lot 1143



The bust seems to be bare-headed, which would indicate a
caesar.

142 Ø 18x22x7mm, 4.60 gram. Late IV/early V

Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius II (?)

A: DDD NNN in upper field; three draped imperial
busts wearing diadems, the central bust facing, the two
outer busts facing right and left

B: Large hemispherical swelling

|| Dissard (1905) 28; Leukel 118-121; Still 204; Leu Numismatik
Web Auction 14 (12 Dec 2020), lot 1497



This seal is tentatively attributed to the joint reign of Arcadi-
us, Honorius and Theodosius II, following the attribution of
Leukel, but another constellation of rulers from the late 4th
century would also be possible.

143 Ø 27x21x9mm, 20.77 gram. III/IV

Imperial

A: AVG|N

B: Flat

|| Leukel 615-616; Leukel (1995) N405, N407; Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 871



144 Ø 16x24x7mm, 10.33 gram. III/IV

As previous



Personal

145 Ø 20x17x10mm, 13.07 gram. IV

Aristanetos

A: APICT-ANETOV; draped bust right

B: Chestnut

|| CNG 273 (8 Feb 2012), lot 561; Münzzentrum 157 (12 Jan 2011), lot 552; Gorny & Mosch 142 (10 Oct 2005), lot 3332 corr. (reading VICTOR)



A person named Aristaenetus is attested as vicarius Pietatis for the year 358, appointed by emperor Constantius II. He also appears as the friend and patron of Libanius in the letters of the famous rhetorician and sophist. Both men had remained “pagans” in an increasingly christianized world (cf. PLRE Aristaenetus 1). Another Aristaenetus is attested as consul in 404 (PLRE Aristaenetus 2). The style and fabric of this seal type indicates a date in the first half of the 4th century; an early 5th century date is very unlikely.

146 Ø 16x15x8mm, 5.34 gram. 396

Aeternalius, proconsul of Asia 396

A: AETE[RNA]LIUS; draped and cuirassed bust facing

B: Conical with rounded tip

= Boersema (2019) no. 4 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 871 = Gorny & Mosch 156 (5 Mar 2007), lot 2515



This seal can be attributed to Aeternalis, who had a short tenure as proconsul of Asia in the year 396. He was possibly also the addressee of an epigram by Claudian (Claudian, Carm. Min. 3; PLRE Aeternalis).

147 Ø 20x24x8mm, 5.11 gram. IV

Antiochos

A: ANTIO-[X]OV ΛV; bare-headed, draped bust right; in the left field, some unclear design, perhaps trace of additional legend

B: Small hemispherical swelling

|| CNG 458 (18 Dec 2019), 568 (part) ; Numismatik Naumann 68 (5 Aug 2018), 895



148 Ø 16x20x7mm, 4.86 gram. IV

As previous but ANTIO-[X]OV [ΛV]



149 Ø 17mm, 5.57 gram. V/early VI

Baanes, palatinos (?)

A: Block monogram A, B, N and H

B: Capricorn right; below, ΠΑΛΑ



A possible solution for the monogram is the personal name Baanes (BAANH). The inscription ΠΑΛΑ could indicate the office of palatinus, the name of an elite military guard (Scholae Palatinae).

150 Ø 18x14x5mm, 1.94 gram. 2nd half IV-early V

Bassos (Bassus)

A: BACCOC Φ; large christogram

B: Small hemispherical swelling

= Boersema (2019) no. 2 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 164 (9 Jan 2013), lot 684

|| Alekseienko (2016) no. 4 and 5 (now in the State Hermitage Museum, nos. M-8725 and M-12217, found in Sevastopol and Cherson)



Bassus is a very common Roman cognomen, which makes the identification of this seal's owner problematic. Two likely candidates are Anicius Auchenius Bassus, governor of Campania between 372 and 382 and urban prefect 382-83, or Junius Bassus, urban prefect in the year of his death 359 (cf. Boersema [2019] p. 5-6).

151 Ø 20x20x11mm, 11.21 gram. IV/V

Eulogios

A: ΕΥΛΟ-ΓΙΟΥ; draped bust facing, cross above

B: Large hemispherical swelling



152 Ø 15x19x4mm, 4.70 gram. IV/V

Eunomos

A: ΕΥΝΟ|ΜΟΥ in two lines, all in wreath

B: ...ΑΒ-[...]Α; Dionysos standing left holding thyrsos and kantharos, panther to left at feet



153 Ø 32x18x6mm, 21.25 gram. III

Julius Marcianus

A: ΙΥΛ[Ι] ΜΑ|ΡΚΙΑΝΙ

B: Rectangular shape and flat



154 Ø 15x12x4mm, 3.31 gram. IV

Kassios (Cassius)

A: Mercury standing to left, holding caduceus, traces of a circular legend

B: ΚΑΚ|CΙΟΥ



155 Ø 14x15x4mm, 3.84 gram. IV/V

Niketas or Niketes Photios (?)

A: ΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ; bare-headed bust right

B: [Φ?]ΩΤΙ-[Ο]Υ; figure standing facing (Carthage holding fruit?)

= Münzzentrum Rheinland 154 (13 Jan 2010), lot 647

|| Still 208 = Tóth (1991) no. 262



As the Münzzentrum cataloguer noted, the H in the name on the obverse is orthographically corrected from €̣. The genitive allows Niketas and Niketes, the latter of which would translate Latin Victor. Still tentatively identified the seal as “imperial” due to the imperial overtones of Niketes/Victor, but this attribution can be discarded because, as our seal shows, there are no signs of a wreath or diadem. The reverse legend was read by the Münzzentrum cataloguer as the name Zotikos, but the letters Z, K and O are uncertain. Another possibility would be Photios. The published parallel does not allow improvement on the reading of the legend and the identification of the standing figure.

- 156** Ø 26x26x11mm, 16.60 gram. III/early IV
Tiberios Kal... Sekoundos (Tiberius Cal... Secundus)
A: TI KAA|CEKOV|NA[OV], all in wreath
B: Conical
= Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 880
|| Münzzentrum Rheinland 160 (31 Aug 2011), lot 883



- 157** Ø 15x14x7mm, 4.28 gram. Late III
Pamphy(lios)
A: ΠA-NΦV; draped, bare-headed bust right
B: Conical with rounded top
= CNG 273 (8 Feb 2012), lot 562
|| Triskeles 28 (21 June 2019), lot 419



- 158** Ø 17x18x12mm, 9.69 gram. Late III/1st half IV
Asklepidos
A: [A]CCK-HPΔOC; draped, bare-headed and bearded bust right
B: Conical
|| Solidus 59 (20 Jun 2020), 1181 (part); CNG 367 (27 Jan 2016), lot 589



The parallel example that appeared in the CNG auction shows a Λ or A as initial letter, and a clear K. We propose the reading AECK(Λ)HP(I)ΔOC, Asklepidos.

- 159** Ø 14x15x5mm, 4.37 gram. III/IV
 A: Θ|N; bare-headed bust of a young man right
 B: Rider to right, spearing lion



- 160** Ø 14x14x8mm, 3.63 gram. IV/V
 A: ...EVCV; draped facing bust
 B: Rounded



- 161** Ø 14x14x5mm, 4.39 gram. Late III/1st half IV
 A: Draped, bare-headed and bearded bust right, traces of legend
 B: Irregular, almost flat
 || Cf. Gorny & Mosch 251 (15 Oct 2017), lot 5249



- 162** Ø 16x14x6mm, 2.90 gram. IV
 A: HRIC...; draped and cuirassed bust facing
 B: Small hemispherical swelling



- 163** Ø 16x16x7mm, 3.76 gram. III/IV
 A: Bare-headed bust of a young man left
 B: Large hemispherical swelling



- 164** Ø 15x20x10mm, 8.43 gram. III/IV
 A: Bare-headed and draped bust of a young man right
 B: Large hemispherical swelling



- 165** Ø 21x21x4mm, 6.34 gram. IV
 A: DEO or ΛEO above, CM to right, ...IV below; confronted busts of a married couple, husband facing left, wife facing right
 B: Flat
 = Boersema (2019) no. 18



The legend likely included the phrase **VIVAS IN DEO** (“May you live in God”), which would identify the couple as Christians.

- 166** Ø 18x20x8mm, 8.44 gram. III/IV
 A: Confronted busts of a married couple, husband, bearded, facing right, wife facing left; star above
 B: Chestnut



- 167** Ø 12x14x3mm, 2.48 gram. IV
 Germanus (?)
 A: [G?]ERMA|NI; confronted busts of a married couple, husband facing right, wife facing left
 B: Flat



- 168** Ø 17x21x10mm, 12.17 gram. III/IV
 A: Confronted busts of a married couple, male facing left, female facing right; crescent (?) above
 B: Chestnut
 || Gorny & Mosch 225 (14 Oct 2014), lot 2811



- 169** Ø 20x16x6mm, 5.21 gram. IV/V
 A: Facing busts of married couple and two children
 B: Rectangular shape with small hemispherical swelling



Toponyms

- 170** Ø 17x13x8mm, 5.99 gram. III/IV
 Lydia
 A: ΛVΔ-IAC; helmeted head of Minerva or Roma right
 B: Chestnut
 || Still 1721a corr. (reading ΛVΔ ΕAC); Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 889



171 Ø 15x14x6mm, 3.47 gram. III/IV

Pamphylia.

A: ΠΑ[Μ-Φ]ΥΛΩΝ; Tyche standing left, holding rudder and cornucopia

B: Rounded

|| Dissard (1905) 703 = Still 315A (found in Lyon); Culică 28-29, 139 = Still 317-319 (found in Izvoarele); cf. Weiss (2006) p. 234; CNG 254 (20 April 2011), 506 (part); Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 889.



172 Ø 16x13x7mm, 6.81 gram. III/IV

Hellespontos

A: REGIO[NI]S ELLESPONL-ACA-Ε; ram standing right

B: Chestnut

The inscription reads “Regionis Hellespon(ti)acae” indicating this seal belonged to the region of the Hellespont. The ram is possibly a reference to the legend of the Golden Fleece, situated for a part in this region.



173 Ø 16x16x8mm, 7.87 gram. III/IV

Hellespontos

A: Ε|ΛΛΗCΠΟΝΤΟV, engraved as a circular inscription around central Ε

B: Chestnut

= Rauch MBS 10 (2 March 2006), 952 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), 888



174 Ø 16x15x6mm, 3.99 gram. III/IV

Lycia

A: ΛΥ-ΚΙΩΝ; draped, bare-headed and bearded bust (Lykos or Sarpedon) right

B: Rounded

|| Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), 888

The bearded bust on this seal of “the Lycians”, may portray Lykos, the eponymous hero of Lycia, or Sarpedon, the mythical king of Lycia with whom Lykos sought refuge (as noted by the Münzzentrum cataloguer).



175 Ø 19x13x5mm, 5.01 gram. IV

Magnesia ad Maeandrum

A: ΜΑΓΝ|ΗCΙΑ|ΜΕΑ in three lines; the first two divided by horizontal line

B: Rounded

|| Weiss (2013) no. 2, fig. 8; Kritzinger & Zimmermann (2019) p. 314, fig. 1; Cf. Culică 61 = Still 338; Weiss (2006) p. 234 and Still 351 (legend var.)



176 Ø 20x17x7mm, 6.11 gram. IV

Mastaura

A: ΜΑCΤ|ΑVΡΑ

B: Rounded



177 Ø 18x17x8mm, 5.14 gram. IV

Ephesus

A: ΕΦΕ|CΙ

B: Conical

|| Culică 58-60 (found in Izvoarele) = Still 334-336; Still 374 (found in Kalugerovo); Cf. for variant types Cüppers (1974) no. 39 = Still 328; Culică 57 = Still 333; Still 353, 369-372, 375 (legend placing); CNG 69 (8 Jun 2005), 2239 (part, legend placing and small bee closing the last line)



178 Ø 16x27x7mm, 7.02 gram. IV

Smyrna

A: CΜY|PNA

B: Large hemispherical swelling

|| Collingwood (1990) p. 95, no. 2411.41 (found in Ickham) = Still 325; Leukel (1995) N415 (misread); Culică 49-53, 116 (found in Izvoarele) = Still 339-344; Still 358-360 (from Moesia Inferior); Still 380-385 (found in Kalugerovo); Numismatik Naumann 75 (3 Mar 2019), 1035 (part); Italo Vecchi 5 (5 March 1997), lot 991; Cf. for a related type with the legend PNA|CΜY: Dissard (1905) 172 = Still 331; Culică 54-56 = Still 345-347



- 179** Ø 18x14x5mm, 3.82 gram. IV
Teos
A: TH|WN
B: Rounded



- 180** Ø 19x14x6mm, 6.35 gram. IV
Nysa
A: NV|CA
B: Rounded
|| Leukel 344; Weiss (2013) p. 685



Various designs

- 181** Ø 14x16x5mm, 4.24 gram. IV/V
A: Menorah on tripod base flanked by shofar, etrog and lulav
B: Slightly rounded, almost flat
|| Cf. Leu 15 (27 Feb 2021), 2646; CNG 245 (1 Dec 2010), 530=Ira & Larry Goldberg 110 (4 Jun 2019), 1777; CNG 410 (29 Nov 2017), 1037



- 182** Ø 16x14x7mm, 5.19 gram
IV/V
A: Menorah on tripod base; to left, lulav
B: Conical wit rounded dop
|| Cf. Leu 15 (27 Feb 2021), 2646; CNG 245 (1 Dec 2010), 530=Ira & Larry Goldberg 110 (4 Jun 2019), 1777; CNG 410 (29 Nov 2017), 1037



- 183** Ø 15x14x9mm, 5.34 gram. V/VI
Aetios, hypatos (?)
A: Block monogram Π, A, E, T, O, V; cross above, uncertain object (bird?) to left
B: Conical
|| Münzzentrum Rheinland 160 (31 Aug 2011), lot 884; For variants cf. Seyrig 359; Sode, Berlin II, 470 (reporting 9 further parallels in the Hermitage); Spier (2007) S29; Cheynet (1994) 141-142; Cheynet (1996) 22; Stiegemann (2001) p. 243-44, III.23; Münzzentrum Rheinland 160 (31 Aug 2011), lot 885



Numerous variants of this seal type exist, with the crosses differently placed, a “bird” in the left field and a retrograde monogram. Several solutions have been offered for this monogram over the years, all as a genitive form. The editors of the Seyrig collection suggest Apelatou, Apelliou or Paeitou, whereas Cheynet (1994, 1996) proposes to read the personal name Pelagiou. Sode (Berlin II), observing the relative ubiquity of the monogram, prefers to solve it as an office rather than a name, but her suggestions of “eparchou” or “tou eparchou” are unlikely because the letters P and X are unaccounted for. The Münzzentrum cataloguer agrees that the type likely does not belong to a single owner and proposes “epistatou”, “overseer”, which fits the monogram, but no parallels for this office exist on seals. Werner Seibt (in Stiegemann [2001] p. 243), in his comment on a variant with four crosses in the fields, suggests the reading of “hypatou” (consul) and a personal name with epsilon, possibly “Aetiou”. He dates the seal to the 6th century, on account of the numerous crosses, which would exclude attribution to the famous 5th century Aetii, who bore the rank of consul. However, considering the group as a whole, at least some of the type variants could conceivably date to the 5th century, including our seal.

- 184** Ø 15x12x3mm, 3.48 gram. III
 A: **ESVIM**
 B: Rectangular shape and flat



- 185** Ø 15x13x5mm, 3.80 gram. III/IV
 A: **MAG|PR...**
 B: Large hemispherical swelling



- 186** Ø 15x20x7mm, 5.55 gram. III/IV
 A: **TH-DM (D retrograde)**
 B: Large hemispherical swelling



- 187** Ø 12x15x7mm, 3.19 gram. IV
 Chry...
 A: Monogram **XPV**
 B: Conical with rounded top



|| Numismatik Naumann 75 (3 Mar 2019), 1035 (part)

- 188** Ø 14x15x6mm, 9.02 gram. III/IV
 A: Aesculapius (on right) and Salus (on left) standing facing each other
 B: Flat
 || Cf. Dembski (1975) no. 32 = Still 1659; Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 901



- 189** Ø 14x15x7mm, 4.46 gram. III/IV
 A: Draped bust of Attis (?) right, wearing Phrygian cap, pedum to left
 B: Conical
 || Leukel (1995) N67; Gorny & Mosch 156 (5 March 2007), lot 2512; Gorny & Mosch 225 (14 Oct 2014), 2813



In ancient art, the Phrygian cap and the pedum (Greek lagobolon) are associated with pastoral and wilderness scenes. Leukel does not identify the bust, but the Gorny & Mosch cataloguer suggests Men (2007) and Attis or Paris (2014). Although Men and Paris wear Phrygian hats, the lagobolon is not appropriate for them. If we accept that a mythological figure is depicted, then Attis would be a likely identification. Another possibility would be Ganymedes.

- 190** Ø 16x14x5mm, 2.74 gram. IV
 A: Eros kneeling left, playing or tuning a lyre
 B: Rounded



- 191** Ø 20x24x3mm, 7.38 gram. II/III
 A: M-A|Δ-O; head of Fortuna/Tyche wearing veil and mural crown right
 B: Square shape and flat



A very similar seal appeared in Kölner Münzkabinett E-Auction 6 (31 Jan 2021), 547 = Auction 111 (4 May 2019), 348. It shows the head of Tyche with the four letters ΛΙΜΝ in the corners and is tentatively attributed to Limnai, a town in Cappadocia. The Kölner Münzkabinett cataloguer dates the seal to the 2nd-3rd century.

- 192** Ø 22x24x3mm, 10.42 gram. II/III
 A: ...€-I; head of Fortuna/Tyche wearing mural crown left, rudder to left and cornucopia to right
 B: Square shape and flat



- 193** Ø 17x17x10mm, 11.26 gram. III/IV
 A: Hercules standing facing, head left, leaning on club set on ground, and holding lion's skin
 B: Chestnut
 || Cf. Leukel (2002) 96



- 194** Ø 20x18x10mm, 6.95 gram. III/IV
 A: Cult statue of Jupiter Heliopolitanus
 B: Chestnut



- 195** Ø 13x14mm, 3.99 gram. III
 A: Draped bust of Mercury right, caduceus over shoulder
 B: Head of Hercules right



- 196** Ø 12x14x6mm, 3.07 gram. III/IV
 A: Head of Roma or Minerva left
 B: Large hemispherical swelling



- 197** Ø 16x17x5mm, 4.08 gram. 1st half IV
 A: Head of Roma right
 B: Rounded, slightly irregular
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 157 (12 Jan 2011), lot 768 (part)
 || CNG 458 (18 Dec 2019), 568 (part); Cf. Leukel 276



The style of this seal type is very similar to the group of anonymous silver fractions (or medallions) apparently associated to the founding of Constantinopolis (see Bendall, type 2).

- 198** Ø 15x21x8mm, 6.33 gram. III/IV
 A: Sol standing left, holding whip and raising right hand
 B: Chestnut
 || Cf. Still 1703



- 199** Ø 15x19x8mm, 10.05 gram. III/IV
 A: Charioteer (Sol?) standing facing in spread quadriga holding uncertain object in his right hand, whip in left hand
 B: Chestnut
 || Cf. Still 675, Leukel (1995) N216 and Leu Numismatik 15 (27 Feb 2021), lot 2642



- 200** Ø 18x17x7mm, 9.87 gram. III/IV
 A: Victory, holding wreath and palm branch, in galloping quadriga right; flying above, another Victory holding wreath and palm branch flying above horses (or, as Leukel [1995] describes the type, two Vicories in two biga's)
 B: Chestnut
 || Leukel 323; Leukel (1995) N230-N240; CNG 458 (18 Dec 2019), lot 570; CNG 405 (6 Sep 2017), lot 560; Roma Esale 35 (3 May 2017), lot 685; Hirsch 314 (23 Sep 2015), 3190; Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 896; Münzzentrum Rheinland 138 (4-6 Jul 2007), lot 304 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 134 (30 Aug-1 Sep 2006), lot 690; CNG 69 (8 Jun 2005), lot 2239



- 201** Ø 20x20x8mm, 9.48 gram. III/IV
 As previous
 = Emporium Hamburg 67 (10 May 2012), lot 371



- 202** Ø 25x20x12mm, 12.57 gram. III/IV
 A: Victory advancing right, holding wreath and palm branch
 B: Chestnut
 || Leukel 315-316; Hirsch 316 (17 Feb 2016), 654; CNG 376 (15 Jun 2016), 561 (part); CNG 245 (1 Dec 2010), 532



- 203** Ø 17x16x5mm, 8.06 gram. IV
 A: Victory advancing right, holding wreath and palm branch, all in wreath
 B: Sol standing right, radiate, holding whip and uncertain object; altar to right, all in wreath



- 204** Ø 19x18x7. 10.53 gram. III/IV
 A: Baboon to right
 B: Conical with rounded top
 = CNG 305 (26 Jun 2013), lot 501 (part)



- 205** Ø 14x16x3mm, 2.43 gram. IV
 A: Centaur standing right, holding bow; to left, bird
 B: Centaur standing right in front of tree; to left, goat



- 206** Ø 13x14x6mm, 3.40 gram. III/IV
 A: Eagle standing facing, head right, wings spread
 B: Conical



- 207** Ø 15x15x8mm, 5.18 gram. III
 A: Horse emerging from shell; goat's head behind; fish to right and two dolphins below
 B: Conical with flattened top
 || Cf. for the general type no. 216 (lion emerging from shell), Leukel (1995) N346 (same) and Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 897 (lion emerging from shell as an element of a gryllos)



The motif of large animals like elephants, lions and horses emerging from a snail shell was well-liked in Roman gem engraving (cf. for example Furtwängler (1900) XLVI, 35; Dembski (2005) 1099-1101; Zwierlen-Diehl (1991) 2132-2136).

- 208** Ø 14x15x5mm, 7.05 gram. III/IV
 A: Frog
 B: Flat
 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 156 (1 Sep 2010), lot 1059 (part)



- 209** Ø 22x20x5mm, 11.50 gram. III
 A: Elaborate gryllus composed of a beardless head left and a bearded (Silenus) head right, beard curved upwards, three birds to left and below
 B: Flat
 = CNG 458 (18 Dec 2019), 572



- 210** Ø 11x17x4mm, 2.27 gram. III
 A: Composite head of Silenus left and a beardless head (Pan?) right
 B: Rounded, with a textile imprint



- 211** Ø 24x19x13mm, 22.17 gram. III/IV
 A: Head of “Minerva” wearing a helmet in the form of two Silenus heads
 B: Chestnut
 || Leukel (2001) 102; Cf. Maaskant-Kleinbrink (1978) 324 for an intaglio engraved carnelian gem with this motif.



- 212** Ø 14x12x4mm, 1.60 gram. III/IV
 A: EVX-XCO; hand, holding ear lobe between thumb and index finger
 B: Small hemispherical swelling
 || Cf. Dissard (1905); Culică 38; Leukel 341



According to the Romans, memory and remembrance were located in the ear (Plinius, NH VII, 105; Vergilius Eclog. VI, 3). A hand pinching the ear lobe between thumb and index finger is regularly encountered on Roman intaglio gems, sometimes accompanied by legends encouraging the viewer to “remember” someone (cf. Maaskant-Kleinbrink [1978] 1002; Dembski [2005] 1244-1245; Zwierlein-Diehl [1991] 2872). The legend on this seal seems to be nonsensical, perhaps “Eutychos” was intended.

- 213** Ø 15x14x6mm, 3.21 gram. III/IV
 A: Lion standing left
 B: Conical



- 214** Ø 16x16x8mm, 5.35 gram. III/IV
 A: Lion attacking antelope to right
 B: Conical

|| Culică 34 (found in Izvoarele) = Still 1640; Still 1712 (found in Pannonia); Münzzentrum Rheinland 175 (13 Jan 2016), 1228 (part); Roma Numismatics Elive Auction 1 (25 Jul 2018), lot 814; cf. Dissard 638 = Still 1480



- 215** Ø 14x20x8mm, 7.86 gram. III/IV
 A: Lion attacking antelope to left
 B: Chestnut

|| Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 906



- 216** Ø 13x13x10mm, 6.53 gram. III
 A: Lion emerging from shell
 B: Chestnut

|| Cf. for the general type no. 207 (and note); Münzzentrum Rheinland 151 (21 April 2009), lot 897 (lion emerging from shell as an element of a gryllos)



- 217** Ø 18x17x10mm, 10.17 gram. III
 A: Two lions jumping upwards towards each other, object (vase?) below
 B: Chestnut



- 218** Ø 17x22x6mm, 4.43 gram. III/IV
 A: Two lions seated towards each other, heads lifted
 B: Small hemispherical swelling



- 219** Ø 14x11x4mm, 1.70 gram. I/II, possibly earlier
 A: Pegasus to right
 B: Flat, apparently folded



This seal is typologically irregular. Apparently, the metal was folded over a thread.

220 Ø 23x32x6mm, 13.02 gram. III/IV

A: Rider on horseback to right on ground line, holding spear in right hand

B: Slightly rounded, almost flat

= Münzzentrum Rheinland 134 (30 Aug-1 Sep 2006), lot 690
|| Collingwood (1990) p. 87, fig. 1 = Still 284 (found in Richborough); Collingwood (1990) p. 92-93 = Still 284 (from Britannia); Cüppers (1974), no. 6 = Still 285 (found in Trier); Still 285A (found in Trier); Leukel 418-430; Leukel (2001) 166-173



221 Ø 24x20x6mm, 9.42 gram. III/IV

A: Rider on horseback to right, spearing lion, running to right, head turned back

B: Slightly rounded, almost flat

= Münzzentrum Rheinland 154 (13 Jan 2010), lot 822 (part)
|| Leukel (1995) N380; Leukel (2001) 165



222 Ø 15x15x10mm, 7.25 gram. III

A: Two shoes

B: Conical



223 Ø 15x13x5mm, 4.45 gram. IV

A: Tree

B: Victory advancing left holding wreath and palm branch

= Leu Numismatik Web Auction 3 (25 Feb 2018), lot 1255



224 Ø 12x13x5mm, 2.53 gram. IV

A: Wheel with animal heads

B: Conical

|| Leukel (1995) N347; CNG 458 (18 Dec 2019), 573 (part)



225 Ø 15x15x8mm, 5.32 gram. IV

A: Christ seated left on high-backed seat, raising his right hand in a gesture of speech; in front, three standing apostles; in field above, X (?)



B: Large hemispherical swelling

= Boersema (2019) no. 13b

|| Spier (2007) S9

The scene of Christ teaching the apostles is known in a number of iconographical variants on seals. See our no. 226 for a seal depicting Christ teaching three apostles to the right; Solidus 36 (25 Nov 2018), lot 2240 (part): Christ teaching six apostles to the left; Solidus 59 (20 Jun 2020), lot 1182: Christ teaching four apostles to the left, in upper register, eight apostles in lower register; Kölner Münzkabinett 111 (4 May 2019), lot 351: Christ seated facing teaching two groups of apostles to left and right. See Boersema (2019) nos. 13a-c for a discussion of the scene and additional references to glass pendants.

226 Ø 18x15x3mm, 3.02 gram. IV

A: Christ seated right on chair with back, raising right hand; to his right, three apostles standing. Above, IHCO-V (retrograde)

B: Slightly rounded, almost flat

= Boersema (2019) no. 13c



227 Ø 15x15x6mm, 3.42 gram. IV

A: Daniel, nimbate, wearing short tunic, standing right, feeding poisoned cake to the Babylonian dragon

B: Small hemispherical swelling, irregular

= Boersema (2019) no. 10



The narrative scene of Daniel slaying the Babylonian dragon by feeding it a poisoned cake is found in the Deuterocanonical additions to the book of Daniel, “Bel and the Dragon”, verses 23-30. In Christian times, the story was interpreted as an allegory of Christ’s triumph over Satan (Spier [2007-2008] no. 47). The scene as it appears on this seal has a close parallel on a 4th century gold glass medaillon in the British Museum. It is also found on a number of early christian sarcophagi (see Boersema [2019] no. 10).

- 228** Ø 11x14x3mm, 2.16 gram. IV/V
 A: Cross flanked by uncertain letters, possibly an early cruciform monogram
 B: Flat, irregular, textile imprint



- 229** Ø 16x22mm, 9.41 gram. IV/V
 A: ICOV X|PICTE|BOHΘI|AEI in four lines; horizontal lines above and below, all within circle
 B: Flat
 = Boersema (2019) no. 21



The inscription translates “Jesus Christ, help forever”. Cf. Boersema (2019) no. 15 for a seal with a similar legend, omitting the name of Jesus and substituting “aei” for its synonym “dia pantos”.

- 230** Ø 39x19mm, 9.12 gram. IV
 A: XPIC|TOV IH|COV (retrograde)
 B: Rectangular tag with circular impression



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tesserae

- Arzone, Antonella and Alessandra Marinello. 2019. *Museo di Castelvecchio: Tessere di Piombo*. Verona: Musei di Verona
- Buttrey, T.V., Ann Johnston, Kenneth M. MacKenzie, and Michael L. Bates. 1981. *Greek, Roman, and Islamic Coins from Sardis*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Casariago, Antón, Gonzalo Cores, and Francisco Pliego. 1987. *Catalogo de Plomos Monetiformes de La Hispania Antigua*. Madrid: Artis Traditio.
- Crisà, Antonino, Mairi Gkikaki, and Clare Rowan (eds.). 2019. *Tokens: Culture, Connections, Communities*. RNS Special Publication 57.
- Crisà, Antonino (ed.). Forthcoming 2021. *Tokens, Value, and Identity: Exploring Monetiform Objects in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cercle d'Etudes Numismatiques. Bruxelles.
- Dalzell, Bill. Forthcoming 2020. "Personal, Public, and Mercantine Themes on Unpublished Lead Tokens." In *Tokens, Value, and Identity: Exploring Monetiform Objects in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by Antonino Crisà. Cercle d'Etudes Numismatiques. Bruxelles.
- Dattari, G. 1901. *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*. Cairo.
- . 1999. *Catalogo Completo Della Collezione Dattari Numi Augg. Alexandrini*. Edited by Adriano Savio. Trieste.
- Dauwe, Roland. 2008. "Quelques notes sur les monnaies des nomes et tesseres de l'Egypte Romaine." *Cercle D'études Numismatiques* 45 (1): 14–17.
- De Ruggerio, Ettore. 1878 ("Kirchariano"). *Catalogo del Museo Kircheriano*. Rome: Salviucci.
- Dissard, Paul. 1905. *Collection Récamier – Catalogue Des Plombs Antiques*. Paris: Rollin et Feuarent.
- Eckhel, Joseph. 1792. *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*. Wittenburg: Ignatius Albert.
- Engel, Arthur. 1884. "Choix de tessères grecques en plomb." In *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 8 (1): 1-21.

- Ficoroni, Francesco. 1740. *I Piombi Antichi*. Rome: Mainardi.
- Geissen, A. 1983. *Katalog Alexandrinischer Kaisermünzen, Köln – Vol. 5*. Cologne.
- Gkikai, Maria. 2019. “Tokens in the Athenian Agora in the third century AD: Advertising prestige and civic identity in Roman Athens.” in *Tokens: Culture, Connections, Communities*, edited by Antonino Crisà et al. RNS Special Publication 57, p. 127-144.
- . Forthcoming 2020. “Tokens for festivals in Hellenistic Athens.” In *Tokens, Value, and Identity: Exploring Monetiform Objects in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by Antonino Crisà. Cercle d’Etudes Numismatiques. Bruxelles.
- Gülbay, Onur, and Hasan Kireç. 2008 (“Gülbay & Kireç”). *Ephesian Lead Tesserae*. Selçuk-Efes: Selçuk Belediyesi.
- Kotansky, Roy David. 1979. “The Roman Lead Tesserae – a Survey of the Research.” *Collector’s Journal of Ancient Art* 1 (1): 2–6.
- Kroll, John, Quinn Dupont, Olga Dakoura-Vogiatzoglou, and Clare Rowan. 2019. *Workshop: TOKENS. The Athenian legacy to the modern world*. <https://www.blod.gr/events/workshop-tokens-the-athenian-legacy-to-modern-world/>
- Kuhn, C. 2014. “Prosopographical notes on four lead *tesserae* from Roman Ephesos.” *ZPE* 190, p. 137-140.
- Lang, Mabel, and Margaret Crosby. 1964. *The Athenian Agora Vol. 10 – Weights, Measures and Tokens*. Vol. 10. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Le Gall, J. 1974. “Tessères en plomb trouvée a Alésia.” *Bulletin de La Société Nationale Des Antiquaires de France*: 45–53; pl. VIII–IX.
- Medas, Stefano, Mechtild Overbeck, and Novella Vismara. 1996. *Minturnae Antiquarium: Monete dal Garigliano II*. Rome: Soprintendenza Archeologica per il Lazio.
- Milne, J.G. 1900. “The Coins.” In *Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri*, edited by Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, and David G. Hogarth, 64–74. London: Pauk, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- . 1914. “Graeco-Roman Leaden Tesserae from Abydos.” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1 (2): 93–95.
- . 1915. “Leaden Tokens from Memphis.” *Ancient Egypt*: 107–121.
- . 1922. “The Coins from Oxyrhynchus.” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 8 (3): 158–163.

- . 1927. *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1930. “Egyptian Lead Tokens.” *Numismatic Chronicle* 5 (10): 300–316, pl. XXII.
- . 1938. “Report on Coins Found at Tebtunis in 1900.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21 (2): 210–26, pl. XXVI.
- Mora-Serrano, B. 2004. “Plomos monetiformes y su relación con la producción y transporte del aciete bético.” In *Talleres alfareros y producciones cerámicas en la Bética romana (ss. II s.C. – VII d.C.)*. *Actas del Congreso Internacional (Cádiz 2003)*, edited by Lagóstena Barrios & Bernal Casola. BAR International Series 1266.
- Mowat, R. 1898. “Contremarques sur des tessères Romaines de bronze et de plomb les spintriennes.” *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 11: 21–42.
- Overbeck, Mechtild. 1995 (“Munich”). *Römische Bleimarken*. Munich: Staatlichen Münzsammlung München.
- . 2001 (“Milan”). *Römische Bleimarken*. Milan: Comune di milano.
- Rostowzew, Mikhail, and Maurice Prou. 1900. *Catalogue des plombs du moyen age et des temps modernes*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.
- Rostowzew, Mikhail. 1903 (a). *Tesserarum Urbis Romae et Suburbi Plumbearum Sylloge*. St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences.
- . 1903 (b) РИМСКИЕ СВИНЦОВЫЕ ТЕССЕРЫ. St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences.
- . 1905 (a, “Rostowzew”). *Tesserarum Urbis Romae et Suburbi Plumbearum Sylloge – Supplementum*. St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences.
- . 1905 (b). *Römische Bleitesserae*. Edited by C.F. Lehmann and E Kornemann. Beiträge z. Leipzig: Theodor Weicher.
- Rowan, Clare. 2020. “The Roman Tokens in the Ashmolean Museum,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 180: (pages forthcoming)
- Sciallano, Martine. 1987. “Une collection de plombs Romains trouvés à Fos-Sur-Mer.” *Archaeonautica* 7 (1): 193–201.
- Stannard, Clive. 1995. “Iconographic Parallels Between the Local Coinages of Central Italy and Baetica In the First Century BC.” *Acta Numismatica* 25: 47–97.
- . 2005. “Numismatic Evidence for Relations Between Spain and Central Italy at the Turn of the Second and First Centuries BC.” *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 84: 47–80.
- . 2011. “The Iconography of Two Groups of Struck Lead from Central Italy and Baetica

- in the Second and First Centuries BC.” In *Proceedings of the XIVth International Numismatic Conference Glasgow 2009*, edited by Nicholas Holmes. Glasgow: Gutenberg Press.
- . 2015. “Shipping Tesseræ from Ostia and Minturnæ?” *Numismatic Chronicle* 175: 147-159.
- Thornton, M. K. 1975. *The Roman Lead Tesseræ in the British Museum*. Manuscript on file, Coins and Medals Department, British Museum.
- . 1976. “The Roman Lead Tesseræ.” *Archaeological News* 5: 65.
- . 1980. “The Roman Lead Tesseræ : Observations on Two Historical Problems.” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 29 (3): 349-353.
- Turcan, Robert. 1987. *Nigra Moneta*. Lyon: Diffusion de Boccard.
- Van Berchem, Denise. 1936. “Tessères ou calculi? : Essai d’interprétation des jetons Romains en plomb.” *Revue numismatique* 39: 297-315.
- Virlovet, Catherine. 1988. “Plombs Romains Monétiformes et Tessères Frumentaires: A Propos D’une Confusion.” *Revue Numismatique*: 120–149.
- . 1995. *Tessera Frumentaria*. Rome: École Française de Rome. See also, Virlovet, Catherine. 1988. “Plombs Romains Monétiformes et Tessères Frumentaires: A Propos D’une Confusion.” *Revue Numismatique*: 120–149.
- Weiller, Raymond. 1994. “Tessères Gallo-Romaines en plomb de Dalheim - ‘Pétzel.’” *Revue Belge numismatique et de sigillographie* 140 (1): 19–23, pl.III.
- Wilding, Denise. 2019. “Tokens of Antinous from the Roman Province of Egypt,” in *Tokens: Culture, Connections, Communities*, edited by Antonino Crisà et al. RNS Special Publication 57, p. 111-126.

Seals

- Alekseienko N. A. 2016. “Late Roman and Early Byzantine seals from Cherson and its Environs” N. A. Alekseenko, V. A. Nessel”, *Scientific Notes of Crimean Federal V. I. Vernadsky University, Series: Historical Science, Vol. 2 (68), No. 1, 59–69*
- Asamer, Beatrix, and Heinz Winter. 1999. “Antike Bleiplomben mit christlichen Motiven in österreichischen Sammlungen.” *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 106/107: 119–126.
- S. Bendall. 1996. *Byzantine Weights. An Introduction* (London 1996).
- . 2002. “Anonymous Silver Coinage of the 4th to 6th Centuries AD” *Revue Numismatique* 158: p. 139-159

- Binsfeld, W. 1988. "Galatische Ware in Trier" in *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 28, p. 13-16.
- Boersema, G. 2019. "A Dutch Collection of Late Antique and Early Christian Lead Seals" *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 13: 3-32.
- Cheyne, J.-C., C. Morrisson and W. Seibt. 1991. *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig*. Paris.
- Cheyne, J.-C. 1994. "Sceaux byzantins des musées d'Antioche et de Tarse" *Trav. Et Mém.* 12: 391-478.
- . 1996. "Sceaux de plomb du musée d'Hatay (Antioche)" *Revue des études byzantines*, tome 54: 249-270.
- Chiriac, C and L. Munteanu. 2014. "Trade Connections between Asia Minor and the Western Pontic Area in the 4th Century CE. Some Sphragistic Considerations" Victor Cojocaru (editor-in-chief) *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, vol. III. Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca.
- Collingwood, R. G. and R. P. Wright. 1990, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Vol. 2, fascicule 1: 87-124
- Culică, V. 1975. "Plumburi comerciale din cetatea Romano-Bizantina de la Izvoarele (Dobrogen)." *Pontica* 8: 215-262.
- . 1976. "Plumburi comerciale din cetatea Romano-Bizantina de la Izvoarele." *Pontica* 9: 116-133.
- . 1979. "Plumburi comerciale din cetatea Romano-Bizantina de la Izvoarele (Addenda et corrigenda)." *Pontica* 12: 144-149.1
- Cüppers, H. 1974. "Ausgewählte römische Moselfunde" *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete* 37: 149-173
- Dembski, G. 1975. "Römische Bleiplomben aus Österreich (Eine Materialvorlage)." *Römisches Österreich* 3: 49-64.
- . 1995. "Die römischen Bleiplomben aus Österreich." *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* IV (Washington DC): 81-96.
- . 2005. *Die antiken Gemmen und Kameen aus Carnuntum*. Wien.
- Dissard, Paul. 1905. *Collection Récamier - Catalogue des Plombs Antiques*. Paris: Rollin et Feuardent.

- Furtwängler, Adolf. 1900. *Die antiken Gemmen: Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im Klassischen Altertum*. Leipzig und Berlin.
- Grenier, A. 1934. “Les Plombs de Commerce” *Manuel d’Archeologie Gallo-Romaine* 6, ii: 643-63.
- Kritzinger, Peter & Klaus Zimmermann. 2019. “Die Heeresversorgung des 4. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel von Historiographie und Sphragistik” Tommaso Gnoli (ed.), *Aspetti di tarda antichità. Storici, storia e documenti del IV secolo d.C.* (Bologna): 279-316
- Kritzinger, Peter. 2012. “Was Bleisiegel über das römische Zollwesen aussagen, in: Peter Kritzinger, Frank Schleicher and Timo Stickler (eds.), *Studien zum römischen Zollwesen (Koll. Jena 2012)*. (Duisburg): 195-22.
- Laet, S.J. De. 1949. *Portorium. Étude sur l’organisation douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l’époque du Haut-Empire* (Brugge).
- Leukel, H.-J. 1991-1993 (“Leukel”). “Römische Bleiplomben aus Trierer Funden” *Trierer Petermännchen. Beiträge zur Numismatik und Trierer Heimatkunde* V (1991): 7-64 (first part); VI (1992): 64-125 (second part); VII (1993): 125-153 (third part).
 ——. 1995. “Römische Bleiplomben aus Trierer Funden – Nachtrag” *Trierer Petermännchen. Beiträge zur Numismatik und Trierer Heimatkunde* IX (1995): 153-242.
 ——. 2002. *Römische Bleiplomben aus Trierer Funden 1995-2001*. Trier.
- Maaskant-Kleibrink, M. 1978. *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet, The Hague*. The Hague.
- Rostowzew, Mikhail, and Maurice Prou. 1900. *Catalogue des plombs du moyen age et des temps modernes*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.
- Sode, C. 1997. *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin II*. Bonn.
- Speck, P. 1986. *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin (West)*. Bonn.
- Spier, J. 2007. *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
 ——. 2007-2008 *Picturing the Bible – The earliest Christian art* (Fort Worth).
 ——. 2011 “Late Antique and Early Christian Gems, Some Unpublished Examples” , in C. Entwistle and N. Adams, *Gems of Heaven* (London) 193-207

- Stiegemann, C. (Ed.). 2001. *Byzanz. Das Licht aus dem Osten: Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert; Katalog der Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum Paderborn* (Paderborn)
- Still, M.C.W. 1995a. *Roman Lead Sealings*. Doctoral thesis, University of London.
- . 1995b. “Opening up imperial lead sealings.” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6: 403-408.
- Toth, E. “Bleibullen im Ungarischen National Museum” in M. Hainzmann & Z. Visy, *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina – Das römische Leben im Spiegel der Kleininschriften* (Pécs 1991) p. 49 and 152-56.
- Turcan, Robert. 1987. *Nigra Moneta*. Lyon: Diffusion de Boccard.
- Vida, István, and József Géza Kiss. 2019. “Roman lead sealings with Christian motifs from a Hungarian private collection” *Az Érem* LXXV: 1-6.
- Vons, P. 1980. “Roman lead sealings from Velsen” *Helinium* 30: 44-53.
- Weiser, W. 2006. “Die Tetrarchie – Ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation auf Münzen und Medaillons” Boschung, Dietrich, and Werner Eck (eds.). 2006. *Die Tetrarchie: Ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation*: 205-227. Wiesbaden.
- Weiss, P. 2006. “Die Tetrarchie in Bleisiegeln der Reichsverwaltung” Boschung, Dietrich, and Werner Eck (eds.). *Die Tetrarchie: Ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation*: 229-248. Wiesbaden.
- . 2013. “Magnesia Mea. Marktgewichte und Bleisiegel der Stadt am Mäander”, in G. Kökdemir (Ed.), *Orhan Bingöl’e 67. Yaş Armağanı* (Festschrift O. Bingöl) (Ankara) 677-693
- Zwierlein-Diehl, E. 1991 *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien. Band III*. (Wien)

INDEX

Legends

- A 91, 117
...AB Λ 152
ΑΔΠΟ 36, 37
AETERNALIUS 146
ΑΙΓ 74
ΑΛΑΥ (or ΑΜΑΥ) 111
ΑΛΕΞ 35
ΑΜ 99, 111
ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΟC 29
ΑΝΠΕΙΑΘΟΥ 91
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΥ 147, 148
ΑΝ ΙΤ 27
ΑΞΙ 78
Α Π 30
ΑΡΙCTΑΝΕΤΟΥ 149
ΑΡΙCTΙΩΝ 66
ΑΡΜΡ 15
ΑCCKHΠΙΔΟC 158
ΑΥΓ Ν 143, 144
ΒΑCСΟC Φ 150
ΒΟΥ ΓΡΑ ΙΟΥ 34
ΒCΙ 85
C 26
CΑΕS 28
C Ν 21
CΟNSTΑNTINI VICTORIA 133
ΓΕΡ ΜΑΡ 94
ΓΕΡ ΦΙΛ 39
ΓΘΜ (monogram) 44
D 26
DDD NNN 142
...DEO (or ΔΕΟ)... CΜ...ΙV 170
ΔΗΜΕΟΥ 98
D Ν CΟNSTΑNTIVS ΜΑΧ ΑΥΓVSTVΣ 138
D Ν CΟNSTΑNTIVS ΡF ΑΥΓ 139
ΔΟ 84
ΔΟΙΝΑΤV 97
DΡ 6, 7
...ΕΙ 192
ΕΙCΑ 86
ΕΚ 33
ΕΛΛΕCΠΟΝΤΟΥ 173
ΕΡΜΑΝΙ 167
ΕSVM 184
ΕΥΕΛΠΙΟΥ 46
ΕΥΛΟΓΙΟΥ 151
ΕΥΝΟΜΟΥ 152
...ΕVCV 160
ΕVTVXHC 49
ΕVXXCO 212
ΕΦΕCΙ 177
ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ 87
GK 116
H 38
ΗΡIC 162
ΘΝ 159
ΘΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ 109
I 48, 59
IE 31, 90 (retrograde)
ΙΗCΟΥ 226
ΙCΟΥ ΧΡΙCΤΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΑΕΙ 229
IT 27
IVLI ΜΑRCΙΑΝΙ 153
KACCIOV 154
KΔ 68
ΛΑΟΥΦΙΛ ΒΟΥΛΑΡ Δ... 45
LEVCIMIO PISI 40
LICINIVS ΑΥΓ 130
LVB 25
ΛΥΔΙΑC 170
LVG 8
ΛΥΗ 38
ΛΥΚΙΩΝ 174
ΜΑΔΟ 191
ΜΑΓ Ρ... 185
ΜΑΓΝΗCΙΑ ΜΕΑ 177
ΜΑΡ ΓΕΡ 94
ΜΑΡ ΓΡ ΒΟΥ 42

ΜΑΤΑΥΡΑ 176
 ΜΗΝΟ 54-56
 ΜΥΣΑ 23
 ΝΕΙ 65
 ΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ 155
 ΝΟΜΗ 54-56
 ΝΟΡΒΑΝΝΟ 40
 ΝΥΣΑ 180
 Ξ (or Ζ) 35
 ΟΥΣΤΑΥΙΑ ΑΥΓ Γ 1
 ΠΑΛΑ 149
 ΠΑΜΦΥΛΩΝ 171
 ΠΑΝΦΥ 157
 ΠΟ 36, 37
 ...ΠΠΟ 43
 ΠΡ 71
 ΡΙΣΙ 40
 Ρ Ρ 18
 Ρ 68
 REGIONIS ELLESPONLACAE 172
 ...ΡΜΑΝΙ 167
 ΡΥ 73
 ΣΕΥ ΑΥΓ ΤΙΒ 122
 ΣΜΥΡΝΑ 178
 ΡΡΡ 123
 Τ 75
 ΤΕ 79
 ΤΗ ΔΜ 186
 ΤΗΙΩΝ 179
 ΤΙ ΚΑΛ ΣΕΚΟΒΝΔΟΒ 156
 ΤΙΣΡ 17
 Υ 141
 ΥΑΜ 99
 ΥΞΘ 57
 Φ 61, 62
 ΦΑΚΟΒ 88
 ΦΑΥΣΤΟΒ ΦΙΛΟΣΕΒ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΒ -
 64
 ΦΙΛ ΓΕΡ 39
 ΦΛ ΑΣ 41
 ΦΥΛ (monogram) 44
 ΦΩΤΙΟΒ 155
 Χ 225
 ΧΙ 59

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΒ ΙΗΣΟΒ 230
 ΧΡΥ (monogram) 187

General and Iconographical

Achilles 121
 Actaeon/Aktaion 30, 35
 Aequitas/Dikaiosyne 45
 Aesculapius/Asklepios 2, 31, 188
 Agoranomos 64
 Alexander the Great 50-53
 Altar 14, 72, 203
 Amphora 100
 Anchor 117
 Androclus/Androklos 29
 Animal 21, 56
 Animal heads 224
 Antelope 214, 215
 Apostles 225, 226
 Artemis Ephesia 32, 33, 53
 Attis 189
 Aurae 18
 Baboon 204
 Bacchus 36, 37, 152
 Basket 54-56
 Bee 58
 Biga of mice 69
 Bird 42 (countermark), 183, 205, 209
 Bird cage 73
 Boar 29, 59, 101, 112
 Boularches 45
 Boule 34, 42
 Bow 5, 34, 205
 Bunch of grapes 75
 Caduceus 22, 23, 32, 195
 Capricorn 149
 Carthage 155
 Centaur 121, 205
 Charioteer 199
 Cheiron 121
 Children 169
 Christ 225, 226
 Christogram 150

Circles 33 (countermark)
 Clasped hands 3
 Composite head 42, 78, 210, 211
 Cornucopia 6-11, 23, 32, 61, 62, 91, 113, 192
 Crab 60
 Crescent 25, 53, 63, 85, 168
 Crocodile 121
 Cross 151, 183, 228
 Cupid/Eros 190
 Daniel 227
 Deer 56
 Diana/Artemis 3, 4, 5, 32-35, 53
 Dionysus 36, 37, 152
 Dolphin 19, 61, 62, 68, 125, 207
 Double busts 123, 126, 127, 129, 140, 165-168
 Dragon 227
 Eagle 48, 63, 206
 Ear 212
 Elephant 20, 64
 Ephesus 177
 Epistates 183
 Eros 190
 Facing head 96, 105, 109, 151
 Female bust right 1, 108
 Female figure 54-56
 Firebrand 22
 Fish 40, 68, 207
 Fisherman 49
 Fortuna/Tyche 6-11, 14, 45, 46, 171, 191, 192
 Fossae Marianae 28
 Frog 208
 Games 17
 Ganymedes 189
 Gerousia 39, 94
 Goat 205, 207
 Gorgoneion 109
 Grain ear 63, 76, 82 100, 111
 Grammateus 34, 42
 Grape vine 75
 Grotto 35
 Gryllus 209
 Hand 2, 3, 212
 Hare 67
 Hellespontos 172, 173
 Heracleopolis 91
 Hercules/Herakles 38, 120, 193, 195
 Herm 39
 Hero 92, 121
 Heryshaf 120
 Hiereus 31
 Hippocamp 35, 113
 Horse 27, 56, 57, 65, 114, 207, 220, 221
 Hound 5, 21, 30
 Hypatos 183
 Janiform head (Silenus and young Pan) 42, 78, 210, 211
 Jesus Christ 225, 226
 Jupiter/Zeus 48, 93 (Heliopolitanus) 194
 Kanephoros 54-56
 Kantharos 81
 Krater 95
 Lagobolon 189
 Leaf 77, 115
 Lion 66, 67, 81, 100, 102, 213-218, 221
 Lycia 174
 Lydia 170
 Lykos 174
 Lyre 190
 Magnesia ad Maeandrum 175
 Male bust 94, 103, 104, 107, 122-142, 145-148, 151, 155, 157-169, 174, 189
 Male figure 14, 49, 72, 114
 Married couple 165-169
 Mastaura 176
 Menorah 181, 182
 Mercury/Hermes 11-13, 16, 154, 195
 Minerva/Athena 14, 170, 196, 211
 Modius 111
 Monkey 204
 Monogram 44, 89, 96, 149, 183, 187, 228
 Mouse 69
 Neptunus/Poseidon 15, 40
 Nilus 121
 Nysa 180
 Palatinos 149
 Palm branch 9, 20, 21, 24, 30 (countermark), 65, 79, 96
 Pamphylia 171

Pan 42, 78
 Panther 36, 37, 152
 Patera 1
 Pedum 189
 Pegasus 219
 Pelta 80
 Phallus 21
 Phrygian cap 189
 Poppy 63, 82
 Prawn 68
 Presbeutes or presbyteros 89
 Priapus 72
 Priestly implements 119
 Proconsul (of Asia) 146
 Procurator 17
 Quadriga 199, 200, 201
 Quadruple busts 128, 169
 Quaestor 96
 Ram 4, 172
 Rider 57, 159, 220, 221
 Riding whip 24, 57
 Roma 170, 196, 197
 Rooster 12, 69
 Rosette 71
 Rudder 6-11, 61, 62, 113, 192
 Salus/Hygieia 188
 Sarpedon 174
 Scallop 68, 70
 Serapis 16, 43, 93
 Serpent 227
 Shark 68
 Shell 19, 68, 70, 207, 216
 Shield 90, 119
 Ship 40
 Shoe 222
 Silenus/Silenos 42, 44, 78, 209-211
 Smyrna 178
 Sol/Helios 106, 198, 199, 203
 Spear 90
 Spectators 17
 Spes/Elpis 99
 Stag 5, 71, 74, 90
 Star 25, 53, 59, 63, 83, 91, 139, 166
 Star in crescent 25

Stork 42 (countermark)
 Tamias 96
 Temple 72
 Teos 179
 Togate figure 14, 72
 Torch 22
 Treasurer 96
 Tree 75, 205, 223
 Trident 23
 Triple busts 124, 125, 142
 Tunny 68
 Vase 95, 217
 Vessel 82, 217
 Victory/Nike 10, 13, 18, 41, 47, 120, 128, 141, 200-203, 223
 Vine 75, 115
 Warrior 92, 121
 Wheel 24, 83, 224
 Whip 24, 57
 Winged caduceus 22, 23
 Wreath 47, 63, 68, 87, 96, 128, 152, 156, 203

Prosopographical

Aeternalius 146
 Aetios, hypatos 183
 Alex(andro)s 35
 Antiochos 147, 148
 Arcadius 142
 Aristanetos 145
 Aristion 66
 As..., Flavius 41
 Asklepidos 158
 Axi... 78
 Baanes 149
 Bassos 151
 Carinus 126
 Carus 126
 Cassius 154
 Chry... 187
 Claudia Octavia 1
 Constantine I 133-137
 Constantius I caesar 128

Constantius II 138-140
Constantius Gallus caesar 140, 141
Demeos 98
Diocletian 128, 129
Eisagoras 86
Eisas 86
Euelpios 46
Eulogios 151
Eunomos 152
Faustus Philosebastos, agoranomos 64
Flavius As... 41
Galerius caesar 128
Germanus 167
Herennia Etruscilla 124
Herennius Etruscus caesar 124
Honorius 142
Iou(lianos), grammateus of the Boule 34
Julius Marcianus 153
Kassios 154
Laouphilos, boularches 45
Leucimius 40
Licinius I 130, 131
Licinius II caesar 132
Octavia, daughter of Claudius 1
Marcianus, Julius 153
Marcus Aurelius caesar 94
Markos, grammateus of the Boule 42
Maximian 128, 129
Maximinus I 123
Maximus caesar 123
Musa 23
Niketas or Niketes Photios 155
Norbanus 40
Pamphy(lios) 157
Phaustos Philosebastos, agoranomos 64
Phlabios As... 41
Photios, Niketas or Niketes 155
Septimius Severus 122
Theodosius II 142
Tiberius 122
Tiberius Cal... Secundus 156
Tiberius Claudius, procurator 17
Tiberios Kal... Sekoundos 156
Trajan Decius 124

Countermarks

Bird 42
Concentric circles 33, 93
Grain ears and poppy bound together 63
Lion (?) advancing left 75
Palm branch 30
Rosette consisting of seven dots 91, 92
Shield (?) 33, 93
Stork 42