# 3 | Creating Identities in Rome, Ostia and Italy

Tokens form one of the many media of everyday life through which overlapping identities were created, consolidated and performed. An individual possessed multiple identities throughout their life course; someone might have identified with a particular group or been classified into a particular category by others. A person in the Roman world might possess overlapping identities related to class, geographic region, work, gender, family, the military, cult, communal associations, or another type of community. One or more of these identities might come to the fore at different moments in a person's life – a sense of belonging to a particular group, after all, is actively constructed and contested over time.[1]

Rather than seeing 'identity' as a static concept to analyse, sociologists have suggested that instead we might examine the processes through which identities are (or are not) enacted. This focus on process offers a fruitful path to best capture the lived experience of particular individuals. Brubaker advocated an approach he termed 'Groupness', the study of moments of intense solidarity and cohesion amongst a particular group of people. These events might fail in enacting identity, but even if successful remain only a passing moment in time: the solidarity or cohesion felt during a particular occasion may not endure once the event is over.[2] A focus on the *processes* of group-making uncovers the mechanisms by which, and events in which, identities might become salient – that is, the situation in which a particular identity is invoked or performed.[3]

If we are correct in seeing tokens as objects used for particular moments in time, then they form an ideal source to begin reconstructing 'Groupness' – the way in which feelings of cohesion and community might manifest during a particular occasion. Throughout an event different identities might be activated (i.e. become salient). Indeed, many tokens seem to have been designed in a way to call forth particular identities in the user, through the use of imagery and language designed to speak to participants (e.g. representations of worshippers of different types, the presence of chants). Such

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[1] Howgego, 2005; Highmore, 2011: 36–7.    [2] Brubaker, 2004: 12; Rebillard, 2015: 428.
[3] Brenner, Serpe and Stryker, 2014: 232; Rebillard, 2015: 429.

strategies may reflect an implicit understanding on behalf of token makers that 'Groupness' might fail – material culture was thus employed to actively facilitate feelings of community and cohesion.

Events and their associated material culture played an important role in the creation and performance of different identities.[4] The connection of artefacts to identity in the Roman world has already received significant attention within scholarship; many of the coins of the Roman provinces, for example, are now understood as elite expressions of civic identity particular to a local region.[5] But among the voluminous outputs on the topic of ancient identities, the role of tokens in this process, and the types of identities these artefacts reveal, has not featured at all. This chapter begins to address this lacuna by exploring what tokens can reveal about the differing identities of individuals in Italy, and the processes by which these identities might be activated at particular moments in time.

The designs of tokens from across the Roman Empire reveal that they could form a vehicle for the expression of different types of identity: civic, tribal, cultic or individual identity, for example. A series of Gallo-Roman lead tokens carry direct reference to settlements or tribes, including the settlement of Ricciaco (modern day Dalheim-Pëtzel), the *Alisienses*, *Ambiani* and *Lingones*.[6] Tokens in Egypt might also carry city names accompanied by imagery of local significance: tokens of Memphis, for example, carry imagery connected to the main cult in the region, the Apis bull, and those from Oxyrhynchus represent the local cult of Athena-Thoeris.[7] A lead token found in Tunisia carries the legend GENIO TVSDRITANORV, a reference to the Genius or embodiment of the people of Thysdrus.[8] Tokens from Roman Athens carry imagery intended to enhance the prestige of the issuers, with imagery perhaps consciously chosen to underline the divine ancestry or familial standing of the individuals concerned.[9] Among the imagery found on lead tokens from Ephesus are a bee, a stag and the famous cult statue of Artemis of Ephesus, images that were also found on the provincial coinage of the city and were emblems

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[4] Pitts, 2007.

[5] The scholarship on identity in the Roman world is vast and cannot be listed in detail here. For provincial coins see by way of example the contributions in Howgego, Heuchert and Burnett, 2005.

[6] Le Brazidec-Berdeaux, 1999; Weiller, 2000.

[7] Milne, 1930; Milne, 1971: nos. 5278–9, 5312–16 (by way of example); Wilding, 2020.

[8] Reported in the *Bulletin de la Sociéte national des antiquaires de France*, 1882, 272; https://coins .warwick.ac.uk/token-specimens/id/heron.1882.p.272.

[9] Gkikaki, 2019.

of civic identity.[10] The use of tokens to activate and/or consolidate different identities in Italy explored here is thus part of a broader phenomenon.

Tokens form an important corpus of material from which to uncover everyday expressions of identities within Rome and Italy.[11] Importantly, their decentralised production means that they offer glimpses into the experiences of individuals who are not necessarily well represented in our surviving textual evidence: women or *collegia* for example. The imagery and legends selected for tokens used in hyperlocal contexts reveal the ways in which everyday material culture was marshalled for 'Groupness', those moments in which particular identities might be made salient. This chapter begins with a consideration of what tokens can reveal about civic identities in both Rome and Ostia, before moving on to consider the display of other identities (those formed through work, family, or office-holding, for example). As Rebillard notes, an individual might experience multiple identities, which might be activated simultaneously or successively.[12] The multiplicity of different types of identities expressed on tokens offers the historian an insight into the plural nature of identity for individuals in Roman antiquity.

## The City of Rome

Several lead tokens reference the *Genius populi Romani*, the divine personification of the people of Rome. This figure had previously appeared on coinage of the Republic to emphasise the sovereignty and agency of the Roman people; the Genius is variously shown as a youthful male portrait accompanied by a sceptre, holding a cornucopia and crowning Roma with a wreath, or holding a cornucopia and sceptre and being crowned by Victory.[13] The figure of the youthful male carrying a cornucopia continued into the imperial period. The Genius was an important focal point of identity, both for Rome's inhabitants and for provincial representations of Roman power.[14] In addition to the youthful male Genius, the embodiment of the Roman people was also communicated via the medium of text. Remarkably, several Roman tokens carry nothing but text, referring to the

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[10]  Gülbay and Kireç, 2008: nos. 108–11a, 161–78a, 179–81b. The legends EPHECION and APTEMICION accompany the image of Diana Ephesia on some specimens.

[11]  On provincial coinage and identity see, by way of example, Howgego, Heuchert and Burnett, 2005.

[12]  Rebillard, 2015: 429.    [13]  *RRC* 329, 393, 397/1, 428/3; Yarrow, 2021: 82, 96.

[14]  On the development of the *Genius Populi Romani* and its Hellenistic context see Fears, 1978.

**Figure 3.1** Pb token, 14 mm, 12 h, 2.57 g. GPR / FELICITER around. *TURS* 1573, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 361b.

*Genius populi Romani* via an abbreviated Latin legend: G P, G P R or G P R F, with the last F acting as an abbreviation of the phrase *feliciter* (well wishes).[15] Figure 3.1 bears the abbreviation GPR on one side with the word *feliciter* spelt out in full on the other. The use of *feliciter* recalls the tokens discussed in Chapter 2, which express good wishes for the emperor. Similar to those pieces, these tokens are likely artefacts created as part of a larger event or festival.

The legend G·P·R had earlier accompanied a representation of the Genius of the Roman people on the coinage of the Republic.[16] The letters G P R F also appear as a stamp on Roman lamps, and appear on marble inscriptions in Rome and Ostia – this particular combination of letters was evidently well used and recognised.[17] The ways in which this abbreviated phrase might form part of daily life can be found in a painted inscription (*titulus pictus*) in the *insula Vitaliana* on the Esquiline hill in Rome.[18] The inscription, the only evidence for the name of this particular *insula*, is placed within a *tabula ansata* in a room that is decorated with black and white mosaic pavement and which dates to the second century AD. The inscription is a dedication by the *officinator* of the *insula* P. Tullius Febus, with G P R F placed on the dovetails of the *tabula ansata* (G P on left, R F on right). Beneath the inscription a large coiled snake (perhaps a representation of the *genius loci*) was painted facing right; the inscription and snake sit within a broader painted decorative scheme in the room that involves floral and fruit garlands, and a rooster.[19] Without further information it is difficult to know the precise use of this room, but it contains an

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[15] For example, *TURS* 1573–605.     [16] *RRC* 393.

[17] Lamps: *CIL* XII, 5682 no. 125 (from Avignon, a lamp decorated with Victory carrying a palm branch and wreath), *CIL* XVI, 6195a–c (all from Rome). Marble inscriptions: *CIL* VI, 329 = *CIL* VI, 30738 (an altar from Rome), *CIL* XIV, 4284 (found during the excavation of the piazzale della Vittoria in Ostia, *NSc.* 1910, 31).

[18] *CIL* VI, 33893 = *AE* 2004, 155.

[19] *NSc.* 1895, 80. On snakes as the 'spirits of place' see Flower, 2017: 63–7.

expression of civic identity in a very local context, perhaps juxtaposed against the Genius of the locality in the form of a snake. As well as the image of the youthful male Genius, one can argue that the identity of the Roman people was also shaped by three or four letters: the G P R or G P R F repeated in numerous contexts throughout the city. Glancing at these letters in an *insula*, on a lamp or on a token would have reinforced to the viewer their location within the broader community of Rome. Such everyday encounters (which Billig called 'banal nationalism'), reminding individuals of their place within a particular group, was an important process in maintaining identity.[20]

At times the textual representation of the Genius of the Roman people on tokens is playfully combined with a figurative form. On one token type the Genius is shown holding a patera and cornucopia. On the other side of the token this representation is clarified as *P(opuli) R(omani)*; the token might then be read in its entirety as *Genius* (represented as a figure) *P(opuli) R(omani)*.[21] On other tokens both the figurative and textual reference to the Genius of the Roman People are present; these combinations may have served to further underline the meaning of the letters G P R.[22] The embodiment of the Roman people was thus expressed through figurative or textual form. Other identities might also be expressed via abbreviated text, as explored throughout the rest of this chapter: through the use of abbreviated *tria nomina*, for example, or through abbreviated references to particular legions (e.g. LEG I, LEG II or L. II).[23]

Among the types that appear on tokens in connection with the Genius of the Roman People are: Roma, Victory, Fortuna, Venus, Pietas sacrificing over an altar, a *modius*, a palm branch, numbers (IIII, XVI) and legends (e.g. PSO).[24] The representations of Venus and Fortuna are of particular interest given what we know of the cult to the *Genius populi Romani* in Rome. Cassius Dio mentions that a temple to the *Genius populi Romani* stood in the Roman forum.[25] The *fasti fratrum Arvalium* and the *fasti Amiternini* record that on 9 October sacrifices were made to the *Genius publicus*, *Fausta Felicitas*, and Venus Victrix on the Capitoline Hill.[26] Coarelli has suggested that three temples to these precise deities stood on the location of the so-called 'Tabularium', a complex planned by Sulla and

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[20] Billig, 1995; Brubaker, 2004: 2.    [21] *TURS* 1598, Pl. VI, 16.    [22] *TURS* 1599–600, 1602.

[23] On the abbreviated reference to legionary divisions on tokens see Boon, 1986; Turcan, 1987: 58 and Wilding, 2020.

[24] *TURS* 1576–601. The meaning of PSO is unknown, although it may be an abbreviated *tria nomina*.

[25] Dio 47.2.3, 50.8.2.    [26] *CIL* I² pp. 214, 245, 248, 331; Coarelli, 2010: 125–6.

completed by Q. Lutatius Catulus.[27] Coarelli further suggested that the well-known 'Venus Pompeiana' painting (showing Venus in an elephant *quadriga* with the Genius of Pompeii on her left and Fortuna with rudder and cornucopia on her right) might also reflect this Roman triad – the figure carrying a cornucopia and rudder, currently identified as Fortuna, may in fact be Felicitas according to this theory.

Although any conclusions must remain hypothetical given the state of the evidence, one token type might provide evidence to support Coarelli's suggestion. One side carries the legend G P R F around in a circle, while the other shows a female figure standing holding a cornucopia and rudder accompanied by the legend FEL.[28] Rostovtzeff noted the abbreviated legend might refer to *Fel(icitas)* or *Fel(ix)*. FEL might have been placed on the token to indicate that the figure shown is not Fortuna but *Fausta Felicitas*, who shared a day of celebration with the Genius of the Roman People. Another token shows a female figure holding a cornucopia and rudder standing left, accompanied by the legend FELICIT, which may communicate *feliciter* or name the figure as Felicitas.[29] These specimens lend further weight to Coarelli's suggestion that the image of *Fausta Felicitas* was that of a female deity carrying a rudder and cornucopia.

Venus also appears on tokens in conjunction with the *Genius populi Romani*, but the form taken is that of Venus emerging from the bath with her hands raised to her hair. Venus Victrix, by contrast, normally appears accompanied by a helmet and shield, at least on numismatic representations.[30] The appearance of the goddess on these particular tokens, then, is unlikely to have been a representation of Venus Victrix. The representation of Venus Victrix with a helmet and spear does occur on a token. The other side of this token issue bears a goddess holding a cornucopia and a rudder; whether this is Fortuna or *Fausta Felicitas* is difficult to say.[31]

Tokens thus formed a medium that carried representations of the embodiment of the Roman people (Genius), and which actively expressed well wishes for the inhabitants of the city. The cry of *feliciter* may also have served to evoke a response from the user, similar to the chants discussed in Chapter 2. One imagines these tokens were used during localised celebrations on 9 October or similar occasions: that the expression G P R F is found elsewhere in Rome reveals it was deployed in multiple contexts. The

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[27] Coarelli, 2010.    [28] *TURS* 1582, Pl. VI, 11.    [29] *TURS* 1783.
[30] *TURS* 1900–1, for example *RIC* II.3² Hadrian 2492 (Venus Victrix holding spear and helmet, shield at feet), *RIC* III Marcus Aurelius 736 (Venus with victoriola and shield).
[31] *TURS* 153.

representation of the *Genius populi Romani* accompanied by legends consisting of three letters, likely to be abbreviated *tria nomina* or other abbreviated forms of names, suggests the creation of tokens of this kind by different individuals for different occasions.[32] The expression of the Genius of the Roman People on tokens, whether in figurative or textual form, would have contributed to an overall sense of community at a particular event. The sense of 'belonging' to the populace of Rome could be evoked and consolidated through particular moments that created a strong sense of cohesion (e.g. communal sacrifice), while the everyday materiality of Rome would have served to remind individuals of their identity on a daily basis.

Tokens conferred benefaction and privilege to particular individuals. Those with a token and access to what it represented formed an 'in' group, set in contrast to the 'out' group who possessed no token; the overall effect would have contributed to a sense of community within the 'in' group. The imagery placed on a token was likely inspected by users – this would have included those who held the privilege the token conferred, and the individual accepting the token in exchange for the benefaction it represented. The message on a token would thus have enhanced the experience of a particular event, its materiality acting upon users to enhance feelings of solidarity and belonging.

Tokens also show the goddess Roma and foundation myths associated with the city of Rome. Figure 3.2 shows Roma seated on one side, with the expression G P R F on the other, an indication of how expressions of good cheer for the Genius of the Roman People might encompass additional expressions of the city's identity. A token of this type was amongst those found in the Tiber in Rome.[33] On *TURS* 1082 the Genius of the Roman People stands alongside Roma; the other side of the token bears the legend IAN|VAR, likely a reference to the month of January or *Ianuarius*. The she wolf and twins also occurs as a type paired with various other images, including the *Ficus Ruminalis*, the fig tree that reportedly stood at the Lupercal on the spot Romulus and Remus came ashore from the Tiber (Figure 3.3).[34] Aeneas, accompanied by Ascanius and Anchises, is represented on several tokens, as

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[32] *TURS* 1623 (AVL?), 1624 (CFF), 1625 (CAE), 1626 (L·A·G), 1627 (LPP), 1628 (M·A·F).

[33] Rostovtzeff and Vaglieri, 1900: 260 no. 43. For additional types that combine Roma with the Genius of the Roman People see *TURS* 1575, 1577, 1631–2.

[34] See also *TURS* 184 (with rider on a horse on the other side), 702 (*camelarius* with camel), 1661 (Roma), 1668 (ROMA | [A]MICA), Supplement 3726 (Roma), for further appearances of the wolf with twins. For the she-wolf without the twins see *TURS* 186 (with Mars), 254 (AGR|EVO|AVG, which Rostovtzeff suggested might be understood as *Agr . . . . evo(catus) Aug(usti)*), 267 (accompanied by the legend XV ROMA with an eagle on a thunderbolt on the other side).

**Figure 3.2** Pb token, 19.5 mm, 12 h, 2.48 g. Roma seated right holding Victory in left hand and spear in right / G P R F around. *TURS* 1576, *BMCRLT* 371.



**Figure 3.3** Pb token, 13.5 × 12 mm, 12 h, 2.55 g. She-wolf suckling twins / *Ficus Ruminalis*. *TURS* 1667, *BMCRLT* 1778.

is the myth of Mars descending to Rhea Silvia.[35] Tokens thus formed a medium for the expression of foundation myths and other imagery associated with civic identity. In this way they possess similarities to provincial coinage and the official coinage of the Roman mint.[36] But unlike coins, these pieces were small in number and likely viewed by a limited audience. Unlike coinage, which contributes to a sense of community through repeated circulation over time, tokens served to enhance the experience and feeling of community associated with a particular moment in time.

The Tiber, which snaked through the city of Rome and formed an important channel for the movement of goods and people, also appears on tokens. As with the major rivers of other cities, the Tiber formed a central component in the formation of identity in Rome; the personified deity of the river, Tiberinus, famously spoke to Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid*, for example.[37] The river god also appears on Roman coinage, reclining and wearing a crown of reeds, variously accompanied by

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[35] Aeneas: *TURS* 117–20. Mars and Rhea Silvia: *TURS* 326.

[36] On myths on provincial coinage see Price, 2005. The appearance of foundation myths on the coinage of Rome, particularly under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, has had extensive discussion in scholarship. See, by way of example, Weigel, 1984; Barenghi, 1992; Rowan, 2014.

[37] Verg. *Aen.* 8.31–78; Meyers, 2009.

a prow, an urn from which water flows, and reeds.[38] The presence of the Tiber indicates a specific location on the saecular games coinage of Domitian and Septimius Severus (sacrifices took place during these games by the Tiber river).[39] The connection of the river to identity in Rome is perhaps best expressed on a coin series struck under Vespasian. The reverse of these coins shows Roma seated right on Rome's seven hills, with Romulus and Remus suckling from the wolf below and the Tiber river reclining on lower right of the coin holding a long reed.[40] The colossal statue of the Tiber now in the Louvre shows the river reclining holding a rudder and cornucopia accompanied by the wolf and twins, underlying the connection between the river and Rome's foundation.[41]

The small number of tokens from Rome and Ostia showing river deities suggest the Tiber was conceptualised in multiple ways. One type shows a reclining river deity accompanied by the legend TIB, presumably a reference to the river Tiber or his personified form Tiberinus. The other side of the token shows the deities Fortuna and Mercury, perhaps an expression of the wealth and commerce the river brought to Rome.[42] The same legend (TIB) occurs on a token that carries on the other side what Rostovtzeff described as a Genius seated holding a patera and an urn from which water flows.[43] The combination of image and legend here suggests that what is represented is the Genius of the Tiber, or perhaps one of its outlets (an aqueduct or fountain). The urn with water flowing from it is an attribute of rivers and springs, but the addition of a patera and the lack of reeds here suggest it is a Genius who is shown rather than Tiberinus.[44] This same Genius, holding a patera and an urn that spills water, is also found on a token with a branch or tree on the other side; on this specimen the Genius appears to also have a *modius* on his head.[45] In yet another representation,

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[38] *RIC* II anonymous 17–18 (crown of reeds), *RIC* III Antoninus Pius 642A–43b (reed, prow, rock from which water flows), *RIC* III Marcus Aurelius 1142–5 (prow, reed, urn from which water flows). *RIC* II Trajan 556 has traditionally been interpreted as showing the Tiber, but Woytek suggests instead the river god (shown with a long reed) is the Danube; Woytek, 2010: 166, no. 199.

[39] *RIC* II.1² Domitian 621, 627, *RIC* IV.1 Septimius Severus 293, 816A–B, 826B; Sobocinski, 2006. Sacrifices were held to the *Moerae*, the *Ilithyiae*, and Terra Mater by the Tiber river, where remnants of the *acta* of the games have also been found; Taylor, 1934: 103.

[40] *RIC* II.1² Vespasian 108, 193.    [41] Meyers, 2009: 234.

[42] *TURS* 1679. Rostovtzeff reports that the river god is carrying a reed, but the only known specimen (*BMCRLT* 1282) is now too worn to certify if this is correct. See also *TURS* 1686–7, which shows a river god reclining left but without a legend.

[43] *TURS* 1680, Pl. VI, 46.    [44] Boyce, 1958: 69 on the representation of rivers with urns.

[45] *TURS* 1681 = *BMCRLT* 753.

the Genius is shown holding two corn-ears (or perhaps it is a V) and the urn, with the legend M | DM on the other side.[46] This representation of the Genius of the Tiber (or one of its offshoots) appears to be unique to tokens among surviving material culture. The *modius* and corn-ears may reference the role of the Tiber in facilitating the supply of grain to Rome.

Iconographic innovation can be found on another token type, which shows a male figure draped from the waist down, holding a cornucopia and reed, with his left foot on a rock (Figure 3.4). One imagines that this also is a representation of the Tiber or one of its outlets, but unusually the figure is shown standing rather than reclining. As noted above, Tiberinus might be portrayed with a variety of attributes, but these occurrences all show the deity reclining. The standing representation of the river might have referenced a now lost statue; the Nile is frequently portrayed standing on coins of Alexandria and one imagines this variation must have existed for the Tiber as well.[47] This particular image may have been more resonant than a reclining Tiberinus for the community using the tokens; it might have referenced a very particular statue and/or location within Rome as opposed to the Tiber more generally. Just as particular attributes served to make Graeco-Roman deities 'local' (e.g. the addition of the *labrys* to Athena on tokens at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt), so too might the alterations to the



**Figure 3.4** Pb token, 20 mm, 9 h, 3.9 g. River deity, draped from the waist down, standing right with left foot on rock holding a long reed in his right hand and cornucopia in left; CGA on left and FT on right / VES between two palms or branches. *TURS* 1682, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 420a.

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[46] *TURS* 1685. The meaning of the legend is unknown.
[47] For example *RPC* III 4316, 4689, 4744.1–4, 4745.1–2. Nilus is also shown holding a reed and cornucopia, and so one cannot rule out that Figure 3.4 shows the Nile. However, representations of the Nile in Rome are normally accompanied by attributes that clearly reference Egypt (e.g. a sphinx, crocodile, and/or hippopotamus, see *RIC* II.3[2] Hadrian 1436–7).

representation of the Tiber we find on material culture in Rome represent hyperlocal iterations of the river in the city.[48] The meaning of the legend on this token issue remains a mystery.

A river god, most likely the Tiber, appears in yet another iconographic iteration on Figure 3.5.[49] Here the deity reclines on an urn, with a reed curving up and around him, and a dolphin swims beneath. A more worn token that seems to belong to the same series shows the river god with a reed curving up around him on either side (no legend), and Victory accompanied by the legend V A.[50] This variation in design can be explained by the fact these tokens were made from moulds; this allowed for deviation within a particular series, as explained in Chapter 1. The addition of the dolphin to the scene is significant here, since the feature is not normally associated with rivers or the Tiber.

This is evident from the series of coins struck under Nero showing the harbour at Ostia with a reclining deity placed at the bottom of the scene (Figure 3.6). This figure is identified in the *RIC* as the river Tiber holding a rudder and reclining on a dolphin. But the dolphin is more often used to reference the ocean. As a result, the reclining figure on Nero's coinage has convincingly been re-identified as a personified representation of the



**Figure 3.5** Pb token, 19 mm, 12 h, 2.43 g. River god reclining left, left arm leaning on urn from which water flows; reed on right curving above the god's head, dolphin swimming right below. ARA around on left / Victory, standing left with wreath in extended right hand and palm branch in left. C on left, ligate VR on right. *TURS* 526, *BMCRLT* 768.

[48]  For the *labrys* (double-headed axe) and Athena in Oxyrhynchus, especially on tokens, see Wilding, 2020.
[49]  Rostovtzeff read the legend above the river as ARR and suggested the token was issued by Arruntius Stella while *curator*, see Rostovtzeff, 1905b: 49–50 and Ruciński, 2012.
[50]  *TURS* 527; *BMCRLT* 779.

**Figure 3.6** AE sestertius, c. 35 mm, 6 h, 27.69 g. Laureate head of Nero right, with aegis on neck, NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P IMP P P around / View of the harbour at Ostia, AVGVSTI above, POR OST beneath flanked by S C. *RIC* I² Nero 178.

harbour at Ostia.[51] Indeed, the representation of a similar figure on coinage of Pompeiopolis (Cilicia), reclining on a dolphin and holding a rudder as part of a harbour scene seems to confirm the identification. The relative rarity of the image and the fact that it appears in reference to these two

[51] Boyce, 1958: 70–2; Weiss, 2013: 77; Cuyler, 2014: 125–6.

distinct harbours suggests, as Boyce argued, that this is a particular deity associated with a place where rivers flowed into the ocean.[52] Indeed, if the dolphin had a specific association with seafaring in Ostia, then its use on tokens that show sailing vessels on the other side may have been intended as a specific reference to the fact that these were ocean-going vessels.[53]

To return to the token shown in Figure 3.5, the presence of the urn and reeds indicate that it is a river god shown here. But the presence of the dolphin alludes to the fact that the river, which we might interpret as the Tiber, is connected to the ocean, evoking Rome's harbour in the mind of the user. The token, issued by a *curator* (CVR), again utilised an inventive (and an otherwise unknown) combination of imagery to evoke a particular vision of the Tiber that emphasised the connection of Rome to her harbour and the ocean that ensured her supplies. The multiple representations of the Tiber on tokens likely reflects the fact that these tokens were created by a variety of individuals, representing particular groups who each may have possessed a slightly different vision of the river so central to their city. In this sense the Tiber can be viewed as a 'shared image', the meaning of which was extended by different users. When different groups widened the semantic meaning and associations of the Tiber, the image of the river became a powerful community-building tool that was able to engage a variety of people, all of whom connected with the image, even if each held different associations.[54] The multiplicity and malleability of representations of the Tiber show how images can be deployed to engage a broader variety of individuals than a single static, carefully controlled image.

We also find much more localised expressions of identity. At least three tokens appear to carry direct references to the regions of Rome: *regio* III, VI and XIII.[55] Augustus had divided the city into fourteen regions (*regiones*) and numerous neighbourhoods (*vici*) also existed; each region and *vicus* received annually elected magistrates.[56] In spite of the regional divisions being imposed from the 'top down', so to speak, the repeated reference to particular regions in inscriptions, including tokens, suggest that Romans nonetheless identified with their region, and might act communally within this grouping, at times in conjunction with other *regiones* in the city.[57] Individuals also formed social

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[52] *RPC* IV.3 3581; ANS 1944.100.54319 with discussion in Boyce, 1958: 71.

[53] For example, *TURS* 969–70.

[54] Buck-Morss, 2010 on the concept of the 'shared image'; Rowan, 2020a on its applicability to the Roman world.

[55] *TURS* 490–3.    [56] Suet. *Aug.* 30.2; Dio 55.8.6; Lott, 2013: 170.    [57] Goodman, 2020.

bonds within their neighbourhood or *vicus*, and we find expressions of identity at this level on tokens. One token carries the legend VICI accompanied by the figure of a Genius. The type must, as Rostovtzeff surmised, represent the Genius of the neighbourhood (Figure 3.7). The *vici* served as focal points for communal activity within Rome, particularly among the lower classes and during the *Compitalia* held in honour of the *lares* placed at the crossroads, as well as in connection with the worship of the imperial family.[58] The material expression of these communities can be found in the shrines (*compita*) and altars erected in these locations, as well as on other items of everyday life, like the tokens presented here.[59] The presence of snakes on several token series also hints at representations of local shrines and locations, since snakes might represent the Genius of a place and are represented in association with the altars of *lares* on other media (for example the fresco of the Lararium at VII.6.3 in Pompeii).[60]

Tokens also express more informal formulations of local areas. The regionary catalogues of late antiquity name each region of Rome in relation to a specific feature of the area, for example *Regio XI Circus Maximus*. Since no earlier sources survive for such naming conventions it is unclear whether this practice was created during the compilation of these texts, or whether the catalogues recorded existing, unofficial, terminology.[61] The third region of Rome was labelled *Isis et Serapis* in the catalogues, after the temple (and street) in the region. In this context a lead token carrying the legend AB | ISE ET | SERAP is of interest – it likely refers to the street leading away from the



**Figure 3.7** Pb token, 13 mm, 12 h, 1.36 g. Genius standing left holding cornucopia in left hand and patera in right, VICI around on right / Hercules standing left holding club in right hand and lion skin over left. *TURS* 1613, *BMCRLT* 124.

[58] Lott, 2013: 176.    [59] Lott, 2013; Flower, 2017: 160–74; Russell, 2020: 27–8.
[60] *TURS* 1558–70. *TURS* 1558 displays two snakes next to an altar, 1566 two snakes on one side and a decorated altar on the other, 1567 a single snake on one side and a lit cylindrical altar on the other. On the association of the snake with *lares* and as the representation of the Genius of a place see Flower, 2017: 63–7.
[61] Lott, 2013: 173.

temple of Isis and Sarapis that gave the third region its name.[62] The other side of the token shows the god Harpocrates with his hand raised to his mouth; the combination reveals an expression of very local identity shaped by the topography of the city. Indications of location are found on other epigraphic monuments in Rome; for example a *cippus* from region VII records the location *ad tres silanos*, presumably referencing three fountains within the area.[63] Suetonius records that Domitian was born at the street called the Pomegranate in the sixth region.[64] Rome was full of such local names, and associated local communities.

These local expressions of identity can be found on several other tokens. Several express a location in relation to Mars: one carries the legend REG MAR (*regio Martis*?), another carries the legend AD MART and another A MART. These tokens all carry imagery of the god Mars as well; the phrase *ad Martis* refers to the area surrounding the temple to Mars in Rome on the via Appia between the first and second milestones from the Porta Capena.[65] One wonders whether the representation of Mars on the tokens, leaning on a spear with one hand and resting his other hand on a shield at his feet, represents the cult statue within this temple.[66] A token also records the location *ad nucem*. Here the meaning of the legend is further elaborated by the representation of a nut next to the legend and a nut tree on the other side.[67] *Pallacina* also appears on tokens, although whether the legend PALLACIN refers to the *vicus* or the bathing establishment in that district is open to debate.[68] A particular location and associated identity might also be represented via imagery alone. Figure 3.8, with a recorded findspot of Rome, shows three statues of Fortuna standing side by side, a likely reference to the location *ad tres Fortunas*.

The temple of the three *Fortunae* was located on the Quirinal, close to the Porta Collina, and Vitruvius records that the area was named *ad tres*

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[62] *TURS* 494; Platner and Ashby, 1929: 286; Palmer, 1975: 654; Richardson, 1992: 213. The location is also mentioned in *CIL* VI, 2234 (*fanatico ab Isis Serapis* (sic) *ab aedem* (sic) *Bellone Rufiliae*) and *CIL* VI, 32462 (*ab Isis et Serapis*). A similar name for a region seems to have existed in Aquileia, named on a token made from 'giallo antico', *CIL* V, 8211. The token was created by a magistrate of the youth, see Mainardis, 2002: 572.

[63] *CIL* XIV, 2496; Goodman, 2020: 8.    [64] Suet. *Dom.* 1.1; Goodman, 2020: 12.

[65] *TURS* 495–7; Platner and Ashby, 1929: 327–8; Richardson, 1992: 244–5; Suet. *Terent.* 5; Cic. *QFr* 25(3.5).8.

[66] Livy 22.1.12 mentions a statue that stood in the temple alongside that of the she-wolf but provides no further detail.

[67] *TURS* 498; Platner and Ashby, 1929: 363; Richardson, 1992: 269. The phrase also occurs on a funerary inscription as referring to a burial location outside the *pomerium*, *CIL* VI, 28644.

[68] *TURS* 500; Platner and Ashby, 1929: 3812.

**Figure 3.8** Pb token, 15 mm, 6 h, 1.92 g. Three *Fortunae* standing left, each holding a cornucopia in their left hand and a rudder in their right / A left hand with thumb and index finger touching; SAT on left, A or uncertain object (prow?) on right. *TURS* 501, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 335a.

*Fortunas* after the temple.[69] The hand shown on the other side of the token is reminiscent of cameos and gems that show a hand pinching an ear as an embodiment of memory.[70] But here there is no ear, and so a more likely explanation is that the hand represents the number ten. The so-called 'finger calculus' is known from antiquity and the middle ages. A series of bone and ivory gaming pieces reveal that the Romans counted on their fingers in a manner that was preserved into the middle ages, but which was different from the method used in contemporary Western society.[71] These gaming pieces carry the finger sign on one side and the corresponding number inscribed in Latin on the other; the number ten is represented by a left hand with the thumb and index finger touching with the remaining three fingers extended, as on Figure 3.8. The token thus uses imagery alone to communicate two phrases: *ad tres Fortunas* and *X*.

The legend to the left of the hand reveals a possible context for the token: the Saturnalia. The chant associated with this festival, *io Saturnalia io*, was abbreviated to IO SAT IO on tokens, and is discussed more fully in Chapter 4. One possible context for the objects discussed in this section is revealed: these tokens may have been used during very local events held in the context of broader festivals across the city. These events were occasions that sought to activate the identity of particular neighbourhoods and regions, and the iconography chosen for tokens played a role in this process. Alongside a broader sense of 'belonging to Rome', inhabitants of the city also belonged to communities arranged by smaller neighbourhoods or streets. Overlapping identities connected to different types of community within the city meant that,

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[69] Vitr. *De arch.* 3.2.2; Platner and Ashby, 1929: 216–17; Richardson, 1992: 158.
[70] For example, BM 1814,0704.1630.
[71] Frœhner, 1881; Alföldi-Rosenbaum, 1971: pl. I, no. 10 for the representation of the number ten.

depending on the occasion, an individual might emphasise their membership in one community over another at a particular moment in time.

## Maritime Identity in Ostia and Portus

The tokens found at Ostia also reveal overlapping identities. The nature of civic and local identity in Ostia has, surprisingly, not seen the same level of analysis as other regions of the Roman Empire. As Bruun observes, this may be because Ostia lacks an obvious corpus of sources for such a study. Ostia's close relationship with Rome has also led to the port town being treated as a suburb of the capital.[72] Rome was important in the construction of Ostian identity: Ostia was the first *colonia* of Rome, reportedly founded by Rome's fourth king Ancus Marcius.[73] But Ostia's role as a key port also shaped civic identity, a sense of 'Ostianness'. Bruun has observed the 'maritime mentality' of Ostia's inhabitants, witnessed in epigraphic evidence and material culture: Bruun notes here the imagery of boats, lighthouses, anchors, tridents, dolphins and other aquatic divinities and animals in mosaics, sarcophagi, graffiti, lamps and tokens across the town.[74] In fact, the evidence for a sense of 'Ostianness' is rich when one begins to examine the remains of the town more closely. The tokens found in Ostia and referencing the settlement have had only a minor role in discussions of Ostia's civic identity, but they are a powerful corpus of evidence from which to uncover the different communities and identities in the town.

References to Ostia in material culture frequently depict the harbour's lighthouse, and it is unsurprising to find this represented on tokens as well. The lighthouse appears in several mosaics in Ostia, as well as in marble reliefs, graffiti, a wall painting and on imperial coinage referring to the grain supply.[75] On tokens the lighthouse is paired with a variety of legends and imagery that name the port and allude to the maritime nature of the settlement. Figure 3.9, for example, shows a lit lighthouse of three tiers with the letters P T; Rostovtzeff convincingly suggested this should be understood as *P(ortus) T(raianus)* (although we might resolve the legend as *Portus Traiani*). The other side of the token shows Neptune in a hippocamp *biga*, a reference to the ocean. The lighthouse and the legend suggest

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[72] Bruun, 2007: 125; Bruun, 2014: 348–51.    [73] Livy 1.33.9.    [74] Bruun, 2015.
[75] An excellent collection of the relevant material, along with images, can be found at www.ostia-antica.org/portus/c001.htm.

**Figure 3.9** Pb token, 14 × 12 mm, 3 h, 3.07 g. Lit lighthouse of three tiers, P on left, T on right / Neptune, holding trident in right hand, riding right in a *biga* of hippocamps; star above. *TURS* 59, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 98.



**Figure 3.10** Pb token, 24 mm, 12 h, 5.69 g. Lit lighthouse of four tiers, TI on left, S on right / Fortuna seated left holding cornucopia in left hand and rudder in right. *TURS* 61.

that Ostian civic identity must have incorporated the harbour, initially built under Claudius and then enlarged under Trajan, when it became known as the *Portus Traiani*.[76]

A lighthouse of three tiers also appears on a token with the other side carrying the retrograde legend TR|AI.[77] The lighthouse, at times accompanied by the legend TI S, is paired with a seated Fortuna in one series (Figure 3.10; the meaning of the legend is unknown).[78] The image of the lighthouse is also accompanied by the legend ANT, which Rostovtzteff suggested might refer to *portus Antoniniani*.[79] One token displays the lighthouse on one side and a ship sailing on the other.[80] A specimen now

[76] On Portus see Keay, Millett et al., 2005.
[77] *TURS* 60; Rostovtzeff, 1902: no. 1, pl. VI 27. Rostovtzeff suggested the legend should be understood as *Trai(anus)*.
[78] *TURS* 61–2.   [79] *TURS* 64.   [80] *TURS* 961.

preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina pairs the lighthouse with a semi-circular object with a handle (?) on the other side.[81] Another type, found in the Terme sulla Semita dei Cippi in Ostia, shows a three-tiered lighthouse on one side and a nude figure standing frontally on the other.[82] The representation of the lighthouse at Portus on material culture at Ostia varies in terms of the number of storeys and other features (e.g. in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni it is variously shown with three, four, five or six storeys, or only the top of the lighthouse is represented). On tokens, however, the representation seems quite standardised: of the known representations to date, each has three or four (Figure 3.10) storeys.

Tokens showing the lighthouse and Fortuna have reported findspots in several locations in Ostia. An example of the variant with the legend TI S (Figure 3.10) was found during the excavations of a *taberna* in the Baths of Neptune, with another specimen found in the Terme di Serapide, and a third in the Terme bizantine.[83] Another of the same type possibly came from the excavation fill outside the ruins of the city, and yet a further possible example, too worn for precise identification, was found in the Basilica Portuense at Portus in a late antique context.[84] Three of these finds come from bath contexts, as does the find from the Terme sulla Semita dei Cippi mentioned above. The bath contexts may simply reflect the fact that money (and tokens) are frequently lost down drains in these buildings. Significantly, however, the finds reveal that the same type of token was carried by individuals into different bathing establishments across Ostia. If these tokens were to be redeemed for participation in an event or for a particular good, they were distributed in advance of the occasion.

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[81] Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina bag no. 97.59, no. 1502 in Rowan's currently unpublished catalogue. This catalogue is a listing of individual tokens in the collection, specimens that the author intends to publish online in the future. See also bag 124.5 no. 612 for another possible representation of the lighthouse, on a diamond-shaped token with a figure holding a cornucopia on the other side.

[82] *NSc.* 1950, 99. It was found below a mosaic pavement, together with a 'sbarretta' of gold and a billon coin (perhaps of Gallienus) showing Sol on the reverse holding a globe in his left hand and with his right hand raised.

[83] Baths of Neptune: *GdS* vol. 3, 1910 p. 227 = Ostia Antiquarium inv. 3575. Terme di Serapide: Pensabene, 2001–3: 497, inv. 4741, Mag. Vet. V, 4. Terme bizantine: Pensabene, 2001–3: 497, inv. 33110, Coll. Magazzino.

[84] Stray find: Pensabene, 2001–3: no. 36, although the token forms part of the much larger collection now preserved at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Palestrina, which was seized as the proceeds of illegal excavation activity and which has no reported findspots. Basilica Portuense: Spagnoli, 2011. The token was found in a stratum dating to Period 3c (AD 550–600), associated with the construction of the central nave (US2020). Also found was a radiate *consecratio* issue of Claudius II and numismatic material dating to the fourth and fifth centuries AD.

Alternatively, these tokens may have been used within the economy of the bathhouse itself. As discussed in further detail in Chapter 5, there is good evidence to suggest that tokens were used within bathhouses in Rome and Ostia, likely as an internal accounting mechanism to be exchanged for food, drink or services. The existence of the same token type in multiple establishments may reflect the fact that tokens from one bathhouse may have been reused in another to cut down on manufacturing costs, or that a particular workshop may have manufactured the same type for multiple groups. Alternatively, the tokens with the lighthouse might have represented a civic level of benefaction – the granting of admission to bathing establishments across the town, although the precise findspots of these pieces suggest they were used and lost within the bathhouse rather than acting as an entry ticket. In any of these scenarios, the civic nature of the imagery chosen – a lighthouse and the goddess Fortuna – must have facilitated the acceptance of this particular token type. The imagery would be easily recognisable to the inhabitants of Ostia, and each user would find meaning in the type in a way not possible with a token naming a specific bathing establishment, for example, or a particular local organisation. Tokens in Roman Egypt also display this dual approach to imagery: the image of Nilus, for example, is found on tokens that travelled across the province, while other types possessed very specific imagery and are only found in one location (e.g. the representation of Athena-Theoris with *labrys* is only found on tokens at Oxyrhynchus).[85] The representation of the lighthouse within daily life (whatever the specific context) must have reinforced a particular maritime sense of 'Ostianness', also seen in the mosaics of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni and the other representations across the town.

Three tokens carrying an image of the lighthouse at Ostia were reported to Rostovtzeff by Gauckler as having been found in Hadrumetum in North Africa; two were specimens carrying the design of the 'lighthouse / Fortuna seated', and one was of the 'lighthouse / ANT' type.[86] The colony of Hadrumetum was an important source of grain for Rome and movement between the two port towns must have been regular, which would explain how the tokens ended up so far from their place of manufacture. The tokens might have been converted into a type of emergency small change, or else might have been carried by merchants as mementoes or items they intended to redeem at a later date. In this context it is worth noting that among the tokens

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[85] Wilding, 2020.     [86] *TURS* 61.3, 62.2, 64.4.

**Figure 3.11** Pb token of Oxyrhynchus, 23 mm, 11 h, 13.70 g. Bust of Athena right wearing Corinthian helmet; linear border / Nike standing right on globe holding wreath in extended left hand and palm branch in right; linear border. cf. Milne 5291 for a token of the same type, found at Oxyrhynchus.

preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina there are five tokens from Egypt (Figure 3.11).[87] Since the collection was seized as the proceeds of illegal excavation activity, we cannot know the precise findspots of these items, but it is very likely these pieces were found in Italy. Indeed, the existence of migrants and merchants in Portus and Ostia is well established: the Isiac association of Portus, for example, seems to have been founded and dominated by individuals from Alexandria in Egypt.[88] Tokens rarely travelled between settlements, although there are several cases where tokens travelled (in small number) from one port to another, a reflection of the much broader exchange of people and goods that took place in these towns.[89] Stannard's analysis of a series of quadrangular bronze tokens found at both Ostia and Minturnae has also demonstrated that tokens moved between ports within Italy; Stannard suggested these particular pieces were connected to the workings of the ports and connected river systems.[90]

[87] Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina bag no. 97.14 no 1423 (= Pensabene, 2001–3: no. 14), 97.39 no. 1446 (= Pensabene, 2001–3: no. 38) shown in Figure 3.11, 97.63 no. 1640, 107.8 no. 946, 111.15 no. 1310.

[88] Steuernagel, 2007: 142.

[89] Egyptian tokens were also found in a shipwreck off the coast of Israel, see Meshorer, 2010: 132. A series of orichalcum tokens appear to have been sent to Lepcis Magna as part of a shipment of small change, see Munzi, 1997 and Rowan, 2020b.

[90] Stannard, 2015b. To the corpus compiled by Stannard another token might be added, possibly of Stannard Type 2. A bronze token with a horse running right and blank on the other side was found among the ruins to the NW of the eastern gate of Ostia; *GdS* 1918 p. 39 no.11, Ostia Antiquarium inv. 12801. Unfortunately the author was unable to examine the piece.

A civic identity closely tied to the maritime activity of Ostia is also indicated by other tokens that carry nautical imagery and variations on the legend *Traianus*. The legend may refer to the emperor Trajan, but the juxtaposition of the legend and maritime imagery suggests a reference to the *Portus Traiani* is more likely. Indeed, epigraphic evidence attests to the fact that the inhabitants of a quarter around Trajan's port were known as *Traianenses*, 'those of Trajan'.[91] The legend TRAIANI ('of Trajan') is also found on tokens accompanying imagery of Apollo and Fortuna.[92] The Latin might refer to the fact that the token was issued on behalf of Trajan, but it might equally refer to a group who identified with a particular area of Portus, or it might reference *portus Traiani* more broadly. The legend TRAIANVS was reported on a token now lost, which carried a tuna fish on one side and Neptune holding a dolphin and trident on the other, a likely reference to the port of the emperor.[93] A new type found amongst the collection now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina shows what appears to be an elephant on one side and the legend TRAIANAS on the other.[94] *TURS* 947, decorated with a ship (*cydarum*) on one side and the legend PT on the other may equally refer to *Portus Traiani*, as on Figure 3.9. Without recorded findspots for these token types we cannot know for certain whether they referred to particular groups within Ostia and Portus, but the evidence suggests that this is probable.

Tokens showing two or three people in a boat on one side and the legend TRA on the other are also known (Figure 3.12). The legend again might



**Figure 3.12**   Pb token, 24 mm, 6.12 g. Two people in a boat (*cymba*), fish beneath/ TRA.

[91]  *CIL* XIV, 4; van Haeperen, 2019.        [92]  *TURS* 53–4.        [93]  *TURS* 55–6.
[94]  Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina bag. 120.8 no. 100.

refer to some form of the word *Traianus*, but we cannot rule out an abbreviation of *traiectus*, a place where one could cross the river at Ostia via ferry; various groups provided this service. Without further find information it is difficult to say more; one token with the legend TRA on one side and three palm branches on the other was found in the Tiber in Rome.[95]

Only one token type specifically names Ostia. Side a of this token shows a bare male head right, accompanied by the legend GAL AVG (a reference to Galba Augustus), while the other side shows Ceres seated holding a sceptre and corn-ears, accompanied by the legend OSTIAE.[96] The use of the genitive might indicate that this was a token of Ostia, but equally the token may be referencing grain that came from the port. The combination of Galba and Ceres, along with the reference to Ostia, brings to mind the massive *Horrea Galbae*, a large warehouse complex in Rome that served as a depot for grain and other goods, including the *annona publica*. The complex was probably first known as the *Horrea Sulpicia*, but was renamed after Galba (who was of the Sulpician *gens*) during his reign, when the complex came under imperial control.[97] Both Trajan and Galba oversaw activity that directly influenced the experience of Ostia's mercantile inhabitants and which consequently shaped their everyday experience and identity. Whether this token series, and the TRA tokens discussed above, were issued by inhabitants of Ostia or on behalf of the emperor, their existence, and the activities that led to their creation, would have served to further a particular 'Ostian' sense of community.

## Status and Self-Portrayal in Rome and Ostia

Many tokens from Rome and Ostia bear the name of individuals, both men and women, as well as references to particular *gentes*.[98] Figure 3.13, for example, bears the name M(arcus) Antonius Glaucus. Tokens of this kind not only expressed emotions and ideologies associated with a particular moment, but also reinforced the prestige of the individual responsible for the token and the benefaction it represented. In addition to carrying the names of individuals, tokens could carry portraits, or representations of paraphernalia associated with a person's office or occupation. Several tokens carry types that are otherwise only found on gems, suggesting that

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[95] *TURS* 3353; Tomassetti, 1887: 235 no. 4e.     [96] *TURS* 36, Pl. XI 63.
[97] Richardson, 1992: 193.     [98] Rostovtzeff, 1905b: 104–8 for a discussion.

**Figure 3.13** Pb token, 20 mm, 6 h, 4.26 g. M in the centre of the token, ANTONIVS GLAVCVS around / Vulcan standing left holding sceptre in left hand and mallet in right. *TURS* 1127, Rowan, 2020b: no. 55.

the imagery of a person's seal (or glass paste) might be used to reference a particular individual. In general, with a few exceptions, the individuals named on tokens are not otherwise known.[99] This is unsurprising: tokens generally appear to have been issued by lower magistracies in charge of games and distributions, as well as individuals involved in communal associations, bathhouses or other commercial establishments. The corpus of material thus provides an invaluable insight into individuals from the Roman world who are otherwise absent from the remaining historical record.

In fact, the full mass of individuals named on lead tokens may not have been fully recognised. Many tokens from Rome and Ostia carry legends of two or three letters; these may very well be abbreviated *tria nomina* (with two letters perhaps referring to women, for whom the praenomen was abandoned relatively early in Roman history).[100] Graffiti, amphora labels and personal stamps from the Roman world reveal that in circles where an individual was well known, initials might be used to represent a particular person. In Pompeii, for example, graffiti referred to individuals by their initials (e.g. LVP), as did campaign posters: one example of the latter on the Via dell'Abbondanza highlights the candidacy of one CIP.[101] This same practice is found in Ostia, where graffiti reveals that one LCF 'was here'.[102] The combinations of two and three letter legends found on many tokens may

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[99] For example, the Q. Terentius Culleo named on *TURS* 1323 is likely to be the suffect consul of AD 40; Rostovtzeff, 1905b: 105; Dressel, 1922: 181; Gallivan, 1979: 67; Rowan, in press a.

[100] Salway, 1994: 125–6; Benefiel, 2010: 73.

[101] *CIL* IV, 7872; Benefiel, 2010: 73–4. For the practice on amphora labels on the Iberian Peninsula, and the possible connection to tokens in that region see Mora Serrano, 2005.

[102] G0267 at http://www.ostia-antica.org/graffiti/regio3/caseggiato-degli-aurighi-apartment/caseggiato-degli-aurighi-apartment.htm.

thus have acted as a reference to the name of an individual; these tokens were likely used within a small community and a specific context, where the identity of the issuer would have been recognised. Indeed, two token types carry the legend LCF, the first accompanied by a camel on the other side and the second the legend LAM.[103] This is not to suggest that the LCF of the tokens and the graffito in Ostia are one and the same; rather the example demonstrates the practice of naming conventions within daily life. The surviving corpus of tokens may reference far more individuals than has previously been realised.

Tokens also carry the names and portraits of women. A series of tokens was issued by a woman called Hortensia Sperata: two tokens of 19–20 mm in diameter carry the legend HORTENSIA SPERATA or HORTE·SPER· around in a circle on one side. The other side of the tokens are decorated with a palm branch within a wreath. Smaller tokens (13–15 mm) have an abbreviated legend: HOR in a line on one side and SPE or SP on the other.[104] Hortensia may have required two different sizes of token (19–20 mm and 13–15 mm), with each size equating to a different good or value. The differing diameters of the tokens were further underscored by the use of different designs for each size. A token mould half found on the Esquiline Hill in Rome reveals that tokens of different sizes might be cast at the same time. This mould half had two sets of channels, for two sets of tokens: a 17 mm piece with the legend LVE and a 9 mm piece with the same legend ligate.[105] A Hortensia Sperata is known from a funerary inscription in Antium that she erected to Lucius Hortensius Asclepiades, but there is no reason to identify this woman with the token issuer.[106] The palm branch and wreath, also found on other tokens, evoke a festive feeling.

A Domitia Flora is also named on a token issue, as is an Aelia Septimi, Iulia Iust(a) and a Livia Meliti(ne), amongst others.[107] One token issue names Iunia, with the other side carrying the representation of a sistrum, perhaps referencing a context connected to Isis.[108] Other women may also be named, but in several cases it is impossible to distinguish between the name of a *gens* and that of a woman. A token with the legend APRO|NIA, for example, may refer to an individual woman or the *gens* of the same name; the representation of Fortuna on the other side of the token offers no clues as to which interpretation is correct.[109] Similarly the IVL|IA that appears on a token with the representation of a palm branch and corn-ear on the

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[103] *TURS* 705, 3489.     [104] *TURS* 1240–3.     [105] Cesano, 1904a: no. 4.
[106] Solin, 2015-16; Chioffi, 2017: 54 no. 30; *AE* 2018, 476.     [107] *TURS* 1107, 1207, 1263, 1272.
[108] *TURS* 1270.     [109] *TURS* 1131.

other side may reference an individual or a broader family.[110] Two token issues have the legend OP|PIA; the first carries an image of Fortuna on the other side, the second a female portrait. This may indeed be a representation of a woman named Oppia.[111] Given that women were generally known by the feminine form of their familial names, one imagines this slippage between a woman and her family was something experienced more broadly in the Roman world. Several tokens also bear female portraits without accompanying legends; one imagines these are representations of particular individuals. Figure 3.14, for example, shows a female portrait likely to be of the second century AD, since the hair is plaited and coiled on top of her head in the fashion of this era.[112] The absence of an identifying legend accompanying the portrait also echoes the trend of imperial tokens from the second century, in which emperors are shown but not named (discussed in more detail in Chapter 2). Women are also occasionally named on provincial coinage, either because they held eponymous offices, or in their capacity as priestesses; one imagines that both the coinage-issuing priestesses and the token-issuing women of Roman Italy were the sponsors of particular benefactions of varying value.[113]

Hemelrijk's study of female patronage demonstrated that, like their male counterparts, women had reduced opportunity for the very prominent



**Figure 3.14** Pb token, 22 mm, 12 h, 8.09 g. Female bust right / B|VVPP. *TURS* 1546, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 439a.

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[110] *TURS* 1248.     [111] *TURS* 1295–6.

[112] D'Ambra, 2014: 158–9. The abbreviation V.P. normally refers to a *vir perfectissimus* and the occurrence of VVPP here might refer to two such individuals, but it is hard to reconcile this hypothesis with the female portrait on the other side of this piece.

[113] Women might also be named alongside their husbands on provincial coinage, and the phenomenon of female signatories appears to be concentrated in the first and second centuries AD. See Burnett, in press.

display of public benefaction in Rome because of the extensive influence and control of the imperial family; it was rather prosperous and densely populated towns outside of Rome that offered greater opportunity for visible participation in civic life and public commemoration.[114] Also like their male counterparts, women did partake of the civic life available to them in Rome, even if they were restricted in the types of public benefaction and commemoration available. Within this new landscape, both men and women performing an act of euergetism may have decided to underscore their munificence and prestige through the issuing of tokens, a small artefact that marked the occasion in a cityscape otherwise dominated by the imperial family.

Male portraits also appeared on tokens, and partnership between individuals was expressed. A token from the Tiber river, for example, carried a female portrait on one side accompanied by the legend CVRTIA FLACCI, with a male portrait accompanied by the legend FLACCVS on the other; one imagines a familial pairing is represented here.[115] Two individual men might also be named alongside each other, perhaps indicating a shared act of euergetism. This might take the form of both individuals being named on one side of the token (e.g. *TURS* 1495, with the legend SEVERI | ET | CRISPI), or a name given on each side of the token (e.g. *TURS* 1417, with the legend FLAC|CVS within a wreath on one side and GAL|LVS within a wreath on the other). Alternatively, both individuals may be named and provided with a portrait, as found on Figure 3.15.

Male portraits might also appear without an identifying legend. Pairs of individual portraits (male-male or male-female) also appear on the same side of a token facing each other.[116] These tokens formed statements of



**Figure 3.15**　Pb token, 18 mm, 12 h, 3.16 g. Male bust right, VERRES around / Male bust right, PROCVLVS around. *TURS* 1332, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 427b.

[114] Hemelrijk, 2015: 339–42.　　[115] *TURS* 1195; Tomassetti, 1887: 237, h.　　[116] *TURS* 1512–56.

connection between individuals. The representation of a portrait and legend naming an individual on a monetiform object closely resembles representations of the emperor on coinage; the phenomenon is also present on orichalcum tokens as shown and discussed in Figure 1.4.[117] In the same way that lower classes might use glass pastes to emulate the otherwise elite practice of gem wearing, so too tokens may have afforded the opportunity for individual Romans to present themselves in a manner similar to the emperor. The particular framework of representation, on an object that looked very similar to a coin, might have served to heighten the sense of prestige associated with the token and the benefaction it represented. Incidentally, the clear imitation of certain aspects of coinage clearly demonstrates the role this medium had in influencing the identities and mentalities of those who lived in the Roman Empire.

Full body representations of individuals are also found. Figure 1.8, for example, was issued by one Marcus Valerius Etruscus, son of Marcus. Rostovtzeff identified the figure on the token as Mercury, but he does not carry a caduceus and is wearing a toga; the representation may then be of Etruscus himself carrying a purse, a visual manifestation of the munificence the token represents. The entire image recalls a togate statue, and this elite medium may have been an intentional reference adopted here to communicate status.

Several token types specifically reference the office of the token issuer, a practice that served to emphasise the status of the individual. One example is that issued by Publius Tettius Rufus, whose token series displayed a curule chair flanked by fasces (Figure 3.16).[118] Rostovtzeff identified this individual with the Tettius Rufus who was praetor in the first century AD; he further compared the token with a coin series struck by Livineus Regulus in the late Republic (Figure 3.17).[119] Crawford believed that this coin type, and others struck by Regulus showing a beast fight and *modius* with corn-ears, referred to the curule office of two of Regulus' ancestors and the activities they performed as aediles.[120] The parallel with Republican coinage is instructive, particularly on a token that likely dates to the first century AD. Moneyers in the Roman Republic utilised coinage as vehicles to communicate familial history and prestige; towards the end of the Republic coinage was also frequently utilised to communicate contemporary ideologies.[121] Under Augustus individual references to moneyers and their familial history gradually disappeared from Roman coinage, part of the broader movement

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[117] Rowan, 2020b.    [118] *TURS* 517.
[119] *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*, III, 309, n. 104; Rostovtzeff, 1905b: 45; *RRC* 494/1–34.
[120] Crawford, 1974: vol. 1, 511.    [121] Chantraine, 1983; Meadows and Williams, 2001.

**Figure 3.16** Pb token, 22 mm, 12 h, 2.78 g. P·TETTIVS | RVFVS / Curule chair with three fasces on either side. *TURS* 517.



**Figure 3.17** AR denarius, 4 h, 4.02 g, 42 BC. Bare head of Regulus right, REGVLVS PR. Border of dots / Curule chair with three fasces on either side, L·LIVINEIVS above, REGVLVS below. *RRC* 494/27.

towards the control of public monuments by the emperor.[122] But although references to moneyers disappear from Roman coinage, we still find references to office holding elites on tokens. During the imperial period these artefacts were able to operate in a communicative manner similar to the coinage of the Republic, albeit on a much reduced scale.

A variety of offices, both civic and religious, are referenced on lead tokens. Another representation of a curule chair flanked by three fasces appears on the token of one Herenn(ius) Ruf(us) who names himself as *curator*.[123] The curule chair also appears on a token with a male portrait on the other side, presumably the office holder and token issuer.[124] A *lituus*,

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[122] Wallace-Hadrill, 1986: 79.     [123] *TURS* 516, Pl. IV, 34.
[124] *TURS* 518; see also *TURS* 519, which has the head of Medusa on one side and a curule chair on the other.

the emblem of an augur, appears on a token of M CAV|C·LF, which Rostovtzeff noted likely referred to a Marcus Caucidius or Caucilius, son of Lucius.[125] The *lituus* also appears on a token with the legend PCI, and another with SA, perhaps the initials of individuals, as well as on other types.[126] That an individual might reference their religious office while issuing a token is demonstrated by one T. Cornelius Paetus, whose tokens name him as both *pontifex* and *curator* (the other side carries the portrait of Tiberius and the legend TI AVGVSTVS).[127] Priestly offices are also referenced by the *apex*, worn by *pontifices*, *flamines* and *salii*.[128] One token carries an *apex* on one side and the legend PPS on the other, the three letters perhaps an abbreviated *tria nomina*.[129] An *apex* also appears on a token with what Rostovtzeff reported was perhaps a priestly attendant on the other side; another appears next to a palm branch on a token that bears Victory inscribing a shield on a column on the other side.[130] A token of this last type was recovered from the Tiber in Rome in the nineteenth century, while a mould half for making tokens decorated with a *lituus* has been found at Ostia.[131]

But while some tokens referenced particular offices, many more tokens naming individuals carried imagery connected to prosperity. Fortuna, Mercury and Victory, for example, are found on numerous specimens.[132] These same expressions of luck are found on Roman wall paintings; a shop in Pompeii on the street of Mercury, for example, had painted in the doorway an image of Mercury and Fortuna facing each other, a double statement of luck.[133] The choice of deities that evoked prosperity on tokens may be connected to their use context (e.g. festivals or feasting), or these may be the tokens of individuals who had not managed to hold an office.

The moneyers of the Roman Republic had also used visual puns to communicate their names, images called 'canting types' in numismatics. The moneyer Lucius Aquillius Florus, for example, placed a flower on some of the coins issued under his authority, while the moneyer Quintus Pomponeius Musa placed images of the muses on his coinage.[134] This

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[125]  *TURS* 1154.
[126]  *TURS* 1077–8, 6 (with Germanicus), 260 (shrine), 778 (horse and legend CD), 1071 (lit altar), 1072 (altar), 1075 (ivy leaf), 1905 (Victory), 2121 (Diana), 2158 (stag and legend CD), 2192 (Fortuna), 2427 (cornucopia and legend ME), 2676 (Mercury), 3208 (sistrum, F L and D M as legends).
[127]  *TURS* 514c; Rostovtzeff, 1905b: 49.
[128]  On the wearing of the *apex* by the *pontifices* see Helbig, 1880: 492; Woytek, 2003: 120–1.
[129]  *TURS* 1079.     [130]  *TURS* 1840.
[131]  Rostovtzeff and Vaglieri, 1900: 266 no. 141; *TURS* 3596.
[132]  See the types listed in *TURS* 1108ff.     [133]  Pompeii VI.7.9, discussed in Clarke, 2003: 85.
[134]  *RIC* I² Augustus 308–9; *RRC* 410/2a–10b.

visual expression of a name (and hence a personal identity) is also found on other media in the Roman world: Pliny records that the architects of the *porticus Octaviae*, having been denied the right to be commemorated in an inscription, signed their names on a column with the image of a lizard (*saura* in ancient Greek) and a frog (*batrachos*), visual puns on their names Saura and Batrachus.[135] The remains of a bronze bench from the Forum of the Baths in Pompeii included legs shaped like a calf's legs, accompanied by the inscription M. NIGIDIVS VACCVLA P.S (a *vaccula* in Latin was a young cow, the P.S. is to be understood as *p(ecunia) s(ua)*, 'at his own expense').[136] Tombstones also carried such references: representations of mice were at times placed on the tombstones of individuals with the name *Mus*, and one Tiberius Octavius Diadumenianus was referenced on his tombstone through a representation of Polykleitos' *Diadoumenos* statue ('diadem bearer').[137]

It is thus unsurprising to find canting types on tokens of the imperial period. The token of a Publius Glitius Gallus displays the name and portrait of Gallus on one side and a rooster carrying a wreath and palm branch on the other (*gallus* was Latin for rooster) (Figure 3.18). Rostovtzeff believed this was the Gallus named in the conspiracy of Piso, but another Publius Glitius Gallus is also known from the first century AD; equally this may be a third, otherwise unknown,



**Figure 3.18** Pb token, 19 mm, 12 h, 2.66 g. Male head right, P GLITI GALLI around / Rooster standing right holding a wreath and palm branch. *TURS* 1238, Rowan, 2020b: no. 57.

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[135]  Plin. *HN* 36.42. Winckelmann believed he had identified this precise column, see MacCartney, 1919: 59.
[136]  *CIL* X, 818.
[137]  *Mus*: *CIL* VI, 16771 and VI, 38411; discussion in MacCartney, 1919: 60. The tombstone of Diadumenianus is now in the Vatican Museums, see Anguissola, 2014 for a discussion.

individual.[138] A token with the legend AQ|VIL on one side and an eagle (in Latin *aquila*) on the other is also a further probable canting type.[139] One P. Asellius Fortunatus issued a token with a representation of Fortuna on one side and a star and crescent on the other.[140] A calf was also depicted on a token accompanied by the legend VITLA, which Rostovtzeff interpreted as the name *Vit(u)la*.[141]

There may be many more instances of visual punning that we can no longer recognise: if a calf or a mouse appears on a token without an accompanying name, we cannot know if the image served as a visual pun on the name of an individual. The (possible) use of visual puns without accompanying legends might have occurred because the meaning would have been self-evident to the user, who knew the name of the token issuer. The use of such puns may have been designed to bring a smile to the face of the user (particularly in the case of the wreath-toting rooster), or to further emphasise the individual responsible for the particular benefaction.

Moneyers in the Roman Republic could select coin types that reflected the prestige and achievements of their *gens*. Tokens presumably offered a similar communicative opportunity. And yet there seem little, if any, token types connected to familial history. There may be several reasons for this divergence. In spite of their similar physical appearance, coins and tokens may have been conceived of very differently in the Roman world: while Republican coinage was linked to Juno Moneta and Roman memory, tokens may have had different associations, and hence attracted a different type of design.[142] There may also have been a shift in self-presentation in the imperial period. In the Republic moneyers, at the beginning of their careers, were limited to representations of ancestral achievement. But under the principate, which focused on the achievements of a living individual, elite self-representation shifted. Augustus and his successors presented themselves as models of patronage to be imitated; instead of civil war or military conflict, elite competition and display focused upon public benefaction. Those who participated in such activity also widened, with an increased number of equestrians and decurions undertaking these activities.[143] The position of token issuers, who may have been participating in an act of euergetism for a particular group, was very different to that

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[138] Rostovtzeff, 1905b: 104; Tac. *Ann.* 15.56.71; *PIR* II 119, n. 166. For the other Gallus, who held numerous magisterial positions, see *CIL* XI, 3097 and 3098.

[139] *TURS* 1132.    [140] *TURS* 1137.    [141] *TURS* 1508, Pl. XI, 42.

[142] On Republican coinage, memory and Juno Moneta see Cheung, 1998; Meadows and Williams, 2001.

[143] Nicols, 2014: 106–8, 115.

of moneyers in the Republic, and this context may have resulted in a preference to emphasise the individual rather than the historical achievements of a *gens*.

Several token types are very close or identical to the designs found on gems and glass pastes. These objects were often incorporated into signet rings and used as seals, forming a visual representation of a particular person. Worn on the body, the objects (and their imagery) were personal markers of status and identity.[144] Many of the designs on tokens, gems and glass pastes are drawn from a broader repertoire of imagery within the Roman world: from political and elite images, from imagery considered to have protective properties, the imagery of deities, of the circus, and of objects encountered in daily life.[145] In his exploration of the practice of everyday life, de Certeau examined the effect individuals have on their environments. By adopting and manipulating the elite culture around them, he argued that people might make this 'language' their own. What is not chosen in this context is as significant as what is chosen.[146] Viewed from this perspective, the selection of particular elite images for use in a non-elite context (whether on a glass paste, or a token issued by someone outside the elite) are powerful acts that transform imagery, making it significant to the identity of an individual or group.[147] But the frequency with which other, non-elite, imagery is chosen (e.g. allusions to chariot racing, Fortuna, or mice) should also be kept in mind. Although some individuals chose to represent themselves via particular elite imagery, others, it seems, found other representations more meaningful in this context.

Given the parallels in imagery between gems and tokens we cannot rule out the idea that some designs on tokens may have been intended to replicate the issuer's intaglio stamp, which would have been used in other contexts and recognised within a certain circle as representative of a particular individual. Indeed, tokens and seals that carried the signet ring design of a particular individual might be viewed as 'media of the body' in that they acted to extend the presence of a particular person in time and

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[144] Henig, 1978: 19; Platt, 2006: 247; Yarrow, 2018. Gem impressions are occasionally found on tokens in Italy; whether this was because the token formed a useful soft material in a workshop to test a design, or for some other purpose relating to the exchange and validity of tokens, is not certain. See Arzone and Marinello, 2019: no. 282 (two identical gem impressions on a worn token).

[145] Catalogues of this material include Zwierlein-Diehl, 1969; Brandt et al., 1972; Henig, 1978 and Vitellozzi, 2010 with discussions in Maderna-Lauter, 1988 and Yarrow, 2018.

[146] de Certeau, 1984: 32, 98–9.     [147] Maderna-Lauter, 1988: 446; Yarrow, 2018: 31–49.

space.[148] In Roman Athens, tokens were often countermarked with particular designs (e.g. 'stork and lizard' and 'dolphin') thought to reflect particular issuers.[149] Alternatively, similar to glass pastes, tokens may have formed an accessible medium for those outside the elite to display the types of imagery seen on more expensive media. The image of an ant seen from above (at times carrying a seed), for example, is known on tokens, gems and glass pastes.[150] On tokens the ant is paired with legends that might be names (e.g. LAR on *TURS* 455), imperial imagery (e.g. a Capricorn, *TURS* 488), as well as more obvious references to individual and familial identity (e.g. the legend AVRELIAE on *TURS* 1141). These different iterations of the same image (ant), combined with different imagery and legends, reflect the process of appropriation that took place in the Roman world, as a language of images was manipulated to express particular identities.

Some tokens carried fantastical and humorous imagery, which is also found on gems. The image of an elephant emerging from a shell, for example, is found on both media (Figure 3.19).[151] On the image reproduced here the design is paired with Victory; an elephant emerging from a shell is also paired with a phoenix and appears on the lead tokens of Ephesus.[152] A token in Berlin appears to show a rhinoceros emerging from a shell, with the legend SPE on the other side – various



**Figure 3.19** Pb token, 18 mm, 12 h, 3.28 g. Victory standing right with wreath in right hand and palm branch in left / Head of an elephant emerging from a shell right. *TURS* 1903, *BMCRLT* 810.

[148] Belting, 2011: 63; Marshman, 2017: 144.
[149] Lang and Crosby, 1964: 88, 116; Gkikaki, 2019: 132–4.
[150] For example, *TURS* 447–56; BM 1756,0102.33, 1814,0704.1449, 1987,0212.393, 1987,0212.395, 1987,0212.397, 1900,0517.4.
[151] Brandt et al., 1972: no. 2371 (with palm branch beneath); Henig, 1984.
[152] Phoenix: *TURS* (Supplement) 3692 = Rowan, 2020b: no. 72. Ephesus: Gülbay and Kireç, 2008: no. 40a (misidentified).

**Figure 3.20** Pb token, 19 mm, 12 h, 5.73 g. Helmeted bust right of Roma or Minerva right / Fantastic creature with the head of a horse, legs of a rooster, mask of Silenus on the right side, and a ram's head on the left; sceptre behind. *TURS* 2897, *BMCRLT* 343.

animals emerging from shells served as a popular motif for gems.[153] The *gryllus* or caricature is also found on tokens, consisting of a creature with the head of a horse, legs of a rooster and a body made up of a mask of Silenus and a ram's head (Figure 3.20). The same image is also known from gems.[154] These fantastical representations fall into the same category as other comical and absurd imagery, for example mice in chariots. Although the humour of these representations might have appealed to the owners of these pieces, the imagery also had the potential to serve an apotropaic function.[155] The imagery chosen for intaglios and tokens therefore might simultaneously communicate a particular identity and protect the individual concerned. These images may also have expressed a desire for prosperity, similar to the imagery of Fortuna and Mercury mentioned above.[156]

Identity might also be communicated through language. Although the overwhelming majority of tokens from Italy bear legends in Latin, several token series are in Greek. These might carry references to individuals or a *gens*: the ΙΟΥΛ on *TURS* 1250 is likely a reference to a Julius, or the Julian clan. The design of this token is linked to the cult of Asclepius through the representation of the head of the deity and his serpent-entwined staff. Another token bears the legend ΔΙΟ|ΓΕΝ, a probable reference to a Diogenes (Fortuna is shown on the other side).[157] Figure 3.21 shows

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[153] *TURS* 463; Richter, 1956:110; Henig, 1984: 244.

[154] Zwierlein-Diehl, 1969: no. 550. Two further examples can be found in the Santarelli collection, see Del Bufalo, 2009: 26 no. n.i.25/85a and 32 no. n.i.47/91g.

[155] Henig, 1984: 244. See Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 5.7.3 for the idea that strange images drew away the evil eye, protecting the wearer.

[156] Sagiv, 2018: 51 notes that many composite or fantastical images are comprised of elements relating to wealth and fertility.

[157] *TURS* 1406.

**Figure 3.21** Pb token, 19 mm, 12 h, 4.96 g. CWC|IOY / Bare male head right (Gaius Sosius?). *TURS* 1319, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 432.

a bare male head facing right, accompanied by the legend CWC|IOY on the other side. Rostovtzeff identified this as the Gaius Sosius who originally served as a general of Marc Antony before defecting to Octavian and who was responsible for the temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome.[158] The style of the portrait is appropriate for the time period of Sosius' life; indeed, the image is reminiscent of the upward-gazing portraits of Alexander the Great. The choice of Greek for these tokens was not only a statement of identity on behalf of the issuer, it was also a statement made by the creator of the token for his audience: the users of these pieces presumably also knew Greek (or else would have known enough to have been suitably impressed by the appearance of Greek in this context).

Indeed, the frequent use of (often very abbreviated) legends on tokens is an important source of evidence for levels and types of literacy in antiquity. The use of legends on tokens, particularly on tokens that carry nothing but a legend as in Figure 3.1, suggests that both the creators and users of tokens were able to recognise these brief texts. The closest parallel to the abbreviated and frequently (to modern eyes) cryptic combinations of letters found on tokens are perhaps the painted inscriptions (*tituli picti*) carried on *amphorae*.[159] When examining these inscriptions, Woolf advocated seeing writing as a set of graphic symbols to be interpreted, with different types of writing (commercial, funerary, military inscriptions) employing different conventions to communicate their message to the reader. Woolf focused on the painted messages on Dressel 20 *amphorae*, which required an understanding of the conventions and systems used by all those involved. Similarly, the creators and users of tokens were likely to have understood the conventions of this particular medium: abbreviated *tria nomina*, for

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[158] Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 432; Shipley, 1930.    [159] Woolf, 2015.

example, the occasional use of interpuncts to distinguish between words (e.g. between P and Tettius on Figure 3.16), and recognising that the central dot on these artefacts was related to manufacture rather than any specific message (see Chapter 1).

Indeed, given that tokens were manufactured for a specific audience, only a relatively small group of people needed to understand the conventions employed; the varying designs of tokens between regions suggests that, unlike Dressel 20 *amphorae*, the semiotic system was local to a particular region. In the Latin-speaking West, regions might produce semiotic conventions for tokens within the broader framework of everyday Latin, but each development appears to have been unique. For example, the tokens of Lyon utilise two and three letter Latin legends that appear to be *tria nomina*, but the tokens of this region also make greater use of accompanying signs (e.g. palm branches or ivy-leaves) than similar tokens found in Rome and Ostia.[160] The local form and design of tokens, in this sense, must also have contributed to a sense of local community through semiotic conventions.

## Identity through Work

A wide variety of material culture attests to the fact that many in the Roman world identified themselves through their work. Funerary monuments might display the deceased at work, or specifically mention their vocation.[161] The tomb of Eurysaces the baker at the Porta Maggiore in Rome epitomises this phenomenon: this large tomb carries cylindrical spaces which are thought to represent the cavities in which dough is kneaded, the activities of the bakery are shown in relief towards the top of the tomb and Eurysaces is named as a baker (*pistor*) and contractor (*redemptor*) in the inscription.[162] Tokens too carry statements of identity that refer to work. In several instances tokens and their imagery also appear to have reinforced feelings of belonging between members of a *collegium*. This is explored here through two case studies: representations of porters (*saccarii*), and the tokens referring to the coachmen (*cisiarii*) who ferried individuals between Ostia and Rome.

Several tokens carry images of *saccarii*, the porters who carried goods from ships to warehouses along the docks in Ostia and Portus.[163] Figure 3.22 is one such example, issued by an individual named Quintus Fabius Speratus (otherwise unknown). A *saccarius* is also

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[160] On the tokens from Lyon see Dissard, 1905; Turcan, 1987: 62–4; Wilding, 2020.
[161] Joshel, 1992.     [162] Coarelli, 2007: 205.
[163] Martelli, 2013 on the *saccarii* and their representation more broadly.

**Figure 3.22**  Pb token, 18 mm, 12 h, 3.21 g. *Saccarius* standing left holding a sack or *dolium* on his shoulders and with right arm raised / Q·FAB·SPE around. *TURS* 1033, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 418b.

portrayed on lead tokens accompanied by the legend AGM or OBB on the other side, or the representation of three corn-ears.[164] Although one might be tempted to link these lead tokens with the mechanics surrounding the operations of the port, these specimens are more likely to be connected to acts of communality and euergetism.[165] If we accept that the three letter legends AGM and OBB may be initials (although we cannot be certain), then three out of the four token types carrying representations of *saccarii* appear to carry personal names, likely advertising an act of munifence for a broader group. There is enough evidence to suggest the *saccarii* of Portus had joined together into a larger, more formal community – the Theodosian code mentions an organisation which might well be a *collegium*, *corpus, sodalicium* or similar association, while epigraphic evidence suggests a funerary organisation for this group of workers.[166] Commensality, for example communal banquets, would have acted as an occasion in which the identity of the group was made salient and internal hierarchies reinforced; if tokens played a role on these occasions their imagery would have served to further this process.[167] The representation of *saccarii* at work in numerous port scenes (e.g. carrying sacks of 'things' (*res*) on the Isis Giminiana fresco found in a tomb from the Porta Laurentina) demonstrates that these workers had a specific iconography, and were seen as integral to the harbour and its operations.

[164]  *TURS* 1034–6.     [165]  Facella, 2004: 53; Martelli, 2013: 18, 105–6.
[166]  *Cod. Theod*. 14.22 (*De saccariis Portus Romae*) discussed in Virlouvet, 2015: 675. See Tran, 2008: 298 for discussion of a *cippus* that recorded the sepulchral concession of the *saccarii*; see also Martelli, 2013: 101 for the possibility of group burial at Isola Sacra. The idea that *collegia* were mainly funerary organisations, however, has been discredited, see van Nijf, 2002: 308.
[167]  van Nijf, 2002: 325–30 on commensality in *collegia*.

**Figure 3.23**  Orichalcum token, 20 mm, 5 h, 7.3 g. Laureate head of Augustus left, within wreath / *Saccarius* standing front holding an amphora over his shoulder; XV in field right. Cohen vol. VIII, 254 no. 101, BnF 16979.

An orichalcum token also shows a *saccarius* carrying an amphora over his shoulder (Figure 3.23).[168] The issue is part of a broader series of orichalcum tokens (including the so-called *spintriae*) issued during the Julio-Claudian period, likely by a workshop in Rome that produced pieces for a variety of individuals or groups.[169] The *saccarius* is nude and decidedly more heroic-looking than on the lead token, although amphora-carrying *saccarii* are also shown nude on marble reliefs. Figure 3.24, for example, shows nude *saccarii* each carrying an amphora off a ship. The porters walk towards three officials, one of whom gives the rightmost *saccarius* an object. The object was thought by Rickman to be a token; he suggested this was a method of ensuring the number of *amphorae* leaving the ship was the same as that entering the warehouse.[170] The precise shape of the object is difficult to discern, but it does not appear to be a small circular token; rather it seems a longer, more rectangular object.

High quality orichalcum tokens and marble reliefs might be thought beyond the financial means of harbour porters, but Virlouvet makes a convincing case that the group comprising the *saccarii* may have also included the officials involved in the transport and distribution of goods beyond the port. The monopoly afforded the *saccarii* in the Theodosian Code, as well as the honours and activities recorded for *saccarii* in Italy and elsewhere in the Empire (e.g. reserved seats in the theatre at Smyrna,

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[168] The figure was misidentified as Hercules with a club by Cohen. Martelli, 2013: 101 argues that in the absence of evidence for other types of worker (e.g. *amphorarii*), we should conclude *saccarii* carried *amphorae* in Rome's port.

[169] Rowan, 2020b.

[170] Rickman, 1971: 321–2; Keay, 2018: 162 and fig. 27. The mosaic outside *statio* 25 of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni shows a clothed *saccarius* carrying an amphora over his shoulder.

**Figure 3.24** Marble relief showing *saccarii* offloading *amphorae* from a ship, 43 × 33 cm. Found in Portus, now in the Torlonia collection (inv. no. 428).

a statue at Perinthus) suggests this group was wealthier than scholarship has traditionally thought.[171] The token and the relief, then, might have been created by one of the *saccarii*, or else the physical identity of these workers was utilised by another group to communicate a port scene, or the abundance of supplies their work ensured.

Virlouvet notes that although *saccarii* frequently appear in mosaics, frescoes and reliefs, they rarely have a central role – the tokens are important exceptions to this rule.[172] Their presence in the 'background' of life in Rome's ports was also physically manifest in the small terracotta figures of *saccarii* found throughout Ostia. Martelli's study of the findspots of these pieces led her to suggest that these were representations of the Genius of the college of the *saccarii*; if she is correct we may also have a Genius represented on the lead tokens discussed above (Figure 3.22). In Ostia, these small statues are mainly found in public places: in niches and locations frequented by numerous people. Whoever erected these figures and whatever their motivation, it is clear that the image of a *saccarius* formed an important backdrop to Ostia; we should not be surprised, then, that they figure so frequently in port scenes.[173] The figure of the *saccarius* was not

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[171] Virlouvet, 2015.    [172] Virlouvet, 2015: 678.
[173] Martelli, 2013: 115–18; Virlouvet, 2015: 681–3.

only important to the identity of the porters and their associates, but to the maritime identity of Ostia as a port settlement.

The second example I wish to explore is the assemblage of tokens found in the baths of the *cisiarii* in Ostia. The *cisiarii* were drivers who transported passengers between Ostia and Rome, named for their two-wheeled vehicle, the *cisium*.[174] A bathhouse that may have belonged to the *collegium* of these drivers (perhaps of a semi-public character) has been excavated on the north side of the *Decumanus* in Ostia, near the Porta Romana.[175] Although the baths and their finds have not yet been studied in detail, the surviving decoration reveals a scheme that evoked bathing, the sea, diversion and entertainment, as well as the work of the *cisiarii* themselves. In the frigidarium (Room C) a black and white mosaic depicts city walls at the very edge of the room, likely representing Rome, and a second set of city walls are placed in the centre, likely representing Ostia. Between these walls *cisiarii* are depicted with their carriages, with the names of the mules at times included.[176] Mosaics in other rooms carry maritime motifs (room B), representations of athletes (room E) and a scene of an animal fight (room A). Stucco reliefs in room F depict *gorgoneia*, sea monsters, Nereids, Mercury and erotes. The entirety communicates to the user a setting of relaxation and entertainment within a port city at the gate where the *cisiarii* presumably collected and dropped off their customers.

Spagnoli has recently published the assemblage of forty tokens coming from the 1972–3 excavations of the complex, all coming from Room C, the frigidarium with the mosaic showing the *cisiarii*.[177] The frigidarium, as well as the larger complex, was constructed during the reign of Hadrian on the site of an existing structure; the tokens (which are interpreted by Spagnoli as a single assemblage that was dispersed) come from strata that date to after the construction period and before the renovation of the room towards the end of the third century – that is, towards the end of the second century (late Antonine) and beginning of the Severan era.[178] More specifically, eighteen tokens were found in 'C2', a fill layer, along with an *as* of Lucilla.[179] Five tokens were found in 'C5', another fill layer, alongside two coins of Gordian I, two further illegible coins, hairpins and ceramic fragments, and other finds. Two tokens were found in 'C1' alongside an illegible *as*, and a further two in 'C7', which was a cleaning context. Ten tokens were found in 'C4,

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[174] Malmberg, 2011: 369–71.     [175] Meiggs, 1973: 419.
[176] For a description, plan and photographs see www.ostia-antica.org/regio2/2/2-3.htm.
[177] Spagnoli, 2017b.     [178] Spagnoli, 2017b: 186.     [179] *RIC* III Marcus Aurelius 1780.

settore F', the fill of a cut, alongside illegible coins, lamps, an incised gem, a gold bead, hairpins, glass pastes, an earring and fragments of glass and ceramics. Two were found in 'C3', a fill stratum beneath a restored mosaic. A further token from 'C6' was found with two *quadrantes* and a *semis*, nine further illegible coins and ceramic fragments.[180] As with many other archaeological excavations of tokens in Italy, fill contexts dominate here, a phenomenon discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

Several of the tokens from these baths specifically reference the work of the *cisiarii*. Three tokens found in the baths were of the same type, carrying a wheel on one side and a whip on the other, a reference to the *cisium* the drivers used, and the whips they carried (indeed, they are pictured carrying whips in the mosaic in the bathhouse).[181] A token of the same design is shown in Figure 3.25; the addition of the palm branch next to the whip expresses the same sense of festivity that other decorative motifs in the baths capture. Two further tokens were found with the legend CI|SI on one side and an amphora on the other; the legend likely refers to the *cisiarii* or the bathing establishment.[182] It seems probable that these particular tokens were connected with the *cisiarii* in some way, an expression of identity through work as also seen on the mosaic in the bathhouse. *Cisiarii* are also represented at work driving their carriages on tombstones elsewhere in the



**Figure 3.25** Pb token, 21 mm, 12 h, 4.43 g. Wheel with eight spokes / Whip on left, next to palm branch on right. *TURS* 832.

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[180] The *quadrantes* were *RIC* I² Nero 317, and an anonymous *quadrans* (*RIC* II 28). The *semis* was *RIC* II Hadrian 625 = *RIC* II.3² Hadrian 624).

[181] Spagnoli, 2017b: nos. 5–7. Nos. 5 and 6 were found in 'C2', no. 7 in 'C5'.

[182] *TURS* Supplement 3607; Spagnoli, 2017b: nos. 21–2.

Roman world.[183] The baths of the *cisiarii* had two bars (H and J). If the tokens were issued directly by an establishment in the bathhouse, the reference to the *cisiarii* would have reinforced the decorative scheme found in the frigidarium, furthering a sense of identity for the establishment itself – a bathhouse whose public image was closely connected to that of the carriage drivers, and perhaps owned by them. We possess other tokens that carry the names of bathhouses (discussed further in Chapter 5), which suggest these objects were issued in connection with specific establishments.

The remaining tokens found in the Terme dei *Cisiarii* were decorated with the following types:

- elephant / Fortuna
- Fortuna (or Felicitas) / AF[.]
- standing figure / LCF
- anchor / palm branch (2 examples)
- anchor / H E followed by an illegible third letter (7 examples)
- phallus / scales (2 examples)
- amphora / *dolium* (2 examples)
- S C V within wreath / blank (2 examples)
- D / C (2 examples)
- retrograde F / retrograde S (4 examples)
- EK / I (2 examples)
- EK / II
- ЄC / I
- head of a calf / illegible
- AC above MV within wreath / illegible image within wreath (2 examples)
- illegible (4 examples)

The images of Fortuna and the phallus and scales evoke prosperity and wealth (as did the image of Mercury in the surviving stucco), while the elephant recalls the animal fight mosaic in Room A. The anchor is a maritime motif that evokes Ostia's role as a port. The tokens and their imagery would have interacted in the context of their environment: within the community of the *cisiarii*, the bathhouse, and the city of Ostia more broadly. Along with the broader decorative scheme of the baths, they would also have evoked a particular emotional response fitting for Roman bathing: a sense of diversion, of prosperity, and the

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[183] A carriage driver in a *cisium* approaching a milestone is shown on a funerary monument now in the Rheinische Landesmuseum Trier, inv. no. 1931,276. Another funerary relief in the museum shows a carriage driver above a ship, inv. no. 11408.

anticipation of food, oil and/or beverages (e.g. the amphora and *dolium*).[184] The imagery of the tokens and the bathhouse would have served to call forth the identities of the users, while also communicating that identity to others: the finds of hairpins and the earring suggest the bathhouse was also used by women, a group beyond the immediate community of the carriage drivers.[185]

Other tokens also carry reference to specific occupations. *TURS* 1058 carries the image of a sculptor working on a statue (perhaps Victory) placed on a column; Rostovtzeff interpreted this as the representation of an artisan, but the nude figure might equally be a representation of Prometheus sculpting Man (also a popular image for gems).[186] *TURS* 1059 shows a mallet on one side and a pair of tongs on the other, a probable reference to metalworking. Other references are less certain; the image of a foot, for example, might reference a shoemaker, but this cannot be securely established.[187] Further study of tokens will only further elucidate their role, but the case studies discussed here demonstrate the variety of individuals who issued and used tokens, as well as their role in contributing to moments of 'Groupness' and a sense of community among particular professions and the establishments they frequented.

## Beyond Rome

Far fewer tokens have been found in Italy outside of Rome and Ostia. Several of those that have been uncovered, however, carry clear expressions of particular identities. Two tokens, both of which carry the portrait and name of the emperor Claudius, appear to name specific settlements. The first example refers to a *colonia Veneria* with the legend COLO VEN, accompanied by the representation of Venus standing with her left hand resting on a Cupid, who holds a rudder.[188] It is unclear which of the multiple settlements that were a *colonia Veneria* this refers to; the two

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[184] On the role of the 'everyday aesthetic' in evoking a particular emotional response see Highmore, 2011: 9, 17.

[185] See Ward, 1992 on women and Roman bathing.

[186] With thanks to David Meadows @rogueclassicist for this suggestion. The token is shown in *TURS* Pl. X, 65.

[187] *TURS* Supplement 3662. A chained cobbler is shown with a foot form above his head on a fourth century AD mosaic from Kalibia in Tunisia; Ben Abed, 2006: 148–9. Erotes in a painted cobbler scene from Herculaneum also have model feet above their heads (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. no. MN 719).

[188] Stannard Liri 29.015; Mitchiner, 1984: no. 4; with discussion in Rowan, in press a.

known specimens of this type came from the Garigliano and Liri rivers respectively.[189] The second token type bears the legend FLORENTIA MART accompanied by a standing female figure holding a patera and flower, with a rudder on a globe (?) placed on her right. This may be a reference to the colony of Florentia (modern day Florence), accompanied by the representation of a tutelary deity, or a deity that acted as a pun on the settlement's name (*florentia* in Latin referred to blooming).[190]

A token found during excavations of an inner fortification wall in Rocca di Monfalcone in northern Italy carries what is likely a Genius on one side and Hercules on the other.[191] Whether this was the Genius of the settlement, or of a particular community within the area, is impossible to know. Also in northern Italy, in Aquileia, a token found near the circus carried the diademed head of a personification of the city, although the authenticity of this piece is doubtful.[192] A bronze token series carries the city goddess of Aquileia enthroned with a mural crown on her head. She holds a cornucopia in her right hand, and is accompanied by the legend AQVILEIA FELIX, with a reference to the warehouses (*horrea*) of the city (HORR AQVIL) within a wreath on the other side. A variant on this type with a *modius* on the reverse has been identified as a forgery, and a thorough re-examination of the series and the finds from Aquileia is needed to establish whether the *horreum* type too belongs to a series of forgeries that seem to date to the eighteenth century.[193]

Reported finds also reveal the use of tokens to consolidate local cultic identity. The token finds from Nemi and its surrounds include three specimens carrying imagery connected to the goddess Diana. One displayed the Ephesian Artemis on one side with the legend DIA on the other, another displayed Diana in a tunic carrying a bow with the legend LRP|C on the other side, and the third represented Diana with

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[189]  Mitchiner, 1984: no. 4 (erroneous reading of the type) reportedly from the Garigliano; the other specimen is from Stannard's unpublished catalogue of lead said to come from the Liri.

[190]  London Ancient Coins, Auction 60, 14 February 2017, no. 363; Rowan, in press a. Cristian Mondello is currently preparing a catalogue of the lead tokens housed in the National Archaeological Museum of Florence and reports that no specimen of the FLORENTIA type is among the collection.

[191]  Visonà, 1980: 347, no. 1. A second token carrying an image of Trajan was also found, as well as twelve coins ranging from the third century BC to the seventeenth century AD.

[192]  Maionica, 1899; Buora, 2008: 110.

[193]  Maionica, 1899: 105; Buora, 2008: 112. A piece in Berlin, initially published by de Belfort, is also likely to be of this type; see de Belfort, 1892: 176 and Berlin Münzkabinett 18203250, https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18203250.

a bow and a stag shown on the other side.[194] Nemi was renowned for its sanctuary to Diana Nemorensis, located on the northern shore of the lake.[195] One of the best-known representations of the goddess today is the tripartite statue representing Diana as Luna, Diana and Hecate (i.e. Diana as huntress, as the moon, and of the underworld). An excellent representation of the statue can be found on coinage of the late Republic issued by the moneyer Publius Accoleius Lariscolus.[196] On this coin three statues, representing the three aspects of Diana, stand side by side with their arms raised and with a cypress grove behind them (Figure 3.26). But the token evidence and the other remains from the site reveal that the worship of the goddess at Nemi was complex, encompassing her role as a huntress, and, if the votives are any indication, as a healing deity.[197] The varied representations of Diana on tokens fit well with this diversity.

Four tokens found at Nemi carry the representation of three female figures standing frontally with their arms raised. Two specimens carried the legend COR | THAL on the other side; one reported by Catalli and another found as a stray find near the lake in the nineteenth century.[198] A further two tokens with this imagery bore the legend APOL within a wreath on the other side; both were found during the



**Figure 3.26**  AR denarius, 1 h, 3.82 g. Bust of Diana Nemorensis right, draped; P·ACCOLEIVS LARISCOLVS around. Border of dots / Triple cult statue of Diana Nemorensis (Diana, Hecate and Luna) facing; behind, cypress grove. Border of dots. *RRC* 486/1.

[194] Catalli, 2013: *tessera* 2 (Diana of Ephesus of type *TURS* 2151), *tessera* 3 (with legend LRP | C, a previously unpublished type whose legend is not yet understood) and *tessera* 4 (with stag, of type *TURS* 2116). The tokens are presented among the coins from the excavations of the terrace and nymphaeum (1989–2009 excavations), but no further find information is given.

[195] Green, 2007.     [196] Green, 2007: 134–5; *RRC* 486/1.     [197] Romano, 2007: 73–161.

[198] Type *TURS* 1193 = Overbeck, 2001: no. 189; Catalli, 2013: *tessera* 1; Tomassetti, 1887: 281. Rostovtzeff suggested the legend might be understood as a name, for example Cor(nelius) Thal(lus) or similar.

early twentieth century excavations of the theatre and the regions SSW and NNE of the structure.[199] The image was identified as the Three Graces by Rostovtzeff. However, the three figures have their hands raised. Representations of the Three Graces normally show the three figures resting their arms on each other's shoulders. The three figures on the token look similar to the triple cult statue of Diana Nemorensis as displayed on the Republican coin, but without the attributes held in the hand of each goddess, and (unlike Figure 3.26) without the sacred grove above.

But the image is also unlikely to be a representation of the cult statue of Diana Nemorensis. The same image, of three women standing frontally, each with their hands raised, is also found on a variety of other tokens, many without connection to Nemi (e.g. Figure 3.27). This image is variously labelled as 'Hecate' or the 'Three Graces' in Rostovtzeff's catalogue, although the image is the same. Hecate is also an unsatisfactory interpretation of the image, since Hecate is normally shown via three female figures standing back-to-back as 'Hecate *triformis*', even on coinage and on tokens.[200] Moreover, lead tokens also carry the image of *two* women standing frontally with their arms raised, which Rostovtzeff suggested was a representation of two *aurae* (winds).[201] What is a more likely interpretation of all these representations is that they show women with their hands open and arms



Figure 3.27  Pb token, 19 mm, 12 h, 4,15 g. L VOLV|SI PRIMI (*L. Volusi Primi*) / Three women standing frontally with arms raised. *TURS* 1345, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 430f1.

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[199] *NSc.* 1931, 281. The type was unknown to Rostovtzeff and is entered into the tokens database as Nemi 1, https://coins.warwick.ac.uk/token-types/id/nemi1.

[200] For example, *RPC* III no. 386, VII.1 no. 482; *TURS* 2469; Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: 414.

[201] *TURS* 1599, Pl. VI, 17.

raised in the traditional Roman *orans* stance associated with prayer or adoration. Although the representation of women in the *orans* stance is perhaps more commonly known from Christian art, it was also a well-known position in the Graeco-Roman period. The (admittedly restored) sculpture of Livia from Ocriculum is one such example, thought to have been placed next to a statue of *Divus* Augustus, highlighting Livia's role as priestess of his cult.[202] Livia's statue became a model for other representations of elite women (with two variations, 'orans A' and 'orans B').[203] The image of a woman with both arms raised was also the representation of *pietas* found on imperial coinage from the reign of Trajan.[204] Coinage connected to the saecular games of Domitian show women kneeling with their arms raised in prayer, which likely represents the prayers to Juno given by Roman matrons as part of the ceremonies.[205]

It is therefore likely that the representations of women with raised hands, found on tokens at Nemi and elsewhere in Italy, represent female worshippers, or perhaps even female priests. Tokens showing three women standing behind each other facing left, each with one right arm raised, also likely show worshippers in a procession or priestesses.[206] If these tokens were distributed to worshippers, the users may have been encouraged to identify themselves in the image. The tokens might have been connected to worship, or to the theatre or baths connected to the cult complex.[207] We see a similar phenomenon in the votives left by women at Nemi: the votive terracottas found at the site are thought to represent donors, while the anatomical votives and objects of personal adornment offered would also have carried with them the personal identity and prayers of the dedicants.[208] If the image referenced priestesses, then the tokens served to communicate their role in the maintenance of the cult, just as the tokens issued by priests in Palmyra highlighted their role in particular cultic banquets.[209] Unlike the tokens of Palmyra, however, which named individual priests, these female representations remain anonymous,

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[202] Museo Pio-Clementino, Sala dei busti, inv. no. 637; Collins-Clinton, 2000: 115–16. The *orans* pose is often equated with the mention of the statue of the worshipping (*adorantem*) woman by Euphranor, mentioned by Plin. *HN* 34.78.

[203] Collins-Clinton, 2000: 115.

[204] For example, *RIC* II Trajan 392; Woytek, 2010: nos. 9, 17, 28.

[205] *RIC* I² Domitian 610–11; Scheid, 1998: 24; Sobocinski, 2006: 592.

[206] *TURS* 2465, Pl. VIII no. 28. See also *TURS* 2956 (three women, clothed, proceeding left).

[207] Hänninen, 2000: 47 discusses the idea the baths and theatre were there to serve visitors to the sanctuary.

[208] Hänninen, 2000: 46.      [209] Raja, 2015.

and largely standardised: the frequent use of three women across multiple token series suggests this was a well used and recognised image. Whatever the particular reference, it is clear that tokens formed a part of the materiality of cultic experience, a theme that will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Only a small amount of the surviving lead tokens could be discussed here; the larger corpus still offers a rich amount of examples for the student of identities in the Roman world. The examples presented here were chosen to demonstrate the potential of this source base for studies of this kind. Tokens offer us an insight into the identities of a broad segment of the populations of Rome, Ostia and Portus, and reveal the moments in which 'Groupness' might become apparent or particular identities made salient. Tokens also reveal how particular imagery and personas interacted within the broader landscape of Rome and its harbour. The events and contexts in which tokens were used served as moments that consolidated feelings of community and belonging. The use of tokens (creating a sense of community between the 'haves' in contrast to the 'have nots') and the imagery placed upon them would have contributed to this process, forming part of the materiality of the everyday that shaped social life.