

CLAY TOKENS STAMPED WITH THE NAMES OF ATHENIAN MILITARY COMMANDERS

(PLATES 13, 14)

OUR DECISION to present this material in one joint article arose from our conviction that all these stamped military tokens constitute a single distinct class in which the common features heavily outweigh the minor variations and peculiarities of the four subclasses. Here Mitchel publishes Type I in which he has been interested for several years as part of a general study of Athenian *peripolarchoi*. Types II-IV are the work of Kroll, growing out of the discovery in the Agora Excavations of 1971 of twenty-five tokens of a hipparch for the Athenian cleruchy on Lemnos, to which he adds two further Types: one of another Athenian hipparch (apparently serving in Athens itself) and the other of an Athenian general assigned to Samos. The final identification of the tokens as official *symbola* is also Kroll's.¹

The most striking feature common to all the types, aside from their concern with Athenian military officers, is that they were deliberately manufactured, first by pressing an engraved stamp into high-grade pottery clay and then by careful firing. All the tokens with one exception include the officer's demotic (showing that they were all citizens) and employ the accusative case (pointing to their common purpose and use). Type I is rectangular both in over-all shape and in the shape of its stamp whereas the others are oval or circular and show round stamps. Type I's fabric, the quality of its clay and its firing are superior; the first specimen gave a fine, almost metallic clink when thumped. The clay was apparently rolled flat to a uniform thickness of approximately 0.005 m. before stamping, whereas most of the rest were made by pressing the stamp into a "dump" of soft clay; consequently many of the specimens show splaying around the edges, a typical characteristic of this method.

Any thin clay object which receives a stamp on its obverse will receive on its reverse the impression of whatever surface it is being pressed against. An examination of the tokens' reverses reveals the greatest diversity of all, not only between Types, but even within the same Type. In Type I, for instance, the first specimen was apparently pried loose from the surface beneath with a small spatula, the second specimen is smooth with irregular striations, and the third is reported to be striated as

¹ For kindly allowing us to publish tokens in their collections, we are grateful to Barbara Philippaki, ephor of pottery in the National Museum, Athens; Franz Willemsen, former director of the Kerameikos Excavations; and Homer A. Thompson and T. Leslie Shear, Jr., successive directors of the Agora Excavations. We have also to thank Mabel Lang, Stella G. Miller, John McK. Camp II, and Eugene Vanderpool, Jr., for help with special problems. Mitchel gratefully acknowledges grants-in-aid from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Research Council of the Graduate School of the University of Missouri.

though it had been stamped while resting on a sheet of papyrus. Type IIA is completely smooth whereas B has very rough parallel striations. Types III and IV are unique specimens, but each differs from the norm: the one is opisthographic; the other was pressed into a die rather than stamped and was glazed before firing.

In spite of these differences in appearance, we believe we have a homogeneous group of tokens which had a single purpose and belong to the same time period, roughly the two middle quarters of the 4th century B.C.

I. *Xenokles of Perithoidai, Peripolarchos* (Pl. 13:a-c)

I.1 (SS 8080). Rectangular terracotta token of fine Attic clay fired to a typical orange buff, complete except for chips at edges. Found unbroken 26 May, 1938 in the upper filling (second half of 3rd century) of Agora well O 20:3. Reported by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 216, fig. 13. The attempt to detach it from its supporting surface while still leathery has left several marks of a small spatula along the bottom edges, and there is a rough area which resulted from some of the clay sticking to the supporting surface. The stamp is 0.032×0.012 m. Height, 0.02; width, 0.039; thickness, 0.005 m.

Ξενοκλέα
Περιθοίδην
Περιπόλαρχον

I.2 (MC 1245). From the same die. Found 1 July, 1975 in Room 1 a of the Street Stoa (S/3, 4-13/15). Context, 1st century after Christ. Complete, mended from two pieces. Reverse smooth with irregular nonparallel striations. Height, 0.017 - 0.018; width, 0.0425; thickness, 0.0055 m.

I.3 From the same die. A fragment, right-hand two thirds preserved in the Froehner Collection in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and published by L. Robert, *Hellenica* X, 1955, pp. 291-292, pl. xxxix, no. 2. Context is unknown other than that it was brought from Attica in 1889. Height, 0.017; preserved width, 0.026; thickness, 0.003 m.

[Ξε]νοκλέα
[Περ]ιθοίδην
[Περιπ]όλαρχον

Robert's description of the reverse suggests still another treatment of that surface: "Striated by a sort of woven pattern as if the object had received support on a sheet of papyrus while someone pressed the stamp into the clay; the papyrus fibres have produced a characteristic chequer pattern."

This last description, accurate as it may be for the third specimen, does not fit the other two. The first specimen shows the pry marks which removed it from an apparently stiff supporting surface such as marble or finished wood. Perhaps the artificer, after experiencing the difficulty of removing the still leathery tokens from such a surface, was told or discovered for himself that it was easier to roll the clay thin on a scrap of papyrus, stamp as many tokens as he could fit in, cut them to size with a knife, and leave them all to dry for firing. The papyrus, of course, would be completely consumed in the heat of the kiln, but at the same time leave its impression

on the reverses of the tokens. Reed mats would be cheaper than papyrus and came to be used (see Pl. 14:II.12 and II.13).

The manufacture of the second specimen is the greatest enigma since it shows neither the pry marks (as the first specimen) nor the regular checker of papyrus. Be that as it may, the fact that we have three different treatments of the reverse surfaces of the only three surviving tokens made from the identical stamp suggests that at the time they were manufactured there was no established procedure and the artificer was experimenting.

The lettering of the stamp is neat and typical of the 4th century; the care with which the letters were engraved also argues for a date in this general period. The letters are largest in the first line and become successively smaller in the two following lines: Xenokles is first and foremost, takes only eight letters, and so the average size is 0.003 m.; the demotic takes ten letters, and they are visibly smaller than those of the first line; the title in the third line takes twelve letters, and their average is only 0.002 m.

The archaeological contexts in which the tokens were found establish only the *terminus ante quem* and do not answer the question of Xenokles' date; nor does the evidence for the existence of his office, which is attested from the last decade of the 5th century until well into the 2nd century.² Perhaps the best criterion for dating Type I is its clear association with Types II and III, the first belonging to an archaeological context of the third quarter of the 4th century, and the latter to the historical period 365 to 321 B.C.

When I.1 was discovered and first reported, it was assumed that the marks on the reverse showed that it had been attached to something while still soft and that the office of the peripolararch was that of a police inspector; thus it was suggested that the "plaque . . . had been attached to some object evidently inspected and approved by the police authorities." It is true that the token had been attached to something, namely, the surface against which it was pressed in the process of stamping, but we have already noted that it had been pried loose before firing. The identification of the peripolararch as a police inspector is an aberration of the eighth edition of Liddell and Scott which was still in use at the time the report was written; he is now recognized to have been a military officer concerned not with inspection but with the garrisons in the frontier forts, the security of the countryside, and the patrolling of the borders. It is clear that the plaques were deliberately fabricated and carefully fired to be used

² The dated references to Athenian *peripolarchoi* in chronological order: 411/10, Thuc., 8.92.2; cf. 8.92.5, Hermon (*PA* 5170); 410, *SEG* XIX, 42b, col. II, line 35; 352/1, *IG* II², 204, line 20; *aet.* Lycurg., *IG* II², 2968 (Aristomenes, *PA* 2006); end 4th century, *IG* II², 1193 (Smikythion, *PA* 12771); 4th-3rd century, *IG* II², 2973; mid-3rd century, *IG* II², 1260 (cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List*, New York 1939, p. 149); mid-2nd century, *Supplementum Inscriptionum Atticarum* I, 1976, pp. 297-299, no. 25, lines 2-3 = *AthMitt* 67, 1942 [1951], pp. 22-24, no. 25, lines 2-3. For more general information and earlier bibliography see L. Robert, *Hellenica* X, 1955, pp. 283-292; Hommel's article, *peripoloi* (*RE* XIX, 1937, pp. 852-856), should be used with caution.

as tokens in connection with a primarily military officer, the *peripolarchos*, and never as seals or inspection stamps on other objects.

II. *Pheidon of Thria, Hipparchos eis Lemnon* (Pl. 14)

The twenty-five tokens for this officer illustrated at actual size on Plate 14 (MC 1164-MC 1187, MC 1189-MC 1192) were excavated in 1971 from an Agora well at a level dating shortly after the middle of the 4th century B.C. The following notes add relatively little to the preliminary account by T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 178-179, pl. 39:b, f, and g.

The tokens, orangish buff in color, are approximately the same size (height 0.021 - 0.029, width 0.024 - 0.035 m.) as the ones of the peripolarch, but are thicker (0.003 - 0.009 m.) and less carefully made, having been impressed in wads of clay that tended to split around the edges upon spreading. Although the majority are oblong in shape, all have been impressed from circular stamps, as is shown by the circumferences of the stamp impressions on some of the rounder tokens (II.1, II.12, II.13). The very preservation of the objects after centuries of immersion in the water of the well, which was still full at time of excavation, assures that they had been fired hard in a kiln.

Two stamps can be identified with certainty. Stamp A, with small, fine lettering, was used for II.1-10 and employs the accusative case throughout:

Ἱππαρχον
εἰς Λήμνον
Φείδωνα Θρι

All of the Stamp A tokens have smooth backsides from having been impressed on a smooth surface.

The lettering of Stamp B, used for II.12-25, is coarser and larger and the text begins, erroneously, in the nominative only to revert to the correct accusative in the name in line 3:

Ἱππαρχος
εἰς Λήμνον
Φείδωνα Θρι

All but three of the tokens from Stamp B have roughly striated backsides from having been impressed on what appears to have been a reed mat (cf. II.12 and II.13).

It is possible that a third stamp is attested by the broken and poorly impressed II.11. Its only visible letter, a faint nu at the end of what must be line 1, excludes it from belonging to Stamp B. And although the nu has the right size and texture, it lacks the conspicuously slanted form of the corresponding nus of the Stamp A tokens. Consequently, if II.11 really is from Stamp A, one is obliged to assume that the nu was somehow distorted upon being impressed into the clay. The reverse of II.11 is roughly striated like most of the Stamp B tokens but unlike any from Stamp A.

What is especially significant about II.11 is its illegibility and the fact that it broke, seemingly before firing. It clearly could have never been used. II.25 appears also to have broken during manufacture, and with very few exceptions the remaining tokens contain imperfections that would make them difficult to read if one did not know in advance what they said. Weak stamping is responsible for the loss of numerous letters and, on some of the Stamp A tokens, even of whole words. Among the Stamp B tokens there is a tendency for letters to be stamped off the left or right edges. All of this seems to indicate that none of the present tokens had been used but had been discarded down the well as rejects. Hence we may be sure that such tokens were manufactured in Athens, and not at Lemnos. The very number of the rejects and the circumstance that at least two stamps were involved in their manufacture imply that the original lot of tokens must have been mass-produced in some quantity.

These clay tokens were not the only artifacts from the Agora well that pertained to cavalry administration. Found with them were more than a hundred inscribed lead tablets that record the values of horses used by Athenian cavalrymen.⁸ The well itself is situated at the extreme northeast corner of the Agora square in front of the Royal Stoa and so was very close to the area anciently known as "The Herms" and to the as yet unidentified building that served as Athens' cavalry headquarters, the Hipparcheion. Thus there is every reason to suppose that the Pheidon tokens and the lead tablets had been located in the Hipparcheion before being discarded down the well.⁴

Another token for Pheidon, *hipparchos eis Lemnon*, from the collection of Alexander Meletopoulos, a private collector in the Piraeus, was published by I. Ch. Dragatsis in *Ἐφ' Ἀρχ.*, 1884, p. 194, no. 5, with the drawing reproduced here in Pl. 13:d. Because the last letters of line 1 are missing and because the drawing is inexact in respect to the forms of individual letters, there is no way of assigning it to either of the two stamps identified above. The facsimile is inaccurate also as regards the transcription of the last line, which Dragatsis read as *Φείδων Ἀθη(ναίος)*.

The hipparch for the cavalry of Lemnian cleruchs was annually elected by the Athenians (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* LXI.2). Persons who held the office are known from Hypereides, *Pro Lykoph.*, 17 (330's B.C.); *IG II²*, 672 (279/8 B.C.); and *IG II²*, 1224, col. b, lines 10-11 (ca. 166 B.C.). Our Pheidon is the fourth known hipparch *eis Lemnon*, and we may plausibly identify him with the Pheidon who is referred to in the *Horse Breeders* of the Middle-Comedy poet Mnesimachos (frag. 4 = Athenaeus, IX.402): "Go to the Agora, near the Herms, where the phylarchs congregate and Pheidon teaches his fine students to mount their horses and dismount." Although Pheidon here is pictured merely as a well-known cavalry instructor, Kirchner's sug-

³ J. H. Kroll, "An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry," *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 83-140, pls. 33-39, with *errata*, p. 397.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84. Nine lead tokens from the same well may similarly have been associated with the cavalry and the Hipparcheion; see J. H. Kroll, "Some Athenian Armor Tokens," *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 141-146, pl. 40, with *errata*, p. 397.

gestion (*ad PA*, 14178) that he was then one of the ten phylarchs is very likely to be correct inasmuch as Pheidon, like the Lykophon defended in the above-cited speech of Hypereides, would normally have served as a phylarch before being elected hipparch for Lemnos.

III. *Nikoteles*, (*Strategos*) *eis Samon* (Pl. 13:e)

A third variety of these military tokens is known through a single example from the excavations of A. Brueckner in the Kerameikos. It was discovered in the area of the Ambassadors' stele on 25 August, 1910, received the Kerameikos inventory number 4270, but has remained unpublished.

The token is an opisthographic, orangish clay disk, somewhat smaller (diameter 0.021, thickness 0.005 m.) than the preceding tokens, with the name of the officer in the accusative case on the obverse (a) and his title on the reverse (b). Both inscriptions run counterclockwise around the edges:

(a) *Νικοτέλη:*

(b) *ἰς Σάμον.*

Fingerprints on the slightly concave reverse show that the clay had been pressed into the obverse die by hand and was impressed further from behind with the reverse die. The clay was then baked.

It does not seem possible to interpret the dot after the nu on the reverse as the tip of an upper bar of an epsilon that would give a full spelling of the preposition *εἰς*; nor can one reconstruct a properly aligned epsilon in the available space between the nu and iota. The dot does not extend leftwards to the edge of the token and appears therefore to be an interpunct or the upper half of a two-point interpunct similar to the one on the obverse. The spelling iota for epsilon iota is quite uncommon at Athens before the Hellenistic period but not wholly without parallels.⁵ It was probably preferred here for lack, or assumed lack, of space.

The more critical omission is the first word of *Nikoteles'* title. He is doubtless one of the officials sent out to the cleruchies to whom Aristotle refers in *Ath. Pol.* LXII.2: *λαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ ὄσαι ἀποστέλλονται ἀρχαὶ εἰς Σάμον ἢ Σκύρον ἢ Λήμνον ἢ Ἴμβρον εἰς σίτησιν ἀργύριον*. Such magistrates as are known from the 4th century include the hipparch for Lemnos; two *epimelitai* on Lemnos, one at Hephaistia, the other in Myrina (*IG XII* 8, 4 and 5); and members of the board of ten *strategoí* who were assigned specific island commands. *Στρατηγοὶ ἐ Σκύρον, ἐν Μυρῶνῃς*, and *ἐξ Ἐφαιστίας* are known from the Eleusis accounts of 329/8 (*IG II*², 1672, lines 275-277); *στρατηγοὶ εἰς Σάμον* from three other documents. The naval list of 326/5 names three generals designated *εἰς Σάμον* in that year (*IG II*², 1628, lines 17-18 with 28, 109-110, and 119). A decree voted by the citizens of Priene mentions one of them, Diphilos of Aixone, again with the title (F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene*,

⁵ K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*, 3rd ed. prepared by E. Schwyzler, Berlin 1900, p. 48, note 357.

Berlin 1906, no. 6, line 6). And a Samian inscription details the harsh actions of the last Athenian general on the island when the Athenian cleruchy was being expelled in 321 B.C. (Ch. Habicht, *AthMitt* 62, 1957, pp. 156-164, no. 1, lines A 3-13). We may confidently recognize our Nikoteles as another *strategos eis Samon*. For not only is the latter the only Athenian title pertaining to Samos on record, but since all of the other tokens discussed in this paper were stamped for Athenian military commanders, it follows that the Nikoteles token should also be the token of a military and not a civil magistrate.

The token dates from between 365, when the Athenian cleruchy was established on Samos, and 321, when the cleruchy was expelled. A date early rather than late in this period is suggested by the form of the token, which is much the most coin-like and complicated of our several varieties and yet the least satisfactory in terms of the information conveyed. It left no space either for a demotic or for a full title. If there was a typological development of these military tokens, the token of Nikoteles would be the earliest, dating before Type II, which itself is contextually dated no later than the third quarter of the 4th century.

IV. *Antidoros of Thria, Hipparchos* (Pl. 13:f, g)

The last token (Athens, National Museum, Pottery inv. no. 11179) was published by A. Dumont in *RevArch*, ser. 2, 22, 1870-1871, pp. 35-37, with the engraving reproduced below as Plate 13:f. We illustrate it here for the first time with photographs. The data inked on its back record that it was found in Athens near the Hatzikosta Orphanage (i.e., in Plateia Eleutherias, three blocks northeast of the Kerameikos cemetery just outside the ancient city walls) and was given to the national collection by a certain Eua. Perekakis.

It is roughly circular in shape and, being considerably larger (diameter 0.042 m.) than the other tokens, has a much bolder inscription. The back surface is convex, which makes for a marked tapering in the object's thickness from 0.005 m. at the center to 0.002 m. at the edges, and shows that the clay was not stamped but pressed into the die from behind. The entire face, including the raised letters, and at least part of the back was painted with black glaze before the token was fired. The inscription, this time in the nominative, runs clockwise in two lines:

Ἀντίδ[ω]ρος Θριά
ἵππαρχ

The preserved letters are similar in style to those of the tokens already discussed, thus indicating a 4th-century date. Only the cursive omega of Dumont's drawing seems out of place, as Dumont himself acknowledged. But, as one sees from the photograph, Dumont's omega is highly suspect. The original surface in the area of the omega has completely chipped away leaving an uneven surface whose irregular configurations apparently suggested a ω -shaped omega to Dumont and wrongly caused him (or his artist) to restore an unconvincingly wide and weak one in the overly tidy

facsimile. Hence again we apparently have to do with a token for a military officer of 4th-century Athens.

The present token differs from the rest in three respects. It was glazed. It was inscribed for an officer normally stationed within the city of Athens. And it employs the nominative instead of the accusative case. None of these differences, however, should tempt us to dissociate the token from the other varieties. Athenian clay tokens were often glazed; the black glaze disguised the basic material, made the tokens look metallic and more permanent, and may, too, have added to their durability.⁶ On active duty, of course, a hipparch had to leave the city and command wherever a detachment of cavalry was needed. And as for the choice of case, there seems to have been some understandable confusion about this among the makers of the tokens themselves; for we have observed that Stamp B of the Pheidon tokens (Type II) was also begun in the nominative.

If nothing else, it is clear that the foregoing objects are not clay sealings used for the sealing of documents and letters.⁷ Sealings of clay, no more than sealings of wax, were never fired in a kiln, much less glazed like our last variety. Those which have survived and have been baked were baked unintentionally when the structure that housed them and the papyrus to which they were attached caught fire. Moreover, ancient clay sealings were regularly impressed over the cord by which a document or parcel was bound; the cord leaves a fine hole that pierces through the sealing and is visible at the edges. Such string holes are not to be found along the edges of any of our tokens. Nor is the tokens' use of the accusative case appropriate for sealings. The signets that Greek officials used for sealing documents and correspondence would have given name and title in the natural genitive or nominative.⁸ Accordingly, one deduces that our terracottas were impressed not from the signets of the officers they mention but from stamps that were specifically carved for their manufacture. The terracottas were surely meant to be carried and should be regarded as tokens (*σύμβολα*) of some sort, as we have been calling them.

In its primary sense the word *σύμβολον* denoted an object comprised of two

⁶ Cf. M. Lang and M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora*, X, *Weights, Measures, and Tokens*, Princeton 1964, pp. 126-130, pls. 31-32, nos. C 1, C 2, C 6, C 7, C 11, C 14, C 15, C 26.

⁷ The most comprehensive discussion and bibliography of Greek sealings is that of G. Maddoli, "Le cretule del nomophylakion di Cirene," *Annuario* 40-41, 1963-1964, pp. 39-145. See also Lang and Crosby, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125; L. Lacroix, *Études d'archéologie classique* I, Paris 1955-56, p. 107; L. Robert, *REG* 80, 1967, p. 459, no. 61 (additional bibliography); P. Amandry, *CompRend-AcadInsc*, 1974, p. 505; and G. Siebert, *BCH* 99, 1975, pp. 721-722, and *BCH* 100, 1976, pp. 820-821 (preliminary notices of the deposit of 15,000 clay sealings excavated on Delos in 1974 and 1975); *Καθημερινή*, 14 July, 1978 (report of P. Themelis' 1978 excavation of a large quantity of sealings from an archive in ancient Kallipolis).

⁸ For these cases on the relatively few private sealings with proper names, see Maddoli, *op. cit.*, index on p. 145; J. G. Milne, "Clay Sealings from the Fayum," *JHS* 26, 1906, pp. 32-45, nos. 5, 13, 63, 96. We are informed that several of the new Delos sealings are inscribed *Ἐπιμελητοῦ ἐν Δῷλω*.

joining halves, each one kept by a separate party for identifying the bearer of the other half. The term was more generally applied to anything used for identification as well as to ordinary tokens of bronze, lead, and clay employed as admission and seating tickets and as vouchers to be exchanged for pay, allotments of grain, and the like.⁹ Tokens of the latter type had their place in ancient military life: a 3rd-century inscription erected by soldiers stationed at Eleusis praises their general for his diligence in providing their rations and in distributing the *ἐκκλησιαστικά*, i.e., the voucher tokens by which pay or rations were drawn.¹⁰ But it is doubtful that our tokens could have been used in this way since voucher tokens ordinarily bore a legend or symbol indicating their value or the commodity for which they were to be exchanged.¹¹

Our tokens, which give merely a commander's name and title, are more likely to have been employed for identification, the identification of the persons who carried them and who, therefore, were associated in some way with the named officers. Unlike civil magistrates (for whom we have no comparable tokens), military officers commonly exercised authority far from the city of Athens: along the borders of Attica; in Athens' overseas possessions; and, in time of war, even outside Athenian territory. Communications with the home government depended on persons bearing credentials, i. e., *symbola* of some kind. In this connection it is probably significant that the present tokens were inscribed primarily for officers stationed on the very fringes of Athenian territory. But if so, we are left to explain the puzzling use of the accusative case. In the absence of a plausible alternative, one expects that it was governed by an omitted preposition. But which one? And why would a simple three- or four-letter preposition not have been included in at least one of our lengthier texts?

The solution, we believe, emerges from consideration of several of the ancient testimonia concerning identification *symbola*. IG II², 141, a decree of ca. 367 B.C. in honor of the king of Sidon, specifies (lines 18-25) *ποιησάσθω δὲ καὶ σύμβολα ἢ βουλή πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Σιδωνίων* so that the Athenians and the king will be able to recognize each other's messages. W. P. Wallace and D. M. Lewis both paraphrase that the *boule* was to "exchange" *symbola* with the king.¹² But a literal translation is perfectly in order since one party had to have the *symbola* made in the first place, especially if the *symbola* were of the primary type with two joining halves. Two Roman bronze *symbola* of this kind survive. Each is in the form of half of a ram's head and is in-

⁹ LSJ, s.v., *σύμβολον*; Lang and Crosby, *op. cit.* (footnote 6 above), pp. 76-82, 124-126.

¹⁰ IG II², 1272, lines 11-14; cf. Lang and Crosby, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹¹ E. g., the lead tokens with wheat-ear or cornucopia symbols (Lang and Crosby, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92, nos. L 49-L 51, L 54, L 56) and the bronze dikastic *symbola* that were marked with a numeral or coin type representing pay of three obols (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* LXVIII. 2). The bronze tokens that Timotheus issued to his troops at Olynthos in lieu of ration money bore marks of value and the additional symbol of a grain of wheat; they were in the form of coins and actually circulated as money ([Aristotle], *Oec.*, II 2. 23, with E. S. G. Robinson and M. J. Price, "An Emergency Coinage of Timotheus," *NumChron*, ser. 7, 7, 1967, pp. 1-6).

¹² W. P. Wallace, "The Public Seal of Athens," *Phoenix* 3, 1949, p. 71; D. M. Lewis, "The Public Seal of Athens," *Phoenix* 9, 1955, p. 32.

scribed with the names of two private persons who had contracted a formal agreement of *hospitium*.¹³ Another bronze *tessera hospitalis*, found in southern France, confirms the friendship between a Greek state, possibly Massalia, and the Gaulish tribe of the Vellavii. Cast in the shape of a right hand, it is inscribed *Σύμβολον πρὸς Οὐελαυνίου*.¹⁴ The hand seems not to have been made to join another since it is complete in itself, as was, apparently, the model of clasped right hands sent by a German town to a Roman army as a *hospitii insigne* (Tacitus, *Hist.* I.54; cf. II.8). The latter model was accompanied by envoys to plead on behalf of their people, so that one supposes that the *σύμβολον πρὸς Οὐελαυνίου* served similarly to introduce ambassadors who carried it. It was a kind of credential, like our clay tokens, which, however, were employed within the Athenian military administration and do not properly qualify as diplomatic or private *tesserae hospitalis*.

Now the striking thing about the bronze right hand from Gaul and the decree for the king of Sidon is their phrase *σύμβολον πρὸς δέυνα*, which recurs in two other sources: the Kleinias decree, *IG I*², 66, lines 11-12, that states that the Athenians are to make *symbola* for the allied cities (*ξύμβολα δὲ ποιησάσθαι πρὸς τὰς πόλεις*)¹⁵ and Aristotle, *De Ger. et Cor.*, 331^a35 (*ἔχει γὰρ ἄμφω πρὸς ἄμφω σύμβολον*), where *symbolon* is used in a figurative sense to denote the complementary properties of two natural elements. The usage seems to have been standard and admirably suits the requirements of the first three types of our tokens. We do not hesitate to expand their texts accordingly: (*Σύμβολον πρὸς*) *Ξενοκλέα Περιθοίδην περιπόλαρχον*, (*Σύμβολον πρὸς*) *Ἰππαρχον εἰς Λήμνον Φεῖδωνα Θρι(άσιον)*, and (*Σύμβολον πρὸς*) *Νικοτέλη (στρατηγὸν εἰς Σάμον*. The remaining Type IV token, which employs the nominative, merely dispenses with the full and unnecessarily formal phraseology.

Each of our tokens then is a "credential for" a particular commander. The force of the preposition *πρὸς* and the circumstance that the Type II tokens for a hipparch *eis Lemnon* were made not on Lemnos but in Athens both seem to imply that the tokens

¹³ Both are conveniently illustrated in Ch. Lecrevain's excellent article on *hospitium* in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* III, Paris 1900, p. 298, figs. 3908 and 3909. For the abundant ancient references to such *tesserae hospitalis* and identification tokens in general, *ibid.*, pp. 297-298, and Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* V, p. 135, s.v., *tessera hospitalis* (*σύμβολον ξένων*). Another variety of joining *symbola* is represented by some small terracotta plaques with irregularly cut edges that have been found in the Agora, but their inscriptions inform that they were used for allotting candidates to office: H. A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1950," *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pp. 51-52, pl. 25:c; M. Lang, "Allotment by Tokens," *Historia* 8, 1959, pp. 80-89; E. S. Staveley, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections*, London 1972, pp. 70-72.

¹⁴ *IG XIV*, 2432; illustrated by Lecrevain, *op. cit.*, p. 297, fig. 3907.

¹⁵ These *symbola* were presumably in the form of stamps or signets since they were to be used for sealing the tablets that recorded the amount of tribute sent to Athens by each city, so Wallace, *Phoenix* 9, 1955, p. 34, and R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B. C.*, Oxford 1969, p. 119, who define the *symbola* as "identification-seals." References to sealings used as *symbola* in R. J. Bonner, "The Use and Effect of Attic Seals," *CP* 3, 1908, pp. 400-401.

were to be carried by persons sent out from Athens to the commanders, such as official couriers on state business and private individuals (travelers, merchants, ship captains and the like) who had obtained a guarantee of safe passage through or favored treatment within an officer's command. If and when so used, the tokens would have served in effect as passports. Whether the tokens might also have been issued by the commanders to their own agents and couriers is open, therefore, to some doubt, but cannot be excluded out of hand inasmuch as the phrase *σύμβολον πρὸς δεῖνα* can also be understood as "credential (made) for so-and-so," i.e., "credential of so-and-so." And it is just conceivable that the tokens for the hipparch on Lemnos were made in Athens (possibly to be sent by him there) before he embarked for his command. Consequently, we cannot be certain whether the *symbola* were intended for one-way or two-way communications with the officers. Nevertheless, the general character of these tokens as official credentials is unmistakable. They were made and used in considerable numbers and so must have played a relatively important role in the routine conduct of Athenian military affairs.

JOHN H. KROLL
FORDYCE W. MITCHEL

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA



a-c. Xenokles of Perithoidai, peripolarch: a. I.1 Agora SS 8080, obverse and reverse; b. I.2 Agora MC 1245, obverse and reverse; c. I.3 Cabinet des Médailles, Froehner Coll., photo reproduced from Robert



d. Pheidon of Thria, hipparch for Lemnos: Meletopoulos Coll. Reproduced from Dragatses



e. Nikoteles, general for Samos: Kerameikos 4270, obverse and reverse



f.



g.

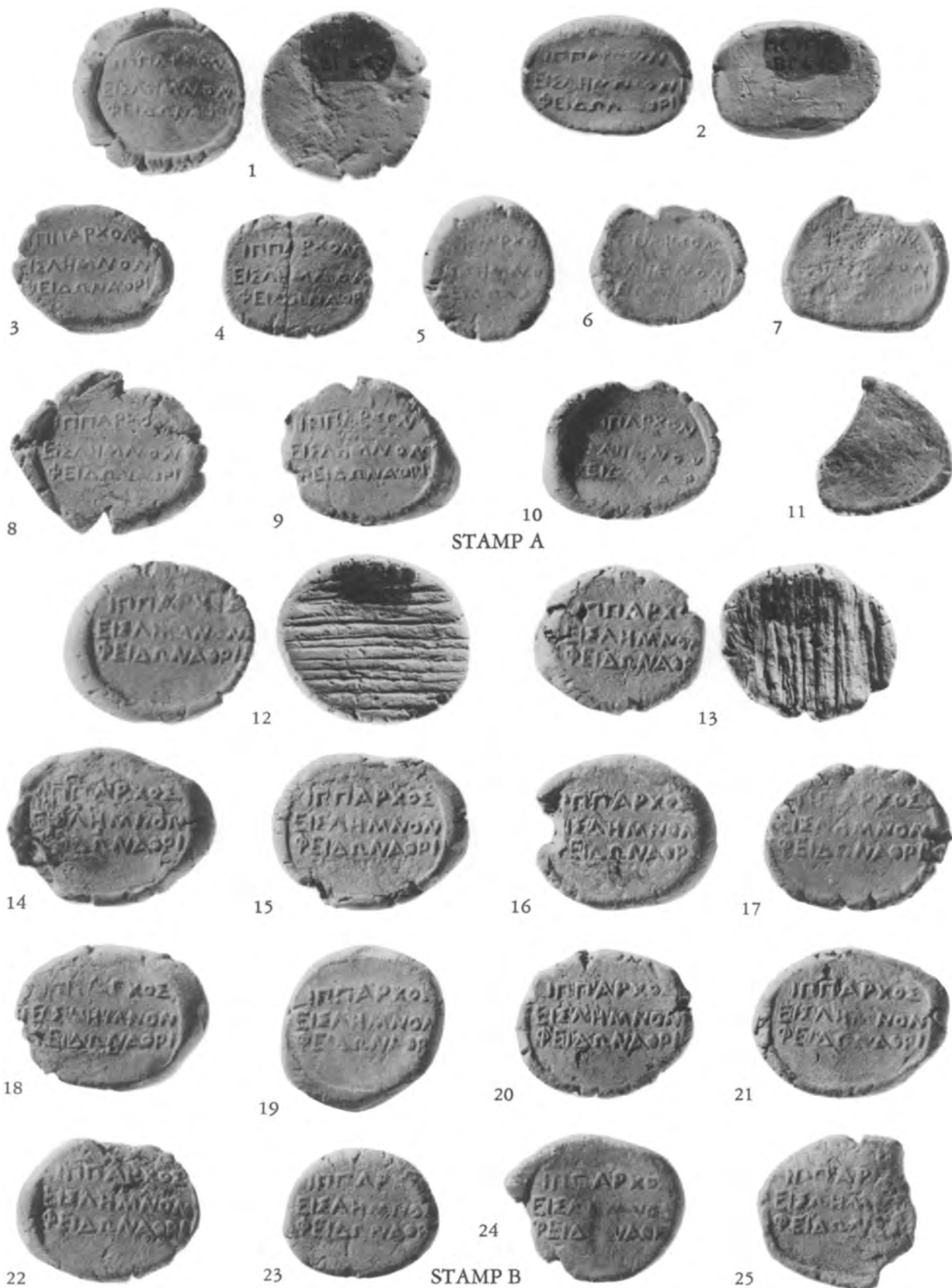


f-g. Antidoros of Thria, hipparch: Nat. Mus. pottery 11179

f. Facsimile reproduced from Dumont

g. Obverse and reverse

PLATE 14



Type II. Pheidon of Thria, hipparch for Lemnos: Agora MC 1164-MC 1187, MC 1189-MC 1192
 JOHN H. KROLL AND FORDYCE W. MITCHEL: CLAY TOKENS STAMPED WITH THE
 NAMES OF ATHENIAN MILITARY COMMANDERS