

Figures

All images of coins and tokens are reproduced at 2:1.

- 1.1 Bone gaming piece with a portrait of Nero. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, FRBNF45877682, Froehner no. 171. [page 5]
- 1.2 AE token with portrait of Augustus, 22 mm. Reproduced courtesy of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum. Rowan, 2020b: no. 1. [6]
- 1.3 AE token (*spintria*) with a sexual scene, 22 mm. The Hunterian, University of Glasgow. Bateson, 1991: H, 3. Photograph by author. [6]
- 1.4 AE token of Gaius Mitreius, 19 mm. Münzkabinett Winterthur R 6047. [14]
- 1.5 AE token of Gaius Mitreius, 20 mm. Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum. Rowan, 2020b: no. 10. [15]
- 1.6 Palombino marble mould half, 108 × 76 × 29 mm. Reproduced courtesy of Harvard Art Museums, inv. no. 2008.118. [19]
- 1.7 Palombino marble mould half, 93 × 108 × 28 mm, 561 g. *TURS* 3578 (Pl. XII, 6). © ANTIKENSAMMLUNG, STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN – PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESTIZ, photographer Johannes Kramer, TC 8217, 183. [24]
- 1.8 Pb token with the legend M VALERI | M F | ETRVSC. *TURS* 1327. Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 18268125. [24]
- 1.9 Pb token decorated with Victory standing right / Wreath. *TURS* 1913. Harvard Art Museums 2008.116.32. [25]
- 1.10 Countermarked AE token. Cohen vol. VIII, 271 no. 47. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, inv. no. 17062. [26]
- 2.1 Pb token showing Claudius and Messalina. From London Ancient Coins, Auction 60 (14 February 2017) lot 362. [40]
- 2.2 Pb token showing Nero and Mars (or a soldier). *TURS* 13. The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, RLT 42. Photograph by author. [41]

- 2.3 Pb token with the legend MARCI·MANI· around. *TURS* (Supplement) 3601 (previously unpublished). Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 18256008. [42]
- 2.4 Pb token showing Nero and Claudia Augusta (?). *TURS* 34, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 32. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [44]
- 2.5 Pb token bearing an image of an oyster. From a private collection. Dalzell, 2021: 88 no. 2. [46]
- 2.6 Orichalcum token with the legend IO IO TRIVMP. Reproduced courtesy of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum. Rowan, 2020b: no. 19. [48]
- 2.7 Pb token, 17 mm, showing a palm tree on a platform with two wheels. *TURS* 34. Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 18256020. [50]
- 2.8 Pb token, 19 mm, showing a palm tree on a platform with two wheels. *TURS* 34, *BMCRLT* 942. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [50]
- 2.9 Pb token, 14 mm, with the legend IVDE. *TURS* 39, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 33b. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [52]
- 2.10 Pb token, 19 mm, showing nude figure before palm tree. *TURS* 3194, *BMCRLT* 1224. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [53]
- 2.11 Pb token, 19 mm, showing Vespasian, Domitian and Titus. *TURS* 40. The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, RLT 24. Photograph by author. [55]
- 2.12 AR denarius showing Vespasian, Domitian and Titus. *RIC* II.1² 16. American Numismatic Society 1944.100.39897. [55]
- 2.13 Pb token, 23 mm, showing a two-horned rhinoceros. *TURS* 645, Rowan, 2020b: no. 49. Reproduced courtesy of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum. [59]
- 2.14 Pierced bone gaming piece (?) showing the Colosseum on one side and VI incised on the other. Froehner 282. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [60]
- 2.15 Pb token, 19 mm, naming Titus and Domitian. *TURS* 44, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 33e. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [62]

- 2.16 AE token, 18 mm, with the legend A·P·P·F. Rowan, 2020b: no. 21. Reproduced courtesy of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum. [63]
- 2.17 Pb token, 18 mm, with the legend HAD | AVG / PPF. *TURS* 66. Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 18256023. [65]
- 2.18 Pb token, 20 mm, showing Antinous. *TURS* 1552, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 525a. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [68]
- 2.19 Pb token, 12 mm, with a triumphal arch. *TURS* 107, *BMCRLT* 2268. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [70]
- 2.20 Pb token from Egypt, 20.5 mm, showing Venus and a triumphal arch. Dattari-Savio Pl. 323, 11706 (this token). From Naville Numismatics Ltd., Auction 32, lot 340. [72]
- 2.21 Pb token, 27 mm, showing two male busts. *TURS* 71, Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 18256024. [73]
- 2.22 AE sestertius, 40 mm, with a *congiarium* scene. *RIC I² Nero* 160, reproduced courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, 1954.203.156. [76]
- 3.1 Pb token, 14 mm, with the legend GPR FELICITER. *TURS* 1573, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 361b. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [81]
- 3.2 Pb token, 19.5 mm, with Roma and the legend G P R F. *TURS* 1576, *BMCRLT* 371. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [85]
- 3.3 Pb token, 13.5 × 12 mm, showing the she-wolf suckling twins and the *Ficus Ruminalis*. *TURS* 1667, *BMCRLT* 1778. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [85]
- 3.4 Pb token, 20 mm, showing a river deity holding a long reed and cornucopia. *TURS* 1682, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 420a. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [87]
- 3.5 Pb token, 19 mm, showing a river god reclining on an urn from which water flows. *TURS* 526, *BMCRLT* 768. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [88]
- 3.6 AE sestertius showing a view of the harbour at Ostia. *RIC I²* 178. American Numismatic Society 1967.153.118. [89]
- 3.7 Pb token, 13 mm, showing a Genius accompanied by the legend VICI. *TURS* 1613, *BMCRLT* 124. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [91]

- 3.8 Pb token, 15 mm, showing three *Fortunae*. *TURS* 501, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 335a. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF. Photograph by author. [93]
- 3.9 Pb token, 14 × 12 mm, showing a lit lighthouse of three tiers. *TURS* 59, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 98. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [95]
- 3.10 Pb token, 24 mm, showing a lit lighthouse of four tiers. *TURS* 61, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina bag no. 97.36, no. 1445 in Rowan's unpublished catalogue. Photograph by author. [95]
- 3.11 Pb token of Oxyrhynchus, 23 mm, decorated with a bust of Athena and Nike. See Milne 5291, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina, bag no. 97.39, no. 1446 (= Pensabene, 2001–3: no. 38). Photograph by author. [98]
- 3.12 Pb token, 24 mm, with the legend TRA and two people in a *cymba*. Private collection, ex Classical Numismatic Group 55 (13 September 2000), lot 1201 (part of) (www.cngcoins.com). [99]
- 3.13 Pb token, 20 mm, with the legend M ANTONIVS GLAVCVS. *TURS* 1127, Rowan, 2020b: no. 55. Reproduced courtesy of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum. [101]
- 3.14 Pb token, 22 mm, showing a female portrait. *TURS* 1546, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 439a. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [103]
- 3.15 Pb token, 18 mm, displaying male busts and the legend VERRES and PROCVLVS. *TURS* 1332, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 427b. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [104]
- 3.16 Pb token, 22 mm, with the legend P·TETTIVS | RVFVS. *TURS* 517, Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. [106]
- 3.17 AR denarius of L. Livineius Regulus. *RRC* 494/27. American Numismatic Society 1937.158.312. [106]
- 3.18 Pb token, 19 mm, with the legend P GLITI GALLI. *TURS* 1238, Rowan, 2020b: no. 57. Reproduced courtesy of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum. [108]
- 3.19 Pb token, 18 mm, showing an elephant emerging from a shell. *TURS* 1903, *BMCRLT* 810. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [111]

- 3.20 Pb token, 19 mm, with a *gryllus* design. *TURS* 2897, *BMCRLT* 343. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [112]
- 3.21 Pb token, 19 mm, with the legend CWC|IOY. *TURS* 1319, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 432. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [113]
- 3.22 Pb token, 18 mm, decorated with the figure of a *saccarius*. *TURS* 1033, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 418b. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [115]
- 3.23 Orichalcum token, 20 mm, showing Augustus on one side and a *saccarius* on the other. Cohen vol. VIII, 254 no. 101, BnF 16979. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [116]
- 3.24 Marble relief showing *saccarii* offloading *amphorae* from a ship. DAI Rom Negative 33.1329. [117]
- 3.25 Pb token, 21 mm, decorated with a wheel with eight spokes. *TURS* 832. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina, bag no. 121.5, no. 669 in Rowan's unpublished catalogue. Photograph by author. [119]
- 3.26 AR denarius, decorated with the triple cult statue of Diana Nemorensis. *RRC* 486/1, American Numismatic Society 1937.158.302. [123]
- 3.27 Pb token, 19 mm, decorated with three women standing frontally with arms raised. *TURS* 1345, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 430f1. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [124]
- 4.1 Pb token, Athens, 18 mm, Hellenistic period, showing the 'cart of Dionysus'. Gkikaki, 2020: cat. no. 21. Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Institute of Göttingen University. Photograph by Stephan Eckardt. [128]
- 4.2 AE token, 19 mm, with the legend VOTA PVBLICA. Ramskold 2016: no. 33, pl. 1. Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 18236298. [129]
- 4.3 Pb token, 18 mm, decorated with Isis standing left on a ship. *TURS* 3184. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina bag no. 97.56, no. 1486 in Rowan's unpublished catalogue. Photograph by author. [131]
- 4.4 Pb token, 19 mm, showing Anubis and Isis, or their priests. *TURS* 3190, *BMCRLT* 16. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [132]

- 4.5 Pb token, 18 mm, decorated with the mask of Anubis. *TURS* 3206, Pl. X, 13. [134]
- 4.6 Pb token, 18 mm, decorated with a cat (?) and left hand. *TURS* 3185, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 446b. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [135]
- 4.7 Pb token, 17 mm, decorated with the head of Sarapis and a river deity. *TURS* (Supplement) 3731, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 646. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [136]
- 4.8 Pb token, 17 mm, showing Isis or a worshipper of Isis. *TURS* 3179, *BMCRLT* 1286. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [136]
- 4.9 Pb token, 17 mm, with the legend IO SAT IO. *TURS* 507, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 103. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [139]
- 4.10 Pb token, 12 mm, decorated with Victory and the legend SAT. *TURS* 508. Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. [141]
- 4.11 AR denarius, c. 19 mm, decorated with four wreaths. *RRC* 426/4a. Reproduced courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, 1937.158.206. [142]
- 4.12 Orichalcum token, 19 mm, showing a scene of triumph on a camel. Buttrey, 1973: B25 XIX. The Hunterian Museum *Tessera* 19. Photograph by author. [143]
- 4.13 AE token, 25 mm, with four knucklebones. Cohen vol. VIII, 266 no. 5. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF (AF 17092), source gallica.bnf.fr. [145]
- 4.14 Orichalcum token, 21 mm, showing two boys or men playing a game. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF (AF 17088), source gallica.bnf.fr. [146]
- 4.15 Three-handled jug from the Rhône valley, and an enlarged image of the decorative medallion. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.194.1980, public domain. [148]
- 4.16 Pb token, 17 mm, showing two spectators applauding. *TURS* 537 variant (no fly). Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. [152]
- 4.17 Pb token, 15 mm, showing a woman standing left holding a cloth over her head in an arch. *TURS* 2149. Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. [153]

- 4.18 Pb token, 16 mm, with the legend DIES VENAT. *TURS* 578, Bertolami Fine Arts E-Auction 73, lot 1947. [154]
- 4.19 Pb token, 16 mm, decorated with the image of a charioteer. *TURS* 749, *BMCRLT* 1086. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [157]
- 4.20 Pb token, 22 mm, showing Victory inscribing a shield. *TURS* (Supplement) 3603. Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. [158]
- 4.21 Pb token, 21.5 mm, decorated with an image of Victory crowning a boxer (?). *TURS* 550, *BMCRLT* 770. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [161]
- 4.22 Pb token, 15 mm, decorated with the image of an amphora with two palm branches. *TURS* 434, *BMCRLT* 1982. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [162]
- 4.23 Pb token, 23 mm, showing a loaf of bread seen from above. *TURS* 1021, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 609. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [165]
- 4.24 Pb token, 18 mm, decorated with the image of a *modius*. *TURS* 372, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 79. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [166]
- 5.1 Pb token, 17 mm, with the legend HS ∞. *TURS* 1460. Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 18262461. [171]
- 5.2 Pb token, 14 mm, decorated with the image of a *lituus*. *TURS* 1072. Reproduced courtesy of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. [174]
- 5.3 Copper *quadrans*, 18.5 mm, decorated with a garlanded altar. *RIC I²* Augustus 425. Reproduced courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.38382. [174]
- 5.4 Pb token, 18 mm, with the legend BALI|NEVM / GER|MANI. *TURS* 886, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 415b. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [182]
- 5.5 AE token, 13 mm, showing a male bather (?). Unpublished, BNF inv. FRBNF45877423. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [185]
- 5.6 AE token, 22 mm, showing two standing figures. Cohen vol. VIII, 266 no. 9. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [186]
- 5.7 Pb token, 17 mm, showing a nude male bending at the knees with both arms outstretched before him. *TURS* 901, Pl. X, 21. [187]

- 5.8 Pb token, 19 mm, showing jug and strigil. *TURS* 899, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 105bis. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [188]
- 5.9 Pb token, 22 mm, showing a dolphin accompanied by the legend BAL. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina bag no. 124.5, no. 608 in Rowan's unpublished catalogue. Photograph by author. See Overbeck, 2001: no. 50. [188]
- 5.10 Pb token, 14.7 mm, showing a ring with two strigils hanging down on either side of a container of oil (*aryballos*). *TURS* 563. Reproduced courtesy of Harvard Art Museums 2008.116.6. [189]
- 5.11 Pb token, 19 mm, showing an eagle, a peacock and an owl. *TURS* 869, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 247c. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF. Photograph by author. [194]
- 5.12 Pb token, 22 mm, with the legend ROM|VLA. *TURS* 1478. Reproduced courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, 1967.160.7. [197]
- 5.13 AE token, 12 mm, with the head of Mercury right. BM 1940, 0401.60. © The Trustees of the British Museum. [202]
- 5.14 AE token, 17 × 15 mm, showing a nude female figure beneath a domed canopy. BnF inv. F 7917. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [203]
- 5.15 Orichalcum token, 19 mm, with *modius* and cantharus. BnF inv. 17070. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [205]
- 5.16 Orichalcum token, 16 mm, with *modius* and cantharus. The Hunterian Museum Glasgow, *Tessera* no. 25. Photograph by author. [205]
- 5.17 AE token, 19 mm, with *modius* and cantharus and the legend Θ E. Ex BCD collection, Numismatik Naumann Auction 69 (2 September 2018), lot 342. [205]
- 5.18 Pb token, 14 mm, decorated with the image of a phallus. *TURS* 919. Reproduced courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, 2000.26.1. [207]
- 5.19 Pb token, 18 mm, decorated with an image of Fortuna. *TURS* 1502, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 430a. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [209]
- 5.20 Pb token, 15 mm, with the legend C PE|DANI. *TURS* 1299, Rostovtzeff and Prou, 1900: no. 426a. Reproduced courtesy of the BnF, source gallica.bnf.fr. [209]