Lead Tokens showing Minerva, Athena and/or Roma in the British Museum.

A description and analysis by Beth Moreing.

The numbers below refer to the unpublished catalogue of *Roman Tokens in the British Museum* by M. Thornton. Rost. refers to Rostovtzeff's catalogue. It is evident here that not all the Rostovtzeff numbers assigned by Thornton to the British Museum tokens are correct; a revised catalogue of all the ancient tokens in the museum is underway.

80. Obverse: Appears to be more like Diana Nemorensis than the Three Graces, due to its frontal facing straight upright stances than of all three standing figures.

Reverse: Seated female figure, facing left holding a patera in left hand and cornucopia in right arm, objects have become a part of the body.

Rost. 2446. "Obverse: Gratiae tres, ut supra. R. Fortuna sedens sinistr." – "Three Graces, above. Reverse: Seated Fortuna left."

81. Obverse: Appears to be a more static version of the Three Graces. Quadrangle with rectangular border.

Reverse: Fortuna – has a stance leaning on left side, left arm outstretched and right bearing a cornucopia.

Rost. 2445. "Gratiae tres nudae, media de tergo, ceterae adversae. R. Fortuna stans sinistr." – "Obverse: nude Three Graces, the middle facing back, the others facing the other way. Reverse: Fortuna standing left."

82. Obverse: Three indistinct figures standing, appearing to be nude, nothing distinctive though this iconographically appears to be the Three Graces.

Reverse: Fortuna standing holding a rudder in right hand and cornucopia in left.

Rost. 2445.

172. Obverse: Bust of bearded helmeted Mars facing right.

Reverse: female figure standing, helmeted facing right, leaning on sceptre on right side and shield on left. Full-length dress and letters "DC" either side of figure. Athena/Minerva confusion.

Rost. 223, Tab. VII, 62 "Protome barbata loricate et galeata Martis dextra. R. D a s. in campo C a d. supra in campo. Minerva stans dextr. d. hastae, s. clipeo innixa." – "Obverse: Bearded (head?) wearing (?) Mars right. Reverse: D in left of field and C in right upper field. Minerva standing spear in right, leaning on shield on left side."

173. Obverse: helmeted male nust facing right, identified as Mars.

Reverse: helmeted (?) female standing facing right. The helmet has become the head. Left hand reading for something, though there is an empty field on the right side where the token has taken damage

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

176. Obverse: nude male (helmeted?) advancing right, bearing a transverse spear. 4 pellets or a trophy lie in top left field

Reverse: full-length dressed woman standing, unclear whether she is helmeted. Facing right, holding spear on right and outstretched left land bears a wreath. (RIC II Trajan 270 is a similar pose of Mars).

Rost. 115, Pl. II, 36 "Mars Victor dextr. progrediens d. hastam mediam tenens, s. tropaeum umero sustinens. R. Tropaeum, a s. palma." – "Obverse: Mars Victor right, advancing right holding spear in left hand in centre. Carrying trophy over left shoulder. Reverse: Trophy, palm to the left."

177. Obverse: helmeted (nude?) male advancing and facing right bearing transverse spear. Top left quadrant field bears three pellets – identified by Rowan as military trophy. Small line could indicate a parazonium or could just be excess lead.

Reverse: woman standing in full-length dress. Sceptre is faint on right side, left arm outstretched. Facing right wearing a helmet.

Rost. 115, Pl. II, 36.

295. Obverse: Helmeted clothed woman standing facing left. Sceptre in right hand and rudder in other, though rudder is so faint it's hard to tell if it's an object of excess lead.

Reverse: Unidentified figure standing.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

296. Obverse: Seated figure with outstretched right arm (perhaps holding a patera but this is missing) and left arm holding a cornucopia – this is Concordia.

Reverse: Standing female in full-length dress holding sceptre in left hand and right arm is outstretched holding a shield, facing left wearing helmet.

Rost. 2847 "Minerva stans sinistr. d. clipeo, s. hastae innixe. R. Mulier (Ceres?) sedens sinistr. d. spicas, ut videtur, s. cornucopiae tenens." – "Minerva standing left, shield in right hand, leaning on spears. Reverse: Woman (Ceres?) sitting left, with ears of corn, as it seems, holding a cornucopia."

297. Obverse: female standing facing left, leaning on right side, cornucopia in left arm and other arm outstretched, rudder worn away; this figure would have been Fortuna.

Reverse: helmeted Athena/Minerva with shield facing left, two other curved symbols are in the right field.

Rost. 1847? "Victoria Volans dextr. d. coronam protendens, s. palman umero sustinens. R. Ceres stans sinistr. d. porrecta spicas teneas, s. sceptro innixe." – "Victoria flying right, crown in outstretched right hand, carrying a palm over her left shoulder. Reverse: Ceres standing left, right arm holding cloves, left leaning on sceptre."

298. Obverse: standing female figure, up straight holding what could be flowers or it could be lead damage. Judging by stance dress and empty (could be a rudder?) outstretched arm this is Spes or Fortuna (if it is a rudder).

Reverse: Two standing unidentified individuals facing each other – figure on left possibly holding a staff or both sacrificing at an altar.

Rost. 2644 "V a s. in circulo. Mercurius stans sinistr. dextram cum dextra Iunonis, ut videtur, stantis dextr. s. sceptre inixae iungens, inter eos ara. R. Fortuna stans sinistr." — "Obverse: V to the left in a circle. Mercury stands left. While on the right of Juno, as it appears, standing right leaning on left sceptre, an altar between them. Reverse: Fortuna standing left."

299. Obverse: female standing clothed, left hand outstretched holding a rudder – Fortuna. Reverse: too worn to make anything out.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

300. Obverse: standing helmeted Minerva holding indistinct shield with right hand and spear with snake in left hand.

Reverse: Fortuna standing facing left, cornucopia in left arm and outstretched right arm towards a tree or branch.

Rost. 1798 (?), Pl. VI, 74 "Hilaritas stans dextr. d. palmam arborem, s. cornucopiae tenens. R. Minerva stans sinistr. d. clipeo, s. hastae, cui anguis circum volutus est, innixa." – "Obverse: Cheerfulness standing right with palm tree on her right, holding a cornucopia in her left. Reverse: Minerva standing left, shield in right hand, leaning on a spear in her left, with a snake coiling around it."

301. Obverse: upper bust figure of helmeted Minerva, facing right. Reverse: Armenian tiara, small "B" in lower left field.

Rost. 2852. "C a d. in area. Minerva stans dextr. d hastae, s. clipeo innixa. R. D supra a s. in area. Noctus stans dextr." – " "C" to the right of the field. Minerva standing right. Spear in right hand, leaning on shield to the left. Reverse: "D" above in the left of the field. Night standing right."

302. Obverse: Ceres standing clothed with sceptre in right hand and corn ears in left. Originally thought to be Athena/Minerva.

Reverse: Victory standing draped facing right with wreath in left outstretched hand and downward sword in outstretched right hand.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

303. Obverse: Ceres holding sceptre and corn-ears, but was originally attributed to Athena/Minerva. Standing female, not helmeted.

Reverse: Spes holding flowers in left hand and lifting skirt with right hand. Was oringally attributed to Athena/Minerva.

Rost. 2092, Pl. VIII no. 30 "Ceres stolata stans dextr. d. sceptro innixa, s. demissa spicas tenens. R. Spes stans dextr. d. vestem sustinens, s. sublata florem tenens." "Obverse: Ceres advancing standing right, holding a sceptre in her right hand, left hand lowered carrying an ear of corn. Reverse: Spes standing right, right hand lifting dress, left free hand holding a flower."

304. Obverse: Ceres with stylized corn-ears in left hand and sceptre in right. Standing upright clothed facing left.

Reverse: Spes facing right standing upright, wreath held up in left oustretched hand and right hand holding up skirt. Both obverse and reverse were initially identified as Athena/Minerva.

305. Obverse: Ceres standing upright clothed, sceptre in right hand, corn ears in left, facing left.

Reverse: Spes looking left, left arm outstretched upwards and right arm lifting skirt.

Rost. 2092

307. Obverse: Ceres standing holding a sceptre in right hand and corn ears in left. (Still debated whether or not it's Minerva).

Reverse: Two individuals clapping.

Associated with Rost. 307: "Aquila, ut supra. R. GAL in media tessera." – "Obverse: Eagle, above. Reverse: GAL in the middle of the token." Though none of this fits with the associated description of the token which I saw; perhaps there was a mistake with the data entry wherein the number 307 was inputted mistakenly?

308. Obverse: Helmeted Minerva standing with serpentine sceptre in left hand and shield in right hand resting on shield.

Reverse: Two seated figures facing each other either side of a table.

Rost. 2595. "Di duo sedentes et inter se intuentes; a s. fortasse Minerva sedens dextr. clipeo et hastae innixa, a d. Iuppiter sinistr. sedens sceptre innixus. R. Minerva stands sinistr. d. clipeo, s. hastae innixa." – "Obverse: Two people sitting looking at each other; to the left strong Minerva seated right. She holds a shield and spear, and to the right is Jupiter seated left, holding a sceptre. Reverse: Minerva standing left. She holds a shield in her right hand, and spear in her left."

309. Obverse: Female figure standing draped holding a staff in left hand and other arm raised.

Reverse: Horse, facing right.

Rost. 769, Pl. V, 38 "Equus dextr. progrediens pede s. anteriore sublato. R. Hilaritas stans sinistr. d. porrecta palmam tollens, s. sceptre innixa." – "Horse right, front left foot forward and raised. Reverse: Hilaritas standing left, in right hand holding a palm, the left hand carrying a sceptre."

310. Obverse: Draped Fortuna standing with rudder in left hand and cornucopia in right (the cornucopia has become the arm.

Reverse: Horse facing right.

Rost. 2896.

311. Obverse: Helmeted Minerva holding indistinct object in right hand and outstretched left hand (resting on a shield?)

Reverse: Lion standing facing right, roaring.

No associated Rotstovtzeff number.

312. Obverse: Standing helmeted Minerva facing right, sceptre in right hand and left hand resting on shield.

Reverse: Owl standing on a branch, "D" in left field.

Rost. 2852 "C a d. in area. Minerva stans dextr. d. hastae, s. clipeo innixa. R. D supra a s. in area. Noctus stans dextr." – "Obverse: "C" to the right in the field. Minerva standing right, holding a spear in her right hand and a shield in her left. Reverse: "D" above in left portion of field. Night stands right."

313. Obverse: Quadrangular token. Clothed female standing with arms outstretched. Other markings are indistinct though she may be facing right.

Reverse: Stag right.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

314. Obverse: Male figure standing, arms outstretched.

Reverse: "S" in left field.

Rost. 2690 "Mercurius stans. sinsitr. R. LS in m. t., in corona." – "Obverse: Mercury standing left. Reverse: "LS" in the middle of the token, in a wreath."

315. Obverse: Female standing left, staff in right hand and shield in left.

Reverse: Tree or branch.

Rost. 191=2852, Pl. II, 17

Rostovtzeff 191 says: "Miles vei Mars, ut supra, stans sinistr. R. Arbor vei ramus lauri." – "Obverse: Soldier or Mars, as above, standing left. Reverse: Tree or laurel branch."

316. Obverse: Worn, female standing left holding sceptre in right hand.

Reverse: Work top left quadrant, top right says "V", bottom says "SC".

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

317. Obverse: Standing (Corinthian?) helmeted female holding patera in right hand and shield on left field legend says "ΕΙΝΙΔΟC" whilst right legend reads "CTPA". Mysian.

Reverse: Worn, damaged - could be "N".

Rost. 1900: "Victoria stans dextr. R. Avis incerta, aquila, ut videtur, stans sinister." – "Obverse: Victoria standing right. Reverse: (?), eagle, as it appears, standing left."

318. Obverse: Faint, standing female left holding shield upright in right hand whilst holding an indistinct object in left – patera? Victoriola?

Reverse: "CIGPR" in centre.

Rost. 1580? "G.P\RF aream occupans, in corona palmea. R. Fortuna stans adversa capite sinistr. converso." – "Obverse: G.P\RF occupy the area, encircled in a palm crown. Reverse: Fortuna standing left head facing the other way?"

319. Obverse: Faint but Corinthian crested helmet on woman standing left holding small indistinct object in right hand and left hand resting on a shield.

Reverse: "M" in centre with pellet just above its middle.

Rost. 2867 "Minerva stans sinistr. d. hastae, s. clipeo innixa. R. M in m. t." – "Obverse: Minerva standing left, holding a spear in right hand and shield in left. Reverse: "M" in the middle of the token."

320 Obverse: Standing female (Minerva) left holding vertical sceptre/spear in left hand and right hand resting on a shield.

Reverse: "VLIP / . / C / GEN" in field.

Rost. 1340 "VLP|CEN aream occupans. R. Minerva stans sinistr. d. scuto, s. hastae innixa." – "Obverse: VLP|CEN occupy the area. Reverse: Minerva standing left, shield in right hand, spear held in left."

321. Obverse: Indistinct figure, very worn

Reverse: Very worn.

No accompanying Rostovtzeff number.

322. Obverse: Dog facing right with elongated head sniffing ground, tail in the air, identifiable by hind legs.

Reverse: Worn.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

340. Obverse: Female bust facing right wearing a Corinthian crested helmet.

Reverse: Male head right.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

341. Obverse: Male right, wearing a cuirass and a crested helmet. Probably Mars.

Reverse: Standing male left holding patera in outstretched right arm and staff in left – a soldier?

Rost. 2872 "Minerva stans dextr. d. hastae, s. clipeo innixa. R. SCE in m. t." – "Obverse: Minerva standing right, spear in right hand, holding a shield in left. Reverse: "SCE" in the middle of the token."

342. Obverse: Helmeted cuirassed bust right, " Λ " in right field.

Reverse: Worn, faint image remains of figure standing left striding carrying spear.

Rost. 2882 "IV a s. in area. Minerva Promachos stans dextr. d. hastam concutiens, s. clipeo se tegens. R. Protome galeata Minervae vei Romae dextr." – "Obverse: "IV" to the left in the field. Minerva Promachos standing right, shaking spear in right hand, holding shield in left hand. Reverse: Helmeted bust of either Minerva or Roma facing right."

343. Obverse: Bearded Mars with naked chest and wearing crested helmet, facing right.

Reverse: Bull striding right.

Rost. 225 "Protome Martis barbata et galeata dextr. R. Taurus stans dextr. pede s. anteriore et cauda sublatis." – "Obverse: Bearded helmeted head of Mars right. Reverse: Taurus standing right, front left foot and tail raised."

344. Obverse: Bust of Roma facing right wearing a crested helmet. Reverse: Hippogriff right, sceptre or standard in the left field.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

345. Obverse: Bearded Mars right wearing a crested helmet, quadrangular token. Reverse: Stylised clasped hands.

Rost. 228 "Protome barbata et galeata dextr. R. Manus coniunctae." – "Obverse: Bearded and helmeted head right. Reverse: Joined hands."

346. Obverse: Helmeted Mars right wearing a crested helmet, quadrangular token. Reverse: Stylised clasped hands.

Rost. 228.

349. Obverse: Bust of female right wearing a crested Corinthian helmet.

Reverse: "CISS" encircled by a wreath linked at the bottom.

Rost. 2901 "Protome Minervae galeata. R. C\SS aream occupans, in corona palmea." – "Obverse: Helmeted head of Minerva. Reverse: "C\SS" occupies the area, in a palm wreath."

350. Obverse: Helmeted bust of female right.

Reverse: "CISS" encircled by a wreath linked at the bottom.

Rost. 2901.

351. Obverse: Helmeted bust of female facing right.

Reverse: Worn.

Rost. 2902 "V a s. R a d. in area. Protome Minervae vei Romae dextr. R. "C\SS" aream occupans, in corona palmea." – "Obverse: "V" to the left, "R" to the right of the field. Bust of Minerva or Roma facing right. Reverse: "C\SS" occupies the area, within a laurel wreath."

352. Obverse: Helmeted bust of female right. Token pierced.

Reverse: "CISS" encircled by a wreath linked at the bottom.

Rost. 2901.

353. Obverse: Bust of female right wearing a lifted helmet.

Reverse: "CISS" encircled by a wreath linked at the bottom.

Rost. 2901.

354. Obverse: Helmeted female bust right. Struck on one side.

Reverse: Blank. Looks more like a merchant tag – thicker than a Roman one; more likely provincial, but definitely not Athenian. Alternatively it could be a gaming piece.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

355. Obverse: Helmeted female figure.

Reverse: Worn.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

359. Obverse: Seated female figure left, holding a sceptre in left hand and victoriola in right, wearing a Corinthian helmet. "NP" monogram in lower left quadrant and Chi-Rho in lower right.

Reverse: Two heads facing each other with a "\$" between them. "TRO" letters at the top. Depth of heads indicate this was struck.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

360. Obverse: Helmeted woman standing left holding staff in left hand and shield in right. Reverse: Worn.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

361. Appears to be Egyptian – too thick and geometric to be Roman.

Obverse: Seated female figure sat on shield facing left wearing helmet, vertical spear in left hand and victoriola in right.

Reverse: Chi-Rho encircled within a wreath.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

362. Quadrangular token.

Obverse: She-wolf suckling twins looking back at them.

Reverse: Roma seated left holding a sceptre in left hand and victoriola in right, shield behind her.

Rost. 1661 "Roma sedens sinistr. d. Victoriolam tenens, s. hastae innixa. R. Lupa stans dextr. gemelos nutriens et lingua lambens." – "Obverse: Roma seated left, holding a Victoriola in right hand and carrying spear in left. Reverse: She-wolf standing right, tongue licking as she feeds the twins." (Unsure about translation)

363. Obverse: Roma seated left, wearing a (Corinthian?) helmet or hair tied up, holding sceptre in left hand and victoriola in right.

Reverse: She-wolf looking right back at the twins who are beneath her.

Rost. 1661

364. Quadrangular token.

Obverse: Roma seated on a shield either helmeted or with hair tied up, sceptre in right hand and victoriola in left. Shield behind her.

Reverse: She-wold standing right over twins looking left back at them. 6 pellets arranged in an arc above them joined together.

Rost. 1661.

365. Obverse: Seated Roma facing left holding a sceptre in left hand and wreath in right.

Reverse: She-wolf standing over twins facing left looking right back at them.

Rost. 1661.

366. Quadrangular token.

Obverse: Roma seated holding sceptre in left hand and a small Victory in her right Reverse: She-wolf right facing left as she looks to the twins suckling her.

Rost. 1661.

367. Obverse: Roma seated left, sceptre in left hand and small Victory in the other, wearing a Corinthian helmet.

Reverse: She-wolf facing right towards the twins suckling at her.

Rost. 1661.

368. Obverse: Rome seated left, small Victory in right hand and sceptre in left. "F" shaped structure behind her.

Reverse: Crescent moon and ring of seven stars.

Rost. 1807 "F a d. aream occupans. Iustitia vei Clementia vei Indulgentia sedens sinistr. d. pateram tenens, s. sceptro innixa. R. Luna crescens et stella; circum stellae septem." – "Obverse: Right of the area occupied by an "F". Justice or Clemency or Indulgence seated left, holding a patera in the right hand, bearing a sceptre in the left. Reverse: Crescent moon and star; a circle of seven stars around them."

369. Obverse: Helmeted nude figure seated holding an indistinct object.

Reverse: "FR|FR" inscription in legend.

Rost. 1576 "C.P.R.F. in circulo. R. Roma sedens dextr. d. hastae innixa, s. Victoriolam tenens." – "Obverse: C.P.R.F. in a circle. Reverse: Roma seated right, bearing a spear in right hand and Victoriola in left."

370. Obverse: Worn, seated Roma wearing plumed helmet and holding sceptre in left hand with small Victory in other.

Reverse: "GP|RF" written in field encircled by a wreath.

Rost. 1575 "GP\RF aream occupans, in corons palmea. R. Roma sedens sinistr., s. hastae innixa, d. Victoriolam tenens." – "Obverse: "GP\RF occupies the field, within a palm wreath. Reverse: Roma seated left, bearing a spear in left hand and holding a Victoriola in right."

371. Obverse: Seated Roma with top-knot style hair, right, sceptre in right hand and Victory in left. Token has a hole but not been deliberately pierced – or the hole has been made bigger by accident.

Reverse: "GPRF" in a clockwise loop read inside out.

Rost. 1576.

372. Obverse: Helmeted Roma seated right holding sceptre in right hand and Victory in left.

Reverse: "GPRF" in a clockwise loop read inside out.

Rost. 1576.

373. Obverse: Roma seated left wearing plumed helmet. Sceptre in left hand and Victory in right. Shield behind her.

Reverse: wreath around "GP|RF"

Rost. 1575.

374. Obverse: Roma seated left holding off-vertical spear/sceptre in left hand and Vicory in right.

Reverse: "LCC"

Rost. 1664 "Roma galeata sedens sinistr. d. Victoriolam (?), s. cornucopiae tenens. R. LCC in m. t." – "Obverse: Helmeted Roma seated left, Victoriola (?) in right hand and holding a cornucopia in left. Reverse: "LCC" in the middle of the token."

375. Obverse: Seated Concordia holding in left hand cornucopia and patera in the other. Reverse: Flat.

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

376. Obverse: Clothed female wearing a plumed helmet standing left holding spear/sceptre in left hand and shield in right. A chunk is missing but two feet are visible either side of the shoulders hence it is discerned as a frontal stance.

Reverse: "RCA" where the "C" appears as a superscript between the "R" and the "A".

No associated Rostovtzeff number.

377. Obverse: Appears to be a male, seated on a column wearing a crested helmet, and holding a cornucopis in the left hand and sceptre in the right with a bust on top. The figure has his legs crossed and a shield behind him.

Reverse: "R.G"

Rost. 1656, Pl. VII, 72 "Roma galeata sedens in ara sinsitr. d. porrecta Victoriolam tenens, s. cornucopiae, post eam clipeus ad aram inclinatus. R. RO in m. t." – "Obverse: Helmeted Roma seated left on an altar, right hand bearing a Victoriola, her left holding a cornucopia, and behind her is a shield leaning against the altar. Reverse: "RO" in the middle of the token."

916. Struck token – thicker, ridge on edges.

Obverse: Bust facing right, bearing Corinthian helmet iconographic of Athena. Reverse: Resting eagle, body facing right and head looking back to the left.

No associated Rostovtzeff number

1009. Obverse: Female bust facing right, with wavy hair. Unclear if helmeted or not. More akin to portraiture than the divine.

Reverse: Worn.

No associated Rostovtzeff number

1355. Obverse: Crested helmeted male, standing, facing right, wearing boots and a skirt. Holds a spear in right hand and shield in left. "S" in left field. Attributed to Mars.

Reverse: Cybele sitting upright on a lion holding a drum advancing right. "F" in left field.

Rost. 3213 "DO infra in circulo. Cybele turrita in leone equitans dextr. d. sceptrum tenens, s. leonis jubam. R. Attis tunicatus et bracatus phrygio pileatus stans dextr. d. hastae innixus, s. porrecta spicas tenens." – "Obverse: "DO" below in a circle. Cybele seated right riding a lion, carrying a sceptre in right hand, (?) of lion in left. Reverse: Attis in phrygian tunic and trousers (?) standing right, holding a spear in right hand and carrying an ear of corn in left."