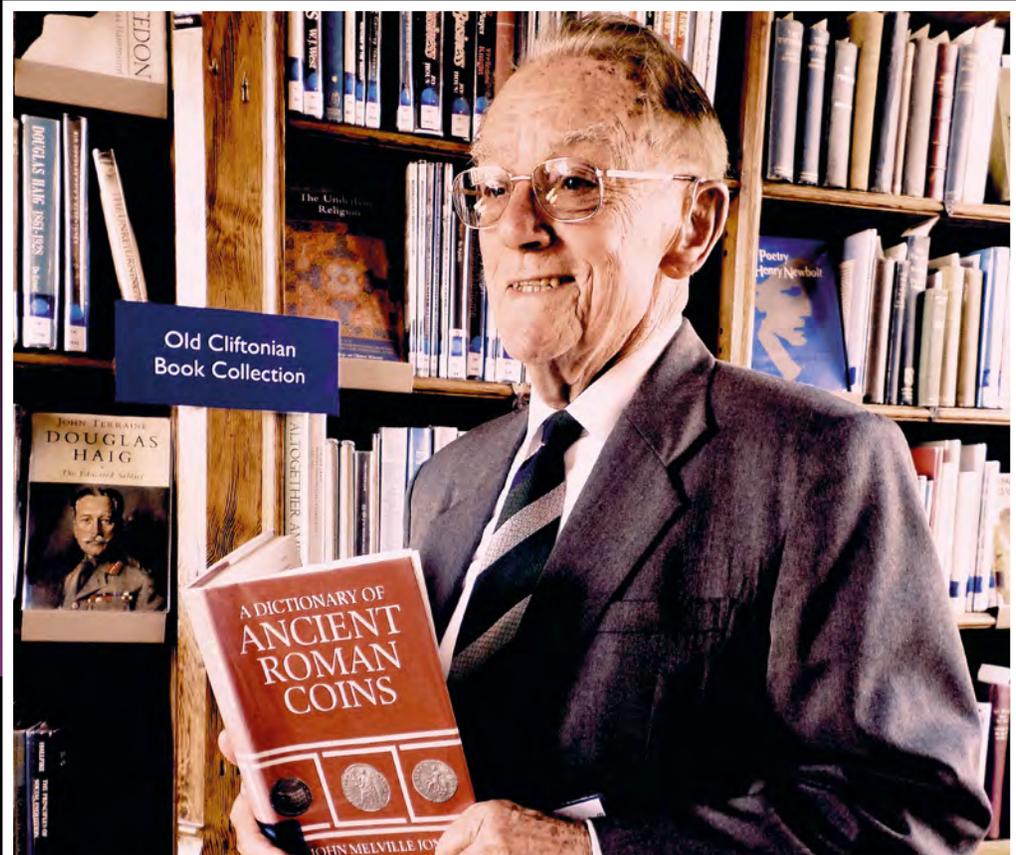




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President's Report

With COVID-19 in its second year, the NAA is looking to rebadge itself to adapt to the rapidly changing environment. Together with this special issue of the Journal we have already embarked on a new approach to increase our online presence; our website is in the process of being revamped and there will be a return to annual publication of the Association's journal (mainly online). We will publish the standard range of articles every even year, and every other year produce a special volume of which this is the first. We will replace the face-to-face biennial conference by online webinars in the first instance (and then progress to more conference-like activities) and hold the Annual General Meeting and Council/Executive meetings online.

I am grateful to Distinguished Professor Lee Brice of Western Illinois University for co-editing with Dr Gil Davis this special volume on numismatics in the education context. It has been a pleasure having Professor Brice working with the NAA to produce a volume of international importance. It goes to the standing of our Association and Australian numismatics that we can attract such high-profile numismatists from around the world to contribute as they have.

Our next volume will be part of the standard cycle for which we take submissions at any time, and already have some under consideration. If you have an interesting piece that you would like to see published, either new material or an original observation on existing work, then please submit your article which will then be placed into the reviewing process.

Following the AGM (held online last October) the centre of gravity of the NAA Executive has moved from Perth to Victoria, with Jonathan Cohen and Lyn Bloom stepping down as Secretary and Treasurer respectively, replaced by Darren Burgess and Philip Richards. I continue as President, Richard O'Hair as Vice President and Gil Davis as Managing Editor.

The Executive are having regular ZOOM meetings to jump-start the NAA's plunge into the new world. As an easy step towards online conferences we are looking to mount webinars mid-year with topics that should have wide appeal, one on the preservation and conservation of coins, a second on grading Australian coins both for the novice and for the more experienced collector looking to submit items to Grading Authorities.

We continue to enjoy sponsorship at a sustainable level, with Noble Numismatics (Gold), Coinworks and Downies (Silver), Drake Sterling, Mowbray Collectables, Sterling & Currency and Vintage Coins & Banknotes (Bronze) all contributing to ensure the Association's continued success. Membership is being maintained, and with the contribution by sponsors and members, the Association is able to function in these difficult times.

I am appreciative of the support of Council and other NAA members, and in particular our Secretary, Darren Burgess, and Treasurer, Philip Richards, who are pivotal in the running of the Association, and our Managing Editor, Gil Davis, for his ongoing work with the journal. On behalf of the NAA I thank both Jonathan Cohen and Lyn Bloom for their excellent contribution to the Association, and our auditor Mona Loo who has worked through the financial statements and associated material in forensic detail.

Professor Walter R. Bloom

President, NAA

www.numismatics.org.au

9th April 2021

About the Numismatic Association of Australia Inc

The Numismatic Association of Australia was founded in the early 1980s and incorporated in Victoria (A0024703Z) in 1992. It is the peak body for numismatics in Australia with seven sponsoring societies around Australia and New Zealand and a direct (individual) membership both national and international. The Association has four main functions:

- Promote the interests of numismatics in Australia. It brings together collectors, hobbyists and academic scholars in a shared love of anything to do with coins, banknotes, medals, tokens and numismatic paraphernalia.
- Biennial conference. This major event rotates through different States. Papers are presented by invited keynote speakers and others with sessions on ancient through to modern numismatics.
- Journal. The annual publication of the Association features a range of articles, approximately half on Australian and New Zealand topics, and the remainder from elsewhere, but especially on the ancient world. The journal has an esteemed editorial board and submissions are double-blind peer reviewed. It is published in hardcopy and online with open access and has a wide international readership. Every second year, it will be publishing a special edition on a specific topic.
- Website – <https://numismatics.org.au/>. This is the public forum of the Association hosting numismatic news, events, awards, conference details and the journal.

How you can help

- **Become a member**. If you are interested in numismatics in Australia and want to see it survive into the future and prosper, then support your national Association. It cannot function without members and you will be part of a community that shares your passion. The cost is only \$25 per year.
- **Be involved**. The Association runs on a voluntary basis. Anything you can do to help would be greatly appreciated and there is a range of roles and tasks.
- **Make a donation**. If you really want to help secure the future of numismatics in Australia, donate to the Association; small or large, every bit helps.
- **Support the advertisers**. The advertisers do their best to help us and, in these precarious times, where would we be without them?

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Contact Darren Burgess, secretary@numismatics.org.au, for any further information.

Exploring the ancient Greek world through federal coinages¹

Eliza Gettel

Abstract

This article demonstrates the pedagogical potential that ancient Greek federal coins offer for engaging students in the complexities of ancient societies. Federal states were common in the ancient Greek world, and they often minted cooperative coinages. However, these states and their coins do not receive much attention in standard courses about the ancient Mediterranean. Yet, students are familiar with the concept of a federal coinage from modern examples, such as euro coins and U.S. quarters, and instructors can leverage this familiarity in the classroom. Ultimately, introducing students to these coins can broaden their knowledge of ancient state forms and prompt them to ask questions about federalism across time and place.

The article offers an introduction to ancient Greek federal coinages, especially of the Boeotians and Achaeans. It includes a sample lesson and general strategies for introducing the coins to students. The strategies take an active learning approach informed by material culture pedagogy. They aim to immerse students in the physical materiality of the coins, as well as their visual appearance. In this regard, the strategies offered for teaching with ancient Greek federal coins can also be applied when teaching about other ancient and modern coinages.

Keywords

[ancient Greek federalism] [federal/cooperative coinage] [koinon] [Boeotian] [Achaean] [material culture] [pedagogy] [critical perception]

How can examining federal coins expand understanding of the ancient Greek world, especially for undergraduate students? By 323 BCE, almost half of Greek city-states cooperated in a federal state, and most of these federal states minted common coinages.² However, Greek federalism and associated coinages do not often receive attention in the classroom. This contribution advocates for the pedagogical potential of these oft-

1 I wrote this article during summer and fall 2020 in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic without full access to a research library and physical research volumes. Luckily, many major numismatic volumes are freely available online. When I have found an online version of a volume, I have noted it in the bibliography so that others can easily find it too. I am very grateful to the inestimable Dr. Carmen Arnold-Biucchi and gracious colleagues in the departments of History and Classical Studies at Villanova University for comments on a previous version of this article.

2 On how widespread the *koinon* was, see Mackil 2012, 305-306. All dates are BCE unless indicated otherwise.

overlooked coins. Here, I set out why they are overlooked, why they should receive more attention, and how they can play a larger role in Greek and Roman history courses.

Coins are a particularly effective medium for introducing students to the complexities of ancient Greek federal states, especially given a dearth of accessible textual sources. Students are often familiar with the concept of a federal coinage, based on their own experiences with modern federal coins, such as the euro and U.S. quarter. Due to this familiarity, the symmetries between ancient Greek federal coinages and modern ones can be leveraged in the classroom to raise significant questions and debates about ancient Greek federalism. Simultaneously, instructors can use these connections to defamiliarise the ancient world: what seems familiar can actually reflect realities of living in a premodern world very different than our own. Close analysis of these coins, therefore, can lead into comparison of ancient and modern societies and raise questions about federalism across time and place. Drawing such connections can help students to grasp the relevance of what they are learning and increase their investment in the learning process.

To this end, in this contribution I offer a guide for teaching with ancient Greek federal coins. First, I provide background about ancient Greek federal states and their coins. Then, I offer strategies for incorporating such coinages into commonly offered Greek and Roman history courses. These strategies draw on my own experiences teaching about these coinages in undergraduate History and Classics courses at three institutions in the United States: Villanova University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and Harvard University. While all three institutions are highly selective, their students vary in terms of their background knowledge and primary interests. At Harvard, I was frequently working with Classics majors who had a deep background in classical languages and societies, whereas most of my MIT students were science majors making their first foray into the Greek world. At Villanova, I often have both populations in the same classroom. Therefore, the strategies that follow are intended to serve a range of learners.

The strategies are very much grounded in an active learning approach that asks students to take ownership of the learning process and investigate the coins themselves. Such an approach helps to scaffold learning for students with various levels of background knowledge. It also generally enables learners of all levels and interests to practice critical perception skills, raise their confidence in working with objects, and experience a stronger personal connection with course material. Ultimately, such a connection can encourage and foster curiosity about these coins and the societies that made them.

Background: federalism in Greek antiquity

We frequently associate the ancient Greeks with political forms such as democracy and oligarchy. However, ancient Greeks also lived within states that approximate what we today call ‘federal states.’ From roughly the sixth century onwards, Greek *poleis* (individual city-states) cooperated in a shared public sphere, often called τὸ κοινόν (*to koinon*) in ancient Greek. The term directly translates to “what is shared, common, public.” Common institutions, usually a representative council and direct assembly, facilitated cooperation between city-states in political decision-making and economic concerns, among other spheres. In return, citizens could benefit from shared privileges, such as intermarriage and property rights in nearby city-states. Those taking part in the regional state often considered themselves to be members of the same *ethnos* or ethnic grouping, which frequently shared such markers as a dialect, origin myth, and common cults. The *koinon* was the institutional manifestation of this supra-civic community. *Koina* were widespread in the ancient Greek world. A conservative estimate is that 40% of Greek city-states participated in one by the mid fourth century.³ The most well-known example is the *koinon* of the Achaeans, better known as the Achaean League, which was a prominent player in the Peloponnese as Roman power expanded into the region during the second century.

Another *koinon*, that of the Boeotians, offers an example of how one of these common polities worked. It brought together groups which inhabited the greater region around Lake Copais in the southern part of the central Greek mainland. The most famous *polis* in this *koinon* was Thebes, the home of the mythological king Oedipus and legendary Antigone. We have a relatively good idea of how this state was organised in the early fourth century due to a short description recorded in a papyrus fragment, the *Hellenica Oxyhrynchia* (16.3-4; see Appendix, no. 2). In 395, the *poleis* were divided among eleven districts comprised roughly of the same number of individuals. Each district sent representatives to a Boeotian council, not unlike the U.S. Congress or European Parliament, and judges/jurors to shared courts. They also provided a set number of soldiers and cavalrymen to the Boeotian army, and they sent taxes to a common treasury. Boeotians came together frequently at the same sanctuaries, such as that of Athena Itonia near Koroneia and that of Poseidon at Onchestos. From at least the third century onwards, the districts of the *koinon* even competed in the festival of the Pamboeotia held at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia.⁴

Modern scholarship often refers to these regional politicized communities, such as the *koinon* of the Achaeans and the *koinon* of the Boeotians, as ‘federal states.’ The reason why emerges from the preceding description: they often look and act according to our expectations for federal states in today’s world. Most notably, they dispersed power

³ Mackil 2012, 305-306.

⁴ For recent in-depth studies of the *koinon* of the Boeotians, see Mackil 2013 and Beck and Ganter 2015.

across at least two levels of governance: the civic and regional, as we expect of a federal state. However, Greek historians have debated whether we can apply the term ‘federal’ in these cases. Some argue that applying the term prompts overinterpretation of the ancient evidence.⁵ Despite the limitations of this translation, recent scholarship has tended to use the term, and personally I see advantages to doing so, as long as it is applied with attention to what is gained and what is lost due to its application. Moreover, arguably, this scholarly debate can be set aside for the classroom context. Even if ‘federal state’ is not a perfect translation for the ancient Greek terms, its familiarity can be helpful in teaching, especially at the undergraduate level. Students across the world, including in Australia, Europe, and the United States of America, are familiar with the concept of federalism in its wide variety of forms, and it is a convenient shorthand for communicating realities of the organization and operations of these ancient states to them.

Greek federalism in the undergraduate classroom

Despite how common federal states were in the ancient Greek world, federalism is a rare topic in undergraduate courses about the ancient Mediterranean. Common textbooks often pass over the existence of *koina* quickly.⁶ The relative lack of attention is understandable, particularly for two prominent reasons:

1. Ancient Greek history courses tend to be very Atheno-centric due to the relatively high number of textual sources that survive from Athens versus other Greek city-states. The major exception is usually a chapter or module on Sparta. However, these two most famous cities of the Greek world—Athens and Sparta—were not members of *koina* before the coming of Rome.⁷ Athens and Sparta had their own supra-civic networks of alliances (the so-called Delian and Peloponnesian Leagues), but they were structured differently. They did not have as formalised a ‘constitution’ (*politeia*) that connected members through shared privileges and obligations. Instead, they tended to concentrate power in the hands of the *hegemon*, through the formation of unequal alliances that tied members to Athens or Sparta but not necessarily to other *poleis* in the league.
2. Unfortunately, modern scholarship and ancient textual sources about ancient Greek federalism are not very accessible for undergraduate students, especially in

5 Famously Giovannini 1971 argued against the use of the term. See Corsten 2012 in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, s.v. “koinon” in support. Walbank 1985 offered a defense of the term, and the framework of federalism has been applied in many subsequent studies, including Mackil 2013 and Beck and Funke 2015.

6 Particularly, I have in mind the frequently used Greek history textbook from Oxford University Press, *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History* (and its brief version) edited by Sarah Pomeroy *et al.* As makes sense given his research interests in *koina*, Jeremy McInerney’s new textbook, *Ancient Greece: A New History* (Thames & Hudson), offers a short description of the Boeotian federal state (306).

7 Sparta joined the *koinon* of the Achaeans, historically its enemy, in the second century largely due to Roman interventions in local politics. See for instance Polybius 23.17.5-18.5.

introductory classes. Much existing scholarship about Greek federal states is aimed at a specialist audience; it usually presumes advanced knowledge of Greek history, beyond Athenian and Spartan history, and a familiarity with Greek epigraphy (the study of inscriptions). Portions of ancient literary sources pertaining to federalism are also frequently difficult for students to comprehend, even when the sources are otherwise accessible to them. The ancient Greek historian, Xenophon, who we might expect to be a guide for ancient Greek federalism, touches on the topic only indirectly.⁸ Meanwhile, the famous Greek historian Polybius came from a prominent Achaean family and writes about the *koinon* of the Achaeans more directly in his *Histories*. Sections of his writing about the Roman state are often assigned in undergraduate courses, and the excerpts could be expanded to include passages more directly related to the *koinon* of the Achaeans. However, the relevant sections involve complicated, obscure mythological and geographical references that overwhelm and stymie students. They get bogged down in these references and miss the big takeaways about how a *koinon* looked and worked.

Of course, textbooks cannot cover everything, nor can instructors. Yet, discussions of Greek federalism in undergraduate ancient history courses offer several benefits. Most importantly, such discussions help students to understand that Greek history is not limited to the histories of Athens and Sparta. They learn that other *poleis* and political models existed and were actually more the norm for the ancient Greek world.

Attention to *koina* can also help clarify key terms and historical developments that introductory textbooks and courses cover. For instance, undergraduates in survey Greek history courses usually encounter references to Thebes and its hegemony in the fourth century. However, they often do not learn about its historic dominance of the *koinon* of the Boeotians, which helped enable Thebes to rise to prominence, alongside and even above Athens and Sparta. Likewise, undergraduates in Greek and Roman history courses usually encounter references to the Achaean League and its importance in the second century. But, how many undergraduates really understand this term? In my experience as a student and instructor, textbooks introduce students to what the Achaean League did, but not what it was. Delving into the *koinon* and Greek federalism more fully enables students to understand how this key term compares to ones that appear similar (e.g., the modern term Delian League) and how it relates to contemporary historical developments. Particularly, knowledge of the *koinon* can help students understand better fourth to second century history, as the power of Athens and Sparta waned in the Greek mainland.

Finally, students are often fascinated by how ancient societies have influenced modern state forms. Especially in countries that align themselves with so-called ‘western

8 See Beck 2001 about Xenophon and Greek federalism.

democracy,' such as Australia and the United States, public discourse tends to grant outsized importance to the influence of Athenian democracy and Roman republicanism on modern society. Introducing students more fully to Greek federalism can help expand discussions about the afterlife of ancient state forms in modern society. After all, so-called Founding Fathers of American government, such as Alexander Hamilton (now famous worldwide due to the eponymous musical), debated at length what lessons various *koina* offered to the fledgling United States. In one of *The Federalist Papers*, for instance, the *koinon* of the Achaeans serves as a model for promoting the necessity of a strong federal government.⁹

Why use coins?

Given these benefits of addressing Greek federalism more fully in the classroom, why are coins particularly fitting for doing so? The most important reason is that the medium is a familiar and tangible one for students. They are used to using coins in their daily life, and they are experienced viewers and consumers of them (although soon we may not be able to take this hands-on familiarity for granted). Given the choices that instructors have to make about what to cover, the relative accessibility of coins for students is a great advantage. As I mentioned, most existing scholarship on ancient Greek federalism is relatively technical and requires substantial background knowledge of Greek history. Much of this scholarship is daunting to a PhD student, and even faculty, let alone to an undergraduate. However, undergraduates generally know what a coin is, what its purpose is, and what is involved in its production. In my experience, when you ask undergraduates to define a coin, they fairly quickly produce Aristotle's three main characteristics of a coin: metal, weight, and stamp (*Politics* 1257a; See Appendix, no. 1). Students thus do not need much background information to engage with a coin, as they often do with literary texts or inscriptions.

Another advantage that coins have over other sorts of sources is the lack of a language barrier. Yes, the coins have legends on them and to understand them fully, it helps to know ancient Greek. However, ancient Greek federal coinages have minimal legends, and often students can guess at the information that they contain. Students familiar with Greek letters from fraternity and sorority life or maths and physics classes can frequently identify letters and sound out the legends, if encouraged to do so.

Most importantly, however, students are familiar with the idea of a federal coinage. For the purposes of teaching, the concept of a federal coinage can help link the ancient and modern worlds and help students comprehend the significance of what they are learning. Particularly, students in the United States and the European Union are used

9 For Alexander Hamilton and James Madison discussing the *koinon* of the Achaeans, see *Federalist Paper* 18. Lehmann 2015, 517-23 discusses the influence of Polybius' writings about Greek federalism on arguments of *The Federalist Papers*.

to handling a federal coinage in their daily lives. Although they may not think about it often, they already have knowledge about the types of cooperation and sorts of institutions that are necessary to produce a federal coinage. Educators can leverage this pre-existing knowledge in the classroom to generate curiosity about the ancient world.

It is not all about similarities though. Highlighting differences between ancient and modern federal coinages can help denaturalise or defamiliarise the ancient world. Comparing the ancient and modern can actually help students step outside of time and place and think about how differences can reflect realities of a premodern world that looked very different from today's, technologically and otherwise.

Anatomy of an ancient Greek federal coin

What do ancient Greek federal coinages look like? Generally, coin types associated with Greek federal states have similar designs that repeat on the obverse and/or reverse. Depending on the case, they can have markers of individual *poleis* that were members of the *koinon*. They also frequently have some indication of the name of the *ethnos* or ethnic group that assembled in the common political institutions of the *koinon*. I will continue to focus on the *koinon* of the Boeotians and the *koinon* of the Achaeans, but I would like to note that these are far from the only *koina* that have coinages associated with them. Other *koina* of the region, such as the Arcadian, Phocian, and Thessalian, also can be linked with coinages.

Figure 1 features an example of a coin associated with the *koinon* of the Boeotians. We can dissect the coin: on the obverse, we find a mostly circular object, which is in fact a shield. It is not unique to this particular coin type. In fact, this type of shield is commonly identified specifically as a Boeotian shield due to its frequent appearance on Boeotian coins during the sixth to fourth centuries. The vase on the reverse is more specific to Boeotian coins commonly dated to the fourth century, but again it is a common image that only varies slightly in appearance across types.¹⁰ The legend BOIΩ, short for Boeotians (spelled fully as BOIΩTΩN on other coins), also repeats across types. What changes is the symbol above the vase. Here, it is a club, but similar coins feature other symbols, such as a bow or a bunch of grapes.¹¹ Numismatists are not sure what the symbols indicate. They hypothesise that some of the symbols could indicate

10 Early descriptions refer to the vase as an amphora, but the volutes of the vase mark it as more likely being a krater. The shape is similar to that of the Derveni Krater. I am grateful to Carmen Arnold-Biucchi for drawing this detail to my attention.

11 See Head 1881, 77-79 and Plate V, nos. 10-12 (Series 10, 338-315).

workshops or mints. Although the minting of Boeotian coins was frequently centralised at Thebes, other Boeotian *poleis* may have minted coins of this type.¹²



Fig. 1: Stater of Boeotia, Federal Mint.

Obverse: Shield; Reverse: Volute krater with club above; BOIΩ.

AR 12.07g. Harvard Art Museums 1.1965.1507.

Credit: Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Loan from the Trustees of the Arthur Stone Dewing Greek Numismatic Foundation. ©President and Fellows of Harvard College

What exactly makes this coin ‘federal’? In reality, nothing concrete does. The ethnic suggests a connection with the Boeotian *ethnos*, but nothing about the coin proves the existence of federal institutions (a *koinon*). Groups could come together in a monetary union and cooperate in producing a common coinage, but they may not necessarily have been part of a broader federal state.¹³ Greek numismatists have yet to reach overwhelming consensus about what qualities identify a federal coinage or what level of cooperation amongst *poleis* is necessary to declare a coinage ‘federal.’ Therefore, since 2017, a joint French-German project has been working on understanding better the concept and realities of a federal coinage in the ancient Greek world.¹⁴

For the purposes of the classroom, I will focus on coinages that can relatively securely be associated with a *koinon*. In these cases, beyond the existence of the coins, textual evidence exists for broader political, economic, and religious cooperation among *poleis* through a *koinon* during the period to which the coins are dated. Explicit references to the existence of a *koinon* most commonly occur in the fourth century or later, and

12 The club and other symbols show up on other Boeotian issues. See Schachter 2016, 46-47 on such symbols. In the case of the earlier Boeotian magistrate coins, he hypothesizes that such symbols might indicate workshops. Mackil 2013, 250 n. 45 points out that many of the symbols can be associated with Herakles or Dionysus. Since myth associates both with Thebes, Mackil proposes that the coins with such symbols were minted there. Some of the symbols are strongly associated with other *poleis* (e.g., Thespieae) and so they may be mint marks. See also Mackil 2015, 489.

13 On these phenomena, see Mackil and van Alfen 2006.

14 Grandjean (2021). Catherine Grandjean and Fleur Kemmers are the principal investigators for the project entitled “KOINON: Common currencies and shared identities. Understanding the structures and daily realities of Greek federal states through an analysis of coin production and coin circulation in the Aetolian and Peloponnesian Koina (fifth-first centuries BC).”

so the coinages we will look at also date to the fourth century or later.¹⁵ For instance, the coin pictured above in Figure 1 dates to the fourth century, although the dating within this century has been a matter of scrutiny. Over the past 150 years, numismatists have shifted the dating of this series from the late fourth century to earlier in the same century. Recent arguments have dated the series to ca. 400-386 based on possible die links with other series.¹⁶ This dating would make it contemporary with the account of the *koinon* of the Boeotians in the *Hellenica Oxyhrynchia* fragment (discussed in Section 1; see Appendix, no. 2).

Admittedly, the dating of coinages associated with federal states is often predicated on textual sources, such as the *Hellenica Oxyhrynchia*, so there is sometimes a circular argument lying behind the dating of the coins.¹⁷ For instance, the dating of Boeotian coins often relies on assumptions about how the vacillating influence of Thebes within the *koinon* affected the appearance of coinages. In scholarship, these sorts of assumptions can create a problematic historical house of cards. In the classroom, however, these uncertainties do not need the neat solutions of the sort that experts seek in scholarship. Instead, especially with more advanced undergraduates or graduate students, instructors can point to such assumptions in the dating of these coins to increase students' skills working with ancient objects and to discuss the limitations to their potential as historical sources.

For the purposes of introductory classes, we can set aside these debates over the precise date of the series and proceed to considering how this coin can point to cooperation between *poleis*. This cooperation can lay the groundwork for discussions of federalism. So, what might cooperation entail in the case of minting a common coinage like the Boeotian one pictured above?

To organise such thoughts, I will return to Aristotle's requirements for a coin: metal, weight, and stamp (*Politics* 1257a). Regarding the first, *poleis* may have cooperated in sourcing metal in the context of a federal state. Individual Boeotian *poleis* would not necessarily have had constant access to precious metals, such as the silver of the coin above, to mint coins.¹⁸ Boeotians did not have a local source of silver, as Athenians

15 On explicit references to a *koinon* most commonly beginning in the fourth century, see Larson 2010.

16 Head 1881, 73-79 dated the series to 338-315. Studies of the mid-twentieth century moved the series earlier to the 370s. More recently, an apparent overstrike of one of these coins with a Boeotian magistrate type has suggested that these coins were in circulation before and/or alongside the magistrate coins (Schachter 2016, 51). Therefore, the BCD Boeotia catalogue dated these coins to 395-387. Schachter 2016, 51 situates them more generally between the end of the fifth century and 386, when Sparta's enforcement of the autonomy clause of the King's Peace/Peace of Antalcidas led to the temporary dissolution of the *koinon* of the Boeotians.

17 On such difficulties, see Mackil and van Alfen 2006, 220.

18 Cooperation may have been even more necessary in the case of gold-based coinages, since Boeotia had no gold mines. See Gartland 2013, 25-32 on access to gold in Boeotia.

to the south did. They often took silver coins minted elsewhere and struck them with their own stamp.¹⁹ By pooling resources, Boeotian *poleis* could mint on a larger scale than they could apart. Furthermore, ancient numismatists often associate large silver coins, like the one above, with state-related activities due to their relatively high value. An ancient Greek would not generally have paid for something at the local market with a silver stater. Instead, this coin might have been used to pay federal troops or to coordinate payments into the federal treasury.²⁰ Therefore, the metal of the coin can point to cooperation: both in the production and use of the coin.

Similarly, weight ties into cooperation. The Greek world did not have an overarching common standard for coins until after Alexander's conquests.²¹ Therefore, minting coins on the same weight or standard could create a common economic zone that extended beyond the bounds of a single *polis*. The Boeotians generally minted on the Aeginetan standard. Having coins of the same value allowed coins to circulate more easily between *poleis*. The choice of the Aeginetan standard, which was associated with the island Aegina and was one of the most commonly used standards of the Peloponnese and central Greek mainland, might also indicate priorities in trading markets. Notably, other states surrounding Boeotia, including the Phocians, Opountian Locrians, and Thessalians, also used the Aeginetan standard, whereas Attica (the region of Athens), Boeotia's neighbour to the south, employed the Attic standard.²²

Meanwhile, the stamp mattered. In ancient Greek, the term for stamp is ὁ χαρακτήρ, literally "character," and now numismatic terminology refers to the impression on the coin as its type. When the coins circulated, the stamp or type would identify the authority which guaranteed its value, and it would promote the authority's legitimacy to the people holding the coins. More than that, the stamp also offered an opportunity for putting forward an expression of group identity both to members inside that group and outside of it. Although minted on the same standard, the stamp distinguishes a Boeotian coin from a Thessalian one. Boeotians were seemingly the primary audience of Boeotian coins, since their coins largely circulated within Boeotia. However, when Boeotian coins did circulate outside of the region in the fourth century, they were almost always staters, the denomination of the coin above.²³ Boeotians who held these cooperative coinages may have been reminded of their common grouphood through

19 Schachter 2016, 55 on Boeotians commonly striking over other coins on the Aeginetan standard.

20 On the payment of federal troops as a potential factor in the minting of Boeotian coinages, see Mackil and van Alfen 2006, 223-24.

21 Even then, *poleis* and *koina* often continued to mint on a non-Attic standard. See Ashton 2012 for an overview of the coinages of the Hellenistic Greek mainland.

22 On the extent of the Aeginetic standard, see Psoma 2015. This chapter also discusses connections between Boeotian and Euboean coinages. Schachter 2016, 55 suggests that the Aeginetic standard may have been conducive to paying mercenaries during the Third Sacred War of the mid fourth century.

23 Mackil and van Alfen 2006, 230-31 and Schachter 2016, 50.

the symbolism, whereas those from other regions might have learned about their neighbours through this medium. In such ways, the stamps of coins can raise questions about group identity, both its articulation and promotion. Moreover, technical aspects of cooperation can also lie behind the stamp. How does a group of *poleis* come up with a common design and, if there are multiple mints, then how do they keep consistency across mints? In the ancient world, such questions raise the possibility of traveling die cutters or even the sharing of physical dies for stamping common coinages.

In such ways, coins like the ones above help us to start to think about cooperation and identity in the context of a supra-civic state. In the next section, we will think in more depth about such connections. Before moving on, however, I should note that other coinages of the Boeotians could also help generate discussion in the classroom. For instance, there are coins associated with Thebes, which look very similar to the one pictured and which are possibly contemporary with it, but which feature letters indicating the magistrate who oversaw their production. Sometimes, we can identify this magistrate with someone who served as Boeotarch, or leader of the Boeotians: most famously Epaminondas.²⁴ Coins dated a century later, which feature the name of the *ethnos* and one of its most important gods, Poseidon, standing beside a Boeotian shield, also offer opportunities for discussion.²⁵ Viewers could draw connections to dynamics of the regional cultic community, especially the importance of the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos for the Boeotians.²⁶ Although I will be focusing on Achaean coins in the next section, these other Boeotian issues can also be used to raise the sorts of discussions outlined.

Sample lesson plan with Achaean coins

Here is an example of how students can draw on their pre-existing knowledge of modern federal coinages to decode an ancient federal coinage of the sort introduced in the previous section. Since I have already dissected a Boeotian coin, I will introduce Achaean coins in this section. Below are images of three coins associated with the *koinon* of the Achaeans (Figs. 2-4). They date to either just before the Achaean War of 146 or to the first century after the defeat of the *koinon* by Rome.²⁷ They will be the subject of the sample lesson.

24 On these Boeotian magistrate coins, see Hepworth 1998; Schachter 2016.

25 For examples of most Boeotian coins, see Head 1881. For an overview accessible online, see Snible and “Wild Winds”.

26 On the importance of the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos for the Boeotians, see Mackil 2013, 163-67.

27 The dating of these issues is controversial. See the end of Section 5 for more information about their dating.



Fig. 2: Hemidrachm of the Achaean League, Aegira. AR 2.11g. Harvard Art Museums. 1976.79.1148
Credit: Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Unspecified Collection.
©President and Fellows of Harvard College



Fig. 3: Hemidrachm of Achaean League, Patrai. AR 2.38g. Harvard Art Museums 1.1965.1844
Credit: Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Loan from the Trustees of the Arthur Stone
Dewing Greek Numismatic Foundation. ©President and Fellows of Harvard College



Fig. 4: Hemidrachm of Achaean League, Elis. AR 2.33g. Harvard Art Museums 1.1965.1846
Credit: Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Loan from the Trustees of the Arthur Stone
Dewing Greek Numismatic Foundation. ©President and Fellows of Harvard College

The most ideal situation is to teach with physical specimens of these coins in the hands of students. Ancient coins are durable and highly tactile. When students hold the coins in their hands, they can use most of their senses, especially touch, to perceive critically and not just view critically the coins.²⁸ For instance, holding a coin enables a student to comprehend more immediately the size of these coins and to feel their weight. Notably,

28 On material culture pedagogy and critical perception, beyond critical viewing, see Sienkewicz 2013.

the Achaean coins pictured here are much smaller and lighter than the Boeotian stater included above. This information is difficult to discern from photos, but it is important for considering the possible contexts in which people used and encountered these coins. Larger coins, like the Boeotian stater, likely would not have been as prevalent in daily life, but these smaller Achaean coins could have been used for more quotidian commercial purposes.

Of course, most instructors do not have access to a teaching collection, let alone one that includes these often-overlooked coins. New technologies, such as 3D printing, can help bring examples of these coins into the classroom setting in a more tactile way at a relatively low cost. A 3D-printed coin can help engage more senses beyond sight and aid students in comprehending the dimensions of a coin. However, standard materials used in 3D printing are often much lighter than the metal used to mint a coin. 3D-printed coins, therefore, fall short regarding one of the primary characteristics of a coin, unless a heavier material can be used.

More immediately, simpler techniques can be effective for increasing student engagement with ancient coins. For the purposes of making this lesson possible in any classroom, I will focus on more low-tech methods of engagement in this sample lesson and assume that the coins are being introduced through images such as those included here. This lesson plan can also work well in an online teaching environment. Instructors using Zoom or similar platforms for synchronous online classes can guide students in decoding these coins using screenshare and annotation features. The lesson can even be adapted to asynchronous class sessions using a tool, such as VoiceThread or Perusall, that allows students to annotate an image as a group.

I usually facilitate this sort of lesson as an adaptation of a ‘naïve task.’ This pedagogical approach starts from the premise that students do not need specialised information about a topic in order to learn from doing something related to that topic.²⁹ Given this approach, I generally do not assign any advanced reading specifically about the coins, and instead I present them to students during class as unfamiliar, mysterious objects, which we will analyse together. The goal is not to have students demonstrate mastery of these coins. Instead, it is to activate their curiosity and to encourage them to ask questions about these objects based on what they have learned so far in the course and what connections they can draw from personal experience handling coins.

The first step is for students to identify what they see on the coins. In my experience, the biggest stumbling block, when introducing students to these sorts of coins, is the level of detail that they contain. Students look at them and become overwhelmed by the small details (even when they are able to hold the physical specimen in their hands). How can

²⁹ Supiano 2018.

an instructor encourage them to engage with the coin, especially in a photo, and start to tease apart these small details?

Personally, I have had great success with asking students to draw these coins. Drawing is a simple but effective way to help students break down a coin type into its constituent parts. It helps students engage more senses than sight in the absence of holding a physical coin. For instance, if they simply look at the coin of Aegira (Fig. 2), they may give up and ignore the intriguing symbol at the top of the reverse of the coin. However, when they start to draw it, they may slowly ascertain from the motion of their hand and the decisions that they make as they draw that it is the front of an animal. Further examination of the coin and their drawing might lead them to the realisation that it is a goat. Another benefit of drawing is that it is a personal activity that involves every student in the classroom. Instead of one or two particularly invested students telling the others what they see, all students can begin to decode the coin for themselves.

Once students have drawn the coins and started to decode the various symbols, you can ask them to look for patterns. What is the same on each coin? What is different? They will likely identify the following similarities: the head of someone on the obverse and the general type or design of the reverse (especially the alpha-chi monogram in the centre and surrounding wreath). They will then likely note the various symbols and letters surrounding the central motif on the reverse as the major differences between the coins. On the coin of Aegira (Fig. 2), the symbol would be the forepart of the goat. After drawing the coins, they might have a dawning realisation that the symbol beneath the monogram on the coin of Patras (Fig. 3) is a dolphin (often they at least identify it as some sort of marine animal). In my experience, they will remain puzzled about the symbol beneath the monogram on the coin of Elis (Fig. 4), but they will be more curious about it after drawing it. Then, they are more invested when someone reveals that it is a thunderbolt. Depending on the learning objectives, an instructor might choose to spend more time on these symbols. Obvious differences between how ancient Greeks and people today depict dolphins and thunderbolts can raise questions about the standard representation of animals and objects across time and place. They can help students comprehend the 'foreignness' of these coins, despite their seemingly immediate familiarity, and prompt them to step outside of their own societal context.

Next, the instructor can prompt students to think about why these similarities and differences exist. Here is where their pre-existing knowledge of federal coinages can come in handy. They are used to handling federal coins with a common obverse and a varied reverse. They implicitly know that the common features of the coinage can help identify the federal entity and that the variations between different coins in the series can help identify different members of the federation. American students are familiar with this dynamic from U.S. quarters, while European students are familiar with the

dynamic from euro coins. In this instance, they often identify the head on the obverse, the AX monogram (the first two letters of the name of the *ethnos*: Achaeans) and wreath on the reverse with the federal authority. They often postulate that the head on the obverse is that of a god important to the group minting the coin. Indeed, in this case, the head appears to be that of Zeus, and one of the most important common sanctuaries for the Achaeans was the sanctuary of Zeus Amarius near Aegium.

Furthermore, based on their familiarity with modern federal coinages, they tend to understand that the different features of the reverse have connections to the identity of members of the federation. For instance, the reverse of the U.S. state quarter for Pennsylvania features an outline of the state and its motto, among other symbols. Similarly, the reverses of modern Greek euro coins feature famous Greek politicians and other designs that evoke a Greek past, including an Athenian drachma design (1 euro coin) and a depiction of the Greek myth of Europa (2 euro coin). Drawing on students' familiarity with this dynamic, you can ask them to hypothesise about how the *poleis* are identifying themselves. Possible takeaways for each coin:

Aegira (Fig. 2): The forepart of a goat relates to the identity of the *polis*, since it seems to be a play on words. The name of the city-state resembles the ancient Greek word for goat (αἴξ; genitive: αἰγός).

Patras (Fig. 3): The dolphin suggests an association with maritime activities. Patras is located on the northwestern coast of the Peloponnese, and it was a major port near the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth.

Elis (Fig. 4): The thunderbolt is often connected with the god Zeus. Elis oversaw the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, where the famous Olympian Games took place.

Students are usually more lost when it comes to the letters that surround the Achaean monogram. In this regard, they are not alone. Some letters seem to further identify the *polis* member, but what the remaining letters indicate often remains a mystery even to scholars. Perhaps the letters indicate the name of the magistrate who oversaw the minting. The mystery of these letters offers students an opportunity to engage in the sort of argumentation that scholars do. Their educated guesses are often as good as ours. The fact that there is no incorrect answer can grant students agency in the interpretation and can democratise the discussion by evening the playing field between students with more or less background in the ancient world.

Such similarities and differences between the coins can then lead into broader discussions of the concept of a federal coinage. As previously mentioned, this concept is debated in the scholarly community, but students can draw on their knowledge of modern federal

coinages to raise and debate the sort of questions that scholars ask about *koina* and their associated coinages. Possible discussion questions include the following:

1. What did you need to share in order to produce this sort of coinage?

Possible takeaways: *Poleis* needed to share natural resources, either available locally or imported, such as the metal used to make the coins. Similarities in the design of the coins may point to the sharing of physical dies for striking the coins or possibly the sharing of artists for producing the dies.³⁰ Instructors could ask students to compare what resources modern states share and how they do so in today's society in order to produce a federal coinage.

2. What sorts of cooperation did *poleis* engage in within a *koinon*?

Possible takeaways: Students can point to economic cooperation and even a common economic zone amongst the members due to the similar size and weight of the coins. Students may bring up religion too, especially if they pay attention to the head of Zeus on the obverse of the Achaean coins.³¹

3. Why might a *polis* have wanted to cooperate with other *poleis* in these ways?

Possible takeaways: Perhaps a *polis* wanted to facilitate the buying and selling of goods and services beyond its own territory. Maybe cooperation could provide protection in the case of external threats, such as war, especially against larger *poleis*. Cooperation within a *koinon* could generally help a *polis* decrease its exposure to risk. However, economic incentives and external threats cannot fully explain why a group would mint a common coinage.³² These *poleis* had some sense of belonging to a common ethnic group that could lay the groundwork for such cooperation.³³ Coins can then further reinforce this sense of grouphood, especially given how portable and tangible they are. Ultimately, students could compare what motivates and reinforces federal bonds in modern contexts.

4. What was the balance of power between an individual *polis* and the *koinon*?

Possible takeaways: The level of personalisation of each Achaean coin by *polis* may lead students to theorise that the autonomy of members was valued within the *koinon* of the Achaeans. Comparatively, the relative standardisation and lack of obvious civic identifiers on Boeotian coinages could point to a more hegemonic federal government (often under the leadership of Thebes), or at least the projection of one. Indeed, Boeotian coinages stand out from other cooperative coinages regarding the

30 On this sort of cooperation in the minting of Achaean coins, see Grandjean 2007.

31 See Mackil 2013 for a thorough discussion of what was shared among members of a *koinon*.

32 On economic incentives not being sufficient, see Mackil and van Alfen 2006, 221.

33 Mackil 2012 is a relatively accessible introduction to reasons for cooperation.

extent to which their minting was concentrated in one *polis*, Thebes.³⁴ This city-state also tended to dominate the political institutions of the *koinon*. Comparatively, more variation in Achaean coinage, such as the symbols reflecting the identity of member *poleis*, projects the appearance of a true “alliance of independent cities.”³⁵ In more advanced classes, students can relate these patterns to the general importance of the concept of *autonomia* (autonomy) within the Greek world. Definitions of the *polis* tend to stress autonomy, possibly overly much. Therefore, discussions of how real versus rhetorical a *polis*’ autonomy was within a federal structure can help students refine their fundamental understanding of a *polis* in the ancient Greek world.

Students can also think about whether their conclusions reflect visual rhetoric or reality. Comparison to various modern federal structures with different levels of centralisation, such as the U.S. federal system versus the European Union, and their coins can help students do so. Modern parallels help students to understand that the balance of power in one federal structure can look different from that of another. They can also prompt the realisation that the balance of power within a federal state often is a matter of debate and contention, instead of a fixed reality. Students can consider whether or not we can glean the relative centralisation of the United States or European Union from their federal coinages.

5. How successful do you think coins were in communicating a collective identity? Did coins help people know that they lived within a federal state and how much did they care about the version of their collective identity evidenced in the coin?

Possible takeaways: In asking such questions, instructors might prompt students to reflect on how often they actually look at coins in their pockets, whether or not they know the symbol on the back of their country’s coins, and whether or not the symbols mean anything to them. Such reflections can lead into broader discussions of the relatively high prevalence of images in today’s society, which relies heavily on easily accessible communication technologies such as the Internet and smartphones. They can also raise discussion of how we take birds’-eye-view maps, available at our fingertips, for granted in the modern world. Comparatively, highly portable and tactile objects such as coins would have been one of the most common and immediate ways that those living in the ancient world learned about the places around them.

These reflections can also lead into discussion of differences in what ancient and modern societies deem important to put on a coin and what that can reveal about a society. Modern initiatives to diversify who is represented on a country’s currency (e.g., replacing Andrew Jackson with Harriet Tubman on the \$20 bill in the United

³⁴ Mackil and van Alfen 2006, 229.

³⁵ Thonemann 2015, 74.

States; Jane Austen on the ten pound note in the United Kingdom) can help students to grasp the continued importance of images on money.

As a final note, graduate students, in particular, could engage with issues of dating these coins. Traditionally, Achaean coins had a *terminus ante quem* of 146, due to assumptions that the *koinon* did not mint any coins after its disbandment at the end of the Achaean War. However, prominent numismatists have challenged this assumption, especially due to evidence from major coin hoards, and have re-dated the last Achaean issues to the first century. The debate over the dating of these coinages still often divides numismatists.³⁶

Possible connections to Greek and Roman history courses

When might it make sense to incorporate a lesson such as this one? In this section, I explore how coins introduced in the previous sections might be included in typical ancient Greek and Roman history courses.

1. An activity with Boeotian coins can be included in survey ancient Greek history courses, especially through integration of a case study about Thebes. For instance, in my introductory Greek history course, I include a week about Thebes, with a focus on the fourth century, after case studies of Sparta and Athens in the sixth to fourth centuries. Boeotian coins serve to introduce students to the broader federal history of Boeotia and Thebes. The students enjoy learning more about the Greek world beyond Athens and Sparta, since they feel that they are getting a “peek behind the curtain” of traditional narratives of Greek history. They also leave the course with a greater appreciation of the political diversity of the ancient Greek world and a better understanding of the trajectory of Greek history between the Peloponnesian Wars and conquests of Macedon.
2. An activity with Achaean coins, such as the one delineated in the previous section, is most naturally at home in Greek history courses that address the Hellenistic period and/or Roman history courses that track the rise of Rome as an empire. Major Greek history textbooks now proceed through the second century and beyond.³⁷ Students therefore encounter the “Achaean League” and its role in the Roman conquest of the Greek mainland. Roman history courses of both the Republic and Empire also often cover this period of history. Introducing students to the coinage of the *koinon* of the Achaeans helps students of both Greek and Roman history to comprehend better

36 The downdating was originally proposed by Christof Boehringer and later taken up by Jennifer Warren. Warren 1999 provides an overview of the controversy. See also Warren 2007, viii and 111 and Boehringer 1991, 1997, and 2008. Additionally, Walker 2008 provides a thorough overview of the arguments on both sides.

37 For instance, the most recent editions of Oxford University Press’ textbook series *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, edited by Sarah Pomeroy *et al.*

this key term. As a further advantage, it helps stress to students of Roman history the Greek-ness of the world that Rome was moving through in the second century.

Conclusions

Students are experienced viewers and consumers of coins, unlike most other media surviving from the ancient world. Because of this familiarity, with more advanced topics like Greek federalism, coins can prompt students, even those without a background in the ancient world, to engage relatively quickly with major scholarly questions and debates. Better-known coins commonly grace lecture slides as illustrations of mythology, lost monuments (e.g., coins depicting the lighthouse of Alexandria), famous individuals, and significant events (e.g., Ides of March coins). Comparatively, the sorts of ancient Greek federal coins presented in this article receive relatively little attention. However, engaging students in critical perception of such coins can help them expand their knowledge of Greek history beyond the bounds of Athens and Sparta. These coins offer a wealth of details, and they can lead into important conversations about the realities of ancient Greek states and how historians study them. While examining ancient Greek federal coins closely, we can step outside of our modern mindsets and place ourselves in the position of ancient individuals who held these coins in their hands.

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Appendix: relevant primary sources

1. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1257a

“For the natural necessities are not in every case readily portable; hence for the purpose of barter men made a mutual compact to give and accept some substance of such a sort as being itself a useful commodity was easy to handle in use for general life, iron for instance, silver and other metals, at the first stage defined merely by size and weight, but finally also by impressing on it a stamp in order that this might relieve them of having to measure it; for the stamp was put on as a token of the amount.”

Rackham, H. transl. (1932) *Aristotle: Politics*. Loeb Classical Library 264. Cambridge.

2. *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, 16.3-4

“They continued to run their internal affairs in this way, but Boeotian affairs were managed in the following way. All who lived in that area were arranged in eleven divisions

and each of these provided a Boeotarch as follows. Thebes contributed four (two for the city, two for Plataea, Scolus, Erythrae, Scaphae, and the other places previously linked to them in one political entity but at that time subject to Thebes); Orchomenus and Hysiae provided two Boeotarchs; Thespieae with Eutresis and Thisbae provided two; Tanagra one; and Haliartus, Lebadea, and Coronea provided another whom each of the cities sent in turn; and in the same way one came from Acraephnum, Copae and Chaeronea. In this way the divisions returned their magistrates. They provided sixty councilors per Boeotarch and they paid their daily expenses. For the organization of the army, each division had to provide about one thousand hoplites and one hundred cavalry. To put it simply, depending on the number of its magistrates, each community shared in the common treasury, paid its taxes, appointed jurymen, and shared equally in public burdens and benefits. This was the constitution of the whole people, and the council and the common assemblies of the Boeotians sat in the Cadmea.”

McKechnie, P. R. and S. J. Kern, (1988). *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. Warminster.

3. On the Achaeans, see especially Polybius, *The Histories*, 2.38-45
4. For an example of the reception of *koina* as models for modern states, see *The Federalist Papers*, No. 18.

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In this article, I have aimed to set out a toolkit that can lower the barrier of entry for instructors interested in bringing Greek federal coins into the classroom, either physically or virtually. To further this end, I have organized the sources cited in this article into a more expansive list of resources organized by topic, instead of a traditional bibliography.

Greek federal states: some starting places

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Wild Winds. <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/boeotia/i.html>

Some helpful auction catalogues are also accessible online:

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Ray Jewell Award Recipients

Silver Medal (for services to the NAA)

Raymond T N Jewell (posthumously), 1998 Leslie J Carlisle, 2011
John Hope, 2003 Walter R Bloom, 2013
W James Noble, 2004 Peter D Lane, 2015
John R Melville-Jones, 2011

Bronze Medal (for best article from two journals)

John Sharples. Vol 7, *Catalogue of Victorian trade tokens*.
Paul M Holland. Vol 9, *Master die types of Australian halfpennies*.
Peter Lane and Peter Fleig. Vol 12, *London private museums and their tokens*.
Richard A J O'Hair and Antoinette Tordesillas. Vol 13, *Aristocrats of crime*.
Peter Lane and Peter Fleig. Vol. 15 *William Henshall*.
Christopher Addams. Vol 18, *Counterfeiting on the Bermuda convict hulk Dromedary*.
Mark Stocker. Vol. 19, *The Empire Strikes Back*.
Helen Walpole. Vol 22, *The role of sporting medals in a sports museum*.
Peter Lane. Vol 23, *S. Schlank & Co Ltd: medal and badge makers of Adelaide 1887-1971*.



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Special Silver Award: 1977, R T N (Ray) Jewell, Australia

Bronze Award

1. 1977, J Gartner	Vic	25. 1996, J Chapman	Vic
2. 1977, W J Mira	NSW	26. 1997, S McAskill	WA
3. 1977, R M Greig	SA	27. 2001, D Junge	Vic
4. 1977, R V McNeice	Tas	28. 2001, F Dobbins	NSW
5. 1977, G D Dean	Qld	29. 2001, G Farrington-Davis	Vic
6. 1977, S J Wilson	WA	30. 2003, P Lane	SA
7. (Allocated as the silver award to Ray Jewell)		31. 2004, F Gare	WA
8. 1978, O C Fleming	NSW	32. 2006, M C Williams	Qld
9. 1978, M B Keain	SA	33. 2006, J A Hanley	NSW
10. 1979, T M Hanley	NSW	34. 2007, G Shea	Qld
11. 1979, A Ware	NSW	35. 2007, W R Bloom	WA
12. 1981, C J Tindall	SA	36. 2008, R Sell	NSW
13. 1983, D G Sandeson	Qld	37. 2008, G D Snelgrove	Qld
14. 1984, R L Henderson	Vic	38. 2009, M P Vort-Ronald	SA
15. 1985, L J Carlisle	NSW	39. 2010, J W Cook	Qld
16. 1986, H Powell	WA	40. 2011, P Fleig	SA
17. 1987, N Harper	Tas	41. 2013, B V Begley	Qld
18. 1989, T W Holmes	Tas	42. 2014, S Appleton	Qld
19. 1990, D G Stevens	Qld	43. 2015, T J Davidson	Qld
20. 1991, L T Pepperell	Vic	44. 2016, F J Robinson	Vic
21. 1991, C Heath	Tas	45. 2017, B M Newman	SA
22. 1993, C E Pitchfork	NSW	46. 2018, M Carter	Qld
23. 1994, L P McCarthy	Qld	47. 2019, G Petterwood	Tas
24. 1995, F S Seymour	SA		



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