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A closer look at the Etruscan coins at ACANS, Macquarie University (*SNG Australia* 1, 4-13)

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The coins of ancient Etruria present a fascinating but nevertheless perplexing insight into the cities and peoples of the region. The collection at the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatics Studies (ACANS), Macquarie University, has ten Etruscan coins in the Gale Collection (*SNG Aust* 1, 4-13) with an eleventh of uncertain mint (*SNG Aust* 1, 14), but likely to be Etruscan. These coins provide a representative sample of the coinage used in Etruria from the fifth century BC. The collection includes a range of motifs of cities and *ethne* from some of the leading mints in Etruria, including Populonia and Vetulonia. Despite the amount of research produced on Etruscan numismatics in the past twenty-five years, there is still much to be done.

The most significant modern study on Etruscan coins comes from *Historia Nummorum Italy* (2001) (hereafter referred to as *HNI*). Taking into account all modern scholarship, archaeological contexts and the broader coinage context, *HNI* dates the earliest Etruscan coins to the fifth century BC. Advocating such a date, Crawford admits that the first emissions were somewhat experimental: the low volume of production, the

severely limited areas of circulation and the large denominations suggest isolated coin production. More recently (2003), *SNG France* 6,1 has been published.¹ This work catalogues, amongst other coins, the Etruscan collection in the Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, Paris. *SNG France* 6,1 provides a valuable three page discussion on coinage in Etruria and a brilliant bibliography of contemporary numismatic works. The dates provided closely follow those provided in *HNI*. This paper will primarily follow Crawford's work in *HNI*.

Studies in Etruscan numismatics face significant difficulties.² Only a small number of Etruscan communities developed coinage systems. In many cases these differ in production technique, weight and iconography. These disjointed systems of Etruscan coinage possibly reflect the predominantly independent nature of the Etruscan cities. Not only was coinage geographically limited, production was also limited chronologically. Minting began in the fifth century, but a majority of the coins belong to the third century BC. There are also difficulties regarding the dating of the Etruscan coins, as there

are few opportunities to cross-reference issues with secure archaeological contexts. In addition, many series cannot be securely attributed. In the past, coins were commonly removed from their contexts with minimal or no archaeological records on their provenances.³ This makes it near impossible to confidently supply either a date or attribution.

In addition to these hindrances, the exact function of Etruscan coinage continues to be debated. The fact that very few Etruscan coins have been found in foreign contexts has persuaded most that Etruscan coins were for internal exchange rather than external (or overseas) trade. Even within Etruria, it is thought that coins circulated only within the territorial confines of the issuing city.⁴ Outside of commercial purposes, it has been suggested that the first coinage was linked to a state authority or groups of nobles; coins played a prestigious role, advertising heraldic and elite imagery such as the gorgoneion, pegasus and sphinx.⁵ The possible military role of Etruscan coinage has been considered, and consideration discontinued as there is little supporting evidence.⁶

Throughout the expanding corpus of work on Etruscan numismatics, several numismatists have advanced possible nationalistic motivations through their proposed chronologies. In essence, these chronologies suggest that the Etruscans, as an indigenous Italic population, were the first to introduce

coinage to the Italian peninsula. There is a significant difference between the dating adhered to by most Italian scholars (such as Fiorenzo Catalli, Fabio Vicari, Franco Panvini Rosati) and that of others outside Italy (such as Robert Sutton, Italo Vecchi). The Italian school tends to date the first Etruscan coinage to the fifth century BC, or even as early as the late sixth century BC, whereas others suggest origins in the third century BC.⁷

In his five prominent articles on Etruscan coins, Vecchi proposed to ‘demonstrate how close the relationship was between Etruria and its neighbours in central Italy, most particularly with Rome, its heir and then its master, in numismatic matters as so often and so potently in the affairs of war and the arts of peace’. Overall he stressed the impact and supremacy that Rome had over the Etruscan cities.⁸ Although Rome undeniably played a significant role in Etruria, it seems naïve to interpret Etruscan coins from a Romano-centric viewpoint: the Etruscan cities were powerful centres prior to Rome’s domination and many continued to hold important positions until the first century BC. Interpretations such as Vecchi’s that rely heavily on the idea of Roman superiority and guidance lead to the common presumption that the Etruscans must have imitated Rome. But it is not so difficult to believe that the Etruscans might have adopted and developed coinage based on early eastern examples (perhaps from Asia

Minor), brought to Etruria through Graeco-Etruscan exchange. Catalli and other Italian scholars prefer this latter explanation. Not only do some of the first Etruscan coin types (the pegasus and gorgoneion) occur frequently in the repertoire of Greek ceramic decoration, the weights of these first coins are commonly thought to be based upon a system in use in Asia Minor.⁹ Etruria's strong eastern contacts are confirmed in the rich archaeology of the region which documents prosperous Phoenician and Greek exchange, as well as a significant level of eastern immigration to Etruria.¹⁰

The eleven ACANS coins

Populonia

Evidence suggests that Populonia produced the highest number of Etruscan coins. It was also the only Etruscan city to mint coins for such a long time period – from the late fifth century until the end of the third or the beginning of the second century BC.¹¹ The city itself was in a geographically advantageous position, with dominance over the northern Tyrrhenian coast, including several Greek-dominated emporia, and authority over the Colline Metallifere and the island of Elba, zones wealthy in minerals and metals. There is evidence of the city's exploitation of these resources in the archaeological record, confirming intense metallurgic production and prominent industrial areas within the city.¹²

There are several marks of value used on Etruscan coinages, appearing

first on the coinage of Populonia: $\text{XX} = 20$; $\text{X} = 10$; $\Lambda = 5$; (variations on) IIA or $\text{IIC} = 2.5$; and $\text{I} = 1$. Populonia's gold emissions have values of $\uparrow = 50$; $\Lambda\text{XX} = 25$; $\text{XIIA} = 12.5$ and smaller denominations of 10 (X) units.¹³ Many Etruscan coins, particularly the earlier Populonian emissions, have blank reverses, a popular fashion among the coins of Etruria, which, as Arnold-Biucchi has pointed out, seems to be 'the norm rather than the exception'.¹⁴ We do not know why many of Etruria's coins were minted in this way, but a possible explanation could be that it simplified coin production.¹⁵

Populonia's silver emissions have been separated into three distinct phases, with each phase representing a change in weight and a different period of production. With the first silver phase *HNI* suggests that $\text{X} = \text{c.}8.4\text{g}$, while Catalli suggests a slightly higher weight of 8.7g .¹⁶ The average weight might suggest a relationship to the Euboean-Attic system adopted from the Syracusans with whom the Etruscans had many interactions.¹⁷ This first series includes coins of the gorgoneion X series (*SNG Aust* 1, 4) (Fig. 1), commonly dated to the late fifth century BC, on the evidence of a hoard found at Volterra. This hoard (*IGCH* 1875), discovered in 1868 beside the walls of Volterra, included what are considered some of the oldest Etruscan coins (fifteen of the gorgoneion series and twenty-four with a pegasus). Alongside these were Phocaeen types of the sixth century



Figure 1. *SNG Aust 1, 4. AR.*

Obv. Gorgoneion with diadem; dotted border; below, X.

Rev. Blank.

10 units. 5.78g.

HNI 117; Vecchi (2) 3; Vicari 10.



Figure 2. *SNG Aust 1, 6. AR.*

Obv. Gorgoneion with diadem; dotted border; below, XX.

Rev. Cross patterns.

20 units. 8.24g.

HNI 151; Sambon 50a; Marchetti 14a; Vecchi (2) 32-40; Vicari 55.



Figure 3. *SNG Aust 1, 5. AV.*

Obv. Beardless male head r. wearing necklace; line border; to l., [Λ]XX.

Rev. Blank.

25 units. 1.38g.

HNI 132; Sambon 4; Marchetti 26; Vecchi (1) 53-4; Vicari 24.



Figure 4. *SNG Aust 1, 7. AR.*

Obv. Beardless head of Heracles facing, wearing lion's skin headdress; dotted border; below X-X.

Rev. Club.

20 units. 7.99g.

HNI 156; Sambon 62; Marchetti 14b; Vecchi (2) 77-8; Vicari 72.



Figure 5. *SNG Aust 1, 8. AR.*

Obv. Female head r. wearing diadem and earring; dotted border; to l., l.

Rev. Blank.

10 units. 4.18g

HNI 165; Sambon 68; Marchetti 15a; Vecchi (3) 26-7; Vicari 77.



Figure 6. *SNG Aust 1, 9. AR.*

Obv. Laureate of beardless male (Apollo?) l.; line border; to r., r.

Rev. Blank.

10 units. 4.34g

HNI 168; Sambon 73; Marchetti 15c; Vecchi (3) 12; Vicari 81.

BC and issues from Massalia, modern Marseille, established as a Greek port c.600 BC.¹⁸ These gorgoneion issues seem to be isolated emissions with a brief duration and small circulation. *HNI* dates this series to c.425–400 BC, and is commonly dated by others to the second half of the fifth century. One example found in excavations at Prestino has been archaeologically dated to between 450 and 425 BC.¹⁹ This evidence also helps to establish a precise date for some of the earliest activity of the Populonian mint.²⁰

With the silver coins of the second Populonian phase, **X** = c.4.2g, with Catalli suggesting a slightly higher weight of 4.35g.²¹ This new group includes the gorgoneion **XX** series (*SNG Aust* 1, 6), and other smaller emissions rich with new motifs and iconography.²² It is believed that there was a time interval between Populonia's first and second phases of minting. It is estimated that this second phase commenced in the late fourth century BC (discussed in more detail below).²³ Many examples of the gorgoneion **XX** series do have unusual reverse stamps, including indistinguishable letters, stars and crescents, tridents, cross patterns, octopuses and clubs.²⁴ (Fig.2) It has been suggested that this series follows the weight system of the Euboean didrachm.²⁵ It is unsurprising that so many coins belong to this phase as this marked the height of Populonia's minting. The city produced some gold series alongside the second

silver emissions, one of which will be discussed below. At the same time, the city minted several bronze series which will not be discussed here.²⁶

Populonia subsequently produced a third series (and possibly a fourth series) of silver coins. The mark of value (**X**) was once again devalued, now equating to c.2.1g.²⁷

***SNG Aust* 1, 4.**

SNG Aust 1, 4 (Fig. 1) is from the first phase of Populonian silver. From thirty examples, the heaviest weighs 8.7g and the lightest 6.92g, with the greatest concentration between 7.8–8.2g. *SNG Aust* 1, 4 falls outside this range at 5.78g.

***SNG Aust* 1, 6.**

SNG Aust. 1, 6 (Fig. 2) is an example of the de-valued second silver phase.

The gorgoneion in Etruria was a popular artistic motif and is one of the earliest coin designs. Though we have only about thirty examples of this gorgoneion **X** type, variations in the features of the gorgoneion head itself have led to the belief that there were at least eleven separate minting dies for this series.²⁸

The dating of *SNG Aust* 1, 6 and the entire gorgoneion **XX** series, for which there are over one thousand examples, relies entirely upon that of the earlier **X** series. It is known that the gorgoneion **XX** series dates to a later period in which they are devalued for unknown reasons.

We can speculate that the gorgoneion **XX** series was minted c.300-250 BC due not only to this de-valuation; the two gorgoneion series (**X** and **XX**) have never been found together in hoards, suggesting that there was a significant time gap between the two series.²⁹ In addition, the actual depiction of the gorgon's head changed in the period between the minting of the **X** value and the **XX** value.³⁰ The irregularity of this later series has been noted by many: the flans are often irregular and the image is badly centered on the coin, suggesting great haste in coin production. Also, there are many signs of die breakages on coins of this series, suggesting that dies were used for a long time, even after they showed signs of decay.³¹

The coins of both gorgoneion series have been attributed to Populonia as most examples were found in the vicinity of the city.³² In addition to this, many of the later **XX** value coins also display the title '*Pupluna*'.³³

SNG Aust 1, 5.

Little is known about the identity of the head on this type (Fig. 3). It is traditionally described simply as a young male head with curly hair (for examples, see the references provided above to *HNI*, Sambon, Marchetti, Vecchi and Vicari). *HNI* (132) states that sometimes the head can have female characteristics.

This coin has a value mark of [Λ] **XX** (= 25 units). Catalli's study on the weight systems of the Populonian gold

emissions shows that the average weight for this coin is 1.37g; the ACANS coin weighs 1.38g. The theoretical weight of a 25 unit gold coin is suggested to be 1.42g, with gold coins of 100 units weighing 5.7g.³⁴

There is an ongoing debate concerning the dating of the gold Populonian issues. This debate begins with the gold lion's head issues of Populonia.³⁵ These are the first coins to have the value signs of 50, 25 and 12.5 and have been variously dated between the period of the second half of the sixth century BC and the second Punic War.³⁶ It is thought that the beardless male head series, including *SNG Aust* 1, 5 (Fig. 3), succeeded the lion's head series. Given that it was unusual to mint gold coins in the west until after the coinage of Dionysius I of Syracuse at the end of the fifth century, this might provide one *terminus post quem* for this series.³⁷ From this evidence, a dating of the late fourth to the early third century could be suggested, with *HNI* loosely dating this series alongside the second silver phase (*HNI*: 32). Sambon has referred to this series as one of the most elegant of the Etruscan gold coins and he suggested that they were influenced by the coins of Massalia of the fourth century BC.³⁸

This series is attributed to Populonia as many pieces have been found in the city's territory³⁹ and the type is comparable to several silver series of Populonia.

SNG Aust 1, 7.

This coin (Fig. 4) belongs to the second phase of Populonian silver emissions. Two reverse types exist for this coin: one without type and one with a club. Vicari provides 27 examples of this particular coin with the club reverse, stating that generally, they are of a low technical level.⁴⁰

The average weight for this series is 8.26g (based on 38 examples). As pointed out earlier, Catalli's theoretical weight of silver coins of this value is 8.7g.⁴¹ If this series were produced alongside the gorgoneion XX series (second silver phase), it clearly does not correspond in weight, but was 'presumably intended to represent the same standard'.⁴²

In Vecchi's opinion, as most of the silver coins of these emissions are of 20 units, they represent part of the Etruscan war-effort against Hannibal, as he believes that the Etruscan bronze systems are parallel to that of Rome's sextantal-as period.⁴³ Contrary to this, and probably more correct, is a date congruent with the second phase of Populonian silver, in the third century BC. This series has been unhesitatingly attributed to Populonia, based on provenance and also the style of the image.⁴⁴

SNG Aust 1, 8.

Samson and Vicari have compared this type (Fig. 5) stylistically with Neapolitan didrachms.⁴⁵ This link is possible based on some similarities

between the style of the female figure (especially the hair, diadem and earring), but the evidence, however, is not definitive.⁴⁶ Vecchi has described the obverse of this series as the 'head of *Artumes*' on the evidence of a stylistic comparison with a figure on an Etruscan bronze mirror.⁴⁷ But on *Artumes* (Artemis) in Etruria, de Grummond states 'there is little evidence of Artemis being an important deity in Etruria'. She is not the 'great goddess' of Etruria and should not be equated with the role of the Greek Artemis.⁴⁸

This series is also connected with the second Populonian silver emissions. Based on 29 examples, the average weight of this series is 4.04g, with a range between 3.47 and 4.26g.⁴⁹

As mentioned above, similarities have been drawn between this series and Neapolitan coins of the fourth to third century (c.360 BC), which could provide a rough date for this series. Their relationship, however, with the second silver emissions of Populonia suggests a third century date.

SNG Aust 1, 9.

SNG Aust 1, 9 (Fig. 6) belongs to the second silver phase. Based on one comparison with a depiction of Aplu on a bronze Etruscan mirror, Vecchi identifies the obverse figure as this deity. Catalli too, identifies this figure as Aplu.⁵⁰ There are many stylistic similarities between the representation on this coin and the figure of Aplu on the bronze mirror, but one comparison

seems too little to establish such a firm identification.

The weight of this series appears to be consistent over all of the known issues. According to Catalli's study of 74 examples, this issue has an average weight of 4.19-4.24g, with a range between 3.50 and 4.34g. *SNG Aust 1, 9* therefore constitutes one of the heaviest examples of this issue.⁵¹

The archaeological contexts of coins of this series suggest a date in the third century BC. The attribution of this series to Populonia is convincing, based on the fifty-five pieces discovered within the city.⁵²

SNG Aust 1, 10.

Vecchi described the obverse figure on the coin (Fig. 7) as the Etruscan deity Tinia (Tin/Tina), the principal god of Etruria, although there is little to support this.⁵³ The head can be represented either as a young or old male (*HNI*).

This series, described by Vicari as being of good technical skill, was also probably of the second phase of Populonian silver, representing a smaller denomination (5 units).⁵⁴ The range of weights for this series is between 1.2 and 2.45g (*HNI*).

These issues are dated to the third century and are attributed to Populonia based on their discovery within the city's territory.⁵⁵

Unknown Mint

SNG Aust 1, 11.

Very little is known about this series

(Fig. 8). Silver coins with a similar type (an octopus emerging from an amphora) have been attributed to Pisa (Sambon 20).

Comparisons between the coinage of Syracuse and the Etruscan cities are popular, and this series has been linked by Rosati to the (Euboean-Attic) Syracusan litra (weight system).⁵⁶ As one of the great Greek cities of the west, Syracuse had many major interactions with the Etruscan cities over the centuries.⁵⁷

The problems of Etruscan coin chronology are once again brought to the fore. Estimated dates for this series range between the fifth and the late third centuries BC. Vicari believes it is an early emission (the first quarter of the fifth century BC) and one of the first Populonian series.⁵⁸ At this early stage, he writes, coinage was a new medium of exchange, stimulated by contacts with Greek merchants, and particularly Sicilians, interested in acquiring Elban iron. As there is not much evidence to aid in the dating of this series, *HNI* (227) has suggested the third century based on the absence of a value mark.

A definitive attribution for this series remains unachievable. Populonia is the most common attribution as it is more likely that this coin was produced by a coastal city whose maritime connections with Syracuse would have been stronger and where the depiction of sea-life is understandably more popular. Though few archaeological find spots have been recorded for coins of this



Figure 7. *SNG Aust 1, 10. AR.*

Obv. Bearded male head r., fillet in hair; dotted border; to l. Λ.

Rev. Blank.

5 units. 1.95g.

HNI 174; Sambon 98; Marchetti 16c; Vecchi (3) 42-3; Vicari 96.



Figure 8. *SNG Aust 1, 11. AR.*

Obv. Octopus; line border.

Rev. Blank.

0.63g.

HNI 227; Sambon 28; Vecchi (1) 40-5; Vicari 4.



Figure 9. *SNG Aust 1, 12. AE.*

Obv. Beardless male head r., wearing ketos headress; dotted border; below, two pellets; to l., **ΤΑΑ**

Rev. Trident head between 2 dolphins; either side, two pellets; line border.

Sextans. 11.23g

HNI 203; Sambon 122; Vecchi (5) 8-13; Vicari 165.



Figure 10. *SNG Aust 1, 13. Cast AE.*

Obv. Club

Rev. Two pellets.

Sextans. 26.83g.

HNI 51-55; Haeberlin 81, 36-41; Crawford *CH* IX, 269-70.



Figure 11. *SNG Aust 1, 14. AE.*

Obv. Wheel with six spokes; in one segment, pellet.

Rev. Double-headed axe; above, pellet (and letter?).

Double uncial. 15.16g.

HNI 59; Sambon 108ff; Vicari 228.

series, it is known that three have a provenance of Populonia, with a fourth from Elba.⁵⁹

Vetulonia

SNG Aust 1, 12.

Vecchi suggests that this head (Fig. 9) represents the deity *Nethuns*/Neptune.⁶⁰ In Etruscan art, *Nethuns* is commonly depicted alongside his trident, as on the reverse of this coin.⁶¹ The obverse depiction of him, draped in the *ketos* (sea monster) headdress, strengthens this argument. Cristofani, contrastingly, has suggested that this male head probably represents a local divinity or perhaps an eponymous hero, symbolic of Vetulonia.⁶²

Catalli surveyed 261 examples of this series, all with varying weights. The heaviest weighs 16.62g, and the lightest 3.28g. He does point out that a majority of the coins weigh between 9.70g and 10g. The coins with weights outside this concentration are visibly isolated and there seems to be no visible weight pattern for the variants.⁶³

Based on its weight, Vecchi dates this series to the end of the third century (215-211 BC), claiming that the weight standards at this time were as diverse as Roman standards.⁶⁴ This date provides him with the opportunity, once again, to reinforce what he supposes was an Etruscan dependency on Roman coin fashions.

The inscription, **JTA1** (Vatl), confirms the attribution of this coin to Vetulonia. The city minted bronze

coins, possibly only for a small period of time, between the end of the fourth century to the first quarter of the third century BC. Excavated finds confirm that the production of Vetulonian coins continued until the first Punic War and occasionally circulated northward into Populonian territory.⁶⁵ The people of Vetulonia evidently identified themselves as an independent entity, so distinct that they felt the need to broadcast it in their legends. The small distribution area of Vetulonia's coins, with most being discovered in the Hellenistic area of the ancient city, confirms that coinage existed within the city for small commerce; once again, we see evidence for purely localized Etruscan coins.⁶⁶

Volsinii?

SNG Aust 1, 13.

These cast oval coins (Fig. 10) display the club on the obverse and the mark of value on the reverse and *HNI* (51-5) states they are based on an as of 154g.

This series has commonly been attributed to Tuder (ancient Todi), in Umbria, but Crawford later suggested that it was possibly minted by the Volsinii and circulated widely.⁶⁷ This attribution is based on the discovery of a cast oval sextans at the foundation level of an altar at Orvieto.⁶⁸ Many of these coins have been falsely claimed to have been found in and around Tuder. Crawford, however, has produced a list of known provenances for coins of this

series which includes Orvieto, Tarquinia, Vulci, Vetulonia, Siena, Perugia, Spoleto and other smaller centres in the environs of Tuder. This data, he claims, puts Volsinii close to the centre of the distribution of these coins.⁶⁹

Uncertain mint (Etruria)?

SNG Aust 1, 14.

SNG Aust 1, 14 (Fig. 11) cannot be definitively attributed to the Etruscans as the wheel symbol was popular throughout Italy and the Mediterranean. This type, however, was extensively used by Etruscan mints (particularly by inland communities), leaving Etruria as the most likely producer. Coins of the 'wheel series' have been found across Etruria at Chiusi, Perugia, Arezzo, Cortona, Orvieto and around Lake Trasimene. They were minted with a variation of reverses, including the double-axe, sacrificial instruments, amphorae or anchors. The number of spokes on the wheel itself varies. These coins were both struck and cast. *SNG Aust 1, 14* was struck.

Variations are also reflected in the different weights of the series. *HNI* has given the weight range of struck unciae of this series as 3.85-11g. Vicari recorded that an as of the wheel/axe series commonly weighed c.180g, with consecutive weight reductions possibly linked with those of Rome.⁷⁰ Sambon suggested several weights for this particular series, with coins as heavy as 200g, 75g and 59g and unciae of 10, 7 and 5g. It is probable that they

represent different local Etruscan weight standards.⁷¹

Coins of the wheel series have commonly been dated to the third century BC, a time when Etruscan coinage seems to be slightly more united.⁷² *HNI* confirms the dating of this series between 275-225 BC based on archaeological findings. In one hoard, coins of the wheel series have been found together with datable Roman issues.⁷³ Vicari postulated that there must have been a significant time interval between the first and last emissions of this series due to the sheer number and diversity of types and monograms. He was able to date this series to the third century BC based on its links with the negro/elephant emissions of inland Etruria. These are certainly connected to either the first or second Punic War, and Vicari believes that the wheel series should be dated to the same period.⁷⁴

Regarding the attribution of this coin, hoards demonstrate that silver and bronze coins of this period circulated between the cities of northern and central Etruria. It has been suggested on more than one occasion that this wheel series was a joint effort – a common money of several communities.⁷⁵ This is a unique concept in relation to Etruscan coins for it is commonly thought that they illustrate interior disunity rather than united communities. In 1975, Rosati proposed that they represent 'una confederazione tra diverse città unite nell'emettere una monetazione commune con un simbolo in commune

(un ruota) e con libera circolazione nei rispettivi territori'.⁷⁶ More recently, in 1991, Vicari supported this idea, claiming that they were either made by the same city or by several cities on a 'federal' basis.⁷⁷ Vicari postulated that as Chiusi bore the highest number of findings it could possibly have acted as the location of the mint. Catalli too has suggested that the mint location was possibly somewhere in internal southern Etruria, between Arezzo, Cortona and Chiusi.⁷⁸

The collection of Etruscan coins at ACANS, while not large, is a valuable resource. These coins provide an insight into the diverse range of Etruscan coins and the difficulties of Etruscan numismatic studies. These eleven examples illustrate the prominence of Populonia in a landscape that was probably never monetized by its own coinage. These coins also emphasize the ongoing cultural processes and socio-political situations within Etruria; the sheer diversity of coin types, weights and production techniques communicate the independence of the Etruscan centres. Overall, the act of coinage adoption by some of the cities illustrates a significant degree of receptivity to foreign concepts of exchange. Influences, both from people overseas and from other Italic communities, helped shape the peoples of ancient Etruria. In their coinage we can recognise the fusion of the (relatively new) concept of coinage with local weight systems and iconography that was made pertinent to the Etruscan

situation.

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Abbreviations

- Atti del V convegno 1975 = Contributi introduttivi allo studio della monetazione etrusca*, Atti del V convegno del centro internazionale di studi numismatici, Napoli 1975 (*Ann. Ist. It. Num.* suppl. 22, 1976).
- Catalli (1990) = F. Catalli, *Monete Etrusche* (Rome 1990).
- Catalli (1995) = F. Catalli, *Monete dell'Italia antica* (Rome 1995).
- HNI* = *Historia Nummorum. Italy*. N.K. Rutter (ed.) (London 2001).
- Parente = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, France, Département des monnaies, médailles antiques. Italie, Etrurie-Calabre*, A. R. Parente (ed.) (Paris 2003).
- RIN* = *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini*.
- Sambon = A. Sambon, *Les monnaies*

antiques d'Italie (Paris 1903).

SNG Aust 1 = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Australia I, Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies: The Gale Collection of South Italian Coins*, K.A. Sheedy (Sydney 2008).

SNG Italia, Firenze = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Italia, Firenze: Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Vol II, Etruria*, Catalli, F.; De Benetti, M.; Guidi, F. (Firenze 2008).

SNR = *Schweizerische numismatische rundschau* = *Revue suisse de numismatique*.

Notes

1. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. France, Département des monnaies, médailles antiques. Italie, Etrurie-Calabre*, A. R. Parente (ed.) (Paris 2003).
2. For more on the difficulties faced with Etruscan coins, see F.P. Rosati (1975) 'Gli studi e la problematica attuale sulla monetazione etrusca', *Atti del V convegno*: 25-49; F. Vicari (1991) 'Materiali e considerazioni per uno studio organico della monetazione etrusca', *RIN*, Vol. 93: 3-78; *HNI*: 23ff; A. Burnett (2004-2007) 'Etruscan Numismatics – An Introduction', *Etruscan Studies*, Vol. 10: 81-5.
3. For example, we cannot definitively attribute the Thezi/Thezle coins to a particular community as their provenances are so unclear. Of the thirteen coins, ten have an unknown provenance, two have been loosely attributed to Vulci and one is recorded as being purchased at the antiquities market at Civitavecchia in 1861. See S. Bruni (1986/1987) 'Le monete a

legghenda Thezi or Thezle', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli Studi di Perugia*, Vol. 24: 83-103. Similarly, for coins discovered in the vicinity of Tarquinia, it is necessary to rely on vague 'archaeological' descriptions from the 19th century for information concerning provenance. See F. Catalli (1988) 'La produzione monetaria tarquiniese', *Studia tarquiniensia*, Roma: 33-40.

4. See F.P. Rosati (1988) 'Le monete etrusche: alcune note', *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini*, Vol. 90: 45-9. On the circulation of coins within a city's territory, see particularly the work on Volterra: F. Catalli (1975) 'La zecca di Volterra', *Atti del V convegno*: 141-52; F. Catalli (1976) 'Sulla circolazione dell'aes grave volterrano', *Studi etruschi*, Vol. 44: 97-110; S. Bruni (1999) 'Sulla circolazione dell'aes grave di Volterra: nuovi contributi', *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini* Vol. 101: 47-56.
5. See Catalli's conclusion on the first Etruscan coins: Catalli (1990): 38; cf. M. Cristofani (1986) 'Economia e società'. In: M. Pallottino *et al.* (Eds), *Rasenna: storia e civiltà degli Etruschi*, Milan: 143ff.
6. According to Vecchi and Sutton, Etruscan coin production was at its height during the Second Punic War: R.F. Sutton (1975) 'The Populonia Coinage and the Second Punic War', *Atti del V convegno*: 199-220; Vecchi: 2, 5-6.
7. Parente distinguishes the primary players of each school: Panvini Rosati, Cristofani, Catalli and Vicari follow the

- high dating and Hackens, Marchetti, Sutton and Vecchi favoring the lower dating with a Roman dimension (Parente: xvi). For the most prominent example of the Italian school see L. Breglia (1975) 'L'oro con la testa di leone', *Atti del V convegno*: 75-85. Burnett (2004-2007) admits that Etruscan coins were present from the fifth century BC, though in extremely small emissions. Rosati (1975) dates the beginning of Etruscan coins between the last quarter of the fifth century and the early fourth century BC. Vicari (1991), dates them to the early fifth century, c.480 BC. These high dates are a stark contrast to Sutton (R.F. Sutton Jr. (1975) 'The Populonia Coinage and the Second Punic War', *Atti del V convegno*: 199-220) and Italo Vecchi (a marked exception to the Italian school), who date Etruscan coinage to the end of the third century BC. See Vecchi's five-part series, 'The Coinage of the Rasna'. Vecchi 1 = *SNR* 1988 (67), 43-73; Vecchi 2 = *SNR* 1990 (69), 5-25; Vecchi 3 = *SNR* 1992 (71), 91-110; Vecchi 4 = *SNR* 1993 (72), 63-73 and Vecchi 5 = *SNR* 1999 (78), 5-18.
8. Vecchi 1, 53.
 9. Catalli (1990): 34-5.
 10. See M. Torelli (1981) 'Il commercio greco in etruscia tra l'VIII ed il VI secolo A.C.' In: *Il commercio greco nel Tirreno in età arcaica: atti del seminario in memoria di Mario Napoli*, Salerno: 67-82; J.M. Turfa (1986) 'International contacts: commerce, trade, and foreign affairs'. In: L. Bonfante (ed.) *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, Detroit: 66-91; D. Briquel (1999) *La civilisation étrusque*, Paris: 83-104; M. Gras (2000) 'Trade'. In: M. Torelli (ed.) *The Etruscans*, London: 97-109; S. Haynes (2000) *Etruscan Civilization: a Cultural History*, Los Angeles: 47-87; 171-203; 264-6.
 11. Catalli (1990): 33-59.
 12. For more on Populonia's position and associated emporia see G. Colonna, (1975) 'Basi conoscitive per una storia economica dell'etruria', *Atti del V convegno*: 3-23; M. Cristofani (1983) *Gli etruschi del mare*, Milan; J.M. Turfa in L. Bonfante (ed.) *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*: 66-91; M. Cristofani, (1987) 'I greci in Etruria'. In: *Saggi di storia etrusca arcaica*, Rome: 9-23; A. Romualdi (1994) 'Populonia tra la fine dell'VIII e l'inizio del VII secolo A.C.: materiali e problemi dell'orientalizzante antico'. In: *La presenza etrusca nella campania meridionale. Atti delle giornate di studio, Salerno-Pontecagnano, 16-18 novembre 1990*, Firenze: 171-80; A. Romualdi (1991) 'Populonia in età ellenistica'. In: J. Remesal, O. Musso (Eds), *La presencia de material etrusco en la Península Ibérica*, Barcelona: 77-81; S. Haynes (2000): esp. 17-20; 171-84; 264-6. For more on Populonia's metallurgic industry and its domination over the mineral zone of north-western Etruria and Elba, see M. Cristofani (1986) 'Economia e società'. In: M. Pallottino (et al.), *Rasenna: storia e civiltà degli Etruschi*, Milan: 79-156 (esp. 143-50).
 13. For variations on marks of value, see *HNI*: 29-39.
 14. This uniface reverse was also popular in Cyprus, but seems to have no connection to the Etruscan coins. C. Arnold-Biucchi (2002) 'Some Remarks

- on the Coinages of South Italy and Etruria and those of Cyprus in the Archaic and Early Classical Period', *Numismatica e antichità classiche*, 31.
15. Having only the obverse of the coin stamped would save in the cutting and striking of a reverse die. For more, see Arnold-Biucchi (2002).
16. Catalli (1990): 57.
17. Vecchi: 1, 83. Cf. P.P. Serafin (1975) 'Le serie monetazione di Populonia', *Atti del V convegno*: 107.
18. Catalli (1990): 33-4. For the Volterra hoard: M.C. Martelli (1975) 'Il ripostiglio di Volterra', *Atti del V convegno*: 87-104. There are several silver emissions believed to be of an earlier date, including three series depicting lions, and one with the wild boar (*HNI*: 111-114). All of these coins have provenances in the environs of Populonia.
19. Catalli (1990) 41; F.P. Rosati (2000) 'Monetazione preromana in Italia. Gli inizi della monetazione romana in Italia e la monetazione romano-campana'. In: F.P. Rosati (ed.), *La Moneta Greca e Romana*, Roma: 79-93.
20. Catalli (1990). Sambon gives a date between the second half of the fifth century to the first half of the third century BC (Sambon: 48). Regarding the marks of value, although these Etruscan symbols resemble those of Roman coins of the denarius system, the Etruscan examples date to an earlier period (*HNI*: 31).
21. *HNI*: 31; Catalli (1990): 57.
22. Catalli (1990): 47.
23. For dating of the second phase, see Catalli (1995): 71 and *HNI*: 31-3.
24. For examples see *HNI*: nos 142-152; Parente: nos 17-23; Vecchi 2: nos 13-40, 77-8; Sambon: 25.
25. Sambon: no.73.
26. For more on Populonia's bronzes, see Catalli (1990): 53-6; Catalli (1995): 72-5; *HNI*: nos 184-190; Parente: nos 25-31; Rosati (2000): 83-4.
27. *HNI*: 36.
28. F. Catalli (2001) 'Coins'. In: M. Torelli, *The Etruscans*, London: 89-96.
29. Arnold-Biucchi (2002): 55. Cf. *HNI*: 25, dating this series to c.300-250BC.
30. For technicalities see Catalli (1990): 50. Catalli points to differences in the depiction of the mouth, tongue, hair and diadem.
31. Sutton explains how common it was for these silver Populonian coins to be minted from dies that were used long after they had worn out or developed serious breakages. 'The appalling appearance of some of these coins is not due to inexperienced or bad die cutters, but to this continued use of damaged dies'. Sutton (1975): 205. On this evidence, as well as the debasement of the silver with bronze and different mass production techniques, it seems that these coins were made hurriedly to 'meet the emergency demands of the Second Punic War' (205).
32. See P. Serafin (1976-7) 'Nota in margine al "Tesoro di monete antiche rinvenuto in Populonia"', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica*, Vols 23-24: 69-106.
33. See *HNI*'s dating of nos 142, 158, 159, 190 and 195. See Vicari's dating of nos 52 and 53 of the gorgoneion XX type, which he dates between the fourth to the second half of the third century BC (10). Sambon (22) dates the

- appearance of the 'Pupluna' *ethne* to the end of the fourth century BC. Cf. F.P. Rosati, *Note di numismatica etrusca. La monetazione etrusca in rapporto alla monetazione magnogreca e siceliota in M.L. Gualandi, L. Massei, S. Settis (eds) (1982) *ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ: Nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di Paolo Enrico Arias I*, Pisa: 287; the dating of the Minerva types with 'Pupluna' legend from the second silver emission of Populonia in F.P. Rosati (2000): 84 and P.P. Serafin (1975) 'Le serie monetazione di Populonia' *Atti del V convegno*: 106ff.*
34. Catalli (1990): 57; Catalli (1995): 50.
 35. Breglia (1975); Catalli (1990): 43-6; 46-48; Vecchi 1; Vicari (1991): nos 19-23.
 36. For a review of the controversial dating of this series see Arnold-Biucchi (2002): 54-5 who concludes with a possible date of 300-250 BC. Catalli stylistically dates the gold lion's head series to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century BC. Based on weight and marks of value, it is assumed that the other gold coins date to this period as well. Catalli (1995): 50-1.
 37. Indeed, Sambon has dated this series between the fifth and the middle of the fourth centuries BC. See Sambon: 38-9, nos 4-7.
 38. Sambon: 13.
 39. Vicari (1991): 8 (n.15).
 40. Vicari (1991): 11, no.72.
 41. Catalli (1990): 57.
 42. *HNI*: 34, no.156. Cf. Vecchi 2: nos 77-8.
 43. Vecchi 3: 93.
 44. Sambon: 25, no.62.
 45. Vicari (1991): 11, no.77-80. This was previously noted by Sambon: 26. Catalli (1990): 51 also notes that this female head series, and also the male head of the same value, are derived from Greek models, in particular, the Neapolitan didrachm of the fourth century BC.
 46. For comparisons to Neapolitan didrachms, see *HNI*: nos 563, 565, 571.
 47. Vecchi 3: no.26.
 48. N.T. De Grummond (2006) *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History and Legend*, Philadelphia: 99-103.
 49. Catalli (1990): 30.
 50. Vecchi states that the head is clearly that of Aplu 'and should be compared with a bronze mirror in the Louvre (see LIMC vol 2: pl. 293, 80) where Aplu and Artumes are depicted together'. Vecchi 3: 96, no.11. Catalli, in the *SNG Italia*, Firenze, also describes this image as the laureate head of Aplu (nos 450-473).
 51. Catalli (1990): 57.
 52. Vicari (1991): 11. Cf. Sambon: 27: besides those examples found in the area of Populonia, many more were discovered at Sovana.
 53. Vecchi 3: nos 42-3 and de Grummond (2006): 53ff.
 54. Vicari (1991): 11, no.96.
 55. Sambon: no.98.
 56. Rosati (1982): 285-90.
 57. Besides trade that would have been conducted in the fifth century BC, there were Syracusan incursions into Elba which was a major outpost for the Etruscan cities. At the end of the century, Etruscans fought alongside the Athenian forces in the battle against Syracuse. Although we do not know specifically which Etruscan cities were involved in these conflicts, exchanges would have continued between the merchants of Etruria and those of

- Syracuse, prolonging the cultural exchanges. For more on Etruscan interactions with Syracuse, see Briquel (1999): 99-102; Cristofani (1983): 86-8; Haynes (2000): 261-2.
58. Vicari (1991): 6-7.
 59. See Vecchi 1: nos 40-50; *HNI*: no.227.
 60. Vecchi 5: 12, nos 8-13.
 61. For representations of Nethuns, see de Grummond (2006): 144-5. Note also that Vicari (1991) believes the head to represent a local divinity (16).
 62. M. Cristofani (1975) 'Problemi iconografici ed epigrafico-linguistici della monetazione in bronzo', *Atti del V Convegno*: 354.
 63. Catalli (1990): 83. Cf. L. Camili (1975) 'Le monete a leggenda Vat', *Atti del V Convegno*: 181-197.
 64. Vecchi 5: 12.
 65. Catalli (2001): 94.
 66. For the hypothesis of a local commercial function, see Catalli (1990): 86.
 67. For a traditional view see B.K. Thurlow, I.G. Vecchi (1979) *Italian Cast Coinage: Italian Aes Grave, Aes Rude, Signatum and the Aes Grave of Sicily*, London. See in particular 39, nos 169-73, the 'almond shaped aes grave', uncertain Umbrian mint.
 68. M.H. Crawford (2002) 'Provenances, Attributions and Chronology of Some Early Italian Coinages'. In: A. Meadows and U. Wartenberg (Eds), *Coin Hoards IX*, London: 269-74
 69. *Ibid.* Cf. L. Ambrosini (1997) 'Le monete della cosiddetta serie 'ovale' con il tipo della clava', *Studi Etruschi*, Vol. 63: 195-225.
 70. Vicari (1991): 19, no.228.
 71. Sambon: 30; A. Maggiani (2002) 'La libbra etrusca. Sistemi ponderali e monetazione', *Studi Etruschi*, Vols 65-67: 163-99.
 72. *HNI*: 23-4; Sambon, however, dates this series to the second-half of the fourth century BC (30).
 73. *HNI*: 24: a hoard near Chiusi in which Wheel/Anchor coins were found alongside Roman libral asses.
 74. Vicari (1991): 20.
 75. See Rosati (1975): 39 and Rosati (2000): 85; Vicari (1991): 18; Catalli (1990): 101-4. Cf. Parente: xviii.
 76. Rosati (1975): 39.
 77. Vicari (1991): 18. Vicari suggests that the high number of wheel series coins at Chiusi could render it as the issuing city.
 78. Catalli (1990): 103.

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