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THE TIRIOLO HOARD¹

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The article reconstructs the contents of the Tiriolo 1788 hoard, and analyses its importance for the monetary, economic and military history of the Hannibalic War, notably in Bruttium, and for general problems of circulation of coinage.

Key words: Rome, Carthage, Bruttium/Brettii, Hannibal, gold coinage.

Ključne riječi: Rim, Kartaga, Brutij/Breti, Hanibal, zlatni novac.

On or before 29 April 1788, Tommaso Pucci, looking for stones for building below the ruined walls of the castle of Tiriolo, found more than he had bargained for: a hoard of gold coins, along with a gold chain, to which was attached a »corniola«, and »vari ornamenti«. ² Of the contemporary reports of the discovery by various local authorities, some, in the Archivio di stato, Casa Reale, fsc. 948, were published in 1879, ³ some, in part overlapping with each other, were published by M. Ruggiero, along with the view of the Reale Accademia Ercolanense as to which coins were worth acquiring for the royal collections (RUGGIERO 1888: 594-596); the two sets of reports in turn in part overlap with Archivio Storico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli, V B 3.10, used by R. Cantilena, apparently unaware of the 1879 publication. ⁴

¹ I should like to thank P. Visonà for much helpful comment; he should not be implicated in all my conclusions. I first got to know Ivan Mirmik when I examined his doctoral work on coin hoards: I hope he likes this particular detective story.

² G. Fiorèlli cites from a memorandum by Francesco Le Piane, to the effect that his family had kept from the 1788 find a fragment of a necklace in gold and an »idoletto in oro« (FIORELLI 1882: 392). I should like to thank Professor Paolo Malanima (Director, ISSM-CNR) for advice on the metrology of the Kingdom of Naples; despite his best efforts, it is apparent that much of the information on weights in the original reports is very approximate.

³ *Documenti...*, p. 92.

⁴ CANTILENA 1996, at n. 29; the hoard was briefly mentioned in CRAWFORD 1985: 288.

In what follows, I have tried to unite under each coin or groups of coins the various reports relating to it, treating the usually fuller accounts in Ruggiero as primary.

(1) Held by Francescantonio Dattilo, 1 coin, 10 trappesi = 8.91 gr., »testa con cinta e nastri pendenti, e dal rovescio una donna alata con poche lettere iniziali di carattere greco« (RUGGIERO 1888: 594), Attic-weight stater; the least bad view is probably that the obverse has a mis-described helmeted head of Athena, making the coin a stater of Alexander

(2) Held by Gregorio Migliaccio, 1 coin, 5 trappesi = 4.45 gr., Bearded head »con corona civica« + trident / Nymph on <sea->horse with Cupid + bow (RUGGIERO 1888: 594; the weight is given on page 595 as »del peso di mezza quarta e sette acini«; if »mezza quarta« is an eighth of an »uncia di Napoli«, the weight comes out at $(26.73 \div 8 =) 3.34 + (7 \times 0.04455 =) 0.31 = 3.65$ gr., too light; if »mezza quarta« is, as is suggested by Paolo Malanima, a half of a quarter of a »ducatò«, the weight comes out at $4.78 + 0.31 = 5.09$, too heavy), *HNItaly* 1946-51, Brettii, Attic-weight drachm

(3) Held by Tommaso Pucci, but then consigned to the Arciprete Don Achille Alemanni, 13 coins, one and three-eighths » oncie« in total = 36.78125 gr.; the numbers of (A) and (B) fluctuate in the different accounts in Ruggiero (RUGGIERO 1888: 594-596):

(A) 6 or 7 coins, Bearded head + trident / Nymph on sea-horse with Cupid + bow (six: (RUGGIERO 1888: 594-5) (= Archivio, 14/06/1788 (CANTILENA 1996, n. 29))); the coins are described at the bottom of page 595 as »sette altre quasi eguali ad una moneta di venti carlini« = 38.24 gr. (Paolo Malanima; but seven Attic-weight drachms would not weigh much more than 30 gr.), symbols: star, grasshopper, prawn, trident), (*HNItaly*, 1946-1951) Brettii, Attic-weight drachms.

(B) 5 or 6 or 7 coins, Female (not male) head / Horse (five (RUGGIERO, 594-5); the coins are described at the bottom of page 595 (= Archivio, 14/06/1788 (CANTILENA 1996, n. 29) as »sei eguali ad un'uncia di oro siciliana« = 8.80 gr.; and as »sette quasi eguali ad un'uncia« = 8.80 gr. (the total weight rather than the weight in pure gold; but even 6×1.70 gr. = 10.20 gr.), which »paiono ipponesi« (Archivio, 14/06/1788 (CANTILENA 1996, n. 29), Jenkins and Lewis,⁵ Group XIV (c. 1.70 gr.), Carthage, gold quarter-shekel

(C) 1 coin, Head of <Hercules> / Biga (RUGGIERO 1888: 594-595); twice described at the bottom of page 595 as »una poco più piccola di uno zecchino (the total weight rather than the weight in pure gold: 2.91 gr.; something »poco più piccola« could presumably be c. 2.20 gr.) «... coll'epigrafe βρεττιών« (Archivio, 14/06/1788 (CANTILENA 1996, n. 29)), (*HNItaly*, 1953-7), Brettii, Attic-weight hemidrachm.

These coins, adopting one of the possible figures for each of (A) and (B), seem to = *Documenti*, no. 1, 7 Brettii (= 6 + 1) + 7 »Palermo«, with the addition of 2 Alexander pieces and a »pezzo di monile«.

(4) A further group of coins held by Achille Alemanni = *Documenti*, no. 3 (less detailed), along with a »pezzo di monile« and 2 extraneous denarii; they are described in Archivio, 19/07/1788 (CANTILENA 1996, n. 29), as 2 coins of Philip, 2 of Alexander, 2 of *HNItaly* 1946-51, 2 of *HNItaly* 1953-7, 4 of Jenkins and Lewis, Group XIV.

(5) Held by Francesco Gagliardi, 1 coin, 2 trappesi = 1.782 gr., »Testa di donna con cimiero« / Horse (RUGGIERO 1888: 595); Jenkins and Lewis, Group XIV (c. 1.70), Carthage, gold quarter-shekel

⁵ For the identification, see CANTILENA 1996: 69.

(6) Held by Antonio Perricioli + Antonio Partitari, 2 coins »quasi eguali ad una doppia da quattro« = (5.87 gr. (the total weight rather than the weight in pure gold); but even if the weight refers to either one of the two, it is a considerable under-estimate), gold staters of Alexander, Female (not male) head (RUGGERIO 1888: 595); on page 596 (= *Documenti*, no. 4, along with a »pezzo di monile« = Archivio, 14/06/1788 (CANTILENA 1996, n. 29)), the coin held by Antonio Partitari is held by Avvocato Giuseppe Paragallo)

(7) Seen by Vincenzo de Filippis, 2 coins, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΨΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΨΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; these appear in Archivio (19/07/1788 (CANTILENA 1996, n. 29)) not as two, but as three, partly different: »una di Alessandro, l'altra di Ercole (= Brettii, *HNItaly* 1953-7) e l'altra ipponese« (presumably = Jenkins and Lewis, Group XIV), weighing 14 trappesi = 12.475 gr., a bit too light = *Documenti*, no. 2, »una moneta di Alessandro, una di Palermo, una dei Brettii«

(8) Held by Filippo de Filippis, 8 coins, unspecified (RUGGERIO 1888)

(9) Held by Vittoria Schettini, 2 coins weighing 6½ trappesi = 5.80 gr., »una siracusana, l'altra Ipponese ed un pezzo di monile« (Archivio, 19/07/1788 (CANTILENA 1996, n. 29)) = 1 Syracuse + 1 »Palermo«, along with a »pezzo di monile« (*Documenti*, no. 5); if the »Ipponese« = »Palermo« is Jenkins and Lewis, Group XIV, the piece of Syracuse will have weighed c. 4.10 gr., and may be of Agathocles, Hicetas or Hieron II

(10) Held by Giuseppe Salzano, 2 coins, staters of Alexander (Archivio, 19/07/1788 (CANTILENA, n. 29)); he had sent 18 others to the Barone Ricciullo del Fosso in Naples

Separately found were: »tre monete di argento, cioè una di Alessandro, una di Lisimaco, e la terza di Antioco« (*Documenti*, no. 6)

Of the coins listed, nos. (2) (»una medaglia di oro di Brezia«), part of (3, A) (»cinque medaglie di oro appartenenti a Tommaso Pucci«), (part of) (3, B) (»sei medaglie di oro di Sicilia«), (3, C) (»una medaglia di oro di Brezia appartenente a Tommaso Pucci«), (5) (»una moneta di oro di Sicilia«), and (7) were recommended by the Accademia for acquisition (RUGGERIO 1888: 596); this makes a total of 17, and according to *Documenti*, »Vennero immesse nel Museo di Capodimonte a' 18 dicembre dello stesso anno soltanto 17 di tali monete d'oro, le tre greche di argento ed i quattro pezzi di monile«. In Archivio, 19/07/1788 (CANTILENA 1996, n. 29), the total is incorrectly given as XVI.

The total numbers of the different identified issues in the gold hoard seem to have been as follows (where there is dissent, I have always taken maxima; the figure in brackets refers to the list above; an asterisk identifies those pieces also listed by CANTILENA 1996, 69):

Philip	2* (4) + 1 (7)
Alexander	1* (1) + 2* (<i>Documenti</i> , no. 1) + 2* (4) + 2* (6) + 1 (7) + 20 (10)
<i>HNItaly</i> 1946-51	1* (2) + 7* (3, A) + 2 (4)
<i>HNItaly</i> 1953-7	1* (3, C) + 2* (4) + 1* (7)
J & L, XIV	7* (3, B) + 4* (4) + 1* (5) + 1* (7) + 1* (9)
Syracuse	1* (9)

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Four of the pieces as *HNItaly* 1946-51, two as 1953-7, uniformly in superb condition, and one of the Alexanders, all in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli, are illustrated by Cantilena, along with the – indeed spectacular – »monile«; and Paolo Visonà has observed that the Museo

contains nine specimens of Jenkins and Lewis, Group XIV (VISONÀ 2006: 474-475): seven or eight of the nine are clearly from the hoard. Paolo Visonà also informs me that the Museo Provinciale di Catanzaro contains one specimen of Jenkins and Lewis, Group XIV, in superb condition, a gold drachm and a gold hemi-drachm of the Brettii, very slightly worn, and an Alexander, all presumably from the hoard:⁶ it is likely that all these coins came by way of the legacy of the Marchesi Le Piane in 1882 or 1883.⁷

The hoard in any case contained two of the three series of Brettian gold (the third is now known only in one specimen). The gold quarter-shekels of Carthage were placed by Jenkins and Lewis just before the Second Punic War, but related in style to the silver of the El Djem series, so should belong during the war; and their presence in this hoard places them before 203 BC, perhaps 208-203 BC.⁸

At this point, it is unimportant whether the coins were struck in Carthage, or rather in Italy, by craftsmen sent from Carthage and accustomed to the fixed dies characteristic of that mint;⁹ and the three specimens of Jenkins and Lewis, Group XV, in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli, produced at an earlier stage of the war, also almost certainly come from an Italian hoard.¹⁰

R. Cantilena (CANTILENA 1996: 69) has observed that our hoard shows a quite remarkable quantity of Macedonian gold washing around in late third-century BC Bruttium, though whether in this case it had been in circulation there since c. 300 BC, or rather had arrived with the mercenary element of the Carthaginian army, is uncertain: a recently discovered hoard from Croton, of c. 300-275 BC, included 3 pieces of Macedonian gold, 10 pieces of Syracusan electrum, and one piece of Carthaginian electrum (SABBIONE 2007: 475). Either way, the presence of stocks of gold in Bruttium would have made it rational for Carthage to send a couple of artisans and to strike in Italy,¹¹ but completely irrational to ship bullion one way, coins the other. But in any case, what is important with this kind of coinage is not where it was struck, but what it was struck for.

⁶ Museo Provinciale di Catanzaro, inv. 1896, 1.79 gr., die-axis 12 (Jenkins and Lewis, Group XIV, details from Paolo Visonà); *SNG Catanzaro*, no. 49, 4.22 gr. = SPADEA 2004: 48, 63; (*HNItaly* 1949); no. 50, 2.10 gr. = SPADEA 2004: 48, 63 (*HNItaly* 1956); *NSc* 1881, 1882, 1883, cited by Cantilena (CANTILENA 1996, n. 24), contain no new finds of gold that might have gone to Catanzaro. One would not expect the Carthaginian piece to appear in S. Ambrosoli's Catalogue (AMBROSOLI 1908).

⁷ SPADEA 2004: 12; see n. 2.

⁸ It is astonishing that E.A. Arslan (ARSLAN 1989: 37, n. 85) should claim without checking the evidence that the hoard is »del tutto inutilizzabile criticamente«; there is no mention of the hoard by R. Spadea (SPADEA 2004); or by L.-I. Manfredi (MANFREDI 2009: 17-33), who makes the further mistake of tending to assume that presence of Carthaginian coins = presence of Carthaginians.

⁹ For further discussion of the relative unimportance of the actual mint, as opposed to the campaign(s) for which a coinage was struck, see my review of B. Woytek (WOYTEK 2003) in *Gnomon* (CRAWFORD 2012). For a similar argument in relation to the Carthaginian Janiform head / Jupiter in quadriga electrum (CRAWFORD 2002: 274), adding the piece in a private collection in Naples, acquired by the Museo Provinciale Campano (*Atti della Commissione Conservatrice* 1882: 188).

¹⁰ JENKINS 1987, »Some coins of Hannibal's time«, discusses Jenkins and Lewis, Group XV, and remarks, clearly wrongly, that it has no Italian provenances, followed nonetheless for *HNItaly* 2014 = Jenkins and Lewis, Group XV.

¹¹ For the coinages of the Brettii and Lucani, see now *Imagines Italicae* (London 2011) pp. 56 and 48-9.

ABBREVIATIONS

ISSM - Istituto di studi sulle società del mediterraneo, Napoli.

NSc - Notizie degli scavi di antichità, Roma.

Documenti... - *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia* II, Firenze-Roma, 1879.

Riv. Stud. Fen. – Rivista di Studi Fenici, Pisa – Roma.

SNG Catanzaro - *Sylloge nummorum graecorum, Italia, Catanzaro, Museo Provinciale di Catanzaro*, Catanzaro, 1999.

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OSTAVA IZ TIRIOLA

U članku se rekonstruira sadržaj ostave iz Tiriola pronađene 1788. god. te analizira njezina važnost za monetarnu, gospodarsku i vojnu povijest Hanibalskoga rata, osobito u Brutiju, kao i za opća pitanja vezana uz kolanje novca.