

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XV

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2020

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Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume XV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* to you. In accordance with the principles that we have adopted, our texts are published in the conference languages with English and Polish abstracts. The whole of the present volume can be found as PDF's on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>), as are previously published volumes of the journal. The website also contains general information about the journal as well as information for prospective authors and reviewers.

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Farmers, the Police Force, and the Authorities: The “Calvatone (1911) Hoard” as Seen Through Archival Records (Cremona – Italy)

*In memory of Prof. Maria Teresa Grassi (1958–2020):
An affable teacher and source of inspiration*

ABSTRACT: This paper presents a new set of archival records from Rome on the discovery of a Roman Republican denarii hoard, found by the brothers Birsilio and Luigi Simonazzi on their lands at Calvatone (Cremona, Italy, 1911). Local police forces seized the hoard and alerted the Coin Cabinet of Brera in Milan, where the numismatist Serafino Ricci (1867–1943) evaluated and finally acquired selected coins to increase the museum collections. The “Calvatone (1911) hoard” is an essential case study in the history of Italian numismatic collections, museum studies, and archaeology. These records are particularly worth studying for two main reasons. They show how local and regional authorities dealt with casual archaeological discoveries in northern Italy during the post-Unification period (1861–1918). They also help us to better understand how the Italian government acted to safeguard antiquities according to contemporary law, and how the state collections could be increased by judicial seizures and fresh acquisitions.

KEY WORDS: Calvatone Hoard, Brera, museum, Ricci, collection, archives

ABSTRAKT: *Rolnicy, siły policyjne i przedstawiciele władzy. Skarb „Calvatone (1911)” w świetle źródeł archiwalnych (Cremona, Włochy)*

W artykule zaprezentowano nowy zespół archiwaliów z Rzymu dotyczących odkrycia skarbu rzymskich denarów republikańskich znalezionej przez braci Birsilio i Luigi Simonazzich na ich ziemiach w Calvatone (Cremona, Włochy,

1911). Lokalne siły policyjne przejęły ten skarb i zaalarmowały Gabinet Numizmatyczny Brera w Mediolanie, gdzie numizmatyk Serafino Ricci (1867–1943) ocenił i ostatecznie nabył wybrane monety, aby powiększyć zbiory muzealne. Skarb „Calvatone (1911)” jest istotnym studium przypadku w historii włoskich kolekcji numizmatycznych, studiów muzealnych i archeologii. Wspomniane archiwalia są szczególnie warte przebadania z dwóch głównych powodów. Pokazują, jak władze lokalne i regionalne radziły sobie z przypadkowymi odkryciami archeologicznymi w północnych Włoszech w okresie po zjednoczeniu (1861–1918). Pomagają nam również lepiej zrozumieć, w jaki sposób włoski rząd działał w celu ochrony zabytków zgodnie z ówczesnym prawem, a zbiory państwowe mogły być powiększane dzięki zajęciom sądowym i nowym nabytkom.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: skarb z Calvatone, Brera, muzeum, Ricci, kolekcja, archiwa

INTRODUCTION

The Central State Archive of Rome (*Archivio Centrale dello Stato*) keeps some remarkable documents about a coin hoard found at Calvatone (Map 1). The hoard, which comprised Roman Republican silver denarii, was discovered by the brothers Birsilio and Luigi Simonazzi on their property in 1911. A small town in the province of Cremona (Lombardy, Italy), 140 km from Milan and 30 km from Mantova, the municipality of Calvatone (Pl. 1, Figs. 1–2) corresponds to the Roman *vicus* of *Bedriacum*, which was founded in the 2nd century BC in connection with the *Via Postumia* and the River Oglio. Nowadays, approximately 1,200 inhabitants live in the centre, which has its own municipality.

Documentary evidence on the hoard discovery presented here includes nine records, written from 14 January to 19 October 1911 by the *Regia Soprintendenza sugli Scavi e Musei di Antichità per la Lombardia* (nos. 1, 3–4), the Ministry of Public Education (*Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione*) (nos. 2, 6–7, 9), and the Coin Cabinet of Brera (*Gabinetto Numismatico di Brera*) (nos. 5, 8).¹

This paper presents and assesses this set of records, which is worth studying for three essential reasons. First, the documents have been previously neglected by scholars and are now published for the first time. This paper seeks to complement the work *Il ripostiglio di Calvatone (Cremona), 1911* by Novella Vismara (1992). The author has included a complete numismatic cataloguing of the hoard, but

¹ Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (MPI), Antichità e Belle Arti (AA.BB.AA.), divisione I (1908–1912), busta 8. The cover has the following title: “Ministero dell’Istruzione Pubblica, 1 – Cremona 1911, Calvatone – Scoperta di un tesoretto”. On the history of the Coin Cabinet of Brera in the 19th century see: GNECCHI 1908; ARSLAN 1975: 39–47; SAVIO and DELLA FERRARA 1990: 347–374; SAVIO 2007: 375–421.

she omitted the unabridged publication of archival records (Table 1).² Second, the current paper sheds new light on how local authorities, including the police force, inspectors, and museum curators, dealt with casual numismatic discoveries in northern Italy, particularly in the Lombardy region, following the contemporary laws on antiquities safeguarding. Third, records offer vital data on coin acquisitions by regional museums (e.g. Brera), which benefitted from judicial seizures to increase their collections. In particular, records detail the curatorial activity of Serafino Ricci, a well-known contemporary numismatist operating in Milan.³ Therefore, the “Calvatone (1911) hoard” is a significant case study in the history of archaeology and museum studies in early 20th century Italy.

Table 1. List of archival records published here (ACS, *Archivio Centrale dello Stato*, Rome) and previously mentioned by N. Vismara (RAN, *Raccolte Archeologiche Numismatiche*, Milan).

Archival records	ACS Rome	RAN Milan
Letter 14 January 1911	Doc. no. 1	VISMARA 1992a: 7, note no. 3
Letter 24 January 1911	Doc. no. 2	
Letter 31 January 1911	Doc. no. 3	VISMARA 1992a: 7, note no. 3
Ricci’s numismatic report (July 1911)		VISMARA 1992a: 7, note no. 4
Letter 27 July 1911	Doc. no. 4	
Letter 30 July 1911	Doc. no. 5	VISMARA 1992a: 8, note no. 8
Letter 7 August 1911	Doc. no. 6	
Letter 21 September 1911	Doc. no. 7	
Letter 7 October 1911	Doc. no. 8	
Letter 19 October 1911	Doc. no. 9	VISMARA 1992a: 7, note no. 6
Letter 29 November 1911		VISMARA 1992a: 7, note no. 7
Letter 30 November 1911		VISMARA 1992a: 7, note no. 7

² LAFFRANCHI 1938: 36, no. 352, 37, no. 370, 38, nos. 378–380; VISMARA 1992a; CHIARAVALLE 1998: 393; CHRR CLV. However, Vismara assigned these coins to the Calvatone (1911) hoard. Moreover, she only mentioned selected documents, kept at the local archive in Milan (*Archivio delle Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche del Castello Sforzesco*). These records, which are currently not available for consultation, seem to be mostly copies of documents, which we have traced to the Central State Archive of Rome. For this reason, we provide a brief documentary list, which matches Vismara’s quotations/references and records published here (Tab. 1). The hoard is not reported in the RRCH.

³ The hoard is currently preserved at the Civic Numismatic Collections of Milan (*Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche*, Castello Sforzesco).

The essay begins with an introductory section on the historical and archaeological contexts in which the hoard discovery took place in the early 20th century. It then outlines the historical reconstruction of the events, assessing the archival documentation. Final remarks serve to contextualise the discovery within the history of museum studies and Italian archaeology. Additionally, all archival records have been faithfully copied and chronologically ordered in a documentary appendix.

LEGISLATION ON SAFEGUARDING ANTIQUITIES AND CALVATONE-BEDRIACUM

A short introduction to the history of Italian archaeology is helpful to contextualise the Calvatone (1911) hoard. When the Kingdom of Italy was founded in 1861, the national cultural heritage underwent to a significant reform. The new government acquired fragmented legislation which regulated the safeguarding of antiquities in the old pre-Unification states. For instance, the States of the Church and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies benefitted from innovative, specific laws which protected archaeological sites, regulated excavation permissions, and monitored the export of fine art objects and finds abroad (e.g. paintings, statues, inscriptions, coins and vases). The Ministry of Public Education kept most of these laws effective for a long period following Unification. In 1875 the Italian government founded the Central Direction for Excavations to centralise the safeguarding of antiquities.⁴

Subsequently, right before the First World War, the protection of national cultural heritage was regulated by a series of significant laws. The “Legge Nasi” (no. 185/1902) introduced new rules on the safeguarding of cultural heritage. Then, the Law of 27 June 1907, no. 386 (*Gazzetta Ufficiale*, 4 July 1907, no. 158) established a series of central and peripheral offices, including the Superintendencies on Monuments (art. 1/a), on Archaeological Excavations and Museums (art. 1/b), and on Galleries, Medieval and Modern and Fine Arts Objects (art. 1/c). These institutions operated under the authority of the Minister of Public Education – Luigi Credaro⁵ at that time – and comprised various officials who operated to safeguard the cultural heritage locally. The second Law 20 June 1909, no. 364 (*Gazzetta Ufficiale*, 28 June 1909, no. 150) established strict regulations on the inalienability of antiquities and fine art objects. Real estate and “movable” goods which had unique

⁴ DALLA NEGRA 1986: 199–209; GRIFONI 1986: 187–198; BENCIVENNI, DALLA NEGRA and GRIFONI 1987–1992: 36–48, 92–153, 190–229.

⁵ Luigi Credaro (Sondrio 1860 – Rome 1939) was a philosopher, politician, and scholar. He was also Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Rome (1901–1935) and founded the journal *Rivista Pedagogica* (1907). He was Minister of Public Education during the XXIII Legislature (1 April 1910 – 29 March 1911) and the XXIV Legislature (30 March 1911 – 19 March 1914). The most significant of Credaro’s works were *Lo scetticismo degli Accademici* (1889), *Rassegna di Pedagogia* (1904) and *Riforme urgenti della scuola* (1910).

historical, archaeological, and artistic interest constituted Italian cultural heritage and had to be preserved accordingly.⁶

It is essential to contextualise the site of Calvatone where the 1911 hoard was discovered. The ancient *vicus* of *Bedriacum* was founded by the Romans during the second half of the 2nd century BC after the construction of the *Via Postumia* (148 BC). Two battles were fought near the centre in AD 69 as Tacitus reported in his *Historiae*. Afterwards, the *vicus* was abandoned in the 5th century, and the new town of Calvatone was built in the medieval period.⁷

The archaeological area of *Bedriacum* was discovered by local antiquarians in the 19th century. Mario Mirabella Roberti (1901–2002), a well-known archaeologist working at the Superintendence of Lombardy (1953–1973), carried out new excavations in the 1950s. Under the direction of Maria Teresa Grassi (University of Milan, Department of Cultural Heritage and Environment), archaeologists have recently excavated the site, mostly in the area of Costa S. Andrea (called *Area Provinciale*) (Pl. 2, Fig. 3), exploring the *Domus* of Labyrinth, the *Domus* of *Kantharos* and the so-called “Quarter of Craftsmen”.⁸

What do we know about Calvatone’s archaeology before the First World War? At that time, the local safeguarding authorities knew of Calvatone’s archaeological potential. In fact, thanks to Giovanni Patroni’s reports, published in the *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, we know that some casual discoveries had already occurred at the site. In 1908, Patroni visited Mr. Rodrigo Malinverno di Tornata, a local landowner at Calvatone, who showed him a series of small Roman and medieval finds (coins, weights, pottery sherds, tiles, bricks, etc.), casually discovered while he was performing agricultural work on his land. In 1912, Patroni was aware of new casual discoveries at Malinverno’s property, where Malinverno dug up some Roman graves “alla cappuccina” and found human remains, tiles, bricks, and lamps. Authorities seized some finds from the landowner; they were subsequently moved to the Civic Museum of Cremona.⁹

Regarding numismatic finds, antiquarian studies report a series of coin hoards in the archaeological area of Calvatone, found as a small treasure in an iron box (*ante* 1834) and as 155 silver coins in a terracotta vase (1856). A report on the significant hoard from Calvatone (1942) was published by Novella Vismara in 1992. It contains sixteen Roman bronze and silver coins, dating from 169 to 15 BC. More recently,

⁶ DALLA NEGRA 1986: 209.

⁷ Tac. *Hist.* 2.23.5: “*Inter Veronam Cremonamque situs est vicus, duabus iam Romanis cladibus notus infaustusque*”.

⁸ GRASSI 2006: 73–81; GRASSI and PALMIERI 2008–2009: 114–120; BACCHETTA and GRASSI 2010: 27–54; GRASSI 2013; IDEM 2016: 183–188.

⁹ PATRONI 1908: 310–311; IDEM 1912: 426.

a substantial hoard containing c. 140 antoniniani, dated to the 3rd century AD, was discovered at the archaeological site of Calvatone in 2018; the hoard is currently under study. These finds testify to significant hoarding trends in the *Bedriacum* area, especially during the late Republican period and the Imperial age.¹⁰

Following recent numismatic research and investigations, the monetary circulation of Calvatone-*Bedriacum* is now clear and well documented. Roman and Celtic coins were already used in the second half of the 2nd century BC. The first Roman Republican as, issued by *C. Maianius* and found in archaeological excavations in the *Domus* of Labyrinth (2001–2006), is dated to 153 BC. Some asses, cut intentionally, attest to the end of Roman Republican coin circulation at the end of the 1st century BC. New coins, especially *asses* of the *tresviri monetales*, then arrived in *Bedriacum*. The Imperial coins circulated until the end of the 5th century AD. At that time very small and lightweight coins (probably AE3-AE4) were used for the last minor trade of the Late Antiquity era. Rare coins, struck during the medieval and modern periods, demonstrate that the archaeological area of *Bedriacum* was frequented sporadically.¹¹

FROM THE HOARD'S DISCOVERY TO ITS CONFISCATION

Patroni,¹² Director of the *Soprintendenza* in Lombardy, sent a letter to Luigi Credaro, Minister of Public Education, on 14 January 1911. Patroni reported that more than 100 silver Roman Republican coins had been found at Calvatone on the lands of the brothers Birsilio and Luigi Simonazzi.¹³ As soon as Patroni received the telegram from the local Royal Inspectors Locatelli and Signori, which announced the new hoard discovery, he wrote his own telegram to the Prefect of Cremona. The Director requested that the Prefect recover and seize the coins via the local Carabinieri, who were to send them to the Coin Cabinet of Brera in Milan.¹⁴

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¹⁰ Calvatone (1942) hoard: RRCH 434; VISMARA 1992b; CRISÀ 2018a: 18–31; CHRR CAL. On the history of coin hoard discoveries see CRISÀ 2010: 56–57; IDEM 2013: 482–483. The discovery of the new “Calvatone (2018) hoard” was announced in the national newspapers. See, for instance, *Il Giornò* (8 October 2018), *Repubblica* (8 October) and *Corriere della Sera* (9 October).

¹¹ ARSLAN 1991: 187–195; VALENTI 1991: 197–216; ARSLAN 1996a: 101–118; IDEM 1996b: 245–258; IDEM 1997: 205–225; CRISÀ 2010: 56–59; IDEM 2013: 482–492.

¹² Giovanni Patroni (Naples 1869 – Rome 1951), a well-known Italian archaeologist, was interested in palaeontology, ancient history, and the history of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman arts. He was Professor of Archaeology at the Universities of Milan, Naples, and Pavia. He worked at the Superintendence of Lombardy and performed several excavations in Italy. Patroni wrote a series of scientific works, such as *Cuma* (1900), *Ricerche di antichità nella Sardegna* (1901), *L'Augusto di Prima Porta* (1942) and *Studi di mitologia mediterranea ed omerica* (1951).

¹³ VISMARA 1992a: 7: “in un campo di proprietà dei fratelli Birsilio e Luigi Simonazzi”. The site had been reported in Vismara’s publication.

¹⁴ Doc. no. 1: “[...] ho chiesto al Prefetto di Cremona il recupero e sequestro, per mezzo dei RR. Carabinieri [...]”.

Patroni ordered the correct procedure to be followed to recover and preserve the hoard; however, he knew very well that prefects did not always discharge their duties, and that they did not often enforce article 2 of Law 386 (27 June 1907), which required them to constantly take care of local antiquities. Patroni was therefore forced to send a telegram to the Prefect of Cremona pre-emptively.¹⁵

The Minister of Public Education replied to Patroni on 24 January 1911; he expressed pleasure about the hoard discovery at Calvatone. Shortly after, Patroni wrote to the Minister on 31 January. He reported that the Prefect of Cremona had seized 384 coins since 16 January and was ready to send the hoard to the Coin Cabinet of Milan. It is clear that the Prefect had fulfilled his duty correctly, because he began to collect and safeguard the coins two days after having received Patroni's telegram.¹⁶

THE COIN EVALUATION BY SERAFINO RICCI AND THE FINDERS' REWARD

Six months later, Patroni sent the Minister of Public Education a detailed report on the Calvatone hoard, as testified by a cover note dated 27 July 1911. The report was written by Serafino Ricci,¹⁷ Director of the Coin Cabinet of Brera at that time. The Minister had to deliver the report to the President of the Editorial Board of *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, the most well-known scientific journal of archaeology in post-Unification Italy; the report would have been published as a scientific article. Previously, Ricci had sent the Minister another numismatic report for the same purpose; it described the hoard of Verdello, which contained 152 Celtic coins discovered near Bergamo in 1910.¹⁸

¹⁵ Doc. no. 1: “[...] sopra tutto per la fiacchezza con cui taluni Prefetti adempiono al loro dovere [...]”. Law 27 June 1907, no. 386 (Gazzetta Ufficiale, 4 July 1907, no. 158), art. 2: “I Prefetti e le autorità che ne dipendono, i Procuratori del Re e gli Ufficiali di Polizia Giudiziaria, i Funzionari e gli Agenti della Dogana, i sindaci, gli economisti dei benefici vacanti coadiuvano le Soprintendenze e gli analoghi uffici prossimi, dando notizia di qualunque fatto che attenga alla tutela degli interessi archeologici e artistici e intervenendo dovunque lo richieda l’osservanza della legge che regola tale tutela. La stessa coadiuvazione spetta i fabbricieri, ai parroci, ai rettori di chiese, ed in generale a tutti i rappresentanti di quegli enti morali che posseggono cose di arte e d’archeologia”.

¹⁶ Docs. nos. 2–3.

¹⁷ Serafino Ricci (Milan 1867 – Malnate 1943) was a well-known and skilful numismatist. He was Professor of Classical Antiquities and Epigraphy (1896), Archaeology (1900), and Numismatics and Medals (1907) at the University of Pavia. He was also Director of the Coin Cabinet of Brera (1900–1918). His most significant works were: *Degli studi archeologici in Milano* (1899), *La numismatica secondo i nuovi criteri scientifici* (1901), *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum di S.M. il Re Vittorio Emanuele III* (1911) and *La storia d’Italia nell’opera scientifica di Vittorio Emanuele III* (1935). On Serafino Ricci’s biography see: BELLONI 1943: 3–10; CORNO 2000: 261–307.

¹⁸ Doc. no. 4: “[...] unita relazione del prof. S. Ricci intorno al tesoretto monetale di Calvatone, da unirsi alla precedente sul tesoretto di Verdello, e da inviarsi per la pubblicazione al Presidente del Comitato per le «Notizie» [...]”. On the Verdello hoard see: RICCI 1913: 245–249; CHIARAVALLE 1980.

Nevertheless, Ricci's report on the "Calvatone (1911) hoard" is not amongst these documents, stored in folder no. 8.¹⁹ It was probably lost, but it may have been delivered to the Editorial Board of *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, as Patroni had requested. It is important to stress, however, that no article on the Calvatone hoard was ever published in that journal. It can be argued that there were more significant archaeological discoveries in 1911, and so the journal may not have had enough space to publish the Ricci report. A report on the Verdello hoard was not published in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, but Ricci wrote an article in the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* three years after its discovery.²⁰

The next letter, written by Serafino Ricci in Milan on 30 July 1911 and sent to the Minister of Public Education in Rome, can be considered the most remarkable record of our documentary set, because it reports a list of the most valuable coins. It looks like a straightforward numismatic survey. In fact, Ricci valued the hoard at £ 400 (lire). It comprised 327 coins, which Ricci considered on average quite well-preserved. Yet the numismatist proposed that only 42 targeted, selected coins should be acquired by the Coin Cabinet of Brera, investing only £ 200. Ricci justified his choice in three ways: these coins represented the most significant core of the Calvatone hoard in terms of historical relevance, they were not represented in the numismatic collection of Brera at that time, and all other silver coins were relatively common and already available in Brera's collections.²¹

Ricci made a very generous proposal to both the Coin Cabinet of Brera and the owners of the land in Calvatone, where the hoard had been found a few months before. The Cabinet would have acquired a noteworthy set of finds to increase its numismatic collection of Roman Republican silver coins, and the owners would have been properly rewarded for the hoard discovery by being able to retain the remaining 285 coins. At that point, they could keep or sell them without asking the Italian state for any authorisation.

In fact, according to the law of the time, the discoverer of archaeological and numismatic finds was only eligible for a more or less substantial reward if those finds

¹⁹ On the contrary, doc. no. 5 has to be considered a technical valuation of the coins. It is evident that the record does not correspond to the above-mentioned report ("relazione del prof. S. Ricci intorno al tesoretto monetale di Calvatone"), quoted in doc. no. 4. It can be argued that a copy of the report might still be preserved at the local archive at the Castello Sforzesco in Milan. In particular, see: VISMARA 1992a: 7, note no. 4: "L'elenco è accompagnato da una breve relazione ed ha il n. protocollo 131 [luglio 1911]". Unfortunately, as previously said, this documentary set is not currently available for consultation.

²⁰ RICCI 1913: 245–249. However, Patroni had published two brief papers on Calvatone's archaeology at that time in the above-mentioned journal: PATRONI 1908: 310–311; IDEM 1912: 426.

²¹ Doc. no. 5: "[...] abbastanza ben conservati e di cui alcuni rari per un valore di blocco di circa £. 400 [...]"; "la maggior parte però di tali monete sono comunissime e già sono rappresentate nella collezione consolare romana di Brera"; "[...] solo n. 42 pezzi su un complessivo di n. 327 pezzi, ma tali per rarità e conservazione da essere degni di venire accolti nelle collezioni di un Medagliere nazionale".

were considered “important” and then chosen by authorities to increase the Italian state collections. The pay-off/reward was established on the basis of the find’s evaluation, and it might consist of money or selected artefacts. Unfortunately, this procedure could be damaging for homogeneous sets of archaeological finds (e.g. coin hoards, burial goods, votive deposits), because if they were not preserved in private collections they could be partially scattered and finally sold on the antiquarian market.²²

When Vismara published a record on the hoard, she reported finding only 22 coins at the *Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche del Castello Sforzesco* in Milan (Pl. 3, Fig. 4). In fact, their labels noted “Calvatone” as provenance. The coins acquired by Ricci represent a good, record of well-preserved silver Roman Republican denarii, including two specimens of Brutus, one of Marcus Antonius, three of Sextus Pompeius, four of Marcus Antonius, and one of Augustus (Table 2). According to Ricci’s numismatic report, which was examined by Vismara in 1992, the Calvatone hoard comprised Roman Republican denarii dating from 152 BC (coin of *L.Savf.*) to 29–26 BC (coins of Augustus). We know that Ricci identified the coins using the catalogue *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la République Romaine vulgairement appelées Monnaies Consulaires* by the numismatist Ernest Babelon (1854–1924), who had arranged Roman Republican coins by consular *familiae*.²³

Table 2. Scheme listing all silver denarii belonging to the “Calvatone (1911) hoard” and now kept at Castello Sforzesco²⁴

Cat. no.	Issuer	Mint	Date	Reference
1	Q. Pomponius Musa	Rome	66 BC	RRC 410/3
2	L. Valerius Acisculus	Rome	45 BC	RRC 474/1b
3	L. Papius Celsus	Rome	45 BC	RRC 472/1

²² Doc. no. 5: “La proposta riunisce la condizione favorevole di non danneggiare troppo i proprietari e gli scavatori, che dal maggior numero delle monete loro lasciate potranno trarre guadagno non indifferente”. Law 20 June 1909, no. 364 (Gazzetta Ufficiale, 28 June 1909, no. 150), art. 15: “Le cose scoperte appartengono allo Stato. Di esse sarà rilasciata al proprietario del fondo una quarta parte, oppure il prezzo equivalente, a scelta del Ministero della pubblica istruzione [...]. Invece del compenso di cui al secondo comma, il Governo potrà rilasciare al proprietario del fondo, che ne faccia richiesta, una maggior quota delle cose scoperte, o anche la loro totalità, quando esse non siano giudicate necessarie per le collezioni dello Stato”.

²³ BABELON 1885–1886; VISMARA 1992a: 7: “Il Direttore, Ricci, catalogò le monete presenti secondo le famiglie, schedandole in base al Babelon”; 8: “Sulla base dell’elenco redatto dal Ricci, il ripostiglio è cronologicamente compreso tra il 152 a.C., con un denario di *L.Savf.* ed il 29–6 a.C. data di emissione di alcuni denari di Augusto”.

²⁴ The table is based on numismatic data reported by VISMARA 1992a.

Cat. no.	Issuer	Mint	Date	Reference
4	P. Sepullius Macer	Rome	44 BC	RRC 480/22
5	Q. Caepio Brutus	Itinerant mint	43–42 BC	RRC 520/22
6	M. Brutus Imp-Costa Leg	Itinerant mint	43–42 BC	RRC 506/2
7	M. Brutus Imp-Casca Longus	Itinerant mint	43–42 BC	RRC 507/2
8	Marcus Antonius	Rome	42 BC	RRC 494/17
9	Sextus Pompeius	Sicilian mint	42–40 BC	RRC 511/3a
10				RRC 511/4a
11				
12	C. Clodius C.f. Vestalis	Rome	41 BC	RRC 512/2
13				
14	Cn. Domitius L.f. Imp.	Itinerant mint	41 BC	RRC 519/2
15	Marcus Antonius	Itinerant mint	39 BC	RRC 528/3
16			33 BC	RRC 542/1
17			32–31 BC	RRC 544/12
18				
19	Augustus	Itinerant mint	32–29 BC	RIC ¹ 256
20			29–26 BC	RIC ¹ 266
21				RIC ¹ 267
22				RIC ¹ 272

Ricci's evaluation, preserved at the Central State Archive of Rome and published here, lists 42 coins, which were subsequently acquired by the Coin Cabinet of Brera; however, it is possible to trace only 16 specimens from the 21 coins which Vismara found, catalogued, and published at the Castello Sforzesco in 1992.²⁵

The Minister of Public Education sent Serafino Ricci a letter on 7 August 1911, in which he authorised Ricci to split the hoard, according to his previous proposal; however, he also demanded further details of the hoard division. He asked Ricci to declare the real value of the items to be chosen and then acquired. In fact, the numismatist had chosen to select only a set of coins for the Coin Cabinet of Brera, which represented less than half the value of the entire hoard, but coherently represented the most valuable core of the complex.²⁶

²⁵ Doc. no. 5: see the relevant footnotes.

²⁶ Doc. no. 6: "Desidererei però conoscere quale valore la parte di ragione governativa verrà a rappresentare di fronte a quella privata [...]".

On 21 September 1911 the Minister announced to Patroni that he had sent Ricci's numismatic report to the President of the Editorial Board of *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*. The president would have forwarded to Patroni the drafts of the forthcoming article on the Calvatone hoard, although it was never published in that journal, as already noted.²⁷

Ricci wrote again to the Minister on 7 October 1911, for the purpose of clarifying the final hoard division and evaluation. He reported that the 327 coins had a value of £ 400. The 42 coins which Ricci chose for the Coin Cabinet of Brera were worth £ 175. The remaining 285 coins had a value of £ 225; these finds represented the reward for the landowners, who had discovered the hoard a few months previously. At that point, Ricci asked the Minister if he could deliver the reward, unless the Minister had any objections. It is evident that Ricci had explained the hoard division very clearly, because the Minister did not reject his proposal.²⁸

The Minister of Public Education communicated his final verdict on 19 October 1911, when he sent Ricci a short letter. The Minister was satisfied by Ricci's concise, clear notification of the hoard division and evaluation, written on 7 October, and therefore agreed that Ricci should acquire the most significant 42 coins and deliver the remaining 285 denarii to the landowners in Calvatone. The 42 coins were sent to the Coin Cabinet by post on 29 November, and the others were given back to the brothers Birsilio and Luigi Simonazzi by the Carabinieri of Casalmaggiore (Cremona) on 30 November 1911.²⁹

FINAL REMARKS

Although Vismara had properly published a record of all coins currently preserved in Milan, the "Calvatone (1911) hoard" required a complementary study to assess the archival data about its discovery, judicial seizure and final acquisition by the Coin Cabinet of Brera. Documents traced to the Central State Archive of Rome offer essential information on the hoard, helping us to better understand the specific bureaucratic procedures, which the Italian authorities carried out to deal with casual discoveries of coin hoards and their indispensable preservation involving a three-level process: the police, proper safeguards, and museum authorities. In particular, the individuals involved were members of a wider network which operated on a local, regional, and national scale to protect

²⁷ Doc. no. 7. We reassert that a copy of that numismatic report might be potentially preserved at the Castello Sforzesco in Milan.

²⁸ Doc. no. 8: "[...] i 42 pezzi che si tratterebbero del ripostiglio, su un complessivo di n. 327, rappresentano il valore numismatico di £. 175, mentre i rimanenti 295 pezzi, che si restituirebbero ai proprietari, rappresenterebbero il valore di £. 225 in tutta la somma complessiva di £. 400", "[...] se l'E.V. non ha nulla in contrario [...]".

²⁹ Doc. no. 9. The last two letters (29–30 November 1911) were quoted by VISMARA 1992a: 7, note no. 7.

antiquities, report archaeological discoveries and eventually seize valuable finds to increase state collection.³⁰

What are the limitations of the available documentation? First, there was no documentary evidence about the hoard's discovery, and it may have been dug up during agricultural activities in the countryside of Calvatone. Thus, the archaeological data is now lost, including any potential information on the hoard container. Second, due to this crucial lack of data, it is certainly hard to understand why the hoard had been hidden in *Bedriacum*. It can be inferred that it was concealed in the second decade BC due to a perception of danger in the area at the end of the Roman Republican period. Third, as already mentioned, the set of specimens we currently have at our disposal represents a selection of coins, a subset of the entire hoard, which offers us limited numismatic data to fully contextualise the complex in the wider historical context.

However, documentation provides us some insights into the implementation of contemporary laws and rules regarding the safeguarding of antiquities. The way the local inspectors communicated the hoard discovery to Patroni, the Superintendent of Lombardy, is clear. This undoubtedly reflects the need to alert all police forces at the local (Carabinieri), regional (Prefect of Cremona) and national (Ministry of Public Education) levels to seize the coins as soon as possible and temporarily preserve the finds so as to prevent their dispersal.

It is evident that a technical find report was strictly necessary to carry out all bureaucratic procedures for the final acquisition by Ricci on behalf of the Coin Cabinet of Brera. The report was also essential to evaluate the coins and establish an appropriate reward for the landowners. The price for this reward was definitely generous. According to the Italian contemporary laws, as soon as they obtained the silver denarii, landowners could sell them and realise an advantageous profit (estimated at £ 225).

Why did Ricci choose the very specific set of denarii for the Coin Cabinet in Milan? There are two possible reasons for that. First, he might have had limited funds to spend on new acquisitions; second, he was also interested in improving and increasing the collection of Roman Republican denarii in the Brera Coin Cabinet, and so he selected missing coins that were rare and well-preserved. Nowadays, dispersing a Roman coin hoard would be seen as an unacceptable action, compromising its integrity forever and preventing the future full analysis and assessment of the coin complex. Blaming Ricci would certainly be unfair and “anti-historical”, however, because his actions represented common practice, and at least they allowed the Italian state to preserve some numismatic finds and avoid their complete dispersal on the antiquarian market.

³⁰ Of course, a similar “3-level” scale of antiquity safeguarding is attested in other Italian regions, such as Sicily. See, for instance, CRISÀ 2018b: 30–31.

We have an essential record of similar case studies and contemporary coin hoard discoveries in the Lombardy region, which demonstrates that the same procedures were carried out by the Italian authorities to seize, evaluate and partially preserve selected coins. For instance, a coin hoard was found in Pandino (Cremona) in 1910, and the local Carabinieri temporarily seized the coins following its discovery. The coins were then moved to the Coin Cabinet of Brera to be evaluated by Ricci. At that point, he chose two portions of the hoard, one to be kept at the Coin Cabinet and the other to be delivered to the landowners as a reward for the discovery.³¹

The Mello, Pandino and Calvatone hoards are similar cases, but they demonstrate how Ricci evaluated and subdivided coin hoards differently. The Mello hoard, discovered near Sondrio in 1914, comprised 65 16th-century and 17th-century coins. They were moved to the Coin Cabinet with the intention of being preserved immediately. Ricci then evaluated the coins (£ 10.50). Because they were not well-preserved, the coins were not considered worthy of being purchased, however, the Royal Superintendence for the Galleries and Collections of the Lombardy Provinces of Milan invited him to acquire at least 22 coins (£ 5.25).³²

Furthermore, other curators carried out similar methods and practices in post-Unification Italy following the laws of the time. On a national scale, it seems that curators mostly acquired coins to safeguard them and enhance the state collections. For instance, Antonino Salinas (1841–1914), well-known numismatist, Professor of Archaeology and Director of the Museum of Palermo, was mostly interested in increasing and (eventually) completing the coin collection of Sicilian rulers. When he evaluated a small hoard of c. 50 Sicilian 18th-century silver coins, discovered at the Cerda railway construction site (Palermo, 1869), Salinas selected only those which were not represented in the Palermo museum coin collection. This procedure is evidently in line with Ricci's methods, but actualised in a different region of Italy. In addition, Salinas was subsequently involved in acquiring another hoard, found in an urban construction site in via Maqueda in Palermo (1872) and including c. 80 silver coins of Spanish rulers and some knights of Malta (1516–1581). However, in this case Salinas decided to acquire the entire hoard without discarding any coins. In contrast to the Calvatone (1911) hoard, for which the Simonazzi brothers obtained a reward, as the owners of the land where the discovery took place, the City Council of Palermo offered a small compensation to those workers who honestly gave back some silver coins discovered at the construction site to the authorities.³³

³¹ CHIARAVALLE 1992.

³² MARTINI 2000.

³³ CRISÀ 2014: 339–362; IDEM 2020: 331–379.

Finally, it is clear that archival research can help us to better understand some aspects of the history of archaeology and state collections in Italy in the early 20th century, following the promulgation of the 1909 law on the safeguarding of cultural heritage. Records disclose a social context in which local, regional, and state authorities operated synergistically to preserve antiquities on the occasion of casual discoveries, increase museum collections and even favour landowners, who accidentally found coins and could benefit from noteworthy rewards. Archival investigations are therefore fundamental to shedding new light on specific case studies, which can finally offer a more in-depth outline of archaeological research in post-Unification Italy.

ARCHIVAL RECORDS

Doc. no. 1 | ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908–1912), b. 8 | headed paper | 1 side

Pavia, li 14 gennaio 1911

R. Soprintendenza sugli Scavi e Musei di Antichità per la Lombardia (presso la R. Università)

N. 7

Oggetto: Scoperta di un tesoretto a Calvatone. = (Cremona)

A S.E. il Ministro della P.I. Direzione Gle Antichità e B.A. ROMA.

MINISTERO I.^{nc} PUBBLICA | 16-GEN. 1911, N.° 01 225 | Direz. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti³⁴

Informo l'E.V. che in seguito a telegramma dei RR. Ispettori Locatelli e Signori, nonché ad altre notizie pervenutemi, con telegramma espresso ho chiesto al Prefetto di Cremona il recupero e sequestro, per mezzo dei RR. Carabinieri, di un tesoretto di oltre 100 monete romane d'argento della Repubblica, e la consegna provvisoria di tutto il tesoretto, per mezzo della corrispondenza della medesima Arma, al R. Gabinetto Numismatico di Brera in Milano, il cui direttore ho in pari tempo incaricato della prosecuzione delle pratiche di legge.

Tale avviso preventivo do a V.E.; sopra tutto per la fiacchezza con cui taluni Prefetti adempiono al loro dovere, precisato dall'art. 2 Legge 27 giugno 1907, N. 386. Con osservanza

Il Sovrintendente G. Patroni

³⁴ This is the protocol number entry, commonly used in late 19th and early 20th century records produced by the Italian Ministry of Public Education.

Doc. no. 2 | ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908–1912), b. 8 | headed paper | 1 side

Roma, addì 24 gennaio 1911

Al R. Soprintendente per gli scavi e i musei di antichità

R. Università Pavia

Prot.° N.° 1225 | N.° di Posiz.° 1. Cremona | Risposta a lett. del 14 Genn. 1911 | Div. Sez. N. 7

Oggetto: Calvatone Scoperta di un ripostiglio monetale

Fatta da G. il 18 Genn. 1911 | Copiata da 21.1

Ho inteso quanto Ella mi ha riferito sul tesoretto monetale trovato a Calvatone; e mi compiacchio che, mercé le premure della S.V., si siano potute ricuperare e sequestrare oltre cento monete romane d'argento di quel ripostiglio.

Il Ministro

Doc. no. 3 | ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908–1912), b. 8 | headed paper | 1 side

Pavia, li 31 gennajo 1910³⁵

R. Soprintendenza sugli Scavi e Musei di Antichità per la Lombardia (presso la R. Università)

N. 16

Risposta a lettera 24 uscente Num. 1 Cremona/1225.

Oggetto: Calvatone = Scoperta di un ripostiglio monetale

A S.E. il Ministro dell'Istruzione Direz. gen. Antichità e Belle Arti. Roma.

MINISTERO I.^{ne} PUBBLICA | 3-FEB. 1911, N.° 02834 | Direz. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti

Facendo seguito alla mia lettera del 14 uscente fo noto all'E.V. che da ulteriori notizie il numero delle monete ricuperate andò aumentando fino a 384; il Prefetto di Cremona mi ha riferito che fin dal 16 ne fu eseguito il sequestro e che l'intero tesoretto stava per essere inviato al R. Gabinetto Numismatico di Brera in Milano. Con osservanza

Il Sovrintendente G. Patroni

³⁵ The year "1910" is certainly an error, since the document was produced in 1911, as the reference number's stamp testifies ("3-FEB. 1911, N.° 02834"). Moreover, the document was written replying to the letter of 24 January 1911 ("Risposta a lettera 24 uscente Num. 1 Cremona/1225" = doc. no. 2).

Doc. no. 4 | ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908–1912), b. 8 | headed paper | 1 side

Pavia, li 27 luglio 1911

R. Soprintendenza sugli Scavi e Musei di Antichità per la Lombardia (presso la R. Università)

N. 112

Oggetto: Tesoretto di Calvatone. Relazione per le “Notizie”.

A S.E. il Ministro della P.I. Direz. Gle p. le Antichità e B.A. ROMA.

MINISTERO I.^{ne} PUBBLICA | 31-LUG. 1911, N.° 19330 | Direz. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti

Trasmetto all’E.V. la qui unita relazione del prof. S. Ricci intorno al tesoretto monetale di Calvatone, da unirsi alla precedente sul tesoretto di Verdello, e da inviarsi per la pubblicazione al Presidente del Comitato per le “Notizie”, con la medesima preghiera da mia parte, di mandare cioè a me le bozze per la revisione, che saranno rese dopo essere state rivedute anche dall’autore. Con osservanza

Il Sovrintendente G. Patroni

Doc. no. 5 | ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908–1912), b. 8 | headed paper | 4 sides

[1] Milano, addi 30 luglio 1911

Gabinetto Numismatico di Brera

N. di Pos. 1 Prot. 135

Oggetto: Ripostiglio consolare romano di Calvatone. Ripartizione del tesoretto. Proposta a S.E. l’on. Ministro.

On. Ministero dell’Istruzione Direzione Generale per le Antichità e Belle Arti. ROMA.

MINISTERO DELL’ISTRUZIONE · PROT^o GEN^E · 1 AGO 1911

MINISTERO I.^{ne} PUBBLICA | 2-AGO. 1911, N.° 19523 | Direz. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti

Sarà giunta a codesta On. Direzione Generale per le Antichità e Belle Arti da parte dell’On. Soprintendenza sugli scavi per la Lombardia la Relazione scientifica circa il ripostiglio consolare romano di Calvatone unitamente a quella del ripostiglio monetale gallico di Verdello, di cui si tratta in altro foglio. Per quel che riguarda la ripartizione amministrativa delle monete, siamo di fronte a n. 327 pezzi abbastanza ben conservati e di cui alcuni rari per un valore di blocco di circa £. 400.

La maggior parte però di tali monete sono comunissime e già sono rappresentate nella collezione consolare romana di Brera, quindi propongo a V.E. di restituire ai proprietari [2] il precitato tesoretto, trattenendo pel Medagliere nazionale solo quella parte che, anche se non raggiunge la metà del valore in £. 200, rappresenta il fior fiore del tesoretto stesso, e di cui qualche esemplare manca alla collezione di Brera, o è in stato di miglior conservazione.

Ecco quindi la serie delle monete che si propone alla E.V. di trattenere:

- n. 2 Aemilius Scaurus
- n. 1 Aemilius Buca
- n. 1 Antia
- n. 1 antonia (Antonio e Cesare)
- n. 1 “ col sole radiante
- n. 1 “ con la testa d’Ottavio
- n. 1 “ M. Antonio imp. tert.³⁶
- n. 2 Antonia XVIII
- n. 1 Aurelius Cotta
- n. 1 Caecilius Metellus
- n. 1 Carisia (Babelon I, 316, 10)
- n. 2 Claudius Pulcher
- n. 1 P. Clodius³⁷
- n. 1 Claudius con M. Antonio
- n. 1 Coelius Calvus
- n. 1 Cornelius Lentulus Spinter
- n. 1 Cossutia
- n. 1 Domitius Ahenobarbus³⁸ [3]
- n. 1 Egnatia
- n. 1 Julia C. Cesare Ottavio con Q. Salvius
- n. 1 “ Babelon II 46, 95³⁹
- n. 1 “ Babelon II 53, 117⁴⁰
- n. 1 “ Babelon II 65, 156⁴¹
- n. 1 “ Babelon II 66, 161⁴²

³⁶ Mint of M. Antonius (39 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 18 mm, 3.83 g): *Obv.*: head of M. Antonius right, M·ANTON·IMP·III·VIR·R·P·AVG; *Rv.*: head of Octavianus right, CAESAR·IMP·PONT·III·VIR·R·P·C·G.; BELLONI 1960: No. 2206; RRC 528/3; VISMARA 1992a: 16, No. 15 (presumably of this type).

³⁷ Mint of Rome (42 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 17 mm, 4.10 g): *Obv.*: bearded head right, MANTONIVS III·VIR·R·P·C·; *Rv.*: Mars standing with spear and short sword, P·CLODIVS M·F; BELLONI 1960: No. 2217; RRC 494/17; VISMARA 1992a: 14, No. 8 (presumed coin).

³⁸ Mint of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (41 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 19 mm, 3.75 g): *Obv.*: bearded head right, AHENOBAR; *Rv.*: prow with trophy, CN·DOMITIVS·IMP; BELLONI 1960: No. 2222; RRC 519/2; VISMARA 1992a: 16, No. 14 (presumed coin).

³⁹ *Denarius* of Octavianus / M. Barbatius (“95” is evidently a mistake; in fact, it is referred to an *aureus*); BABELON 1885–1886: II, 46, No. 94.

⁴⁰ *Denarius* of Octavianus (Victory/Neptune); BABELON 1885–1886: II, 53, No. 117.

⁴¹ *Denarius* of Octavianus (Apollo/two oxen); BABELON 1885–1886: II, 65, No. 156.

⁴² *Denarius* of Octavianus (Octavianus/temple); BABELON 1885–1886: II, 66, No. 161.

- n. 2 “ Babelon II 67, 162⁴³
 n. 1 Junia Caepio Brutus col legato Costa⁴⁴
 n. 1 “ M. Silanus⁴⁵
 n. 1 “ Q. C. Brutus (Babelon II 118, 44)⁴⁶
 n. 1 Manlia
 n. 1 Neria
 n. 1 Papius Celsus⁴⁷
 n. 1 Pompeia (Sex. Magnus Pius)
 n. 1 “ Babelon II 354, 27⁴⁸
 n. 1 Pomponia⁴⁹
 n. 1 Sepullia⁵⁰
 n. 1 Sestia
 n. 1 Valerius Acisculus⁵¹
 n. 1 Vibius Pansa.

In tutto solo n. 42 pezzi su un complessivo di n. 327 pezzi, ma tali per rarità e conservazione da essere degni di venire accolti nelle collezioni di un Medagliere nazionale, che ha già così bene rappresentata la serie consolare [4] romana. La proposta riunisce la condizione favorevole di non danneggiare troppo i proprietari e gli scavatori, che dal maggior numero delle monete loro lasciate potranno trarre guadagno non indifferente.

Nell’attesa della deliberazione ministeriale tanto per questo tesoretto, come per l’altro di Verdello, presento gli ossequi.

Il Direttore Reggente. Serafino Ricci

⁴³ *Denarius* of Octavianus (Octavianus/triumphal arch); BABELON 1885–1886: II, 67, No. 162.

⁴⁴ Mint of Brutus (43–42 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 18.5 mm, 3.93 g): *Obv.*: laureated head of Apollo right, COSTA LEG; *Rv.*: trophy with shield and spears, BRVTVS IMP (Pl. 4, Fig. 5; example of the type); BELLONI 1960: No. 2151; RRC 506/2; VISMARA 1992a: 14, No. 6 (presumed coin).

⁴⁵ Mint of M. Antonius (33 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 21 mm, 3.84 g): *Obv.*: head right, ANTON·AVG·IMP·III·COS·DES·III·III·V·R·P·C; *Rv.*: M·SILANVS·AVG/Q·PRO·COS; BELLONI 1960: No. 2302; RRC 542/1; VISMARA 1992a: 16, No. 16 (presumed coin).

⁴⁶ Mint of Brutus (43–42 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 18 mm, 3.58 g): *Obv.*: head of Neptune right, CASCA LONGVS; *Rv.*: winged Victory with a palm branch and a wreath (Pl. 4, Fig. 6; example of the type); BABELON 1885–1886: II, 118, No. 44; BELLONI 1960: No. 2154; RRC 507/2; VISMARA 1992a: 14, No. 7 (presumed coin).

⁴⁷ Mint of Rome (45 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 18 mm, 3.87 g): *Obv.*: head of Iunio Sospita right; *Rv.*: she-wolf right and eagle, CELSVS·III·VIR L·PAPIVS; BELLONI 1960: No. 2034; RRC 472/1; VISMARA 1992a: 12, No. 3 (presumed coin).

⁴⁸ Sicilian mint, Sextus Pompeius (42–40 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 17, 19 mm, 3.88, 3.88 g): *Obv.*: laureated head of Gneus Pompeius right, MAG·PIVS·IMP·ITER; *Rv.*: Neptune, Anapias, Amphinomos and the Catanean Brothers, PRAEF CLAS·ET·ORAE/MARIT·EX·S·C· (Pl. 4, Fig. 7; example of the type). BABELON 1885–1886: II, 354, No. 27; BELLONI 1960: Nos. 2161–62; RRC 511/3a; VISMARA 1992a: 14, Nos. 9–10 (presumed coins).

⁴⁹ Mint of Rome (66 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 17 mm, 3.36 g): *Obv.*: head of Apollo right; *Rv.*: Clío left with a scroll, G·POMPONI·MVSA; BELLONI 1960: No. 1683; RRC 410/3; VISMARA 1992a: 12, No. 1 (presumed coin).

⁵⁰ Mint of Rome (44 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 19 mm, 3.89 g): *Obv.*: head of M. Antonius right, jar and lute; *Rv.*: *Desultor* right with crop and bridles, P·SEPVLLIVS MACER; BELLONI 1960: No. 2126; RRC 480/22; VISMARA 1992a: 12, No. 4 (presumed coin).

⁵¹ Mint of Rome (45 BC), AR *denarius* (Ø 19 mm, 4.03 g): *Obv.*: head of Apollo right and *acisculus*; *Rv.*: Europa on a bull right, L·VALERIVS (Pl. 4, Fig. 8; example of the type); BELLONI 1960: No. 2103; VISMARA 1992a: 12, No. 2 (presumed coin).

Doc. no. 6 | ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908–1912), b. 8 | headed paper | 2 sides

[1] Roma, addì 7 agosto 1911

Al Direttore del R. Gabinetto Numismatico di Brera Milano

Prot.° N.° 19923 | N. di Posiz.° 1 Cremona | Risposta a lett. del 30 luglio 1911 | Div. Sez. 139

Oggetto: Ripostiglio consolare romano di Calvatone

Fatta da il 5.VIII.1911 | Copiata da Berardi 9·8·11

Autorizzo la S.V. a procedere alla ripartizione del tesoretto di Calvatone nel senso indicatomi col foglio cui si risponde, e cioè trattenendo le 42 monete elencate e restituendo tutte le rimanenti.

Desidererei però conoscere quale valore la parte di ragione governativa verrà a rappresentare di fronte a quella privata, pur tenendo [2] presenti le ragioni di opportunità e di equità che consigliano a ritirare una quota minore della metà del valore ma corrispondente a tutto il fior fiore del tesoretto: e ciò dovrà risultare nel verbale di ripartizione.

Il Min.°

Doc. no. 7 | ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908–1912), b. 8 | unstamped paper | 1 side

125

Roma, addì 21 Settembre 1911

Al R. Soprintendente agli scavi e ai musei di antichità per la Lombardia

R. Università Pavia

Prot.° N.° 19330 | N.° di Posiz.° 1. Cremona | Risposta a lett. del 27 luglio 1911 | Div. Sez. N. 112

Oggetto: Tesoretto monetale di Calvatone.

Fatta da G il 4-9-1911 | Copiata da MS 18·9·911

Ho trasmesso al Presidente del Comitato per la pubblicazione delle “Notizie degli Scavi” la relazione, compilata dal Dott. Serafino Ricci intorno al ripostiglio monetale trovato a Calvatone, e l’ho interessato a mandare a Lei le relative prove di stampa.

Il Ministro

Doc. no. 8 | ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908–1912), b. 8 | headed paper | 2 sides

[1] Milano, addì 7 ottobre 1911

Gabinetto Numismatico di Brera

N. di Prot. 178 | Risposta a lettera 9, 8, 1911 | Posizione Cremona, n. 19 523 di prot.

Oggetto: Ripostiglio consolare romano di Calvatone. Ripartizione e valore relativo della parte di ragione governativa e di quella privata.

All'On. Ministero dell'Istruzione Direzione Generale per le Antichità e Belle Arti. Roma.

MINISTERO I.^{nc} PUBBLICA | 9-OTT. 1911, N.° 25 223 | Direz. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti

A proposito della ripartizione del ripostiglio di Calvatone approvata dall'E.V. in massima, mi faccio dovere di notificare che i 42 pezzi che si tratterebbero del ripostiglio, su un complessivo di n. 327, rappresentano il valore numismatico di £. 175, mentre i rimanenti 295 pezzi,⁵² che si restituirebbero ai proprietari, rappresenterebbero il valore di £. 225 in tutta la somma complessiva di £. 400.

Vista dunque la tenuità della differenza compensata dalla importanza scientifica dei pezzi trattenuti pel Medagliere Nazionale di Brera, vista la recente sollecitazione da parte degli interessati alla restituzione, credo opportuno [2] di procedere senz'altro, se l'E.V. non ha nulla in contrario, alla restituzione dei rimanenti 295 pezzi ai rispettivi proprietari. Ossequi.

Il Direttore Reggente: Serafino Ricci

Doc. no. 9 | ACS, MPI, AA.BB.AA., div. I (1908–1912), b. 8 | headed paper | 1 side

Roma, addì 19 Ottobre 1911

Al Sig. Direttore del Gabinetto Numismatico Brera Milano

Prot.° N.° 25 223 | N.° di Posiz.° 1. Cremona | Risposta a lett.^a del 7 ottobre 1911 | Div. Sez. N. 178

Oggetto: Ripostiglio monetale romano di Calvatone.

Fatta da G. il 13 Ott. 1911

⁵² “295” is a mistake. In fact, the landowners would have received 285 coins as a reward for the hoard discovery (327 – 42 = 285).

In seguito ai chiarimenti datimi intorno alla ripartizione del ripostiglio monetale romano trovato a Calvatone, autorizzo la S.V. a ritenere i quarantadue pezzi da Lei prescelti per cotesto Gabinetto, e di restituire agli interessati i rimanenti 295⁵³ pezzi, già rappresentati nel medagliere di Brera.

Il Ministro

ABBREVIATIONS⁵⁴

[x] = progressive side number

£ = Lira/Lire

AA.BB.AA. = Antichità e Belle Arti

ACS = Archivio Centrale dello Stato di Roma

AGO. = Agosto

art. = articolo

b. = busta

B.A. = Belle Arti

CHRR = AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, *Coin Hoards of the Roman Republic Online*, New York (<http://numismatics.org/chrr/>)

Direz. = Direzione

div. = divisione

doc. = document

Dott. = Dottore

E.V. = Eccellenza Vostra

FEB. = Febbraio

Gen., GEN^E, Gle = Generale

GEN., Genn. = Gennaio

I.^{nc} = Istruzione

lett., lett.^a = lettera

LUG. = Luglio

Min.^o = Ministro

MPI = Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione

N., N.^o, Num. = Numero

On. = Onorevole

OTT. = Ottobre

p. = per

P.I. = Pubblica Istruzione

Pos., Posiz.^c = Posizione

prof. = professore

Prot., Prot.^o, PROT^o = Protocollo

R. = Regia/Regio

RAN = Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche (Castello Sforzesco, Milan)

RIC¹ = C.H.V. SUTHERLAND, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 1: *From 31 BC to AD 69*, London 1984.

⁵³ The Minister repeated the aforementioned mistake “295”.

⁵⁴ The list also includes abbreviations attested in archival records.

RR. = Regi

RRC = M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coinage*, vols. 1–2, London 1974

RRCH = M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*, London 1969

S.E. = Sua Eccellenza

S.V. = Signoria Vostra

Sez. = Sezione

Sig. = Signore

V.E. = Vostra Eccellenza

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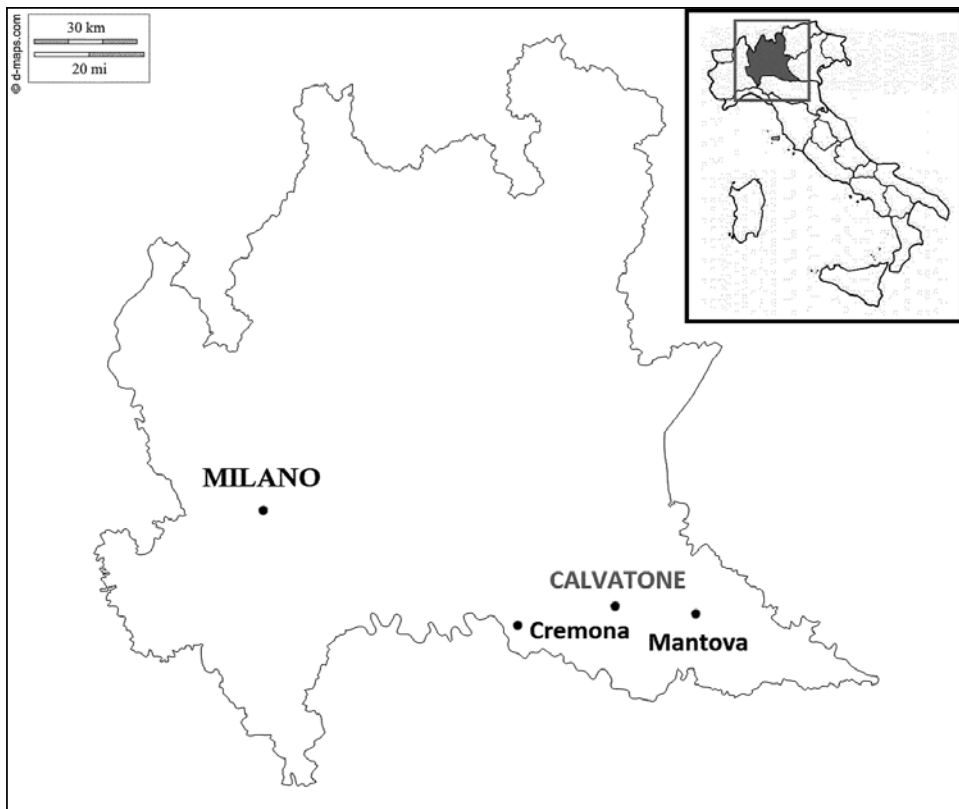
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- MAP 1 Map of Lombardy region, showing Calvatone between Cremona (W) and Mantova (E) (source: *D-maps.com*, modified by the author)
- PLATE 1 Fig. 1. Calvatone: view of via Umberto I (source: author)
Fig. 2. Calvatone: view of the countryside (source: author)
- PLATE 2 Fig. 3. Map of *Bedriacum*'s archaeological site ("Costa S. Andrea") (source: L. Palmieri)
- PLATE 3 Fig. 4. View of the "Castello Sforzesco" (Milan) (source: author)
Fig. 5. Mint of Brutus (43–42 BC), AR, denarius: *Obv.*: head of Apollo, COSTA LEG; *Rv.*: trophy with shield and spears, BRVTVS IMP (3.82 g) (example of the type) (source: *Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Auktion 88, 17 May 2011, lot no. 272*)
Fig. 6. Mint of Brutus (43–42 BC), AR, denarius: *Obv.*: head of Neptune right, CASCALONGVS; *Rv.*: winged Victory (Ø 18 mm, 3.55 g) (example of the type) (source: *Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 88, 14 September 2011, lot no. 1197*)
Fig. 7. Sicilian mint, Sextus Pompeius (42–40 BC), AR, denarius: *Obv.*: head of Gneus Pompeius right, MAG·PIVS·IMP·ITER; *Rv.*: Neptune and the Catanean Brothers, PRAEF CLAS·ET·ORAE/MARIT·EX·S·C· (3.76 g) (example of the type) (source: *Sincona AG, Auction 4, 25 October 2011, lot no. 4041*)
Fig. 8. Mint of Rome (45 BC), AR, denarius: *Obv.*: head of Apollo right; *Rv.*: Europa on a bull right, L·VALERIVS (Ø 17 mm, 3.71 g) (example of the type) (source: *Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 88, 14 September 2011, lot no. 1176*)

MAP

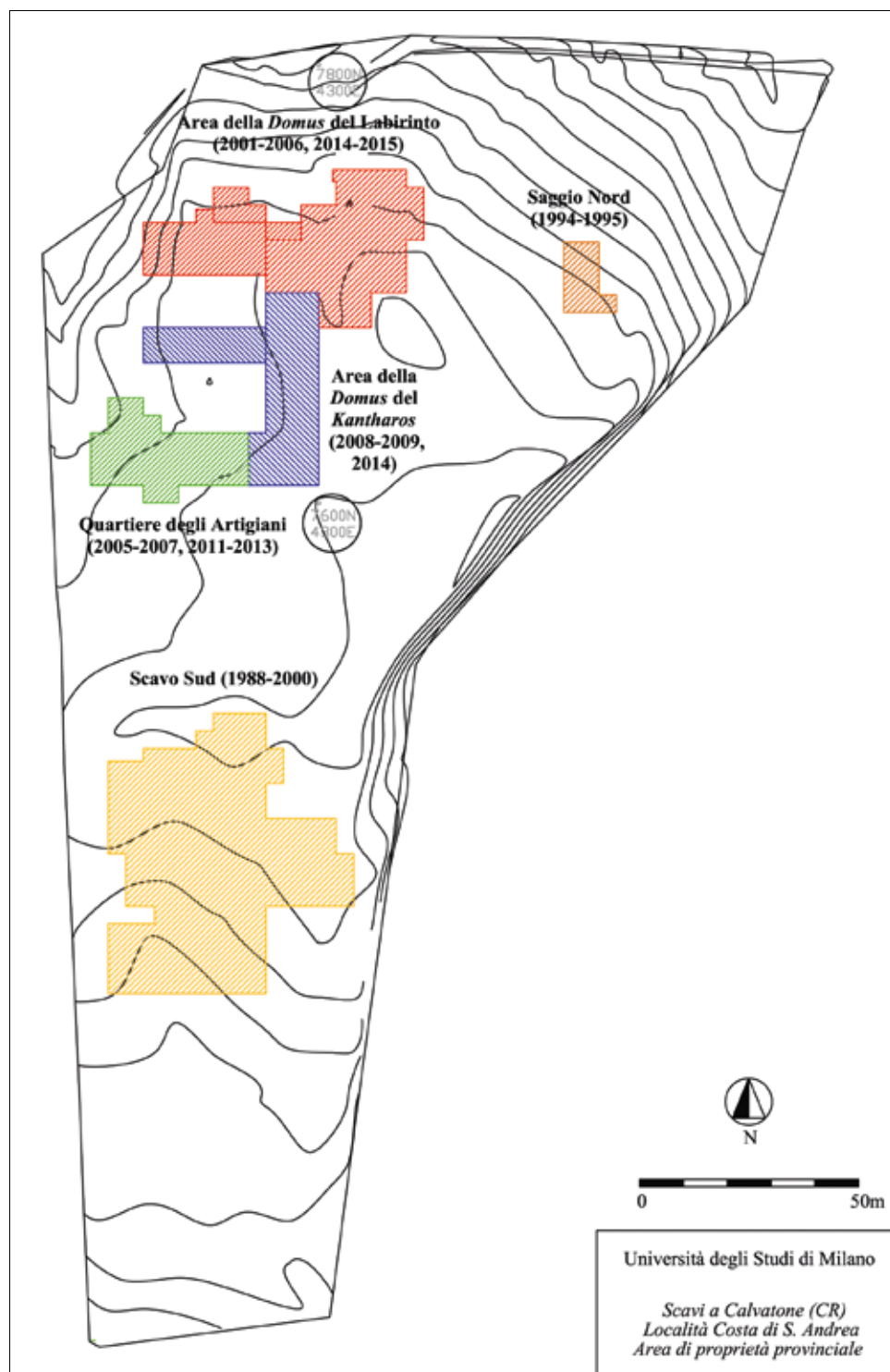




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