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NIETULISKO MAŁE HOARD I REDISCOVERED – PRELIMINARY INFORMATION*

In 1949, in the last volume of *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne*, the recognized Cracow numismatist Waclaw Makomaski published a vast, 3170-piece Roman denarius hoard¹. The publication contained some information on the circumstances of the discovery and subsequent history of the coin set as well as an itemized list of all the coins. According to W. Makomaski, he was first acquainted with the set in May 1943 when a certain Mr. S. (A. Siedlecki) approached him asking for an estimate of an „disorderly collection” of Roman coins. Mr. Siedlecki was intending to

* The present article is meant as an introductory note. A thorough-going publication of the hoard in the form of a monograph is being prepared for the press. A detailed list of coins with RIC references is published in: P. KACZANOWSKI, U. MARGOS (eds), *Tabula Imperii Romani. M 34 - Kraków*, Kraków 2002, no 499.

¹ W. MAKOMASKI, „Skarb monet rzymskich z Nietuliska Małego (pow. Wierzbnik),” *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne* XXI, 1940-1948 (1949), pp. 110-126. For information on Waclaw Makomaski, cf. *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* VIII 1964, (fasc. 3-4), p. 222 („Wspomnienie pośmiertne”). For more on the Nietulisko Małe I hoard, cf. also R. JAMKA, „Uwagi o skarbach monet rzymskich z Nietuliska

purchase the set from its owner, Mr. G. (A. Grobicki). The latter imparted to W. Makomaski what he knew about the hoard's history. The coins were to have been discovered by Mr. Grobicki's father in May 1939 in the village of Nietulisko Małe lying on the Kamienna river, on a hill about 300 meters from the Zawichost – Skarżysko-Kamienna highway. The hoard was to have been found in a clay pot fragments of which Mr. Grobicki showed to W. Makomaski, assuring him that the coins in his possession were the entire hoard². It should be noted that the find was delivered to W. Makomaski in Cracow³. The latter never visiting Nietulisko himself, he had to rely entirely on Mr. A. Grobicki's information. In his publication, W. Makomaski said that the hoard numbered 3170 denarii weighing a total of 10.07 kg. He implied that the hoard had only briefly been in his possession in 1943, that it had been purchased by Mr. A. Siedlecki⁴, and had become lost after the new owner's death. From other sources, we know that in 1944/1945, A. Siedlecki had deposited his coins, together with shards of the pot in which they had been found, in the Archeological Museum in Cracow⁵. The owner withdrew his deposit in 1945, leaving behind only a clay fragment, now lost. As has been

Malego, pow. Opatowski," *Przegląd Archeologiczny* 36, 1961, pp. 136-162; IDEM, „Remarques sur les dépôts de monnaie romaines de Nietulisko Małe, distr. Opatów,” in: *A. Pedro Bosch-Gimpera en el septuagesimo aniversario de su nacimiento*, México 1963, pp. 197-206; A. KUNISZ, *Chronologia napływu pieniądza rzymskiego na ziemię Małopolski*, Wrocław-Warszawa 1969, No. 150 I; IDEM, *Katalog skarbów monet rzymskich odkrytych na ziemiach polskich (Materiały do prahistorii ziem polskich. Część V: Epoka żelaza, Z. 5: okres rzymski)*, Warszawa 1973, No. 95; IDEM, „Les trésors de monnaies romaines en Pologne” in: *Actes du 8ème Congrès International de Numismatique, New York-Washington Septembre 1973, Paris-Bâle 1976*, p. 334; J. KOLENDO, H. RYSIEWSKI, „Jeden czy dwa skarby monet rzymskich z Nietuliska Malego?,” *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* XXII, 1978, pp. 45-52; A. KUNISZ, *Znaleziska monet rzymskich z Małopolski*, Wrocław-Warszawa 1985, No. 160; K. MITKOWA-SZUBERT, *The Nietulisko Małe Hoards of Roman Denarii*, Warszawa 1989; also find further bibliography there.

² MAKOMASKI stresses this point twice in his article: pp. 110 and 111.

³ W. Makomaski's text seems to imply, though without an express statement to that effect, that the Nietulisko coins were delivered to him by A. Grobicki. The suggestion is substantiated by W. Makomaski's contacts with the latter while he was examining the set, and especially his reference to the pot in which the coins were supposed to have been found: „Mr. G. also showed me fragments of that vessel” (MAKOMASKI, „Skarb...,” p. 111). Not so J. Kolendo, who believes that the coins were handed over to W. Makomaski by A. Siedlecki, cf. KOLENDO, RYSIEWSKI, „Jeden czy dwa...,” p. 46; similarly K. Mitkova-Szubert, based on correspondence and interviews with living witnesses.

⁴ Cf. MAKOMASKI, „Skarb...,” p. 112.

⁵ „Sprawozdanie z czynności i wydawnictw Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności od lipca 1945 do czerwca 1946,” in: *Rocznik Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności za rok 1945/1946*, Kraków 1947, p. 26; Jamka, „Uwagi o skarbach...,” p. 138.

mentioned, Mr. Siedlecki died suddenly in the same year. Afterwards the hoard was not heard of. A quote from W. Makomaski sounds apt at this point: „Thus a treasure of great historical value, having first been accidentally rescued from oblivion in 1939, was now lost again, probably beyond retrieval. Perhaps this little contribution will at least prove the existence of this greatest find on Polish soil⁶.“ The author of these words himself died a tragic death in 1964.

About a year before W. Makomaski's article appeared, K. Jażdżewski published a short mention on Roman coins found at Nietulisko Małe that had found their way to the Archeological Museum in Łódź and the National Archeological Museum in Warsaw⁷. The coins were to have surfaced as part of a hoard of several thousand pieces discovered in 1942-1943⁸. The first of those series, containing 1280 pieces, acquired by K. Salewicz, was added to the National Archeological Museum in 1943⁹. The Łódź Museum acquired 91 coins from Nietulisko in 1948. Moreover, two denarii reported to have come from a hoard of about 1500 pieces discovered at Nietulisko Fabryczne in 1943 were acquired by the Archeological Museum in Cracow¹⁰. Finally, the Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski Museum acquired eight denarii from Nietulisko Małe in 1968¹¹. Publications of the Warsaw set by A. Kietlińska¹² and of the Łódź coins by

⁶ MAKOMASKI, „Skarb...“ p. 112.

⁷ K. JAŹDŻEWSKI, „O skarbach i luźnych znaleziskach monet,” *Dziennik Łódzki*, No. 9, I.1948; also cf. K. MAJEWSKI, *Importy rzymskie na ziemiach słowiańskich*, Wrocław 1949, p. 134, No. 806; on hoard II also: A. Gupieniec, *Przewodnik po dziale numizmatycznym Muzeum Archeologicznego w Łodzi*, Łódź 1954, pp. 45f, tab. XI - XII.; JAMKA, „Uwagi...,” p. 136; A. Kietlińska, „Nietulisko Małe pow. Opatów, II skarb monet rzymskich (Notatka wstępna),” *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* XIII, 1969, pp. 45-46; KUNISZ, *Chronologia...*, No. 150 II; IDEM, *Katalog skarbów...* No. 96; IDEM, *Les tresors...*, p. 336; KOLENDO, RYSIEWSKI, „Jeden czy dwa...,” pp. 45-52; KUNISZ, *Znaleziska...*, No. 160 II; MITKOWA-SZUBERT, *The Nietulisko Małe...*, passim.

⁸ Cf. JAMKA, „Uwagi...,” p. 138.

⁹ Cf. findings by J. Kolendo (KOLENDO, RYSIEWSKI, „Jeden czy dwa...,” pp. 46f and MITKOWA-SZUBERT, *The Nietulisko Małe...*, pp. 11ff.

¹⁰ KUNISZ, „Nieznane znaleziska monet rzymskich z Kielecczyny,” *Archeologia* X, 1958, pp. 205ff.

¹¹ J. KUCZYŃSKI, „Denary rzymskie uzyskane przez Muzeum w Ostrowcu Świętokrzyskim w 1968 r.,” *Rocznik Muzeum Świętokrzyskiego* VI, 1970, p. 433.

¹² A. KIETLIŃSKA, „Nietulisko Małe pow. Opatów, II skarb monet rzymskich (Notatka wstępna),” *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* XIII, 1969, pp. 45-46.

A. Gupieniec¹³ helped establish that those were not identical with the hoard described by W. Makomaski.

The moment the first publications appeared concerning the Nietulisko Małe coins, scholars entered into discussions centering on the question whether one or two hoards had been discovered at that location. The debate was finally summed up by K. Mitkowa-Szubert¹⁴. Based on a detailed analysis of archives, numerous interviews with people involved in the discoveries, and an on-site field study, she concluded that two large hoards of Roman treasures had been discovered at two separate sites at Nietulisko within a short time of each other. The coin set published by W. Makomaski, which K. Mitkowa-Szubert's findings suggested was derived from both Nietulisko Małe deposits, was believed lost for 50 years.

Unexpectedly, during a 1995 project commissioned by Jagiellonian University Rector and conducted by Prof. dr. hab. Piotr Kaczanowski in the basement at 21 Szewska Street in Cracow, a great „collection” of Roman coins was accidentally discovered¹⁵. The coins were hidden in a wooden chest, completely rotten at the time of being discovered, with each piece originally protected by a paper bag, now also decayed. The „collection” was soon identified as the lost Nietulisko Małe set that W. Makomaski had published. The coins were deposited at the Institute of Archeology, Jagiellonian University for examination. It turned out, however, that the discovery numbered only 2759 coins. Compared to Wacław Makomaski's publication, it was short of 411 pieces. Any possibility of oversight while searching the basement was ruled out. The coins were heavily corroded and had to be thoroughly restored. The conservation and subsequent study of the set was done as part of a research project financed by the State Committee for Scientific Research¹⁶. A closer analysis revealed that the missing 411 pieces were mostly rare coins from

¹³ A. GUPIENIEC, *Przewodnik po dziale numizmatycznym Muzeum Archeologicznego w Łodzi*, Łódź 1954, pp. 45f, tab. XI - XII.

¹⁴ Cf. JAMKA, „Uwagi...,” *passim*; J. WIELOWIEJSKI „Przemiany gospodarczo-społeczne u ludności południowej Polski w okresie późnolateńskim i rzymskim,” *Materiały Starożytne*, vol. VI, 1960, p. 134, No. 806; M. GUMOWSKI, „Moneta rzymska w Polsce,” *Przegląd Archeologiczny* X, 1954-1956 (1958), p. 114, No. 12.

¹⁵ Cf. M. BIBORSKI, „Konservacja skarbu monet rzymskich z Nietuliska Małego, gm. Kunów,” *Notae Numismatae - Żapiski Numizmatyczne*, III/IV 1999, pp. 202f.

W. Makomaski's list. This suggested that the missing coins had not become lost through accident but rather they had been deliberately removed from the set, probably before it was hidden in the Szewska St. basement.

As it happened, in the year 2000, one of the present authors was contacted by Mrs. Helena Makomaska, the widow of Waclaw Makomaski, who asked for an evaluation of some ancient coins in her possession. A cursory examination showed that they were Roman coins from the Nietulisko Małe set. The coins were arranged in a case, each accompanied by a slip with a letter N, the name „Nietulisko” and number, sometimes with the Cohen catalog number or note to the effect that the coin was unknown. Although the original arrangement of the pieces in the case had been disturbed and the coins in their compartments did not match Cohen catalog numbers inscribed by W. Makomaski, that they were part of the Nietulisko Małe I hoard was unquestionable. Numbering 89 coins, the set was acquired by the Institute of Archeology at the Jagiellonian University. A closer scrutiny showed that the assembly included pieces from relatively rare issues (such as Nero's – RIC² 45, Julia Domna's – RIC 582), variants not recorded in literature (e.g. Hadrian's – RIC – 266var), and also well preserved pieces or those sought after by collectors (e.g. an elephant coin). Importantly, the hoard final coin was identified in the group: a denarius struck in 202 in the name of Caracalla (RIC – 64), as was a coin of Trajan and belonging to the emperor's Greek issues which turned out to have been struck in Cappadocian Caesarea¹⁷.

Thus, of the lost treasure once published by Waclaw Makomaski, available to researchers are now 2759 coins from the Szewska St. set and 89 pieces from the Makomaski set, adding up to a total of 2848 pieces. Recovered coins make up 89.9 per cent of the set as first published by W. Makomaski, with 332 pieces still missing. A breakup by ruler in comparison between W. Makomaski's publication and the present state is shown in Table I. The missing pieces include especially rare issues marker 'R' in catalogs, such as all the coins of Galba, Othon, Pertinax, Clodius Albinus, and those struck under Didius Julian. For other emperors, missing along-

¹⁶ Research project 1 H01G 038 12 titled „Skarb z Nietuliska Małego (woj. Kieleckie) - największy zachowany skarb denarów rzymskich z terenu Polski.”

¹⁷ cf J. BODZEK „Drachma Cezarei kapadockiej ze skarbu denarów Nietulisko Małe I”, w: W. KACZANOWICZ (red.) *Studia z dziejów antyku Pamięci Profesora Andrzeja Kunisza*, Katowice 2004, s. 142-152.

side rare specimens are also coins regarded as common. The percentages of lost coins per emperor vary. Paradoxically, in some instances there are more coins extant now than were on Makomaski's list. This includes especially coins issued for Titus by Vespasian (one piece in Makomaski vs. 11 now available). In all cases, the discrepancy is exclusively owing to different coin identification by W. Makomaski and the present authors. It should be stressed that W. Makomaski, while he had most of the coins in his disposal, did not possess any specialist literature besides H. Cohen's catalog, and the state of preservation of some pieces is far from perfect.

Like the „Makomaski set,” the lost coins were probably separated before the bulk of the hoard being hidden in the Szewska St. basement. A number of questions arise in this context. From whom did Waclaw Makomaski acquire the coins later in his possession? Was it from A. Siedlecki or his family, or perhaps earlier from A. Grobicki? Let us remember that W. Makomaski's article suggests that A. Grobicki still owned the coins at the time both gentlemen met. Are the pieces acquired from Mrs. Helena Makomaska all of the Nietulisko coins her husband possessed, or did he have more of them? If so, whose property were the other, now lost, items from the hoard? Had they been removed from the set by A. Siedlecki or perhaps A. Grobicki? Finally, what happened to the lost part of the hoard? Unfortunately, most of these questions must for now remain unanswered. For want of space, the present article must limit itself to a mere introduction of these problems. They will be given comprehensive treatment elsewhere, accompanied by a close analysis of all circumstances of the find at Nietulisko Małe. For the present, suffice it to state that the new evidence mentioned above makes such an analysis necessary.

Based on the material available now, the earliest coins in the Nietulisko Małe I hoard are denarii of Nero from AD 64-65 (RIC² 45, 53, 55), while the last are denarii issued on behalf of Julia Domna from 196-211 (RIC 582) and Caracalla from 202 (RIC 64). The latter two coins and specimens of Septimius Severus are the best preserved in the hoard. Also in good condition are most of the coins issued during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The most wear was suffered by coins of Nero, Vitellius, the Flavians, and a large number of pieces of Trajan and Hadrian. This situation reflects the set's chronological structure, despite the heavy corrosion they suffered before being discovered in the Szewska St. basement and consequent need for conservation. This, however, seems not to have added greatly to the items' original wear.

As has been said, out of 3170 coins included in Waclaw Makomaski's list, now available are 2848 pieces and despite a loss of over 300 pieces, the set is still the largest assembly of Roman denarii discovered in Poland that is available to scholars. It can only be hoped that the remaining pieces will be found in the future, affording researchers a chance to study the hoard in its entirety.

Translated by Tadeusz Stanek

Table I. Numbers of coins from the Nietulisko Male hoard broken down according to rulers in the publication by W. Makomaski and in the present state.

Reign	Makomaski	Present state
Nero (54-68)	13	10
Galba (69)	1	-
Otho (69)	2	-
Vitellius (69)	10	8
Vespasianus (69-79)	148	125
Vesp. for Titus	1	11
Vesp. for Domitianus	17	16
Titus (79-81)	24	15
Titus for Domitianus	9	8
Domitianus (81-96)	19	18
Nerva (96-98)	18	12
Traianus (98-117)	226	194
Hadrianus (117-138)	385	347
Hadr. for Elius	12	7
Hadr. for Antonus	3	5
Hadr. for Sabine	45	41
Antoninus Pius (138-161)	508	491
Ant. with M. Aurelius	7	4
Ant. for M. Aurelius	134	126
Ant. for Faustina senior	8	6
Divia Faustina	330	299
Ant. for Faustina iunior	84	82
Divus Antoninus	68	60

Marcus Aurelius	385	353
Lucius Verus	65	54
Divus Verus	8	6
M. Aurelius for Commodus	23	18
Faustina iunior	151	130
Diva Faustina	34	34
Lucilla	77	67
Divus M. Aurelius	30	31
Commodus	252	223
Crispina	38	31
Pertinax	3	-
Manlia Scantilla	2	-
Didia Clara	1	-
Clodius Albinus	3	-
Septimius Severus	19	13
Julia Domna	6	1
Caracalla	1	1
Total	3170	2847

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SKARB NIETULISKO MAŁE I PONOWNIE ODKRYTY - INFORMACJA WSTĘPNA

W 1995 roku w Krakowie, w piwnicy jednej z posesji przy ulicy Szewskiej znaleziony został „zbiór” srebrnych monet rzymskich. Wkrótce okazało się, że jest to część odkrytego w Nietulisku Małym jeszcze w czasie II wojny światowej słynnego tzw. I skarbu denarów rzymskich. Skarb uznawany od 1945 roku za zaginiony, został skrótowo opublikowany w 1948 roku przez znanego krakowskiego numizmatyka Wacława Makomaskiego. Według publikacji tego ostatniego skarb miał liczyć 3170 denarów. Odkryta w 1995 roku część skarbu liczyła jedynie 2759 monet. Brakowało przede wszystkim egzemplarzy należących do rzadkich i cennych emisji. W roku 2000 do jednego z autorów niniejszego tekstu zwróciła się Helena Makomaska, wdowa po Wacławie. W efekcie Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego pozyskał kolejne 89 monet ze skarbu z Nietuliska. Wśród nich znajdował się denar wybity w imieniu Karakalli, który według W. Makomaskiego był najmłodszą monetą w zespole. Monety zostały poddane konserwacji i opracowane dzięki funduszom uzyskanym z Komitetu Badań Naukowych. Porównanie spisu denarów dokonanego przez W. Makomaskiego z obecnie dostępnymi monetami ze skarbu wykazuje pewne różnice w zakresie obecności w skarbie monet bitych przez poszczególnych cesarzy. Są one efektem problemów z dostępem do literatury, jakie miał W. Makomaskim w czasie wojny. Obecnie ze skarbu Nietulisko Małe I dostępnych jest 2848 monet. W dalszym ciągu zaginione pozostają 322 denary, wchodzące pierwotnie w skład omawianego depozytu.



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6



1. Nero, denarius, Rome A.D.64-5. From Nietulisko Male I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv.no M71 (Photo J.Bodzek).
2. Vespasianus, denarius, Rome A.D. 69-71. From Nietulisko Male I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archeology, inv. no M36 (Photo J.Bodzek).
3. Traianus, denarius, Rome A.D. 103-111. From Nietulisko Male I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv. no M74 (Photo J.Bodzek).
4. Traianus, drachm, Cappadocian Caesarea A.D. 112-117. From Nietulisko Male I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv. no M27 (Photo J.Bodzek).
5. Hadrianus, denarius, Eastern mint. A.D. 134-138 Nietulisko Male I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv. no NM 254 (Photo J.Bodzek).
6. Hadrianus for Aelius, denarius, Rome A.D.137. From Nietulisko Male I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv. no M40 (Photo J.Bodzek).

Tab. I



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8



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12



7. Antoninus Pius, denarius, Rome A.D.139. From Nietulisko Małe I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv. no M13 (Photo J.Bodzek).
8. Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, denarius, Rome A.D.140 -. From Nietulisko Małe I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv. no M54 (Photo J.Bodzek).
9. Marcus Aurelius, denarius, Rome A.D. 161-162. From Nietulisko Małe I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv. no M38 (Photo J.Bodzek).
10. Septimius Severus, denarius, Rome A.D.194. From Nietulisko Małe I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv. no NM 697 (Photo J.Bodzek).
11. Julia Domna, denarius, Rome A.D. 196-211. From Nietulisko Małe I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv. no M33 (Photo J.Bodzek).
12. Caracalla, denarius, Rome A.D. 202. From Nietulisko Małe I Hoard. Jagiellonian University, Institute of Archaeology, inv. no M55 (Photo J.Bodzek).

Tab. II