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# THE KASPERIVTSI 1908 HOARD OF ROMAN DENARII AND KAROL WILHELM HALAMA: SOME NOTES<sup>1</sup>

# КАСПЕРІВСЬКИЙ СКАРБ 1908 Р. РИМСЬКИХ ДЕНАРІЇВ ТА КАРОЛЬ ВІЛЬГЕЛЬМ ГАЛАМА: ДЕЯКІ НОТАТКИ

Abstract: In 1908, a hoard of Roman denarii was found near the village of Kasperivtsi (Chortkivs'kyy Region). From the very beginning, there have been a number of misunderstandings and inaccuracies around it, which persist to this day. One of the persons who published information about the find was Karol Wilhelm Halama aka Hallama (1871–1948), a postal clerk from Żywiec, a small town in western Lesser Poland. Halama collected antique coins, which he donated to the National Museum in Krakow in 1946. As a member of the Numismatic Society in Vienna, he published short texts in the journals issued by the society: Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien and Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Münz- und Medaillenkunde. In one of the notes, he corrected the incorrect information about the Kasperivtsi find. However, his contribution to research on this hoard was forgotten. The hoard itself was scattered and today only seven coins out of its entirety are availlable, stored in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum in Łódź. This article attempts to organize information about the composition of the hoard and the fate of the coins included in it.

Key words: Kasperivtsi, coin finds, hoard, Roman denarii, Karol Wilhelm Halama

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> At this point I would like to thank Dr. Hab. K. Myzgin from the University of Warsaw, Dr. A. Degler from the Ossoliński National Institute and Mr. Piotr Chabrzyk from the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum in Łódź for valuable comments and help in finding materials regarding the hoard. Special thanks to Dr. Barbara Zając from the National Museum in Krakow for discussing the issues raised in this text. I thank also Mrs. Claire Amy Franklin-Werz, for improving my English. All shortcomings remain my own.

Анотація: У 1908 р. біля села Касперівці (Чортківський район) знайдено скарб римських денаріїв. Із самого початку навколо нього існувала низка непорозумінь і неточностей, які зберігаються й досі. Одним із тих, хто оприлюднив інформацію про знахідку, був Кароль Вільгельм Халама, він же Халлама (1871–1948), поштовий службовець із Живця, невеликого містечка на заході Малої Польщі. Халама збирав античні монети, які він подарував Національному музею у Кракові в 1946 році. Як член Нумізматичного товариства у Відні він публікував короткі тексти в журналах, які видавало товариство: Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft у Відні та Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Münz- und Medailenkunde. В одній із заміток він виправив невірну інформацію про касперівську знахідку. Проте його внесок у дослідження цього скарбу був забутий. Сам скарб був розпорошений, і сьогодні доступні лише сім монет із його повного обсягу, які зберігаються в Археологічному Етнографічному музеї в Лодзі.  $\boldsymbol{\mathcal{Y}}$ цій cmammi зроблено систематизувати інформацію про склад скарбу та долю монет, що входять до нього.

**Ключові слова**: Касперівці, знахідки монет, скарб, римські денарії, Кароль Вільгельм Халама

Karol Wilhelm Halama aka Hallama (1871-1948) is known primarily as a collector of ancient coins and a donor to the National Museum in Krakow (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> A postal clerk from Żywiec, a small town in the Beskid Mountains, collected 2,574 ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins. In 1946, his collection and the numismatic library were donated to the National Museum in Krakow, which significantly improved the quality of this part of the institution's collection. Halama, however, was not merely a collector who focused solely on expanding his collection, but was also actively involved in the activities of the numismatic milieu. In 1891 he became a member of the Numismatic Society in Vienna, and from 1909 he belonged to the Numismatic Society in Kraków.<sup>3</sup> In his house in Żywiec, he organized numismatic exhibitions accessible for a wider public.<sup>4</sup> Finally, he published texts in journals issued by the Vienna Numismatic Society Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien and Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Münz- und Medaillenkunde (hereafter MÖGMM). Despite clearly defined collecting interests, focusing primarily on ancient coins, only a few of Halama's approximately 60 publications deal with ancient numismatics. Halama published only two notes on the topic, in both cases devoted to finds of Roman coins. One concerned the famous, huge hoard of late Roman coins discovered in 1895 in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kałkowski 1949; Bodzek 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Halama 1948, Kałkowski 1949; Bodzek 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Kałkowski 1949: 5.

Cologne (North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany), <sup>5</sup> the other a find made in Kasperivtsi (Chortkivs'kyy Region, Ternopilska oblast', Ukraine). <sup>6</sup>

The Hoard of Kasperivtsi (Kasperowce, Kasperov) was accidentally discovered by shepherds on land located near the Seret River in early July 1908. Hidden under a stone, it consisted of over 1,000 silver Roman denarii, probably from the 1st-2nd and early 3rd centuries. The hoard attracted the attention of researchers quite early, because the first information about this find appeared just a few weeks after its discovery. However, from the very beginning, a number of misunderstandings and inaccuracies have accumulated around it, which persist to this day. 8

The first information about the find of Kasperivtsi (then bezirk Zaleszczyki) was apparently the report published in Kurier Warszawski of July 16, 1908. 9 It contained important information about the time (early July) and circumstances of the discovery (made by shepherds near the Seret, on the road from Kasperivtsi to Lysychnyky [Lesieczniki]), and the chronology of the find (coins from Hadrian to Severus Alexander). However, the report also contained erroneous information, which had a certain amount of influence on the subsequent understanding of the hoard. The name of the landowner was incorrectly provided as count Baworowski, and the coins themselves, even though they were described as silver in the first sentence, were called "sestertiae". 10 Moreover, according to the note, most of the coins were supposed to go to the landowner in question. The indicated errors were repeated in notes published in some professional numismatic journals. In the text published in WNA 1907-1908, count Baworowski appears again as the owner of the land, and the coins, although silver, were referred to as sestertii.<sup>11</sup> The note informs that half of the hoard was to go to the landowner and half was to be dispersed. A new piece of information here was the name was the name of the finder, the shepherd Włodzimierz Karłyniuk. The errors were also repeated in the note published in the July issue of MÖGMM.<sup>12</sup> In a few sentences, the journal's editorial staff provided information about the discovery of a hoard of approximately 1,000 sestertii in the village of Kasperow. The owner of the land was again named Baworowski and the news that most of the coins had been obtained by the manager of the count's estate was repeated. Slightly different information than in the previous reports was provided regarding the chronological scope of the hoard. The coins were supposed to come from

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Halama 1907; cf Bahrfeldt 1923; Nuber 1984: no 1003; Päffgen et Al 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Halama 1908.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cf. Majewski 1949: 123, no 653; Kropotkin 1961: 80, no 1014.

<sup>°</sup> Cf.

 $https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/\%\,D0\%\,9A\%\,D0\%\,B0\%\,D1\%\,81\%\,D0\%\,BF\%\,D0\%\,B5\%\,D1\%\,80\%\,D1\%\,96\%\,D0\%\,B2\%\,D1\%\,86\%\,D1\%\,96$  and https://www.zamky.com.ua/istoriya/arheologiya-ta-starodavnya-istoriya-zalishhytskogo-rajonu/.  $^9$  Anonymous 1908a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Here and in some other places I used word "sestertiae" (in plural) which in my view correspond the best to incorrect Polish word "sestercja"(singular - "sestercje" plural) found in some of the Polish texts. In the cases where the correct noun "Sestercjusz - sesterce" was used I applied "sestertii".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Anonymous 1907-1908.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Anonymous 1908b.

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the times of Hadrian and Septimius Severus. It is difficult to decide at this point whether the name of the latter emperor appeared by mistake or whether it was a conscious narrowing of the chronological range of the find.

In the next, August issue of the 1908 yearbook of *MÖGMM*, Karol Halama published a note containing important corrections to the information about the find. In his text, he relied on information obtained in writing directly from the owner of the land where the hoard was found. This was, in fact, count Jerzy Dunin-Borkowski (1856-1908), a landowner, a well-known social activist and heraldry researcher, and, most importantly, a corresponding member *c.k. Komisji Centralnej dla badania i utrzymywania pomników sztuki i zabytków w Galicji* (k.& k. Central Commission for the study and maintenance of artworks and monuments in Galicia). Halama indicated that the hoard discovered by the shepherds amounted to over 1,000 coins. These were merely described as being silver denarii

from the early imperial period ("der ersten Kaiserzeit"). Therefore, the more precise chronology of the find known from earlier publications was missing. Here again the question arises whether such a restriction was a result of chance or Whether it was a deliberate decision. Most of the coins were distributed among the finders, and count Dunin-Borkowski himself recovered only 467 pieces by July 30. According to Halama, Dunin-Borkowski planned, if possible, to re-gather and then publish the deposit in the reports of the Central Commission and to donate the coins to the Ossolineum (Ossoliński National Institute).

What was the value of Halama's findings and how did they influence the perception of the hoard in later publications? Undoubtedly, the most important thing was to establish that the Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard included only imperial denarii. Hoards consisting only of sestertii were not known from the territory of Ukraine at that time. <sup>15</sup> It was also important to indicate the correct name of the land owner and the number of coins that came into his possession. The note served as the basis for correcting the information about the find published in the next *WNA* yearbook. <sup>16</sup> In the text, which directly referred to Halama's publication, the type of coins was corrected (Roman silver denarii) and the correct name of the land owner was given. However, it appears that Halama's note was quickly forgotten. 21 years later, in volume XIII of *WNA* (dated to 1930), information about the Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard was again included, correctly

<sup>14</sup> Sokulski 1936.

<sup>16</sup> Anonymous 1909.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Halama 1908.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Currently, three such hoards are known: a) Myrhorod, Poltava Region, 12 coins, Antoninus Pius – Commodus (Myzgin, forthcoming); Perehinka, Khmelnyts'kyi Region, 9 coins, Marcus Aurelius – Gordian III (Nadvirnyak, Pohorilets, Nadvirnyak 2016); c) Rokytne, Kyiv Region (UA), 60 coins, Trajan – Marcus Aurelius (Myzgin, forthcoming). The hoard from Kasperivtsi, numbering over 1,000 sestertii, would be unique in any case.

identifying the coins as silver denarii, but this time referring to the abovementioned text in *Kurier Warszawski* from 1908.<sup>17</sup>

In 1909, the correct description of the find as a hoard of Roman denarii was published by Professor Karol Hadaczek in *Sprawozdaniach c.k. grona Konserwatorów Galicyi Wschodniej* (Reports of the k.& k. group of Conservators of Eastern Galicia) for years 1907-1908.<sup>18</sup> In a very short note, he described the coins as coming from the 1st-2nd centuries AD, corrected the number of specimens recovered by the Dunin-Borkowski to 360 and stated informed that, thanks to the help of the County Office (Starostwo), he himself had purchased another 38 coins. It seems that Hadaczek relied directly on his own sources of information without using previous publications. These sources were probably Dunin-Borkowski, with whom Hadaczek cooperated in the Central Commission, and the County Office, with which he communicated regarding the hoard. In an article published three years later, Hadaczek wrote again that the find consisted of silver coins, but this time without specifying their type.<sup>19</sup>

B. Janusz also wrote about silver Roman coins in a short mention of the hoard in a text published in Kurier Lwowski of September 10, 1909. However, the same author reiterated the incorrect description of the coins as "sestertiae" in two subsequent works. In the inventory of prehistoric monuments and artifacts of eastern Galicia, published in 1918, the author wrote about the hoard of "sestertiae" found in Kasperivtsi, and next in his work on the prehistory of Podolia, published in 1919, he mentioned silver coins "called sestertiae". 21 Defining silver coins from the Roman Empire as sestertii ("sestertiae") indicates Janusz's rather poor knowledge of Roman numismatics. Unfortunately, the consequence of repeating this misleading information in articles published in the daily press, in numismatic journals, and in the works of B. Janusz, was that the both the general public and the authors of certain subsequent numismatic works acquired a completely false perception of the Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard.<sup>22</sup> The hoard was understood to be a deposit made up of sestertii by J. Pasternak,<sup>23</sup> O. Fenin<sup>24</sup> and even M.Ju.Braychevs'kyy.<sup>25</sup> K. Halama's publications were not included in any of the mentioned works. The correct description of the hoard from Kasperivtsi as a deposit of denarii was found in one of M. Gumowski's articles<sup>26</sup> and in the monumental work of S. Bolin.<sup>27</sup> It should be noted, however, that the latter researcher, although he cited several

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Anonymous 1931: 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Hadaczek 1909: 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Hadaczek 1912: 23, note 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Janusz 1909.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Janusz 1919: 141

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. above note 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Pasternak 1928: 145, no 28; 1931: 12, no 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Fenin 1946: 37, no 123

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Braychevs' kyy 1959: 176, no 695

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Gumowski 1922: 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Bolin 1926: 124, no 71

works on this find, did not include Halama's note among them, but cited an earlier note in *MÖGMM* that was incorrect in its content. <sup>28</sup> In one of his later publications, J. Pasternak also described the find from Kasperivtsi as a hoard of denarii. <sup>29</sup> Finally, J. Kostrzewski wrote about Roman silver coins, although without specifying their type. <sup>30</sup> Among post-WWII publications, there were some in which the fact that the hoard was composed of denarii was not stated directly, and others in which the its content was not specified at all. <sup>31</sup>

The correct description of the coins from the hoard as denarii was included in the monumental post-WWII inventories of K. Majewski and V.V. Kropotkin.<sup>32</sup> It should be noted here that Kropotkin was the first to conduct a more detailed analysis of the divergent information about the find. Finally, as a find of denarii, The Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard was included in the inventory of hoards from Barbaricum by L. Lind<sup>33</sup> as well as by A. Degler in the *Finds of Roman Coins from Poland and lands historically connected with PL* project database. <sup>34</sup> Apart from the previously mentioned note in *WNA* 1909, none of the publications included Halama's note in the lists of the literature used. Therefore, it seems that despite the initial "success" in correcting the earlier information in *MÖGMM* and the resulting correction in the *WNA*, Halama's text was for some reason quickly "forgotten" and did not play a role in determining the composition of Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard.

One, two or three hoards from Kasperivtsi?

It is clear that, a hoard of denarii, and not of sestertii, was discovered in Kasperivtsi in 1908. This conclusion, however, does not clarify all the uncertainties related to the find. M.Yu. Braychevs' kyy distinguished three hoards allegedly discovered in Kasperivtsi, one consisting of sestertii and two of denarii. The deposits were allegedly discovered in 1908, 1932 and 1935, respectively. As mentioned, the first of the hoards was also composed of denarii. We would therefore be dealing with three denarii hoards discovered in the village. Based on the literature cited by Braychevs' kyy, it can be assumed that such a thesis was based on two premises. The first is a note by J. Kwiatkowski, curator of the Numismatics Department of the National Museum in Krakow, published in the 16th volume of WNA. He writes about the discovery in 1932 of a hoard of Roman denarii in Kasperivtsi, from which 1/2 kg of coins, mainly of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, were displayed at the National Museum in Krakow. The second premise is the information by A. Gupieniec in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Anonymous 1908b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Pasternak 1937: 259, nr 229.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Kostrzewski 1939: 318.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Mikołajczyk 1981: 32-33, no 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Respectively Majewski 1949: 123, no 653; Kropotkin 1954: 169, no 694; 1961: 80, no 1014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Lind 1981: 130, no 331.

<sup>34</sup> https://coindb-prod.ocean.icm.edu.pl/AFE\_PL/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Braychevs' kyy 1959: 176, no 695-697.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Kwiatkowski 1934: 131.

Przewodnik po Dziale Numizmatycznym Muzeum Archeologicznego w Łodzi (Guide to the Numismatic Department of the Archaeological Museum in Łódź).<sup>37</sup> We learn from it that eight coins from the hoard found in Kasperivtsi were acquired by the the museum in 1935. Gupieniec himself, although he pointed out the uncertainty of such a thesis, connected the coins he published with the hoard from 1908. A. Mikołajczyk also associated them with the find. <sup>38</sup> In attempting to analyse this information, we should start by stating that the discovery of two denarii hoards in the same village three years apart (1932 and 1935) is of course possible, but at the same time rather unlikely. Both finds are separated by a relatively short period, and there is no detailed information regarding the circumstances of the discovery of a possible deposit in 1935. The above-mentioned eight denarii obtained in 1935 by The Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography Łódź (hereafter MAiE) are most likely not a separate deposit but come from a hoard discovered in 1932 or from that of 1908. Doubts also arise as to the date of discovery of the find given by Kwiatkowski in 1932. The author of the note wrote that the hoard was supposed to have been found near the Dniester, which resembles the circumstances of the discovery of the deposit found in 1908.

There were shown at the Czapski Museum approximately 1/5 kg of denarii, which corresponds to approximately 150-200 coins (when accepted, depending on the degree of wear, the average weight of 2nd century denarii from the late Antonine Age is approximately 3.2-2.5 g). <sup>39</sup> This is not a large number and it can be assumed without any major problems that they constituted some lost part of the 1908 hoard. This was probably the reasoning behind Majewski and Lind's acceptance of the thesis about the discovery of one hoard in Kasperivtsi, the one from 1908. Kropotkin is more cautious in his considerations, citing both possibilities without taking a firm stance. 40 In the light of the known information, it seems that the only certain thing is the discovery of the hoard in 1908, about which we have a number of relatively precise details regarding the circumstances of its discovery. There is no such data regarding a possible find from 1932. The very general statement about " dug out of the field near the Dniester" is not very informative. It cannot be ruled out that the mentioned 1/2 kg of coins was simply part of the scattered hoard from 1908 (see below).

#### Composition of Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard

The composition of the Kasperivtsi Hoardalso poses a mystery. A certain amount of information Various information on this subject was collected by V.V. Kropotkin,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Gupieniec 1954: 42-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Mikołajczyk 1981: 32-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Cf. Jarzędzki 2019. This author determines the average weight of denarii from the Antonine era at approximately 3.20g. Unfortunately, in the case of ½ kg coins from Kasperivtsi, there is no information on the degree of abrasion of the coins. Depending on this, their weight could have been lower and their number slightly higher. It should be noted, however, that the seven coins obtained for the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum in Łódź and originating from the Kasperivtsi hoard are characterized by a very high degree of abrasion and an average weight of approximately 2.5 g.

however, he did provide a critical analysis of the hoard's contents. <sup>41</sup> When determining the composition of the find, several factors should be taken into account, including the reliability of the information and findings regarding the number of deposits discovered in Kasperivtsi. When it comes to the hoard discovered in 1908, the most frequently repeated information is that it contained coins dating from the reigns of Hadrian to Severus Alexander.

Such a chronological range already appears in the note in Kurier Warszawski and is then repeated in several other publications, including those of Bolin, Majewski, Fenin, Pasternak, Kropotkin, Gupieniec and Lind. A legitimate question is whether the note in Kurier Warszawski, which is full of errors, can be considered reliable regarding the composition of the hoard. Was Severus Alexander's coin or coins really part of it? It is worth taking a look at the information contained in reliable publications based on direct examination of the coins from the Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard. K. Hadaczek listed the coins in it as including examples "with portraits of Crispina, Faustina, Lucilla, Antonius Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, P. L. Verus and Pertinax". 42 In an earlier report, the same author writes about denarii from the 1st-2nd centuries AD. 43 In the note already cited, Halama used the even less precise term "der ersten Kaiserzeit". 44 It should be recalled here that Halama's note was based on information obtained directly from Dunin-Borkowski, who at that time possessed 467 coins from the hoard. Additionally, according to his publication, Halama knew earlier reports about the find, but he did not repeat the chronological scope given in them. Either way, the presence of Severus Alexander's coins is not confirmed by any of the publications cited. The situation does not change when we take into account later publications of a similar nature, i.e. based on an examination of the coins, and sometimes associated with the thesis about the discovery of a second hoard in 1932. J. Kwiatkowski mentioned the coins of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.45

J. Pasternak, in turn, mentioned the denarii of Antoninus Pius, Faustina (Augusta and Diva) and Commodus. <sup>46</sup> Finally, according to A. Gupieniec, the Łódź museum acquired denarii of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Younger, Commodus and Septimius Severus. <sup>47</sup> It should also be added that, according to the note in *MÖGMM*, the hoard from 1908 ended with coins of Septimius Severus. <sup>48</sup> In this case, however, we do not know what the *MÖGMM* editorial office members relied on when providing this information. Similarly, it is not known what B. Janusz relied on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Hadaczek 1912: 23, note 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Hadaczek 1909: 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Halama 1908.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Kwiatkowski 1934: 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Pasternak 1937: 259, no 229.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Gupieniec 1954: 42-43, no 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Anonymous 1908b.

when reporting the preponderance of Trajan's coins in the hoard. <sup>49</sup> To sum up, among the coins subjected to a more or less detailed inspection, there are no denarii minted in the name of Severus Alexander. As mentioned, the only mention confirming the presence of such a coin in the hoard is a note in Kurier Warszawski. However, due to other significant errors, the reliability of this note is very low and it can be imagined that its author relied on a not very professional source. Of course, from the Barbaricum area there are known hoards consisting of 1st-2nd century denarii and ending with single coins from the first half of the 3rd century. <sup>50</sup> Such hoards are also known in the territory of today's Ukraine. 51 Therefore, the presence of Severus Alexander's denarii in the Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard cannot be ruled out completely. Nevertheless, the evidence for their appearence in this hoard is, in my opinion, very weak. The presence of a denarius of Pertinax in the hoard also raises some doubts. It is true that coins of this emperor appear in the hoards from Barbaricum, but at the same time, due to the inclusion of elements of the name of Pertinax in the inscriptions on the coins of Septimius Severus, the possibility of an error resulting from this should be taken into account. Therefore, I leave the presence of Pertinax's coin in the hoard with a question mark.

Taking into account the data presented, the following reconstruction of the treasure discovered in 1908 can be assumed to be as follows:

Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard - one hoard discovered

Over 1,000 denarii of 1st-2nd and possibly until the first half of the 3rd century AD

# including:

Trajan		1 +
Hadrian	3 +	
Antoninus Pius	4 +	
Marcus Aurelius	3 +	
Marcus Aurelius for Faustina Junior		1+
Faustina I or II	3+	
Lucius Verus		1+
Lucilla	1+	
Commodus	4 +	
Crispina	1+	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Janusz 1909.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> cf. Bursche 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> cf. Dymowski, Myzgin 2014: 55, Tab. I.

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Pertinax	1+(?)
Septimius Severus	2+
Severus Alexander	1+(?)

Assuming that the coins published by Kwiatkowski and Pasternak belonged to a deposit discovered in 1932, the composition of the possible two treasures discovered in Kasperivtsi is as follows:

Kasperivtsi	1908 Hoard	1932 Hoard
	over 1000 denarii	at least ½ kg of
	including:	denarii (ca 200 coins pieces) including:
Trajan	1 +	
Hadrian	3 +	
Antoninus Pius	2 +	2 +
Marcus Aurelius	2 +	1+
Marcus Aurelius for Faustina Junior	1+	
Faustina I lub II	1+	2+
Lucius Verus	1+	
Lucilla	1+	
Commodus	2 +	2 +
Crispina	1+	
Pertinax	1+ (?)	
Septimius Severus	2+	
Severus Alexander	1+ (?)	

What are we left with from these years?

Some ambiguity and inaccuracies also appeared in the literature regarding the location of the coins from the Kasperivtsi hoard/hoards. According to the cited literature, most of the denarii from the Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard were dispersed. It is true that J. Dunin-Borkowski and his administrator were to recover 467 (according to Halam 1908) or 360 pieces (according to Hadaczek 1909), but it is not known what ultimately happened to these coins. According to Halama, Dunin-Borkowski planned to document the recovered part of the hoard and then donate it to the Ossolineum.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Halama 1908.

However, this did not happen. Dr. A. Degler from the Ossoliński National Institute kindly informed me that there are no such coins in the Ossoliński collection. Dunin-Borkowski died a few months after the hoard discovery, on October 23, 1908, and probably simply did not have time to implement his intentions. <sup>53</sup> It is not known where the coins ended up. Most likely, they were dispersed after the count's death. Another 38 coins were to be purchased by K. Hadaczek thanks to the County Office in Zaleszczyki (Zalishchyky). <sup>54</sup> Perhaps they went to the Gabinet Archeologiczny (Archaeological room) of the University of Lviv, where which Hadaczek used to hold his classes, or maybe to another institution. <sup>55</sup>

According to W. Antoniewicz, 18 denarii from the find were to be donated to the collections of the above-mentioned Gabinet Archeologiczny by Father Teodor Kasperski (1867-1945). <sup>56</sup> J. Pasternak wrote about these 18 pieces, the only ones preserved from the find, in the late 1920s. <sup>57</sup> And in this case, the further fate of the coins is unknown to me. In 1940, the collections of the Gabinet Archeologiczny were incorporated into the Archaeological Museum of the University. 58 Perhaps coins from Kasperivtsi are still kept in the museum collection of the Faculty of History of the Lviv National Ivan Franko University. Verifying this will require submitting a query, which I hope will be possible to conduct after the current war. In the years 1933-1936, 5 denarii from the hoard were acquired for the collection of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv. 59 These were denarii of Antoninus Pius, Faustina the Elder or the Younger with the legend FAVSTINA AVGVSTA, Faustina the Elder or the Younger with the legend DIVA FAVSTINA and two denarii of Commodus. As mentioned, however, it is not certain whether the coins in question came from the hoard discovered in 1908 or that discovered in 1932. The numismatic collection of the Shevchenko Scientific Society went partly to the Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Industry in Lviv, partly to the Lviv Historical Museum.

Unfortunately, research conducted on the numismatic collection of the latter museum by a Polish-Ukrainian team led by Dr. A. Degler did not result in the identification of the items we are interested in. <sup>60</sup> The answer to the question of where to find the five coins from Kasperivtsi Hoard, as in the case of the coins from Father Kaspersky's gift, requires conducting further research in the appropriate museum units, which is currently impossible. Eight coins from the find were obtained in 1935 by the Municipal Ethnographic Museum in Łódź. <sup>61</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Sokulski 1936.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> cf. Hadaczek 1909: 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> cf. Toczek 2013: 86-88; Pohoralski 2007: 321-322.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Antoniewicz 1921: 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Pasternak 1928: 145, no 28; 1931: 12, no 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Pohoralski 2007: 321-322.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Pasternak 1937: 259, no 229.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Cf. Degler 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Gupieniec 1954: 42-43; Mikołajczyk 1981: 32-33.

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These were denarii minted by Trajan (RIC II 266; Woytek 398b; Fig. 2), 62 Hadrian (RIC II/3 221; Fig. 3), <sup>63</sup> Antoninus Pius (RIC III 49b; Fig. 4), Marcus Aurelius (RIC III 273 or 287 or 301; Fig. 5), Marcus Aurelius for Faustina the Younger (RIC III?; Fig. 6),<sup>64</sup> Commodus (RIC III 17 or 19; Fig. 7) and Septimius Severus (2 items respectively RIC IV 37 or 54 or 89, Fig. 8; and RIC IV 19; Fig. 9). Seven of the coins mentioned by A. Gupieniec are still kept in the Numismatics Department of the present Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum in Łódź. Finally, the issue of the alleged acquisition of ½ kg of coins from the Kasperivtsi hoard by the National Museum in Krakow requires clarification. This information was provided by Majewski and Kropotkin based on a short note by J. Kwiatkowski published in WNA. 66 However, Kwiatkowski's note does not indicate that the coins ended up in the Museum's collection. The text is titled "Coin finds reported to the National Museum in Krakow" and, in addition to information about the Kasperivtsi coins, it also mentions other finds. There is no confirmation of the acquisition of such a group of coins in the archival materials of the National Museum in Krakow. It is therefore almost certain that curator Kwiatkowski only saw the coins presented to him and that they did not enter the collection of the Krakow Museum. It seems that Majewski's mistake, and Kropotkin's, following the same lead, resulted from an overinterpretation of the title of Kwiatkowski's note. Depending on the acceptance of the thesis about one or two deposits of denarii, we can reconstruct the place where the coins discovered in Kasperivtsi were stored as follows:

## Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard

over 1000 denarii

18 items - until 1940 and possibly today in the collection of the Lviv University

5 copies - until 1940 at the Shevchenko Scientific Society - perhaps currently the Lviv Ethnographic Museum or the Lviv Historical Museum

8 copies - Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum in Łódź

or

Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard

over 1000 denarii

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 $<sup>^{62}</sup>$  I determined the coins according to the new catalogs on the basis of photographs provided by Mr. Piotr Chabrzyk from MAiE, for which I am very grateful.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> I only had a photo of the coin at my disposal. Hence, my description differs from the one made by M. Mielczarek and recorded on the MAiE inventory card. According to the latter, the denarius would correspond to numbers 192 or 207 in the numbering adopted in RIC II/3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> The coin is so worn that its precise identification is not possible based on the photo.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Commodus' denarius was stolen and is now missing. It is worth emphasizing here that most of the coins from Kasperivtsi hoard preserved in MAiE in Łódź are very worn, in some cases to an extent that makes it impossible to precisely determine them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Kwiatkowski 1934: 131.

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18 items - until 1940 and perhaps currently, in the numismatic collections of the University of Lviv

plus perhaps 8 copies - in the Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Łódź

Kasperivtsi 1932 Hoard

1/2 kg of denarii

5 copies - until 1940 in the Shevchenko Scientific Society - perhaps currently the Lviv Ethnographic Museum or the Lviv Historical Museum

plus perhaps 8 copies - Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Łódź

To summarize: many issues related to the hoard or hoards discovered at Kasperivtsi remain unclear and unexplained. In particular, it is difficult to come to a final decision regarding the number of deposits discovered in this village, the chronological scope and the number and place of storage of the preserved items. These problems can only be clarified through further archival research as well as study in museum collections. Although it is now clear that both the Kasperivtsi 1908 Hoard and the eventual Kasperivtsi 1932 Hoard were deposits of denarii, the false information about the discovery of a great hoard of sestertii in this village in 1908 persisted in scholarly literature for a long time.

This happened, among others, as a result of the fact that most researchers who dealt with this find ignored the note by Karol Halama, which corrected erroneous findings and was published in 1908. Thus, the contribution of this postal official from Żywiec to research on the influx of Roman coinage into territory of today's Ukraine, however modest, was completely forgotten. However, modern archival research, detailed analysis of information provided in old publications and research in museum collections allow, in some cases, to correct errors and clarify inaccuracies. <sup>67</sup> this gives hope for further future progress in research on the Kasperivtsi hoard.

#### **Abbreviations**

MÖGMM - Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Münz- und Medaillenkunde

RIC - Roman Imperial Coinage, vols. I–X, London: Spink 1923–

WAW - Wiadomości Archeologiczne

WNA - Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne

Woytek - Woytek, B. (2010). Die Reichsprägung des Kaisers Traianus (98–117). MIR 14, Wien: Verlag der Österrichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Cf. for example Bodzek, Zając 2022; Levada 2021; Dems'kyy, Myzgin (forthcoming).

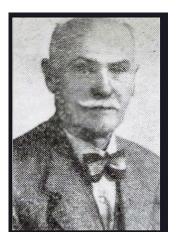
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**Fig.** 1





**Fig.** 2



**Fig.** 3





**Fig.** 4





**Fig.** 5



**Fig.** 6

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**Fig.** 7



**Fig.** 8



**Fig.** 9