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GERMANIC GOLD BRACTEATES FROM THE HOARD IN ZAGÓRZYN NEAR KALISZ¹

Abstract. *Germanic gold bracteates from the hoard in Zagórzyn near Kalisz.* Two Germanic gold bracteates type B and C, previously provenanced dubiously to an area “on the Beresina” in Russia(?), actually may be traced to one of the greatest hoards from the Migration Period discovered in late 1920s at Zagórzyn near Kalisz, central Poland. The hoard contained gold and silver ornaments and dress fittings, including an animal style buckle, at least six gold medallions, two of them barbarian imitations, some 3000 denarii from the 1st and 2nd c., and 4th c. solidi. Some of these pieces eventually entered no less than seven museums around the world, the rest went missing. The author traced the bracteates to the Zagórzyn hoard using the first references on the deposit (published and archival), in particular, a letter of M. Gumowski addressed to the Royal Museum in Copenhagen. The hoard from Zagórzyn is extremely important as the only assemblage containing original medallions next to their barbarian imitations and gold bracteates – apparently, a family heirloom, accumulated over several generations by Germanic power elite who maintained ties across Europe ranging from Scandinavia to the Lower Danube.

Circumstances of discovery of the one of the greatest Migration Period deposit of the barbarian Europe in the current village of Zagórzyn², district Kalisz, made in late autumn of 1926 or in early spring of 1927, its subsequent fate and contents, may be reconstructed only with extreme difficulty.

Heavy autumn rains of late 1926 or, which is less likely, early spring snowmelt of 1927, exposed a large bronze cauldron within a caved-in side of an embankment. According to some reports a horse’s hoof had knocked against the vessel, which subsequently broke and spilled its contents. According to a different source, a “boundary ditch” or a drainage ditch was the direct cause of the collapse of the bank which exposed the vessel. The exact location where the hoard had been buried was identified by the author during a field investigation made in 1998 and 1999; at this time were recovered small fragments of bronze sheet and a number of 2nd c. denarii, which presumably had been trampled into the mud by the finders of the hoard when they were dividing the goods³.

¹ The text is contributed here at the explicit request from the Editors; a different version was published in *Magister Monetæ. Studies in Honour of Jørgen Steen Jensen* (eds. M. Andersen, H. W. Horsnæs, J. Ch. Moesgaard), *Studies in Archaeology and History* 13, Copenhagen 2007, 59-80. I am deeply indebted to M. Axboe for discussions concerning chronology of bracteates and many other remarks; I am also grateful to A. Andrén, M. Gaimster, L. Hedager, H. Horsnæs, J. P. Lamm and N. Wicker for many useful comments.

² North of Kalisz, on the right bank of the Prosna River. In literature the deposit was frequently described using the name of neighbouring localities: Zagórzyniek (now a southern district of Kalisz, on the left bank of the Prosna) or Nędzorzewo (and distorted forms of this placename in German language publications) – correctly – Nędzorzew (commune Opatówek, east of Kalisz, on Swędnia stream) or as “near Kalisz” (*bei Kalisch*), although this last name has been used also with regard to finds from Oszczywik or Koźminek (Petersen 1936, 41; Kostrzewski 1955, 266). Dissimilar information on the locality is the result of using different sources on the hoard.

³ I will reconstruct the fate of individual pieces belonging to the hoard in a separate study.

The Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart has in its collections two Nordic bracteates type B and C⁴, which in early literature were linked to a find supposedly made, during an unspecified period, “on the Beresina (River)” in Russia (?), which most probably may be understood to mean modern Belarus. As such, the deposit would have originated from an area which during the Migration Period definitely lay outside the sphere of Germanic influence in its broad sense, quite a distance east from the established range of distribution of gold bracteates (Andrén 1991, 248, Fig. 3; Hauck 1986, 507, Fig. 10; Gaimster 1998, 24,

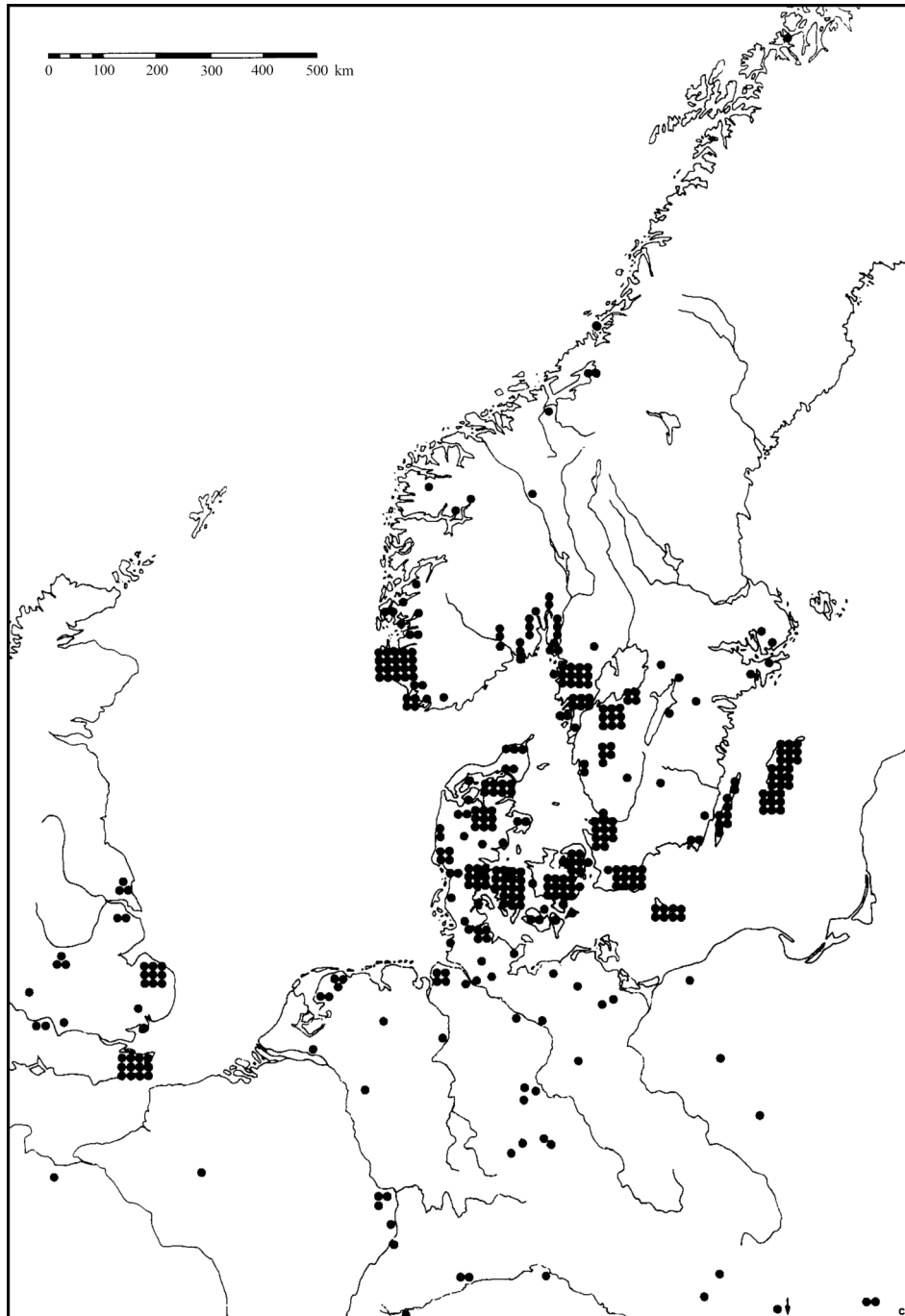


Fig. 1. Simplified distribution map of bracteate finds (after Axboe 2007, 10, Fig. 1).

⁴ Inv. no: S.U. 1943 and 1944; cf. *IK*, Einleitung, 340.

Fig. 10; Axboe 2007, 10, Fig. 1; cf. nos Fig. 1). As shall be demonstrated here the bracteates really belong to the Zagórzyn hoard (Bursche 1998, 51-61, 254-257, No 33, Pl. J, K; 1999b; 2000; 2003; cf. below).

From the time of their discovery the bracteates experienced many changes of fortune, which were traced only with great difficulty, with occasional resort to methods more proper for detective work. An additional interesting twist is the involvement of a well-known Polish numismatist, M. Gumowski, who used to enjoy considerable popularity in international collectors' circles during the period between the two great wars.

For greater clarity the fortunes of the two bracteates are reconstructed here by examining the available sources in chronological order of their publication.

A Constantius II *multiplum* struck at Antioch

A specimen which like the bracteates of interest was provenanced in early publications to "on the Beresina" is a gold Constantius II medallion minted at Antioch. On 20 February 1928 this piece was put on auction in Frankfurt am Main by L. Hamburger's coin dealers (together with an outstanding Vienna collection of Prince F. von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha) with a written annotation: *Aus einem Funde an der Beresina* (Hamburger 1928, 24, No 580, Pl. 7; cf. Kubitschek 1928, 57). In July 1929 the same medallion was seen in London at an auction of Glendining and Seaby (Glendining, Seaby 1929, 43, No 1012, Pl. XXXII) after which time it disappeared from view.

The following is the description of this *multiplum*, issued in AD 356 to commemorate the emperor's consulship:

4½ solidi; Constantius II; Antioch; AD 356; w. 19.63 g; d. 37 mm; ↓ (Fig. 2)⁵

Av: FLIVLCONSTAN TIVSPERPAVG

Bust pearl-diademed, draped, cuirassed left; mantle fastened at right shoulder with shield-brooch with short *pendilia*

Rv: GLORIARO MANORVM

Constantinopolis wreathed, with necklace, robe girt, wearing mantle, finely shod, seated on an ornamented throne left, with left foot resting on prow, holding long sceptre in her left hand, in her right half-raised hand, crowning her Victory on globe with palm in her right hand.

In ex: •SMANT•

RIC VIII, 525, No 157.

The *multiplum*, as may be seen from its photographs, was in prime condition. On its aversa a small pearl of granulation is visible under the letter "V", whereas under the bust the border is slightly worn, indicating that a suspension loop or frame had once been attached to the medallion at this point.

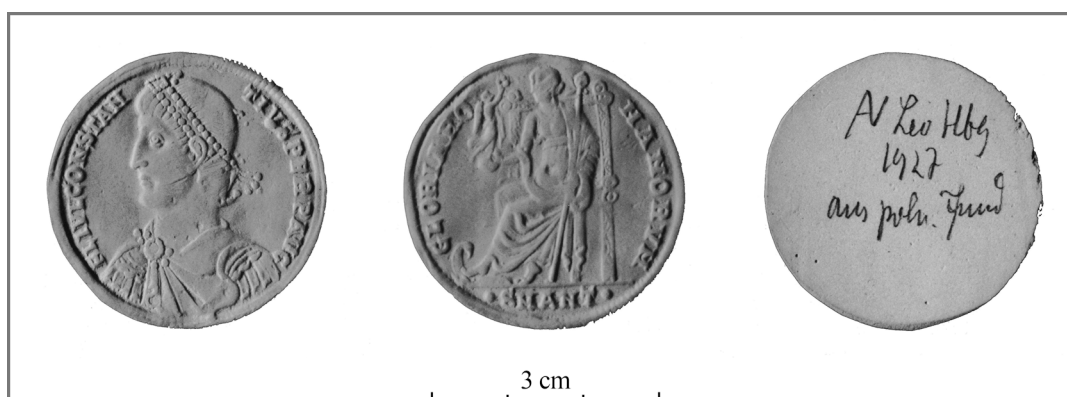


Fig. 2. Zagórzyn, Kalisz district, wielkopolskie voivodeship. Plaster casts of the lost gold medallion of Constantius II minted in Antioch, with note on reverse made in K. Regling's hand. Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz (phot. A. Bursche).

⁵ Description of the medallion is based on information and photograph in Hamburger 1928, 24, No 580, Pl. 7; cf. Bursche 1998, 225 No 33.VII, Pl. K; 2000, 85-86, Fig 3.

Plaster casts of this medallion survive in the Numismatic Cabinet in Berlin (Fig. 2); on their reverse side an annotation, made by K. Regling, then the Director of the *Münzkabinett*, in three lines reads as follows: *AV Leo Hbg / 1927 / aus poln.* (= *polnischem A.B.*) *Fund.* This has the following meaning: in 1927 the gold medallion had been in keeping of L. Hamburger's – well-known antique dealers of Frankfurt – and originated from Poland. From the late 19th c. until the 1930s, i.e. the period when H. Dressel and K. Regling were with the *Münzkabinett*, it was customary to make plaster casts of the more interesting and rare coins and medallions offered to the *Münzkabinett* by antique dealers *etc.* (especially, if no purchase was made); often, details on provenance of these pieces were recorded on the reverse of their casts⁶. Apparently, L. Hamburger's offered to sell the gold medallion to the Berlin Numismatic Cabinet, its cast was made there and the piece was returned. What is extremely important for our argument is that according to the note made on the reverse of this cast – our first written record on this particular medallion – the piece came from Poland rather than from Russian territory. It is highly unlikely that in late 1920s and 30s there were many individuals in Germany able to recall that the lands on the Beresina River used to be part of Poland before it was partitioned in 1795 and connect a find from “on the Beresina” with Poland. It is even less likely that the finder or the middle man, whoever he was, even if of Polish nationality and living close to Beresina, would use the words “Polish” or “Poland” to describe the find-spot. The name of this strategic river certainly evoked specific historical associations, in particular, with the famous battle of 1812, where Polish units had fought bravely, and possibly, also with a skirmish during the Polish-Bolshevik war. Nevertheless, after 1918-1920 the Beresina remained outside the eastern border of Poland. All of which is to say that the note made by K. Regling should be understood as follows: the medallion originated from a find made in 1927 (or only slightly earlier) on Polish territory as it was during the period between the two wars.

A Constantius II medallion struck in Rome

In October 1932 a similar Constantius II medallion – also with a suspension loop, but struck in Rome – was entered for auction by the same L. Hamburger's. In the auction catalogue this piece also had a provenance “on the Beresina”⁷. The medallion resurfaced in 1938 in Rome, at an auction of Santamaria (Santamaria 1938, 104, No 933) and was lost from view for fifty years, held by a private collector. In late 1988 the piece was put up for sale in an antique dealer's shop in Stuttgart (Vrandt, Sonntag 1988, 1, No 42) and in 1990 was purchased by the Württembergisches Landesmuseum of that city⁸. Here is its description:



Fig. 3. Zagórzyn, Kalisz district, wielkopolskie voivodeship. Gold medallion of Constantius II minted in Rome. Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart, Inv. No MK 1990/9 (phot. U. Klein).

⁶ For helping me find the plaster casts and for information concerning the history of the Berlin Numismatic Cabinet I am greatly indebted to H.-D. Schultz; I am grateful to B. Weisser for his permission to publish photographs of material held by the *Münzkabinett* in Berlin.

⁷ *Aus einem Funde an der Beresina*; cf. Hamburger 1932, 38-39, No 1002.

⁸ Klein 1991; cf. U. Klein (in:) *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 28, 1991, 226, 229, Pl. 14a; cf. Bursche 1998, 255-7.

4 $\frac{1}{2}$ solidi; Constantius II; Rome; AD 356; w. 20.10 g; d. 37 mm; ↓ (Fig. 3)

Av: FLIVLCONSTAN TIVSPERPAVG

Bust pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, left; mantle fastened at right shoulder with shield brooch with short *pendilia*.

Rv: GLORIARO MANORVM

Constantinopolis wreathed, with necklace, robe girt, wearing mantle, shod finely, seated left on ornamented throne, left foot resting on lion's head prow, holding long sceptre in her left hand, in her right half-raised hand, crowning her Victory on globe with palm in her right hand.

In Ex: RM

RIC VIII, 275 No285 and note.

The medallion is considerably worn on both sides and fitted with a Type III.4 suspension loop, classification A. Bursche (1998, 129-164), across which runs a line of heavy wear.

The Berlin Numismatic Cabinet retains plaster casts also of this medallion (Bursche 1995, 25-6; 1998, 255, No 33, V, Pl. J.). On their reverse we find the already familiar annotation made by K. Regling: *poln.* (= *polnischer A.B.*) *Fund, Riechmann 1927*, meaning that the piece had been offered for sale in 1927 by Riechmann antique dealers and originated from a find made in Poland. K. Regling decided not to buy this Constantius II medallion either, although this type was not represented in the Berlin collection, presumably because he was short of funds. The need to maintain good contacts with coin dealers and auction houses made it necessary for the Director to keep the trade secret, but as a conscientious scholar he wished to record all the incoming information. This is nothing new to many modern coin specialists and archaeologists who operate in countries with restrictive laws on treasure hunting, different than in Denmark or Great Britain.

Riechmann's antiquities shop was an early name of the auction house R. Gaettens-Halle⁹, which in September 1927 held two other gold medallions definitely originating from the Zagórzyn hoard: a 6 solidi *multiplum* of Valentinian I, and a 2 solidi Constantine II issue, the latter occasionally described incorrectly as Constantius II. The Valentinian eventually passed to the Newell's collection and subsequently was added to the collection of the American Numismatic Society in New York (Fig. 4), the Constantine was lost in trade¹⁰.



Fig. 4. Zagórzyn, Kalisz district, wielkopolskie voivodeship. Gold medallion of Valentinian I minted in Thessalonica. American Numismatic Society, New York, Inv. No 790358 (phot. A. Bursche).

⁹ For this information I am indebted to H.-D. Schultz.

¹⁰ *Ein...unediertes Goldmedaillon von Valentinian I, das durch Dr. R. Gaettens-Halle Sept. 1927 erworben worden ist und dann nach America (Slg Newell) wanderte, scheint auch aus diesen Funde zu stammen. Er erwarb gleichzeitig auch ein kleineres Multiplum von Constantius II (Mm. 25, Gr. 8'97), das durch der Handel weiterging. Dr. Gaettens verdanken wir den Gipsabguss der ersten, bisher gänzlich unbekanntes Stückes...* – Alföldi 1933, 12; cf. Bursche 1998, 254-255, No 33, III, Pl. J.

We have three pieces of evidence in support of the argument that the two *multipla* of Constantius II, reportedly discovered “on the Beresina”, in fact originally belonged to the deposit from Zagórzyn:

1. The date of their acquisition by antique dealers which matches the time of discovery of this hoard (1927).
2. Information that they originated from Poland.
3. And, foremost, the fact that the second of these pieces passed to R. Gaettens-Halle auction house, who during the same period (ie. 1927) had had in its keeping two other medallions definitely discovered at Zagórzyn.

It would appear that the two medallions had been given a fabricated provenance in printed auction catalogues because the established antique dealers wished to avoid possible involvement in legal conflict.

Bracteates described as found “on the Beresina”

In May 1928 E. Nöbbe, known coin specialist from Flensburg, published in the *Berliner Münzblätter* an article on gold Nordic bracteates (Nöbbe 1928, 259-63; about him cf. Berghaus, Steen Jensen 2001; Berghaus 2002). In it he mentioned two previously unknown bracteates, said to have been discovered during WW I in the area on the Beresina, and later held by private party in Poznań region, Poland¹¹. Citing E. Bahrfeldt, publisher of *Berliner Münzblätter*, as his source of information, E. Nöbbe did not know the weight of the bracteates or that plaster casts had been made of them. He gave a detailed description of the bracteates and presented their pencil rubbings¹². As already noted, the originals had been auctioned off, together with the Vienna collection of Prince F. von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha, by L. Hamburger's, in Frankfurt on 20 February 1928, with a note that they originated “on the Beresina”¹³. In the auction catalogue the same provenance was given also to the earlier described Constantius II medallion minted in Antioch (Fig. 2), which as I have shown, definitely originated from Zagórzyn. The bracteates were purchased by a known Stuttgart collector E. Unger, added to his collection (Nöbbe 1930/31, 54, Fig. 3a, 57, Fig. 6a; Mackeprang 1952, 42, 184-185, No 337) and ultimately bequeathed to the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart (Axboe 1982, 86-7, No 337; Hauck 1982, 92 No 143-144; *IK*, 1,1, 48-50, No 20 [Pl. 23-24]; *IK*, 2,1, 19-20, No 217 [Pl. 3-4]; *IK*, 3, 249, No 20; cf. nos Figs. 9-10). E. Unger's collection passed to the Museum in 1935 with all his archive and papers, including a copy of L. Hamburger's auction catalogue from 20 February 1928¹⁴. In it we find handwritten notes stating the estimated price of items interesting to E. Unger¹⁵, with an information that three solidi (Severus III, Glycerius and Licinia Eudoxia) put up at the same auction were reported to originate from a find on the Beresina¹⁶. E. Unger did not buy the solidi¹⁷ presumably because he specialised in “barbarian” finds; the later fate of these pieces is unknown.

Since the two Constantius II medallions (Figs. 2-3), presented for the first time to the public at L. Hamburger's auctions, definitely belonged to the Zagórzyn deposit, the question arises whether the two Germanic bracteates type B and C (Figs. 9-10), and possibly, also the three 5th century solidi, might not be traced to the same hoard.

¹¹ *Die beiden nach einfachen Durchreibungen mit Bleistift auf Papier wiedergegebenen Goldbrakteaten sollen während des großen Krieges in Rußland, im Gebiet der Beresina, gefunden sein und befinden sich jetzt in Privatbesitz im Posenschen. Diese Angabe verdanke ich Herrn Dr. Emil Bahrfeldt. Gewichtsangabe und vor allem Gypsabgüsse habe ich leider nicht erhalten können...* – Nöbbe 1928, 259-262, Figs. 10-11.

¹² It is worth checking whether the Berlin Numismatic Cabinet does not hold plaster casts of bracteates. The original pieces could have found their way to the cabinet, offered for sale by L. Hamburger's auction house, together with the Constantius II issue minted in Antioch, of which a number of casts was made (Fig. 2). However the collection of plaster casts in Berlin is currently unavailable – kind information of Prof. B. Kluge from 28th of February 2007.

¹³ *Aus einem Funde an der Beresina* – Hamburger 1928, 25, No 705-706, Pl. 8; a part of numismates put up for the auction originated outside the collection of Prince Filip; cf. also Kubitschek 1928, 57.

¹⁴ Axboe 1982, 86-87, and additional information in the letter of U. Klein from the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart, dated 19 May 1994, for which, similarly as for sending me copies of materials on E. Unger's collection, I am very grateful.

¹⁵ Similarly, the Constantius II medallion struck at Antioch was valued at 3000-4000 German marks, whereas each of the bracteates, at 1500-2000 marks. Next to these prices there is a note made twice: *ich 1600 + 15%* meaning presumably the highest and lowest bidding price during the auction in which E. Unger intended to participate.

¹⁶ The note was made four times, marked on the pages and charts of the auction catalogue and repeated in typescript of the catalogue of Unger's collection (No 1943), held by the Museum in Stuttgart.

¹⁷ Although originally he may have planned to buy the entire set “from Beresina”, as suggested by the fact that the estimated price of the medallion and solidi was added on the margin. The solidi were valued as follows: Licinia Eudoxia – 800-1200 German marks, Severus III – 50-60 marks, Glycerius – 500-600 marks.

Data given by K. Regling

K. Regling, who probably was best informed on the subject of finds of antique coins made during in the 1920s and 30s, publishing a gold barbarous 48 solidi medallion with representation of Valentinian I and Valens (Fig. 5), noted that the piece originated from a hoard reportedly discovered in late 1927 in the area on



Fig. 5. Zagórzyn, Kalisz district, wielkopolskie voivodeship.

Gold barbarous imitation of the medallion of Valentinian I and Valens.

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Inv. No Acc. 1928/5 (phot. A. Bursche).

the border between Poland and west Russia, together with late Roman gold medallions and ordinary gold coins (solidi) from the 4th century as well as, perhaps, seriously worn denarii from the 1st and 2nd century (of which K. Regling had seen three: two of Faustina II and one Commodus), presumably together with gold Germanic bracteates¹⁸. In the catalogue of medallions of the Berlin *Münzkabinett* we find the following entry on the Valentinian I and Valens medallion, also written by K. Regling: *Aus einem Funde im Grenzgebiete von Polen und Westrußland, zusammen mit vielen Solidi des 4. Jahrh. und Silbermünzen des 1. und 2. Jahrh. n. Chr. 1927 aufgetaucht* (Dressel 1973, 400). This provenance may be safely disregarded because there is no doubt that the real provenance of the piece, purchased in late 1927¹⁹ from Ph. Lederer, Berlin coin-dealer, whose shop was found in direct neighbourhood of the Museum, must have been suppressed²⁰. The find-spot, described as “border area between Poland and western Russia”, presumably had the same meaning as “on

¹⁸ *Im Grenzgebiet Polens und Westrußlands... ist gegen Ende des Jahres 1927 ein Schatz gehoben worden von spätromischen Goldmedaillonen und einfachen Goldstücken (Solidi) des IV. Jahrh. und vielleicht auch von ganz verschliffenen römischen Silberdenaren des I. u. II. Jahrh. n. Chr. (ich habe 3 gesehen: 2 Faustina jun., 1 Commodus...), ja vielleicht sogar im Verein mit germanischen goldenen Schmuckbrakteaten, über den zur Zeit noch nichts Näheres gesagt werden kann... – Regling 1928, 67.*

¹⁹ The date is given by K. Regling in the first publication; similarly, Schlunk 1939: *Erworben 1927 aus einem Funde im Grenzgebiete von Polen und Westrußland*; the medallion was entered under accession number: 5/1928.

²⁰ Consequently, all negotiations were by word of mouth and no documents of this transaction survive – kind information from H.-D. Schultz in his letter of 25 April 1984; in his report K. Regling mentions Lederer as one of the parties thanks to whose assistance the medallion was secured at the *Münzkabinett* (Regling 1928, 67).

the Beresina”, i.e. an obscure provenance, meant to frustrate possible attempts to recover the medallion or sidetrack the attempts at vindication of the rights to the finds guaranteeing peace and quiet to the staff of the *Münzkabinett*.

In the acquisitions book of the Museum, in the entry on the three denarii offered by Ph. Lederer to the *Münzkabinett* also in 1927, we find explicit information, in K. Regling’s handwriting, that like the Valentinian I and Valens barbarous medallion these pieces came from a find made in Poland. Consequently, there can be no doubt that this refers again to the deposit from Zagórzyn.

The letter from M. Gumowski

The riddle of suspect provenance of the bracteates is finally solved with the help of a letter sent by M. Gumowski, known Polish collector and infamous researcher, on 22 February 1927 from Poznań to Copenhagen (Fig. 6)²¹. Acting “on authority granted by their owner” Gumowski offered to sell two bracteates to the



9. Nr. ¹⁴⁹/₂₆.

Poznań 22.II.1927

An die geehrte Verwaltung
der kgl. Museen in
Kopenhagen

Anbei übersende ich einen Abdruck
der goldenen Brakteaten, welche
während des Krieges in Russland gefun-
den wurden. Bin neugierig, ob sie in
der numismatischen Literatur bekannt
sind, und ob der Münzgebiel in

Kopenhagen sie besitzt. Wenn nein, so
ist der Besitzer geneigt sie zu verkaufen
und fragt hiermit, wie viel sind Sie bereit
Ihm dafür zu geben. Er selbst schätzt sich
diese 2 Stücke auf 5000 zloty.

Die beiden Brakteaten sind, wie aus
den Erzählungen ergeht, gefunden zusammen
mit den byzantinischen Goldmünzen aus
dem IV u V Jahrhundert.

Hochachtungsvoll

M. Gumowski

Posen Matejki 58

Kursen von Zloty 2,38-40
alltina forlagt herud 2000.Kr.

Fig. 6. Letter of M. Gumowski to the director of the Royal/National Museum in Copenhagen. Archive of Den kongelige Mønt- og Medaillesamling, Nationalmuseet.

Museum, stating that they had been discovered during the war (ie. WW I) in Russia, together with gold 4th and 5th c. Byzantine coins²². In approaching the Royal (now, National) Museum in Copenhagen the collector was right on the mark since the Museum specialised in Nordic bracteates and held the largest collection of these

²¹ On the subject of this letter see the review from the work of M. Mackeprang (1952) – Galster 1953, 14. For the copy of the letter I am indebted to J. Steen Jensen from the Numismatic Cabinet in Copenhagen.

²² The full text of M. Gumowski’s handwritten letter:

F.No 149/26

Poznań 22.II.1927

An die geehrte Verwaltung der kgl. Museen in Kopenhagen

Anbei übersende ich einen Abdruck der goldenen Brakteaten welche während des Krieges in Russland gefunden wurden. Bin neugierig, ob sie in der numismatischen Literatur bekannt sind, sind ob der Münzgabinet in Kopenhagen sie besitzt. Wenn nein, so ist der Besitzer geneigt sie zu verkaufen und fragt hiermit wie viel sind Sie bereit Ihm dafür zu geben. Er selbst schätzt sich diese 2 Stücke auf 5000 zloty. Die beiden Brakteaten sind, wie aus den Erzählungen ergeht, gefunden zusammen mit den byzantinischen Goldmünzen aus dem IV u V Jahrhundert.

Hochachtungsvoll

Dr M Gumowski

Posen Matejki 58

On the letter there is a handwritten note made by G. Galster, giving the current exchange rate of the Polish zloty and its counterpart in Danish crowns (2000 DK).

pieces worldwide. In 1927 M. Gumowski lived in Poznań, at Matejko St., and was Chief Director of the Museum of Wielkopolska region (Gumowski 1966, 77-93); at the same time he was also a private collector of international renown. It was M. Gumowski that E. Nöbbe referred to when he wrote that the bracteates had been in possession of a private party in the Poznań region. As museum Director, M. Gumowski could enter into private transactions only in the guise of a spokesman acting on behalf of a third party. At the same time, it is highly unlikely that he would risk his position and serve as intermediary in a transaction which under the law recently enacted in Poland was fully illegal, without expectation of financial gain. In this character he approached the authorities of the Royal Museum in Copenhagen. In reply, G. Galster judged the asking price of 5000 Polish złoty (ca. 25000-30000 in EU) as excessive and asked for additional details about the find-spot²³.

Probable course of events

With a great degree of likelihood we can reconstruct the events that followed. Probably discouraged by the reply from Copenhagen and perfectly familiar with the European collectors market M. Gumowski then offered the bracteates and other pieces to major German auction houses where he could hope for the highest price. All the while, he kept the fully fabricated provenance of the finds, only adding more details. He might have used the name Beresina because it was one of the few eastern European placenames known in the West, thanks to its historical connotations. And so, the two bracteates (Figs. 9-10), two medallions of Constantius II (Figs. 2-3) and perhaps also the 5th century solidi found their way to L. Hamburger's and Gaettens-Halle/Riechmann's antique dealers, as items from a find "on the Beresina"²⁴. Quite probably this was also the route by which the two medallions of Constantine II and Valentinian I (Fig. 4) passed to Gaettens-Halle. Finally, perhaps the imitation Valentinian I and Valens medallion (Fig. 5) found its way, as did 4th c. solidi, to Ph. Lederer's in Berlin, not without participation of M. Gumowski, as suggested by K. Regling's note that the imitation had been discovered with Germanic bracteates, although in this last case this cannot be proven. An additional argument in support of the reconstruction of events proposed here is the fact that M. Gumowski in none of his publications²⁵ mentions something so exceptional as would have been the find of Nordic bracteates so far east, in the area of Russia/Belarus.

It is hard to say whether we are also correct in linking the 5th c. solidi with the deposit from Zagórzyn, which issues, as E. Unger noted were also provenanced to "on the Beresina". We find indirect support in M. Gumowski's letter which contains a reference to 4th and 5th c. solidi. On the other hand, all the solidi from Zagórzyn known so far, i.e. 18 specimens held by museums in Warsaw, Wrocław, Köln, Berlin, and in private collections, form a relatively close-knit series, dated to the latter half of the 4th c. (Bursche 2003). At the same time, it is worth noting two important points. The eighteen solidi all are quite ordinary specimens, unlike similar issues of the short-lived emperor Severus III or of Licinia Eudoxia, empress of Valentinian III; these are more rare and as such, highly valued on the market²⁶. If we assume that the selection had been made by a specialist²⁷, it would appear that the ordinary, less valuable pieces had been offered directly to museums but the more rare specimens were expected to bring a much higher price at an auction. But since we are unable to assess the reliability of E. Unger's record it is safer to assume that the 5th c. solidi could have been added to the fabricated set from "on the Beresina", for instance, to encourage the buyer to purchase the whole lot.

²³ G. Galster in his reply to M. Gumowski's letter, dated 2 March 1927, invokes a number of bracteates of which pencil rubbings had been sent to him by the Polish collector, proposing to purchase them for a price twenty times lower and only on the condition that their find-spot is specified in detail. G. Galster goes on to say in the latter part of his letter (in its first half he gives analogies to bracteates): *Das hiesige Nationalmuseum besitzt eine Anzahl derselben, welchen jeder der zwei Brakteaten in Frage nur inbedeutende Stempel Verschiedenheiten zeigt. – Die Preise sind augenscheinlich hier viel niedriger. Das Nationalmuseum hat mir beantragt dem Besitzer 100 dän. Kr. pr. Stück zu bieten, und zwar nur wenn es möglich wäre anzugeben, wo in Russland sie gefunden sind.* Perhaps this particular letter prompted Gumowski to provide a more specific provenance for the bracteates in Russia (i.e. "on the Beresina").

²⁴ Nevertheless, in both these antique shops there must have been an awareness of the true provenance of the medallions, revealed only to K. Regling. I am grateful to H.-D. Schultz for consultation on the subject of principles and the extent of discretion in contacts of members of the staff of the *Münzkabinett* in Berlin with antique dealers and auction houses during the period between the wars.

²⁵ E.g. on gold medallions – cf. Gumowski 1960a; 1960b.

²⁶ It was so in this case also, as is shown by prices noted in Hamburger's auction catalogue in E. Unger's hand – see earlier discussion.

²⁷ This need not have been done by an expert such as M. Gumowski, it was enough to use an ordinary corpus or catalogue.

On the other hand, evidence presented here demonstrates conclusively that the two Scandinavian bracteates at present in Stuttgart, previously provenanced to an area on the Beresina, in fact belong to the hoard from Zagórzyn, near the town Kalisz on the Prosna River²⁸. From the area of today's Poland we know of three other assemblages of gold bracteates: Karlino, district Białogard, Suchań, district Stargard Szczeciński (Fig. 7)²⁹, both in W. Pomerania, and Wapno, district Wągrowiec in N. Wielkopolska (Mackeprang 1952, No



Fig. 7. Suchań, Stargard Szczeciński district, zachodniopomorskie voivodeship. Gold bracteate type C. Dział Archeologii, Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie (phot. M. Bogacki, M. Dąbski).

329, Pl. 9, 14; No 330, Pl. 11, 7, Pl. 15, 27; No 376, Pl. 11, 5; Żak 1953; 1962, 49-51 No 11, Fig. 9, 51-52, No 12, 56-59, No 17, Fig. 15; Machajewski 1992, 64-65; Kara 1994). This last locality lies only a small distance from Zagórzyn.

The contents of the Zagórzyn hoard

The structure of the deposit, which we may never know for certain, may be reconstructed approximately as follows:

1. at least one gilt silver buckle with an animal style frame (Fig. 8),
2. a "signet finger ring", perhaps set with a semi-precious stone – carneol or almandine,
3. a gold ring pendant³⁰,
4. gold human figurine,



Fig. 8. Zagórzyn, Kalisz district, wielkopolskie voivodeship. Gilt silver buckle. Muzeum Okręgowe Ziemi Kaliskiej (archive phot.).

²⁸ This view, first presented in 1998 (Bursche 1998, 57-61, 254-70) has gained acceptance in literature, cf. Lamm et al. 2001, 46-47; Axboe 2004; Axboe 2007, 183.

²⁹ Recently found hoard in Suchań is not yet published.

³⁰ It cannot be excluded that there were more such pendants or rings, cf. Petersen 1930, 34, Fig. 2; 1933, 57-59; Bursche 1998, Pl. K, 33,d.

5. several score gold beads (?)³¹,
6. at least six, more likely, seven medallions, including two barbarous imitations (Bursche 1998, Pl. J; 1999a, 43, Fig. 6; 2001, Pl. III,1; Seipel 1999, 186-188, No 15; Dembski 2003, 200, No 15; *cf. nos* Figs. 2-5),
7. two Germanic bracteates type B and C (Figs. 9-10),
8. around three thousand (perhaps more) 1st and 2nd century denarii; solidi from the 4th, perhaps also 5th c.³².



Fig. 9. Zagórzyn, Kalisz district, wielkopolskie voivodeship. Gold bracteate type B. Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart, Inv. No S.U. 1943 (phot. U. Klein).



Fig. 10. Zagórzyn, Kalisz district, wielkopolskie voivodeship. Gold bracteate type C. Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart, Inv. No S.U. 1944 (phot. U. Klein).

Individual items from the Zagórzyn hoard are at present preserved in at least seven museums across the world. The bracteates found their way to the Museum in Stuttgart, the medallions, one each, to Berlin, New York and Stuttgart, one of the largest (weighing around 750 g.) was melted down, two (or three) no longer can be traced. The solidi passed to the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw (as did two of the denarii), the Museum in Köln and the Numismatic Cabinet in Berlin. Until WW II the Museum in Breslau had in its keeping the following pieces: silver buckle with an animal-head spike, gold ring pendant and five solidi. The buckle is at present in the Museum of Kalisz District (Pudelko 1991), as are the denarii and fragments of bronze sheet discovered in 1999. The fate of the remaining objects is unknown³³.

³¹ Perhaps these were round or tubular beads divided medallions on collie, similar to ones from hoard in Sorte Muld II on Bornholm (Axboe 2002; Beck, Hauck 2002) or eventually suspended at the belt, analogous to ones discovered in the second grave at Apahida in Transylvania (Horedt, Protase 1972). It is not impossible that the name "gold beads" was used to describe miniature pendants analogous to pendants attached to the chain in the deposit from Șimleu-Silvaniei; on one of the gold pendants discovered there was a representation of a human figure, *cf.* Capelle 1999; Gschwantler 1999; Martin 1999. On the subject of gold beads *cf.* Andersson 1995, 49-65.

³² It is impossible to reconstruct the quantitative or weight ratio of solidi to the denarii, or even to establish which were the more numerous. The fact that we have relatively more information on gold coins may result from their fine preservation and greater interest in purchasing them than the heavily worn, ordinary denarii, which mostly finally were melted down, *cf.* Bursche 1999b; 2003.

³³ At more length on the subject of this hoard *cf.* Bursche 1998, 51-61, 254-257, No 33, Pl. J,K; Bursche 1999b; Bursche 2000; Bursche 2003.

The gold bracteates

The bracteates held by the Württembergisches Landesmuseum belong to type B and C in the traditional stylistic classification, introduced by C. J. Thomsen, developed particularly by O. Montelius and B. Salin, still accepted with certain modifications today (Thomsen 1855; 1850-1860; Montelius 1869; Salin 1895; *IK* 1-3). Both pieces are described in great detail in the monumental catalogue of Germanic bracteates (*IK*); here, their description is given in a more abbreviated form.

B-Bracteate (Fig. 9)³⁴.

weight 3.67 g; diameter 28 mm

Av: Three human figures of different size, with short spiky hair, the two at right wearing bipartite belts are facing left, the third figure, at left, faces the two others and is standing on a sort of a raised platform, decorated at bottom with six round pendants, and crowned by a round knob; the uppermost central figure, with two dots at the neck (presumably neckring terminals), is holding up in his substantially foreshortened left arm (without the palm) a hoop (ring /necklace), chin resting on right arm adorned with wrist bracelet; the slightly shorter figure on the right is holding in substantially foreshortened right hand a spear with barbed point held downward and cruciform shape, clutching in left hand an axe with a drooping blade; the third, smallest figure on the left, with a long plait, wearing a sort of bell-shaped robe, is holding up a branch, possibly has a bracelet on his/her arm; in the foreground of the central figure at waist height, is a triskeles, at the feet, a fantastic attenuated animal with a round head and a long beak turned right.

Border: around the central representation, a zone of rectangles separated from the rim by a flat zone without ornament; the narrow frame is decorated with pseudo-granulation, the edges are lightly worn.

Suspension: a sheet gold cylinder attached over the head of the central figure, with ribbed terminals, marks of wear on its back, front and sides; at its base, two large granulated pearls, over a filigree wire with a triangular piece for attachment in the form of two smaller and one larger pearl.

Rv: well defined negative of the representation of the obverse, at the base of loop, two large granulated pearls.

The iconographic motif, formerly known in literature as *Victoria-Selbdritt*, at present classified as “three gods” (*Drei-Götter*) motif, is noted on eleven bracteates (not counting the B-bracteate described above) originating from eight find-spots, all in Denmark, mostly Fyn³⁵. However, none of these pieces was struck using the same die as the piece from Zagórzyn. The closest analogy is seen on a pendant from Fakse-B (vel Faxe) in Zeeland, a locality, which, interestingly enough, also produced a medallion of Valentinian I (*IK* 2,1 No 51,1; Bursche 1998, 80, 232 No 5, Pl. A)³⁶. The original motif for this representation may have been the image of Victoria with a wreath and palm, extremely popular in the Roman Empire, and the motif of imperial *adventus*, very frequently seen on Roman medallions (Axboe 1987, 76-7; 1991, 192-3; 2007, 68-69; Hauck 1993; Åkerström-Hougen 2001). Representatives of the school in Münster wish to interpret the “three gods” type as a depiction of a sacrificial scene, with Odin (figure on the right), his son Balder (central figure) and Loki (figure on the left; cf. *IK* 1,1, 139-51; Hauck 1978; 1987, 160-6; 1992, 480-495; 1993; 1994a, 79-82; 1994b; 1998; Lamm *et al.* 2001, 41-48). This tantalising interpretation of figures and their attributes, known from much later sources on the Norse pantheon, has been carried back to a much more distant age and therefore needs some caution.

C-Bracteate (Fig. 10)³⁷.

weight 3.07 g; diameter 25.6 mm

³⁴ A slightly different and more developed description cf. *IK* 1, 2, 48-50, No 20 (with full earlier literature); *IK* 3,1 249, No 20; photograph and drawing *IK* 1,3, 23-24.

³⁵ They are the following finds: Gudme II (Axboe 1987, 76-81; Hauck 1987, 147-81; Hauck 1994a; *IK* 3, No 51,3), Gummerup-B (*IK* 1,2, 122-4, No 66) and Killerup in Fyn (fragment – *IK* 1,2, 97-9, No 51,2), Fakse in Zeeland (*IK* 1,2, 96-7, No 51,1), Skovsborg-B in NW Jutland (2 specimens – *IK* 1,2, 286-8, No 165), Sorte Muld II on Bornholm (3 pieces – Axboe 2002; Beck, Hauck 2002; Axboe 2007, 181) and two unprovenanced Danish finds (*IK* 1,2, 76-8, No 39 and 78-80, No 40); cf. Axboe 1994, 72-6 Fig. 7; Åkerström-Hougen 2001, 229-244 (she overlooks two specimens from Gudme I Skovsborg-B).

³⁶ It is interesting that also at Gudme II in Fyn, where a bracteate with an analogous motif was found (see note No 35) a medallion of Constans was also discovered (Bursche 1998, 75, 232, No 7).

³⁷ Cf. description in *IK* 2,1, 19-20, No 217; photograph and drawing *IK* 2,2, 3-4.

Av: Large diademed human head, the diadem with long fringe, above a quadruped, presumably, a stylised horse, both facing left; the animal has on its head a pair of horns and a lolling tongue, all of them ending in a dot, with five dots on its chest and middle; in the field at left next to the human head, a swastika with twice bent arms, with dot terminals, lower down, Ψ (perhaps runic "R"), also with dot terminals; two dots in the field to the right, behind the hind leg, the second, under the tail.

Border: narrow frame ornamented with pseudo-granulation (type I), partially detached opposite the loop, a fragment by the left field torn off.

Loop: cylinder attached above the head of the rider, with ribbed terminals (type II.1), attenuated in top section due to use wear, at its base, two large granulated pearls (the one at left larger than the one at right).

Rv: negative of the representation of the obverse, poorly impressed.

The iconographic motif described here is called "He and the Horse" (*Er und das Pferd*) by K. Hauck, who considered it as Odin and Balder's horse being cured (*IK*, Einleitung, 99-106; Hauck 2002, 81-86)³⁸. As already noted these identifications should be treated with some caution. The motif is the most widespread representation characteristic practically for the entire type C, noted in a slightly modified form also on other types of bracteates. A representation very similar to the one just described appears on a pendant from Kjøllegård on Bornholm (*IK* 1,2, 170-1, No 95), but so far no bracteate has been discovered struck with an identical die as the specimen from Zagórzyn. It is thought that the iconographic model represented on our bracteate derives from Denmark (Axboe 1994, 68-9, Fig. 1-2). No doubt it was modelled on equestrian images of emperors, commonly seen on late Roman *multipla*.

Dating

The most controversial issue is the time of production of the two bracteates. Moreover, this is also of key importance for dating the time of deposition of the hoard from Zagórzyn.

The last three decades have seen an unprecedented increase in interest in gold bracteates, strongly associated with K. Hauck. However, this research has tended to focus on highly refined interpretations of iconology and on the religious significance of these pieces. Questions related to technology, style and typology of elements which accompany the representations and the study of forms which occur in association with bracteates in closed assemblages, and consequently, also questions of chronology, remain largely on the periphery of interest of the structurally-minded studies, which in recent times have nearly dominated the study of gold Germanic bracteates³⁹. Without question, an exception in this respect has been research by M. Axboe (1982; Axboe, Kromann 1992; recently Axboe 2007)⁴⁰, who developed a detailed typology of loops, frames and borders, and their accompanying ornaments (Axboe 1982, 31-56; recently also Wicker 1998 – *cf.* below).

The conventional point of departure in most attempts to date the earliest bracteates has been typological and stylistic analysis of their representations, and their co-occurrence in closed assemblages, chiefly deposits containing solidi (Mackeprang 1952, 22-4; Axboe 1982; *cf.* Axboe 1992, 103-110; 2004; 2007, 65-76). As a result more recently, it was accepted that the first bracteates were produced no earlier than AD 450. However, this method of establishing an absolute chronology is at danger of falling into error, similar to the one committed in other areas by the so-called new school of K. Pink, in dating the beginning of Celtic minting (Pink 1974, 2-10). In our case the error is connected with the fact that the earliest Scandinavian deposits of solidi practically end with emissions of Leo I (457-74), whereas gold coins from the times of the House of Valentinian or Theodosius I are almost unknown among finds from Scandinavia and the entire Baltic region⁴¹. Subsequently, studies have confirmed that the mass influx of late Roman solidi into the Baltic zone started no earlier than in the time of Valentinian III, around mid-5th century (Fagerlie 1967; Ciołek 2003; 2005). Using

³⁸ Recent proposal of A. Kaliff and A. Sundqvist (2006), that the iconographical model was the scene where Mithras kills the bull is very doubtful, since it is never presented on Roman gold coins and medallions, on which bracteates were patterned.

³⁹ No wonder therefore, that the monumental catalogue of all known bracteates (*IK*) created using enormous forces and means, in most cases does not provide illustrations of the reverses which frequently bear traces of e.g. repair of the attachment of the loop etc.

⁴⁰ Also worth mentioning is a number of studies not associated with the centre at Münster – *cf.* Andrén 1991; Andersson 1995, 44-7; 1997; Öhnell 1996; Seebold 1992; Wicker 1994; 1998; Gaimster 1998.

⁴¹ Solidi issues from first half of the 5th c. came North undoubtedly with a later wave, dated after AD 450 – *cf.* Fagerlie 1967.

conventional methods of absolute dating, therefore, the possibility that bracteates originated earlier than the middle of the 5th century appears to be unlikely.

In his recent chronological scheme M. Axboe rightly has moved away from dating bracteates within the framework of their traditional typology (Axboe 1993; 1994; 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 2004; *cf.* review Rundkvist 2006; recently Axboe 2007). The internal system of relative chronology, developed using enormous effort and with support from statistical and computer methods, is concentrated on analyses of co-occurrence of stylistic and iconographic variations of bracteate motifs. Such aspects as technology, construction, or the ornamentation of frames and loops are given much less attention in his studies (*cf.* similar remarks by N. L. Wicker [1998, 260-263]). As a matter of fact a key could be their correlation with the ornamentation of loops and frames of Roman medallions, their imitations and 4th-5th century solidi of which so many are noted in the North, present from phase C3 until D2. M. Axboe observed the affinity of the ornamentation motifs seen on bracteates with the early zoomorphic style (Salin's Style I; *cf.* Haseloff 1981; 1986), on the other hand, he placed lesser focus on other types of motifs evidently associated with the early Migration Period (stage D1), or ones which appear on imitations of solidi and medallions dated to phase C3. Particularly hard to explain is the hiatus of at least half a century which would seem to separate the time of manufacture of medallion imitations (4th c.) and the rise of the first bracteates (AD 450)⁴². Meanwhile, many bracteates are fitted with forms of loops and frames identical with their counterparts added to 4th century medallions, which frequently are ornamented with analogous motifs. What is interesting is that similarities apply not only to the less technologically and stylistically sophisticated forms but also to the more complicated ornaments made using granulation and filigree. The attachments of loops on bracteates often feature a motif of a single or triple-granulated triangle, similar to motifs seen on many 4th-century medallions and their imitations recorded in *Barbaricum*⁴³. Similarly, frames of bracteates are decorated with a zigzag ornament typical for barbarian medallion frames⁴⁴. This fact was noted in his studies already by A. Alföldi (1933, 25, Pl. IIIb)⁴⁵.

In this situation it may be reasonable to push back the origin of the oldest bracteates to the early 5th c. Nevertheless, to break out of this chronological vicious circle of sorts it would be necessary to make a comparative analysis of the details of construction of bracteates, ornamentation motifs seen on their frames and loops, as well as their technology, and other gold items from *Barbaricum* from the 4th and 5th c., and in particular, to re-examine the relative dating of non-monetary finds found in association with bracteates in closed assemblages across the entire Germanic Europe. For obvious reasons such studies were not attempted in the present paper⁴⁶.

To summarise the present discussion, the most logical area of production of the two bracteates discovered at Zagórzyn near Kalisz is probably somewhere in Denmark, perhaps on Fyn, the time of manufacture may be specified broadly as the 5th century, possibly, even before AD 450⁴⁷. Alongside the gilt silver buckle (Fig. 8) the bracteates make up the youngest elements of the Zagórzyn hoard and designate the *terminus post quem* for dating of this extraordinary deposit.

Conclusions

A careful re-examination of the first references in literature and archival records demonstrated conclusively that both gold bracteates, as well as the Constantius II medallion, all in the Museum in Stuttgart, previously provenanced to "on the Beresina", actually originate from the hoard from Zagórzyn, in central Poland.

⁴² Recently M. Axboe discussed this problem, proposing some reasonable explanations (Axboe 2004, 59-62, 208-209, 216-223, 260-266; 2007, 93-98).

⁴³ E.g. bracteates discovered at: Elmelund, Fyn (*IK* 1,2, 90, No 47,1); Gyland, Vest-Agder (*IK* 1,2, 124-5, No 67); Hauge, Fjordane (*IK* 1,2, 132-3, No 72,1); Kejlungs, Gotland (*IK* 1,2 161-2, No 90); Sjöändan, Bohuslän (*IK* 1,2 275-6, No 159); Skättekärr, Skania (*IK* 1,2 277-8, No 160) or Sletner, Østfold (*IK* 1,2 295-6, No 171); *cf.* Hauck 1985, 185-189; Hauck 1987, 160-161; on the subject of ornamentation of loops and frames on medallions discovered in *Barbaricum* and their imitations *cf.* Bursche 1998, 130-159.

⁴⁴ E.g. multipartite frame of the bracteate from Torpsgård/Senoren, Blekinge in Sweden (*IK*, 2,1 204-5, No 354) is ornamented in three bands, similarly as a multipartite frame of a Valens medallion from Şimleu-Silvaniei (Bursche 1998, 243, No VI, Pl. E; Seipel 1999, 180-2, No 7).

⁴⁵ Other chronological aspects associated e.g. with inscriptions on bracteates are discussed in Wicker 1994; 1998, 262-3.

⁴⁶ Interesting effects in this respect could be produced by results of studies announced by N. L. Wicker (1998, 263-264); *cf.* also recent analyses of bracteate die-related "families" by A. Pesch (2002; 2004).

⁴⁷ According to M. Axboe (2004; 2007) *Dreigötterbrakteaten* bracteates cannot date from earlier than around AD 500.

This deposit is extremely important because it is the only assemblage known so far which contained original Roman medallions, next to their barbarian imitations and gold Germanic bracteates. The *multipla* forming part of this family hoard had been offered, presumably in AD 356, as *donativum* to a barbarian ruler by emperor Constantius II, on the occasion of his assuming the duties of consul, followed by further issues in 368, offered by Valentinian I on the fifth anniversary of his reign. The latest solidus surviving from the same deposit – a Theodosius I issue – is dated to 383-388. The unique barbarous imitation of a Valentinian I and Valens medallion has an identical reverse die as the specimen from a hoard from Şimleul-Silvaniei (former Szilágy-Somlyó) in Transylvania, and may have been manufactured by a barbarian craftsman in a region north of the Lower Danube, during the last quarter of the 4th c. (Kubitschek 1928; Regling 1928; Alföldi 1933, 15-17; Bursche 1998, 221-222)⁴⁸. Both Scandinavian bracteates are of Danish provenance and may be dated generally to the 5th century. All of which shows that the treasure buried at Zagórzyn must have been accumulated as a family heirloom by several generations of Germanic elites.

The region of Kalisz and the basin of the Proсна River in central Poland was a special area in central European Barbaricum, where the tradition of local Przeworsk Culture settlement lingered well into the Migration Period (Godłowski 1985, 125; 1989, 34; Maćczyńska 1998). It is also extremely interesting that the Germanic elites, on their way out of central Poland in the 5th century still continued to sustain contacts ranging widely from Scandinavia to the Lower Danube, as aptly demonstrated by the contents of the hoard

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Abbreviations:

- FS Frühmittelalterliche Studien, Münster.
 RIC *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. VIII, J. P. C. Kent, *The Family of Constantine I (A.D. 337-364)*, London 1981.
 WN Wiadomości Numizmatyczne, Warszawa.

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⁴⁸ The medallion is often incorrectly considered as a find from Şimleul Silvaniei in Transylvania, cf. Dembski 2003, 200-201, No 15.

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