

Two Scandinavian Bracteates from the Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart

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The Württembergisches Landesmuseum has in its collections two Nordic bracteates type B and C,¹ 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.² As shall be demonstrated here the bracteates really belong to one of the greatest deposits of barbarian Europe which was discovered during the late 1920s at Zagórzyn near Kalisz, in central Poland.³

It was possible to solve the riddle of the suspect provenance of the two bracteates using information found in two old letters held by the National Museum in Copenhagen; their copies were kindly provided by Jørgen Steen Jensen. Vividly etched in my memory is a late Sunday night in Copenhagen.

Together with Jørgen we were returning rather exhausted from a very intensive ‘Coins and Archaeology’ conference on the island Isegran in Norway, I was to stay the night at Jørgen’s cosy house. To my great astonishment straight from the railway station my kind host headed for the National Museum where he spent a good half hour looking through his post to catch up on the latest developments on Monday morning. I nearly dozed off waiting for him to finish...

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, Marian Gumowski, who enjoyed 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 lost Constantius II medallion

A specimen which like the bracteates of interest was provenanced in early publications to ‘on the Beresina’

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

2 Andrén 1991, 248, fig. 3; Hauck 1986, 507, fig. 10; Gaimster 1998, 24, fig. 10.

3 Bursche 1998, 51-61, 254-257 no. 33, pl. J,K; Bursche 1999b; Bursche 2000; Bursche 2003; cf. below.

is a gold Constantius II medallion struck at Antioch. On 20 February 1928 this piece was put on auction in Frankfurt am Main by Leo Hamburger's coin dealers (together with an outstanding Vienna collection of Prince Philip von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha) with a written annotation: *Aus einem Funde an der Beresina*.⁴ In July 1929 the same medallion was seen in London at an auction of Glendining and Seaby⁵ 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, 19.63 g, 37 mm, ↓ (Fig. 1)⁶

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.

Plaster casts of this medallion survive in the Numismatic Cabinet in Berlin (Fig. 1); on their reverse side an annotation, made by Kurt Regling, then the Director of the *Münzkabinett*, in three lines reads



Fig. 1. Zagórzyn, Kalisz distr., wielkopolskie voiv. 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*, scale 1:1 (phot. A. Bursche).

as follows: *AV Leo Hbg / 1927 / aus poln. [=polnischem AB] Fund*. This has the following meaning: in 1927 the gold medallion had been in keeping of Leo 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 casts.⁷ Apparently, Leo 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

4 Hamburger 1928, 24, no. 580, pl. 7; cf. Kubitschek 1928, 57.

5 Glendining & Seaby 1929, 43, no. 1012, pl. XXXII.

6 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; Bursche 2000, 85-86, fig. 3.

7 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 Bernhard Weisser for his permission to publish photographs of material held by the *Münzkabinett* in Berlin.

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 from the collection in Stuttgart

In October 1932 a similar Constantius II medallion – also with a suspension loop, but struck in Rome – was entered for auction by the same Leo Hamburger’s. In the auction catalogue this piece also had a provenance ‘on the Beresina’.⁸ The medallion resurfaced in 1938 in Rome, at an auction of Santamaria⁹ 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 Stuttgart¹⁰ and in 1990 was purchased by the Württembergisches Landesmuseum of that city.¹¹ Here is its description:

8 *Aus einem Funde an der Beresina*; Hamburger 1932, 38-39, no. 1002.

9 Santamaria 1938, 104, no. 933.

10 Brandt & Sonntag 1988, 1 no. 42.

11 Klein 1991, 12-3; cf. U. Klein [in:] *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 28, 1991, 226, 229, pl. 14a; cf. Bursche 1998, 255-7.

4½ solidi, Constantius II, Rome, AD 356, 20.10 g, 37 mm, ↑ (Fig. 2)

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 no. 285 and note.

The medallion is considerably worn on both sides and fitted with a Type III.4 suspension loop, classification A. Bursche,¹² across which runs a line of heavy wear.

The Berlin Numismatic Cabinet retains plaster casts also of this medallion (Fig. 3).¹³ On their reverse we find the already familiar annotation made by K. Regling: *poln.* [= *polnischer* AB] *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-Halle,¹⁴ which in September 1927 held two other gold medallions

12 Bursche 1998, 129-164.

13 Bursche 1995, 25-6; Bursche 1998, 255 no. 33, V, pl. J.

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



Fig. 2. Zagórzyn, Kalisz distr., wielkopolskie voiv. Gold medallion of Constantius II minted in Rome. *Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart*, inv. no. MK 1990/9, scale 1:1 (phot. U. Klein).



Fig. 3. Zagórzyn, Kalisz distr., wielkopolskie voiv. Plaster casts of a gold medallion of Constantius II minted in Rome. *Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, scale 1:1 (phot. A. Bursche).

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 trade.¹⁵

15 *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.



DFig. 4. Zagórzyn, Kalisz distr., wielkopolskie voiv. Gold medallion of Valentinian I minted in Thessalonica. American Numismatic Society, New York, inv. no. 790358, scale 1:1 (phot. A. Bursche).

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 reportedly discovered 'on the Beresina'

In May 1928 Erwin Nöbbe, known coin specialist from Flensburg, published in the *Berliner Münzblätter* an article on gold Nordic bracteates.¹⁶ In it he mentioned two previously unknown bracteates, said to have been discovered during WWI in the area on the Beresina, and later held by private party

16 Nöbbe 1928, 259-63; about him cf. Berghaus & Steen Jensen 2001; Berghaus 2002.

in Poznań region, Poland.¹⁷ Citing Emil Bahrfeldt, publisher of *Berliner Münzblätter*, as his source of information, E. Nöbbe did not access the data on 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 rubbings.¹⁸ As already noted, the originals had been auctioned off, together with the Vienna collection of Prince Philip von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha, by Leo Hamburger's, in Frankfurt on 20 February 1928, with a note that they originated 'on the Beresina' (Fig. 5).¹⁹ In the auction catalogue the same provenance was given also to the earlier described Constantius II medallion minted in Antioch (Fig. 1), which as I have shown, originated from Zagórzyn. The bracteates were purchased by a known Stuttgart collector Ernst Unger, added to his collection²⁰ and ultimately bequeathed to the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart (Figs. 6-7).²¹ Unger's collection passed to the Museum in 1935 with all his archive and papers, including a copy of Leo Hamburger's auc-

tion catalogue from 20 February 1928.²² In it we find handwritten notes stating the estimated price of items interesting to Unger (Fig. 5),²³ 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 Beresina.²⁴ E. Unger did not buy the solidi²⁵ presumably because he specialised in 'barbarian' finds; the later fate of these pieces is unknown.

Since the two Constantius II medallions (Figs. 1-3), presented for the first time to the public at Leo Hamburger's auctions, belonged to the Zagórzyn deposit, the question arises whether the two Germanic bracteates type B and C (Figs. 6-7), and possibly, also the three 5th century solidi, might not be traced to the same hoard.

Information provided 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. 8),²⁶ noted that the piece originated from a hoard reportedly discovered in late 1927 in the area on the border between Poland and

17 *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, fig. 10 & 11.

18 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 Leo Hamburger's auction house, together with the Constantius II issue minted in Antioch, of which a number of casts was made (Fig. 1). However the collection of plaster casts in Berlin is currently unavailable – kind information of Prof. Bernd Kluge from 28th of February 2007.

19 *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 Philip; cf. also Kubitschek 1928, 57.

20 Nöbbe 1930/31, 54, fig. 3a, 57, fig. 6a; Mackeprang 1952, 42, 184-185, no. 337.

21 Axboe 1982, 86-7, no. 337; Maué & Veit 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.

22 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 Unger's collection, I am very grateful.

23 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 how much Unger has finally paid with 15 % provision.

24 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.

25 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.

26 See below.

	80	Byzantiner – Deutsche Kaiser, Oesterreich etc.	
	699	Gold-Triens. Brustbild d. Anastasius r. Rv. Victoria. Wroth V. 21. Gut erh.	
1000-1500	700	Langobarden. Adalwald. 615–624? Gold-Triens mit Heraklius. DN HIR – AILVIF Brustbild n. r. Rv. Verworrene Umschrift, Kreuz. Vgl. Wroth XIX. 2–5. S. sch.	
	701	Langobarden in Benevent. 7. Jahrh. Nachahmung d. Heraklius u. Heraklius Constantin (610–41). 2 Bb. v. v. Rv. Stufenkrenz. cf. Tolstoi 462–64. Schön. T. 8	
	702	Zweites variierendes Exemplar. Sehr gut erh. T. 8	
1500-2000	703	Drittes variierendes Exemplar. Gel., schön. T. 8	
	704	Viertes variierendes Ex. aus blassem Golde. Gel., s. g. e. T. 8	
1500-2000	705	Altes nordisches Goldamulett, brakteatenförmig. ca. 5. Jahrhundert. Steh. Krieger, vor ihm l. Victoria mit Palmzweig, hinter ihm Waffenträger mit Lanze. Im Felde Dreieck u. Morgenstern. Mit umgel. Zierreif u. Tragring. 28 Mm. 3½ Gr. Außerst selten u. schön. T. 8 Aus einem Funde an der Beresina. Wir Ave 580 595-597	
1500-2000	706	Desgleichen. Barb. Reiter l. mit großer Helmzier. Links im Felde Swastika u. 26 Mm. 3 Gr. Mit umgel. Periring u. Tragring. Im Reif kl. Stück fehlend. Außerst selten u. schön. T. 8 Aus dem gleichen Funde. Wir Ave 580 595-597	
		Deutsche Kaiser, Oesterreich etc.	
		Carolinger.	
1000-1500	707	Pipin der Kurze. 752–68. Denar von Narbonne. RNF in Perlkreis. Rv. NR in Perlkreis. Gariel T. 2. 45 (fr. 400). Sehr gut erhalten. T. 8	
	708	Carloman. 768–71. Denar. CARLO im ganzen Felde. Rv. Umschrift: LEVTBRA. In d. Mitte Kreis mit Punkt. Gar. 3 (fr. 1500). Sehr gut erhalten. T. 8 Exemplar d. Berliner Dubletten (m. Auct. 1912).	
	709	Ludwig d. Fromme. 814–40. Denar. HLVDOVICVS IMP AVG. Bel. Brustb. r. Rv. ✱ METTALLVM Im Felde 2 Keile u. 2 Berzhämmer. Gar. 75 (75 Francs). Sehr gut erh. T. 8	

Fig. 5. Fragment of a page from a copy of Leo Hamburger's auction catalogue (Hamburger 1928, 25) with handwritten notes made by E. Unger, Archive of *Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart*.

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 bracteates.²⁷ In the catalogue of medallions of the Berlin *Münzkabinett* we find the following entry on

27 *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 die zur Zeit noch nichts Näheres gesagt werden kann... – Regling 1928, 67.*

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.*²⁸ This provenance may be safely disregarded because there is no doubt that the real provenance of the piece, purchased in late 1927²⁹ from Ph. Lederer, Berlin coin-dealer, whose shop was found in direct neighbourhood of the Mu-

28 Dressel 1973, 400.

29 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.



Fig. 6. Zagórzyn, Kalisz distr., wielkopolskie voiv. Gold bracteate type B. *Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart*, inv. no. S.U. 1943, scale 1:1 (phot. after Klein 1991, 13 no 4).



Fig. 7. Zagórzyn, Kalisz distr., wielkopolskie voiv. Gold bracteate type C. *Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart*, inv. no. S.U. 1944, scale 1:1 (phot. after Klein 1991, 13 no. 5).

seum, must have been suppressed.³⁰ The find-spot, described as ‘border area between Poland and western Russia’, presumably had the same meaning as ‘on 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 quite 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.

30 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).



Fig. 8. Zagórzyn, Kalisz distr., wielkopolskie voiv. Gold barbarous imitation of the medallion of Valentinian I and Valens, *Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, inv. no. Acc. 1928/5, scale 1:1 (phot. A. Bursche).

Gumowski’s letter

The riddle of suspect provenance of the bracteates is finally solved with the help of a letter sent by Marian Gumowski, known Polish collector and infamous researcher, on 22 February 1927 from Poznań to Copenhagen (Fig. 9).³¹ Acting ‘on authority granted by their owner’ Gumowski offered to sell two bracteates to the Museum, stating that they had been discovered during the war (ie. WWI) in Russia, together with gold 4th and 5th c. Byzantine coins.³² In approaching the National Museum in Copenhagen the collector was right on the mark since the Museum specialised

31 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.

32 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

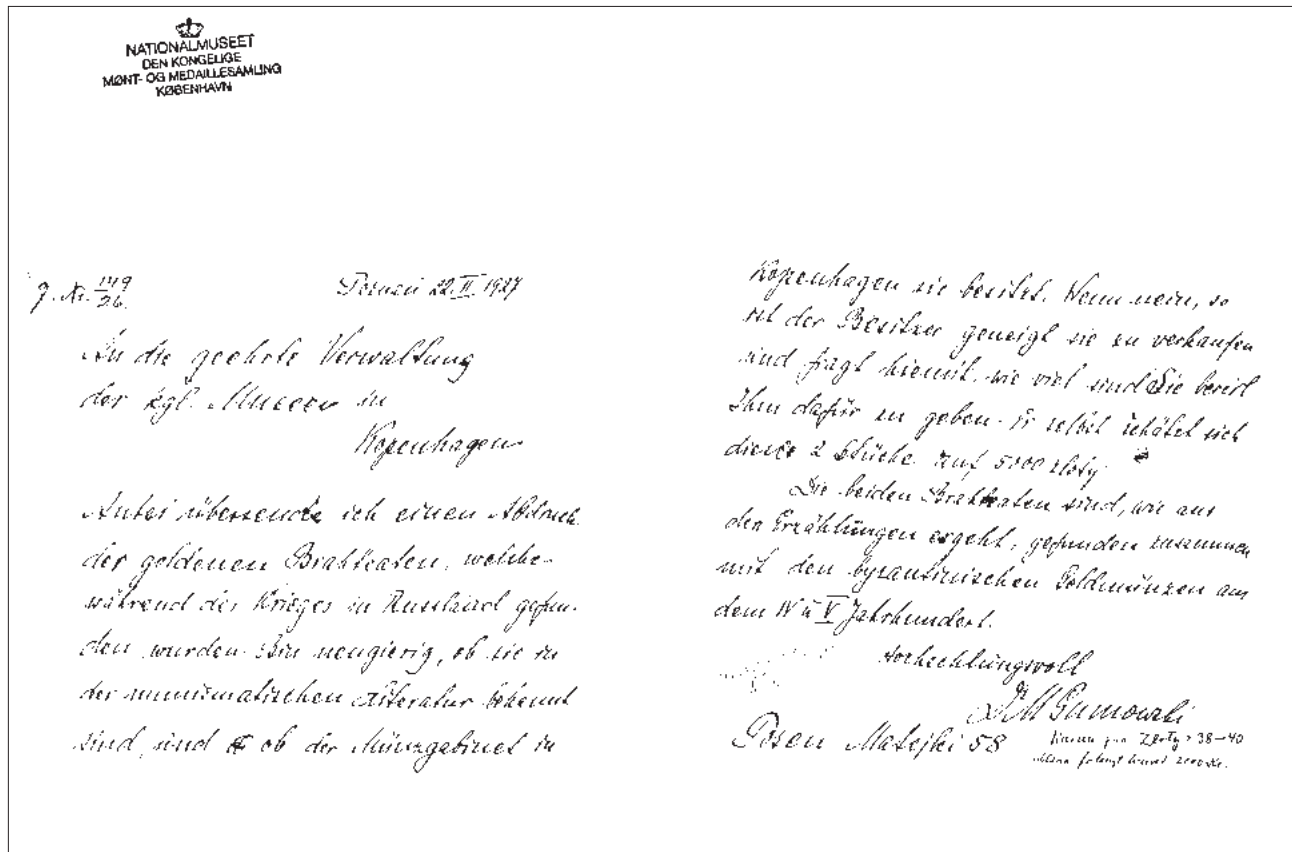


Fig. 9. Letter of M. Gumowski to the director of the Royal/National Museum in Copenhagen, Archive of *Den kongelige Mønt- og Medaillesamling, Nationalmuseet*.

in Nordic bracteates and held the largest collection of these pieces worldwide. In 1927 Gumowski lived in Poznań, at Matejko St., and was Chief Director of the Museum of Wielkopolska region;³³ at the same time he was also a private collector of international renown. It was 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, 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

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).

33 Gumowski 1966, 77-93.

Royal Museum in Copenhagen. In reply, G. Galster judged the asking price of 5000 Polish zloty (ca. 25000-30000 in EU) as excessive and asked for additional details about the find-spot.³⁴

34 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. 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 (*ie.* 'on the Beresina').

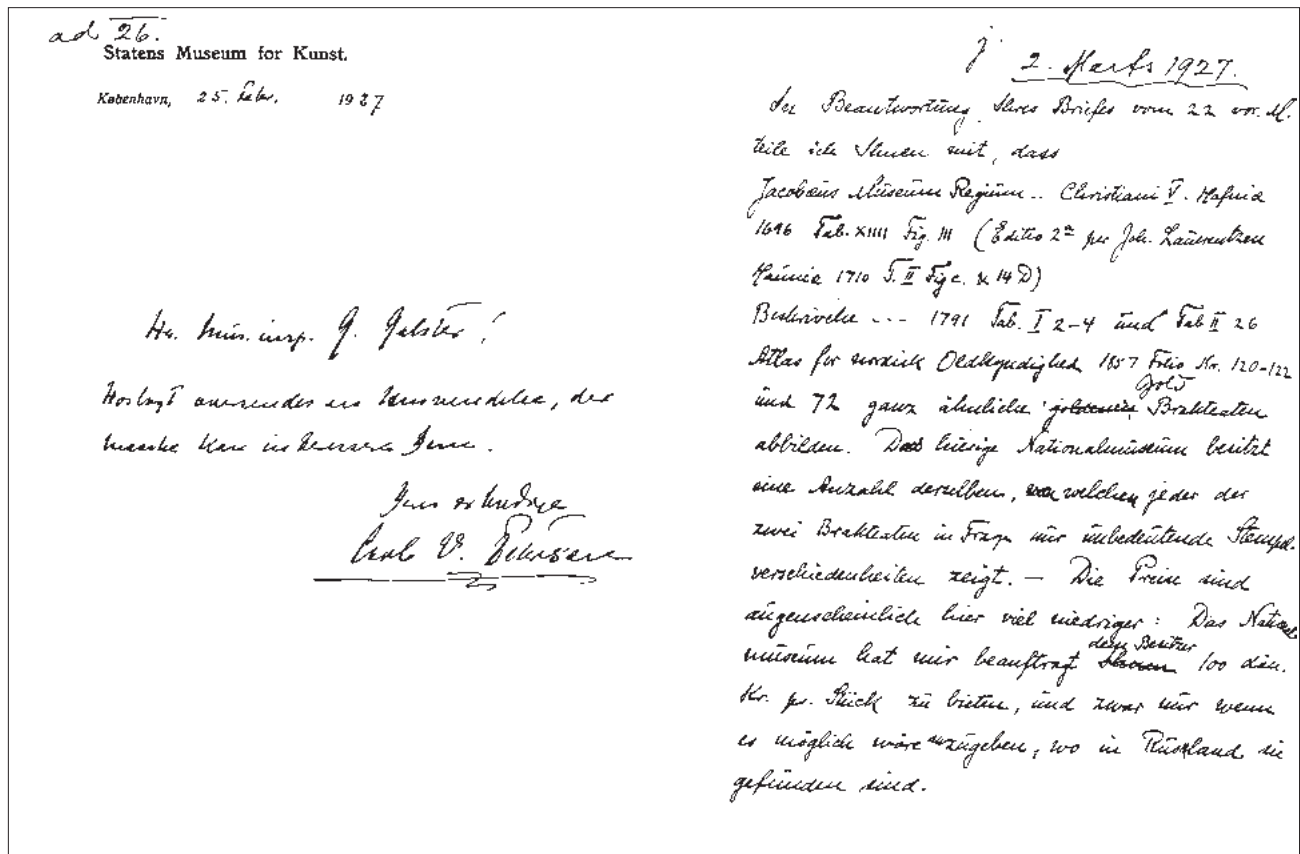


Fig. 10. G. Galster's reply to the letter from M. Gumowski, Archive of the *Den kongelige Mønt- og Medaillesamling, Nationalmuseet*.

Reconstruction of the actual 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 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 (Fig. 6 & Fig. 7), two medallions of Constantius II (Figs. 1-3) and perhaps also the 5th century solidi found their way to Leo Hamburger's and Gaettens-Halle/Riechmann's antique dealers, as items from a find 'on the Beresina'.³⁵ Quite probably this was also the route

35 Nevertheless, in both these antique shops there must have an awareness of the true provenance of the medallions, revealed only to K. Regling. I am grateful

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. 8) 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 publications³⁶ 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

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.

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

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.³⁷ 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 market.³⁸ If we assume that the selection had been made by a specialist,³⁹ 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.

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 River.⁴⁰ From the area of today’s Poland we know of three other assemblages of gold bracteates: Karlino, distr. Białogard, Suchań, distr. Stargard Szczeciński, both in W. Pomerania, and Wapno, distr.

Wągrowiec in N. Wielkopolska⁴¹. This last locality lies only a small distance from Zagórzyn.

The hoard from Zagórzyn

More detailed circumstances of discovery of the deposit in the village of Zagórzyn,⁴² municipality Blizanów, 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 goods. I will reconstruct the fate of individual pieces belonging to the hoard in a separate study. The structure of the deposit, which we may never know for certain, may be reconstructed approximately as follows:

41 Żak 1950-1953; Mackeprang 1952, no. 329, pl. 9, 14; no. 330, pl. 11, 7, pl. 15, 27; no. 376, pl. 11, 5; Żak 1962, 49-51 no. 11, fig. 9, 51-52, no. 12, 56-59, no. 17, fig. 15; Machajewski 1992, 64-65; Kara 1994.

42 North of Kalisz, on the right bank of the Prosna River. In literature the deposit was frequently described using the name of neighbouring localities: Zagórzyn (now a southern district of Kalisz, on the left bank of the Prosna) or Nędzrzewo (and distorted forms of this placename in German language publications) – correctly – Nędzrzew (comm. Opatówek, east of Kalisz, on Swędrnia 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; Kosztrzewski 1955, 266). Dissimilar information on the locality is the result of using different sources on the hoard.

37 Bursche 2003.

38 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.

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

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



Fig. 11. Zagórzyn, Kalisz distr., wielkopolskie voiv. Gilt silver buckle. *Muzeum Okręgowe Ziemi Kaliskiej*, scale 1:1 (phot. M. Kałuża).

1. at least one gilt silver buckle with an animal style frame (Fig. 11),⁴³
2. a 'signet finger ring', perhaps set with a semi-precious stone – carneol or almandine,
3. a gold ring pendant,⁴⁴
4. gold human figurine,
5. several score gold beads(?),⁴⁵
6. at least six, more likely, seven medallions, including two barbarous imitations (Figs. 1-4, 8),⁴⁶
7. two Germanic bracteates type B and C (Figs. 6-7, 12-13),
8. around three thousand (perhaps more) 1st and 2nd century denarii; solidi from the 4th, perhaps

also 5th c.⁴⁷

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 Cologne and the Numismatic Cabinet in Berlin. Until WWII 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,⁴⁸ as are the denarii and fragments of bronze sheet discovered in 1999. The fate of the remaining objects is unknown.⁴⁹

43 I am grateful for the illustration to E. Pudełko from the Regional Museum of the Kalisz District.

44 It cannot be excluded that there were more such pendants or rings – Petersen 1930, 34, fig. 2; Petersen 1933, 57-59; Bursche 1998, pl. K, 33,d.

45 Perhaps these were beads 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. On the subject of gold beads see Andersson 1995, 49-65.

46 Bursche 1998, pl. J; Bursche 1999a, 43 fig. 6; Bursche 2001, pl. III,1; Seipel 1999, 186-188 no. 15; Dembski 2003, 200 no. 15.

47 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; Bursche 2003.

48 Pudełko 1991.

49 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.



Fig. 12. Zagórzyn, Kalisz distr., wielkopolskie voiv. Gold bracteate type B. *Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart*, inv. no. S.U. 1943, scale 2:1 (phot. U. Klein).



Fig. 13. Zagórzyn, Kalisz distr., wielkopolskie voiv. Gold bracteate type C. *Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart*, inv. no. S.U. 1944, scale 2:1 (phot. U. Klein).

The bracteates from Zagórzyn

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.⁵⁰ 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 (Figs. 6, 12)⁵¹

Weight: 3.67 g, d = 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 chape, 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.

50 Thomsen 1855; 1850-1860; Montelius 1869; Salin 1895; IK 1-3.

51 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.

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 Funen.⁵² 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 in Sealand, a locality, which, interestingly enough, also produced a medallion of Valentinian I.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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).⁵⁵ 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 (Figs. 7, 13)⁵⁶

Weight: 3.07 g; d = 25.6 mm

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

52 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) 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 II and Skovsborg-B).

53 IK 2,1 no. 51,1; Bursche 1998, 80, 232 no. 5, pl. A; it is interesting that also at Gudme II in Fyn, where a bracteate with an analogous motif was found (see preceding note) a medallion of Constans was also discovered (Bursche 1998, 75, 232 no. 7).

54 Axboe 1987, 76-7; Axboe 1991, 192-3; Hauck 1993; Åkerström-Hougen 2001.

55 IK 1,1, 139-51; Hauck 1978b; Hauck 1987, 160-6; Hauck 1992, 480-495; Hauck 1993; Hauck 1994a, 79-82; Hauck 1994b; Hauck 1998; Lamm et al. 2001, 41-48.

56 Cf. description in IK 2,1, 19-20, no. 217; photograph and drawing IK 2,2, 3-4.

cured.⁵⁷ 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,⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ No doubt it was modelled on equestrian images of emperors, commonly seen on late Roman *multipla*.

Chronology

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 bracteates.⁶⁰ Without question, an exception in this

respect has been research by Morten Axboe,⁶¹ who developed a detailed typology of loops, frames and borders, and their accompanying ornaments.⁶²

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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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 region.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ Using 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 Morten Axboe rightly has moved away from dating bracteates within the framework of their traditional typology.⁶⁷ The internal system of relative chronology, developed us-

57 IK, Einleitung, 99-106; Hauck 2002, 81-86. Recent proposal of A. Kaliff and A. Sundqvist, 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 (Kaliff & Sundqvist 2006).

58 IK 1,2, 170-1 no. 95.

59 Axboe 1994, 68-9, fig. 1-2.

60 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.

61 Axboe 1982; Axboe & Kromann 1992; also worth mentioning is a number of studies not associated with the centre at Münster – A. Andrén (1991); K. Andersson (1995, 44-7; 1997), Th. Öhnel (1996); E. Seebold (1992); N. Wicker (1994; 1998) and M. Gaimster (1998).

62 Axboe 1982, 31-56; recently also Wicker 1998 – cf. below.

63 Mackeprang 1952, 22-4; Axboe 1982; cf. Axboe 1992, 103-110; Axboe 2004.

64 Pink 1974, 2-10.

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

66 Fagerlie 1967; Ciołek 2003; 2005.

67 Axboe 1993; Axboe 1994; Axboe 1998; Axboe 1999a; Axboe 1999b; Axboe 2004; cf. review Rundkvist 2006.

ing 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.⁶⁸ 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 centuries solidi of which so many are noted in the North, present from phase C3 until D2 (early 4th century to early 6th century). M. Axboe observed the affinity of the ornamentation motifs seen on bracteates with the early zoomorphic style (Salin's Style I),⁶⁹ on the other hand, he placed lesser focus on other types of motifs evidently associated with the early Migration Period (stage D1, late 4th to early 5th centuries), or ones which appear on imitations of solidi and medallions dated in the 4th century. 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 century) and the rise of the first bracteates (AD 450).⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ Similarly, frames of

bracteates are decorated with a zigzag ornament typical for barbarian medallion frames.⁷² This fact was noted in his studies already by Andreas Alföldi.⁷³

In this situation it may be reasonable to push back the origin of the oldest bracteates to the early 5th century. 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 centuries, 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 paper.⁷⁴

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 Funen, the time of manufacture may be specified broadly as the 5th century, possibly even before AD 450.⁷⁵ Alongside the gilt silver buckle (Fig. 11) the bracteates make up the youngest elements of the Zagórzyn hoard and designate the *terminus post quem* for dating of this extraordinary deposit.

68 Cf. similar remarks in Wicker 1998, 260-263.

69 Haseloff 1981; Haseloff 1986.

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

71 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.

72 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).

73 Alföldi 1933, 25, pl. IIIb; other chronological aspects associated e.g. with inscriptions on bracteates are discussed in Wicker 1994, 1998, 262-3.

74 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 (Pesch 2002; Pesch 2004).

75 According to Morten Axboe *Dreigötterbrakteaten* bracteates cannot date from earlier than around AD 500 – cf. Axboe 2004.

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.

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 century.⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷ 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 con-

tents of the hoard from Zagórzyn.

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76 Kubitschek 1928; Regling 1928; Alföldi 1933, 15-17; Bursche 1998, 221-222; the medallion is often incorrectly considered as a find from Şimleul Silvaniei in Transylvania – Dembski 2003, 200-201, no. 15.

77 Godłowski 1985, 125; Godłowski 1989, 34; Mączyńska 1998.

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