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Barbaric solidi and connections over the Baltic Sea in the Migration Period¹

Barbarzyńskie solidy i kontakty nad Morzem Bałtyckim w okresie wędrówek ludów

Abstract: The contribution deals with the imitative solidi, which were produced in the second half of the 5th century on Gotland and found in today's Poland. Their distribution on Gotland, Bornholm, in southern Sweden, and Pomerania points to the directions of long-distance, mutual contacts among the Germanic elites as well as the exchange of goods of a political character.

Keywords: late Roman solidi, gold imitations, Germanic elites, exchange of goods, Baltic basin, Migration Period

Abstrakt: Praca dotyczy naśladownictw solidów znalezionych na terenie dzisiejszej Polski, które wyprodukowano w 2. połowie V wieku na Gotlandii. Ich rozprzestrzenienie na obszarze Gotlandii, Bornholmu, południowej Szwecji i Pomorza wskazuje na kierunki długodystansowych wzajemnych kontaktów wśród germańskich elit oraz na polityczny wymiar wymiany dóbr.

Słowa kluczowe: solidy późnorzymskie, złote naśladownictwa, germańskie elity, wymiana dóbr, basen Morza Bałtyckiego, okres wędrówek ludów

Late Roman and early Byzantine solidi finds from what today is the territory of northern Poland had worse luck than similar finds from southern Scandinavia and Baltic islands. The vast majority of Danish and Swedish coins were added to museum collections in Copenhagen and Stockholm and are still there for us to study at ease (e.g. Fagerlie 1967; Kyhlberg 1986; Östergren 1981; Fischer 2020; 2021). The solidi recovered in the former German provinces of Ostpreussen, Westpreussen and Pommern were at first submitted to the central museum in Berlin (Königliche Museum für Volkerkunde), but in a later period passed to state museums (Landesmuseen), i.e. finds from Ostpreussen

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to Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), from Westpreussen to Danzig (now Gdańsk), and from Pommern to Stettin (now Szczecin), or even to smaller, local museums e.g. in Elbing (now Elbląg) and Köslin (now Koszalin). As late as 1926, they were examined in these museums by Sture Bolin (Bolin 1926a; 1926b), but unfortunately, most were never published comprehensively, or even illustrated. Then came the calamity of World War II and its aftermath. With the Red Army drawing near the collections of the state and provincial museums (Landesmuseum/Provinzialmuseum) in East and West Prussia and Pomerania were carried west to safety, placed in hiding at different locations in Germany (Jahn, Neumayer, Szter 2018). Even so, the later fate of the majority of gold coin finds from the museum collections in Königsberg, Danzig, Elbing and Köslin are at present unknown, except for three solidi from the hoard found at Trąbki Małe (fmr. Klein Tromp), originally probably in Königsberg University collection, which survived in the university museum in Göttingen (Sommer 2003, 146–147). Many others subsequently entered the Pushkin Museum in Moscow as spoils of war.

The fate of archaeological objects found in the Landesmuseum in Stettin (now Szczecin) was different. A large portion of the collections of the Landesmuseum in Szczecin was salvaged after the war in Stralsund (Ciołek 1999)², and a small group resurfaced quite recently at Mołtowo (Kowalski, Filipowiak 2012; Kowalski, Kozłowska, Rogalski 2016)³. Ultimately, via a diplomatic process the coins and other artefacts preserved in Stralsund were restored to the National Museum in Szczecin in exchange for artefacts from pre-1945 discoveries made within administrative boundaries of post-war Germany then in Polish museums. They were added to the collections of State Office for Culture and Monument Preservation Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania (Landesamt für Bodendenkmalpflege Mecklenburg-Vorpommern), headed in late 1980s and early 90s by the respected Honoree (Kowalski, Filipowiak 2012, 24–25).

The fact that a vast majority of solidi deriving from finds made on the territory of present-day northern Poland are not physically available is no excuse to leave them out of any analysis concerned with the influx to the Baltic region and circulation of these coins in the period ca. 450 – ca. 550. The number of solidi found in Pomerania⁴ and Ermland (Warmia) recorded and mentioned in the literature and archives greatly exceeds their number

² In 1998, A. Bursche and R. Ciołek described and photographed all the coins found to the east of the Oder in keeping of the Museum in Stralsund.

³ According to K. Kowalski of the National Museum in Szczecin some other artefacts from Pomerania had resurfaced in other museums in Poland. A study of these recent findings is forthcoming.

⁴ Hereinafter understood as the region lying along the Baltic coastal plain between the Oder and the Vistula rivers.

deriving from Scandinavian finds. What is more, this difference is likely to be even greater if we consider the different level of research resulting from the different legal, social and civilisation background on the two sides of the Baltic. After the war, finds of solidi from northern Poland have been exceedingly rare (to judge by the number of reported finds) unlike in Scandinavia, the island of Bornholm in particular where there has been a steady increase⁵. In Poland, no one on their right mind would report the discovery of a gold coin to a State conservator authority or a museum, unlike in Sweden, and particularly, in Denmark. For decades, unprovenanced solidi from Polish finds have been turning up at auctions outside Poland or passing directly to private collections.

The impressive number of solidi recovered before the war in Pomerania and Ermland (Map 1), including in particular the largest hoards recorded in the Baltic region, suggests that it was through this area that they were carried from continental Europe (Map 2) to Scandinavia, at least until the end of the 5th century. This is confirmed, e.g. by two great solidi hoards discovered to the east of the Lower Vistula at Trąbki Małe (fmr. Klein Tromp) with the earliest known *terminus post quem* in the Baltic region, analysed recently in an exemplary manner by Karsten Dahmen (Dahmen 2017; cf. below). This route of influx was confirmed by studies completed in the second decade of this century within the research project “Migration Period between the Oder and the Vistula” (cf. *The Migration Period* 2020). Pollen analysis results substantiated the existence in the second half of the 5th and 6th century of settlement enclaves in Kujawy, the estuaries of the Vistula and the Oder (Pędziszewska, Latałowa, Święta-Musznicka 2020), while excavated evidence includes Germanic materials dated to the same period, mostly of western and northern provenance, Frankish and Scandinavian in particular (Machajewski, Schuster 2020; Rudnicki M., Rudnicki M. 2020; Kontny, Rudnicki 2020). Thus, new Germanic groups appeared in the northern region of Poland with a material culture which – to use the terminology established in Western Europe – are datable to the beginning of the early medieval period. These recent arrivals presumably acted as intermediaries in the influx of solidi to Scandinavia, at least during the first stage, dated to the second half of the 5th century, and in a later period, were involved in multidirectional relations between the regions on the Baltic Sea and the south and west of the continent.

In the case study presented below, we set out to demonstrate the value of a very modest group of numismatic finds from Pomerania for our understanding of Migration Period contacts sustained by elites in the Baltic region.

⁵ Herschend 1978; Talvio 1982; Östergren 1981; Kyhlberg 1986; Westermark 1980; 1983; Kromann 1990; Horsnaes 2009; 2010; 2013; Fischer 2011; Fischer, López-Sánchez, Victor 2011.

This we propose to do by discussing two imitations of Late Roman *solidi* now housed in the National Museum in Szczecin returned from Stralsund (Fagerlie 1967, 80; cf. Fischer 2021)⁶.

One of them is an imitative *solidus* of Valentinian III from a hoard found at Karsibór (former Caseburg) (Fig. 1) (Ciołek 2007, 103–105, no. 146), the second an imitation of Theodosius II, a single find from Smóldzino (fmr. Schmolsin) (Fig. 2; Map 1) (Ciołek 2007, 224–225, no. 309). Their description made by Aleksander Bursche was published in the catalogue to the exhibition of Pomeranian antiquities from the collections of the National Museum in Szczecin “Lost-Saved. The Pomeranian Antiquities Collection of Szczecin” (in Polish: “Zaginione-Ocalone. Szczecińska kolekcja starożytności pomorskich”) and the catalogue to the exhibition dedicated to the Migration Period archaeology of the region between the Oder and the Vistula “Barbarian Tsunami. The Migration Period in Oder and Vistula River Basin” (in Polish: “Barbarzyńskie Tsunami. Okres Wędrówek Ludów w dorzeczu Odry i Wisły”)⁷.

Both coins are heavily barbarized, their legends largely illegible, alliterative, devoid of semantic sense. They cannot be provenanced to any of the mints operating within the Empire or in the Germanic kingdoms taking form on its territory. Although similar imitative specimens were recorded previously among Late Roman and Early Byzantine *solidi* finds, they had not been analysed more extensive until the most recent contribution from S. Fischer. Joan Fagerlie had catalogued these imitations, noting only that a specimen found on Gotland, Kyrkeby, Etelhem parish had been struck with the same pair of dies as the coin found in the Karsibór Hoard, and that another coin from Poland, very likely to be the same as the specimen from Smóldzino (cf. below), had been struck with the same pair of dies as two other coins listed in her catalogue. Her conclusion that these imitations could have been produced in Scandinavia was accepted in later studies, cited subsequently by other researchers with interest in Scandinavian *solidi* (Fagerlie 1967, 4, 9–10, footnote 13; 79–80; Metcalf 1995, 438–439; Fischer 2020, 46; cf. Fischer 2021).

In his most recent study, Svante Fischer proposed a typology for a group of imitations known to him from Öland, Gotland and Sweden. He mentioned two finds from Pomerania only in tables presenting die-links hoard inventories (Fischer 2021, esp. 22, cf. tab. 2 and 4). The recent exemplary analysis of imitative coins from Danish finds made by Helle Horsnæs and Mads Ravn

⁶ The first to mention them was Fagerlie.

⁷ Bursche 2012a; 2012b; 2017, 119, no. 42; 120, no. 43; Bursche, Machajewski, Rogalski 2012, 302–303, no. 151; 307, no. 155; Schuster 2017, 48, Fig. 6; Bursche, Kowalski, Rogalski 2017,

may be used in comparative studies of imitative coin-finds from Pomerania, Bornholm and Gotland (Horsnæs, Ravn 2021)⁸.

In his contribution, S. Fischer presents a typology and chronology of imitations known to him. Since the main focus of his analysis was present-day Sweden, other imitations, including those with a likely Scandinavian provenance recovered in Pomerania, on Bornholm and in Jutland are mentioned only in brief (Fischer 2021)⁹. In this most recent classification, the imitation from Karsibór would belong to a group of imitations of Valentinian III solidi (1b), in which this author additionally included 11 specimens: from Gotland (5 pcs), Bornholm (2 pcs), Funen (2 pcs), mainland Sweden (1 pcs) and Jutland (1 pcs), recorded in hoards or as single finds (Fischer 2021, 16; cf. tab. 2 and 4)¹⁰. The coin from Smøldzino belongs in the group of imitative solidi of Theodosius II (3), next to nine other imitations struck with three different reverse dies recovered on Gotland (5 pcs), Bornholm (3 pcs) and mainland Sweden (1 pcs).

The imitative solidi under discussion (from Fischer's groups 1b and 3) include substantially barbarized specimens and coins which have obverse and reverse images close to the original. In some of them, a fragment of a legend can be distinguished, helping to identify the prototype. This provides a clue as to the technology used to make dies for imitative coins. Presumably, the less barbarized imitations were made by transferring the die or a part of a die. This technique involved making a transfer die (hub) of the obverse and the reverse by pressing a coin (or its fragment) in a clay mould, casting a copper alloy hub and breaking the mould. The transfer die made in this way was hammered onto a heated future die for striking the imitations (Stannard 2011)¹¹. The barbarian-style coins on the other hand were probably made with dies engraved by local craftsman¹². Another important point is that the less barbarized imitative coins are hybrids, that is, they combine dies used in striking official solidi of different types or issues. The barbarian workshop, or workshops, presumably had a set of hubs or dies made using several original Roman solidi.

⁸ Imitations analysed by Horsnæs and Ravn are Gallo-Roman specimens manufactured presumably in Gaul or Spain then under Visigothic and Suebian control.

⁹ Anna Zapolska is currently working on a supplement to the cited work.

¹⁰ In Table 2 presenting die-linked coins Fischer incorrectly assigned to type 1a specimens with a reverse modelled on solidi of Valentinian III (F22–25).

¹¹ The same method was used to make barbarous imitative denarii (cf. Dymowski 2019).

¹² The style of these imitations is close to the style of bracteates which may also have been produced on Gotland (information in an email from A. Pesch). Some of the bracteates (so-called "female bracteates") found on Gotland are modelled on solidi struck by Valentinian III for his wife – Licinia Eudoxia or his mother – Galla Placidia (cf. Pesch 2011, and information in an email from A. Pesch).

The barbarian-style imitations usually reproduce the obverse and reverse of a coin of a specific type, which suggests that the die-maker had an original coin at his disposal. Furthermore, in contrast to the less barbarized imitative coins, this group includes specimens struck only with the same pair of dies, no links between only the obverse or only the reverse die are known at present. This could be due to the small pool of coins the craftsmen had at their disposal during that age.

The time of the production of Scandinavian imitations cannot be established unequivocally based only on the chronology of the hoard in which they were found. This is because hoards tend to have late dating and regardless of the *tpq* of the youngest coin in them the time of their deposition is not earlier as a rule than late 5th or early 6th century. The heavily worn condition of solidi and imitations found in a hoard indicates their extended use and hoarding at a much later date than the time of issue of the coin added last to the hoard (Horsnæs 2009, 239; 2013, 81–82). Presumably, the production of imitations started after 476 when Gotland took over the role of a redistribution centre of solidi in Scandinavia, having replaced Öland, to which island solidi probably were brought by way of Pomerania (Fagerlie 1967; Kyhlberg 1986; Fischer, López-Sánchez, Victor 2011; Fischer, López-Sánchez 2016, 169; Fischer 2020, 17, 25; 2021, 35)¹³. Some of the imitations must have been made later, only at the beginning of the 6th century (Fischer 2021), when the influx of original Roman coins from the Empire was interrupted in the reign of Anastasius I. The pool of Scandinavian imitations includes only a small number of solidi of Justin I and Justinian I which could have passed from the territory of the Empire through present day Germany, something suggested by, e.g. the Biesenbrow Hoard, or from the west, from the North Sea coast by way of Jutland (Biermann *et al.* 2011; Quast 2017)¹⁴. No solidi of Justin I and Justinian I are present in the pool of finds from Pomerania, and a single tremissis of Justinian I was recovered in southern Poland, in the Carpathian mountains (Ciołek 2003; 2007; 2009; cf. Bodzek, Tunia, Wołoszyn 2017).

The first imitative coin to be discussed here comes from the Karsibór Hoard (Fig. 1). Its discovery and fate of individual coins have been described in detail by Anna Zapolska (Zapolska 2020). Of fifteen coins, originally added to the collections of Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertümer,

¹³ There is evidence that the production of imitations could have started even earlier. This problem will be discussed at more length in paper prepared at present by A. Zapolska.

¹⁴ However, we cannot rule out that similarly as the Karsibór Hoard, the deposit from Biesenbrow reflects the presence of Scandinavian groups in the region or their migration to the south (Fischer, Lind 2015, 14; Fischer, López-Sánchez 2016, 160, tab. 2, Fig. 1 and 2; cf. Horsnæs, Ravn 2021).

subsequently converted into a museum, eight survive in the National Museum in Szczecin (Zapolska 2020, 562–564, tab. 16.1, photo 16:1–9). The hoard comprised ca. 40 coins, of which 22 were described. In the group of Roman official solidi, the earliest issue was a Honorius struck at Milan in 395–423, the youngest – coins of Anastasius from 491–518. The same deposit included a pseudo-imperial coin, presumably Ostrogothic, with a representation of Anastasius I, and very likely, an imitation of Honorius. The time of deposition of the hoard was in early 6th century.

The imitative solidus from the Karsibór Hoard was struck with the same pair of dies as the imitation lacking context found at Kyrkeby, Etelhem parish, on Gotland (Fig. 3). Near to its find-spot, at Botes was found one of the largest Scandinavian solidi hoards with imitative and pseudo-imperial issues, Ostrogothic, Gallic coins and local imitations¹⁵. A few more solidi and at least one imitation lacking context were found at Botes (Fagerlie 1967, 80, 199, no 137a, 139–141; Fischer 2020, 46; 2021). In view of the similarity shown by the Karsibór and Botes deposits (cf. Tab. 1), and the presence in the former of imitative coins struck with the same pair of dies as the specimen found near the find-spot of the Botes Hoard, it is more than likely that the Karsibór Hoard was formed on Gotland and taken from the island to Pomerania. This is suggested both by the structure of this hoard, i.e. solidi of the same issuers, the presence of coins issued by Western mints (including Milan) and in Constantinople, and pseudo-imperial coins and (presumably) Scandinavian imitations (cf. Tab. 1) (Fagerlie 1967, 198–199, no 137b; Zapolska 2020)¹⁶. Another deposit with a similar structure is the Lillön Hoard (Uppland) ending in issues of Anastasius I which is understood to have been formed on Gotland and carried North¹⁷.

The second imitative coin preserved in the National Museum in Szczecin, from an unknown context at Smøldzino (Fig. 2) is die-identical with two further imitations, from Malgårds on Gotland (Fig. 4) and Kåsbygård on Bornholm (Fig. 5). While the former has no recorded context, the coin from

¹⁵ The Botes Hoard comprised 26 imitations/pseudo-imperial coins. Five of them are likely to have a Scandinavian provenance, the remainder originated from Italy and Gaul, or were determined by S. Fischer broadly as continental (cf. Fischer 2021, esp. tab. 4). Since no catalogue of solidi identified by Fischer as imitations is provided in his publication it is worth confirming these numbers. What is certain is that next to the presumably Scandinavian imitations the deposit included a dozen-odd pseudo-imperial coins and imitations deriving from barbarian kingdoms established in Italy and Gaul.

¹⁶ With most of the coins from this hoard now lost the mint of many of these specimens could not be determined.

¹⁷ The coins in this hoard (11 solidi of Theodosius II, and one each of Leo I, Zeno and Anastasius I) have die-links coin finds from Öland, Gotland and Bornholm; an extensive analysis: Fagerlie 1967, 120–122, 158.

Bornholm was found in a hoard of fourteen solidi, Valentinian III to Zeno, with gold ingots, a spiral ring or a gold bar, and a gold sword scabbard mount. The date of the deposition of this Kåsbygård Hoard falls at the end of the 5th century (tpq 480) (Fagerlie 1967, 201, no. 159, 208, no. 203; Horsnæs 2013, 93–94, 135; cf. Fischer 2021, tab. 4)¹⁸. Four coins from this hoard are known only from descriptions, the rest, including the imitation, are in the National Museum in Copenhagen.

Next to the two imitations from Pomerania which have die-links with coins found on Gotland and Bornholm several further die-links have been recognized (Fischer 2021, 22, tab. 2) between Scandinavian imitative coins found on Gotland, Bornholm and in mainland Sweden (Map 3).

A broader analysis of the other imitative solidi from Pomerania presents a major challenge because of the scattering and loss of most of the numismatic material (Ciołek 2007; 2009; cf. Fischer 2014, 117–118). Nevertheless, there is one more remarkable find, unfortunately not available for research, namely an imitation of a Valentinian III solidus from Witkowo, dist. Słupsk (Ciołek 2007, 262, no. 383)¹⁹, less than 6 km in a straight line from Smółdzino. Given that Visigothic or Gallic-Roman imitations of Valentinian III are not encountered often²⁰, it might not be unreasonable to include the coin from Witkowo in the group of Scandinavian imitative coins with the reverse type of Valentinian III solidi (Fischer's group 1b). Another possible specimen of the same type could have been the now lost imitation of Honorius from the Karsibór Hoard. This is supported by the similarity of this hoard to the deposit from Botes Hoard (cf. above) which included imitations of Honorius solidi²¹.

The die-identical imitative coins from Pomerania, Bornholm and Gotland, the large concentration of finds of these coins on Gotland, and their near absence in other areas on the mainland lead us to identify that island with some confidence as the centre of their production (Fischer 2021). From this island imitations may have spread to other regions, their presence attesting to

¹⁸ The presence of the sword scabbard mount in this hoard identifies this deposit with warriors – like the Gotland group of imitative coins in general.

¹⁹ Described by S. Bolin as *Solidus, barbarisk, trolingen efter Valentinianus III* – Bolin 1926a (94), no. 54.

²⁰ The materials from Scandinavia include seven, possibly 10 pseudo-imperial coins, perhaps Gallic-Roman, 58 Roman official coins and seven Scandinavian imitations (three of them with a reverse of Valentinian III) cf. Fagerlie 1967; Fischer 2021; the materials from Pomerania – two imitations (including the Scandinavian coin from Karsibór and the specimen from Witków) and 20 solidi from official mints. Two further solidi of Valentinian III were found in Central Poland in a deposit recovered at Konarzew (Ciołek 2007; Jakubczyk 2018).

²¹ All imitations with an obverse modelled on solidi of Honorius were classified to the group of imitations with potentially a Scandinavian provenance (Fischer's group 1a), see Fischer 2021, 22, tab. 1 and 4; cf. Fagerlie 1967, 9–10, footnote 13; 198–199, no 137b.

the circulation of gold in the Baltic zone. From Gotland we know also of several imitative solidi modelled on Anastasius I. They have a series of die-links to coins in the Scandinavian pool, with no counterparts in northern Poland. But for this the state of research is definitely to blame and the loss of most of the materials from Pomerania²². Given the obvious concentration of coin-finds, both of the analysed group and the assemblage of imitations of Anastasius I solidi, it may be legitimate to locate the production of a workshop or workshops in the neighbourhood of Botes, in Etelhem parish on Gotland.

As we noted in the opening paragraphs, there is no doubt that the preponderance of solidi, earlier issues in particular, were brought to Scandinavia from the south or the south-east, through the territory of what is now northern Poland. However, not all finds of gold coins of Migration Period date known from Poland confirm this southern direction of influx. We refer to a group of Roman solidi and their imitations that have been recorded in Central Pomerania, in the drainage basin of the Wieprza and Parsęta rivers, and in Western Pomerania, and to deposits containing Scandinavian bracteates recorded in Greater Poland (Map 1).

They are associated with an archaeological unit which emerged in Western and Central Pomerania in the Late Roman Period – the Dębczyno group (Machajewski 1999, 241–242; cf. Machajewski 2006; Machajewski, Schuster 2020, 351–352, 354–366, map 8.3). Sometime later, in the mature Migration Period (phase D2 to early phase E) the materials of the Dębczyno group display a strong Scandinavian influence. It is reflected by the presence of metal dress fittings and weapons which have analogies in the North, and even “grave and burial forms and inventories with obvious Scandinavian parallels” (Machajewski 1992). The late stage of the development of the Dębczyno group (mid-5th – first decades of 6th century) is recognized from small pockets of settlement in the middle drainage of the Parsęta and the region between the Łupawa and the Łeba rivers (Machajewski 2006, 47, Fig. 10; cf. Machajewski 2020). Four cemeteries recorded in this area at Głuszyno, Gorzyn, Głowczyce and Witkowo, produced obvious evidence of Scandinavian parallels (Machajewski 1992, 85–87). At Witkowo, these ties are dated to the 5th century, at Głuszyno and Głowczyce to the early 6th century. Particularly visible in these burial grounds are influences from Gotland and Bornholm. The presence of burials in a rite typical for Scandinavia was interpreted by H. Machajewski as the effect of “the arrival of a group from outside Pomerania, most likely from Scandinavia” (Machajewski 1992, esp. 85–90, esp. 90; Fig. 10; cf. Machajewski 1999, 248, map 7; cf. Machajewski 2006, 42–43, 46–47; recently Machajewski, Schuster 2020, esp. 364–366).

²² With most coins now lost we cannot confirm whether solidi published as *ostgotische*, *barbarisiert* or *barb. Nachahmung* may be identified with the group of imitations discussed here.

This direction of contacts is definitely confirmed by the imitative coin from Smółdzino, die-linked with coins found on Bornholm (Kåsbygård, catalogue no. 3) and on Gotland (Malgårds, catalogue no. 5), which belongs – see above discussion – to a group of imitations most likely made on Gotland. As such these coin-finds may chart the direction of contacts and possibly provide evidence of the immigration of Scandinavian groups to Pomerania.

Another indication of these relationships would be the imitation of a Valentinian III solidus recovered at Witków (Bolin 1926a (94), no. 54; Ciołek 2007, 262, no. 383)²³, which apparently also belongs to the group of “Scandinavian” imitations (cf. above). Very likely another confirmation of the direction of influence and contacts is a solidus of Zeno found in a hoard from Malechowo, dist. Sławno, with an obverse struck with the same die as the obverse of a solidus found in the Blemmelyng Hoard from Bornholm (Fagerlie 1967, 58, footnote 70).

There is evidence that Dębczyno group settlement continued in Szczecin Pomerania (drainage of the Ina and the Rega) until the mid-5th century, after which it becomes sparse – settlements and cemeteries disappear from the archaeological record (Machajewski 1992, map 1; 1999, 245). Virtually the only material at our disposal from this area are solidi hoards and deposits of non-monetary gold, imitations and bracteates, as the Karsibór Hoard, the deposit from Suchań containing two, possibly three bracteates and other objects provenanced to Bornholm (Bursche 2014; Bursche, Rogalski 2020; Pesch 2020; cf. Wicker 2021), a gold neck-ring from Stargard (Wiggert, Kühne 1882; Petersen 1939, 30, fig. 95, 266, no. 10) or solidi recorded as single finds from unknown contexts. They are evidence of long-distance contacts and migrations of Germanic elites living in Scandinavia and the Mainland.

The examples discussed above confirm circulation in the late phase of the Migration Period in the region on the Baltic Sea of Roman solidi and their imitations, together with non-monetary items of Scandinavian origin, the result of contacts of Germanic elites from the Baltic islands, mainly Gotland and Bornholm, with the South. Contacts of the latter area also with Western Scandinavia are supported by bracteate deposits recovered in Pomerania and Greater Poland, i.e. the hoards from Karlino (Ciołek 2007, 101–102, no. 144; Tybulewicz 2011; cf. Pesch 2020; Wicker 2021), Wapno (Kara 1994; cf. Pesch 2020) and Zagorzyn (Bursche 2003; 2007; 2009). However, let it be noted that these deposits have an entirely different character than the finds from Gotland and Bornholm discussed above (Horsnæs 2009; 2013; Horsnæs, Ravn 2021; Pesch 2020). They are evidence of the migration of Scandinavian elites to the south, presumably by way of the island of Bornholm.

²³ With no details about its find-spot we cannot confirm the association with this coin with a Dębczyno group settlement context.

Inventory

1. Karsibór, Pomerania, hoard

Obv. Bust of emperor (Valentinian III; Fischer's group 1b) to the right; diademed, draped and cuirassed; blurred legend.

Rev. Emperor in military dress, standing facing, holding long cross in r. hand and Victory on globe in l. hand, l. foot on serpent.

same pair of dies as coin no 3.

Ciołek 2007, 103–105, no. 146.

2. Smółdzino, Pomerania, single find

Obv. Bust of emperor three-quarters facing (Theodosius II; Fischer's group 3), helmeted, diademed and cuirassed; holding lance and shield; blurred legend.

Rev. Constantinople seated l., holding globus cruciger in r. hand and sceptre in l. hand.

same pair of dies as coins nos. 4 and 5.

Ciołek 2007, 224–225, no. 309.

3. Kyrkeby, Gotland, single find

Obv. Bust of emperor (Valentinian III; Fischer's group 1b) to the right; diademed, draped and cuirassed; blurred legend.

Rev. Emperor in military dress, standing facing, holding long cross in r. hand and Victory on globe in l. hand, l. foot on serpent.

same pair of dies as coin no 1.

Fagerlie 1967, 78, no. 758, 199, no. 138; pl. XVIII.

4. Mallgårds, Gotland, single

Obv. Bust of emperor three-quarters facing (Theodosius II; Fischer's group 3), helmeted, diademed and cuirassed; holding lance and shield

Rev. Constantinople seated l., holding globus cruciger in r. hand and sceptre in l. hand.

same dies pair of as coins nos. 2 and 5.

Fagerlie 1967, 77, no. 751, 201, no. 159; pl. XVIII.

5. Kåsbygård, Bornholm, hoard

Obv. Bust of emperor three-quarters facing (Theodosius II; Fischer's group 3), helmeted, diademed and cuirassed; holding lance and shield; blurred legend.

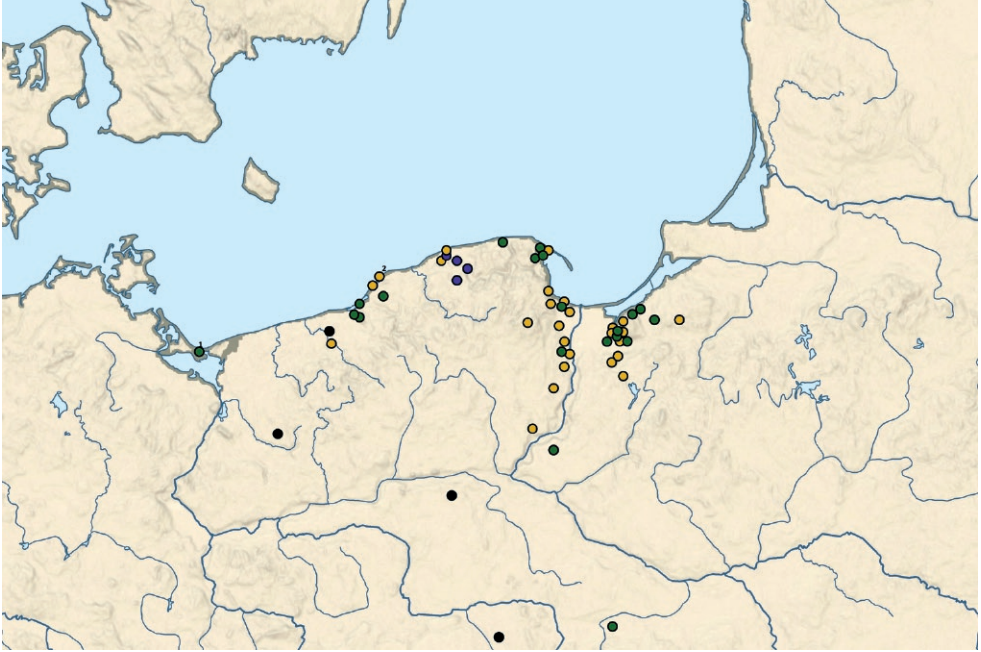
Rev. Constantinople seated l., holding globus cruciger in r. hand and sceptre in l. hand.

same pair of dies as coins nos. 2 and 4.

Fagerlie 1967, 77, no. 750, 208, no. 203; pl. XVIII.

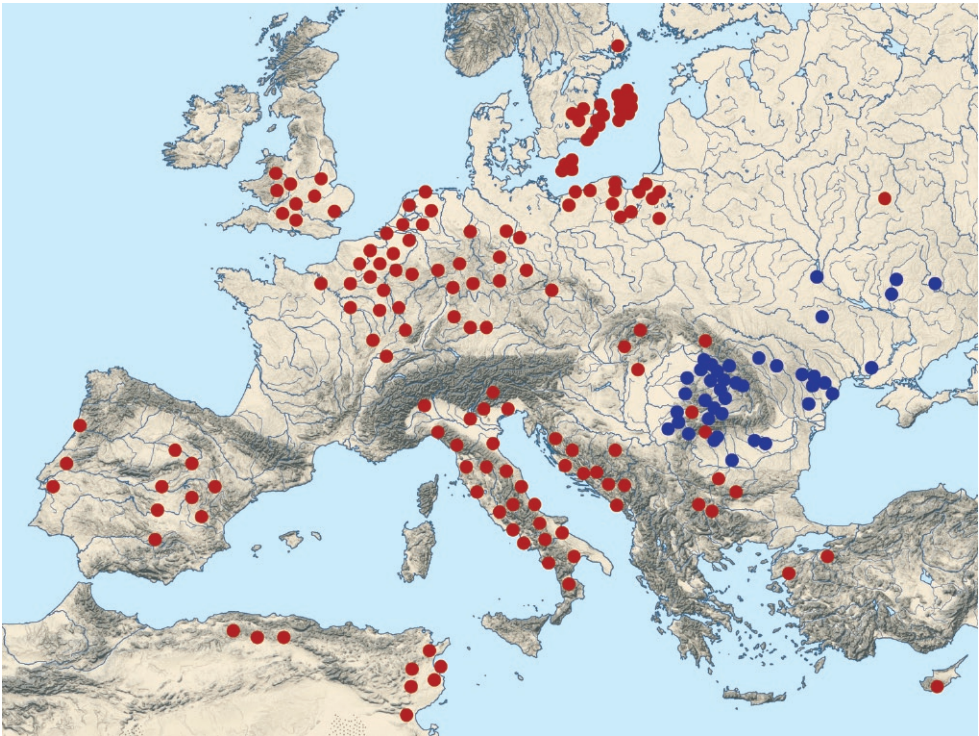
Tab. 1. Karsibór and Botes Hoards: comparison of the structure
 Tabela 1. Skarby z Karsiboru i Botes: porównanie zawartości

Karsibór, Pomerania	Botes, Gotland
Honorius, Milan	Honorius, Milan
	Honorius, Ravenna
Honorius, imit. (possibly Scand.)	Honorius, imit. Scand. (3+1 found in 2010)
	Valentinian III, Milan
	Valentinian III, Rome
	Valentinian III, Ravenna (2 pcs)
	Valentinian III, imit. – Gaul
Valentinian III imit. (Scand.)	
	Majorian, Milan
	Majorian, Ravenna
	Antemius, Ravenna
	Julius Nepos, Milan
	Arkadiusz, Milan
Theodosius, Constantinople (4 pcs)	Theodosius II, Constantinople (11 pcs)
	Theodosius II, Thessalonica
	Theodosius II, imit. Scand. (2 pcs)
Marcjan, mint unknown	Marcjan, Constantinople (3 pcs)
Leo, Constantinople	Leo, Constantinople (15 pcs)
Leo, mint unknown (2 pcs)	Leo, Thessalonica
Zeno, Constantinople (2 pcs)	Zeno, Constantinople (7 pcs)
	Zeno, imit. – Italia
	Basiliscus, Constantinople
Anastasius I, Constantinople (8 pcs)	Anastasius I, Constantinople (8 pcs)
	Anastasius I, Thessalonica
Anastasius I, imit. – Ostrogoths?	Anastasius I, imit. – Ostrogoths, Rome and Ravenna (7 pcs)
	Anastasius I, imit. – Burgundians? / Gaul
	Anastasius I, imit. – Franks?/Gaul (2 pcs)
	Anastasius I, imit. (Scand.)
	Justin I, Constantinople (2 pcs)
	Justin I, imit. – Ostrogoths (2 pcs),



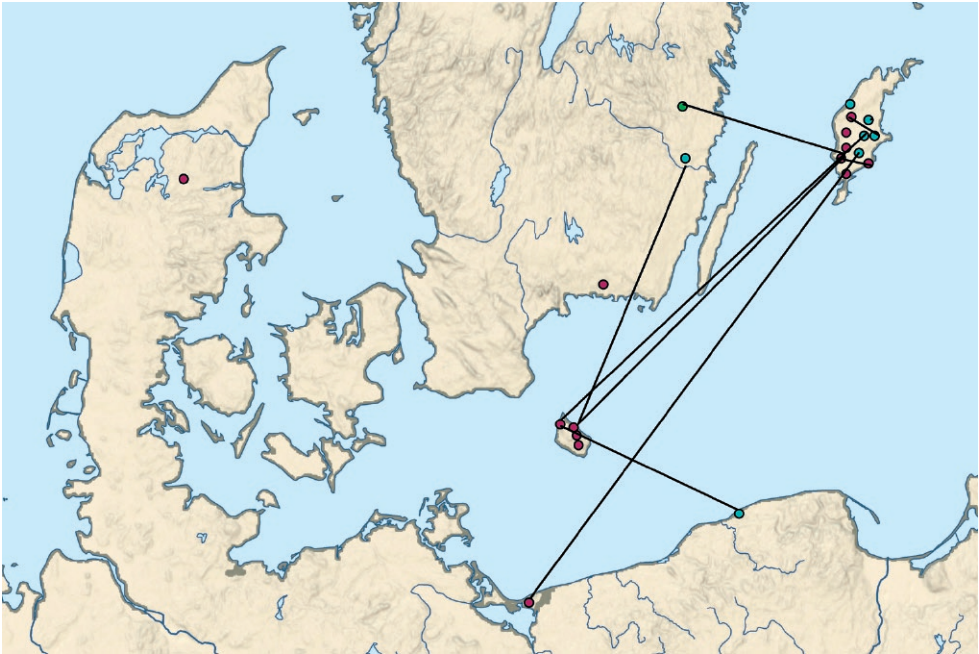
Map 1. Finds of solidi, imitations (nos. 1 and 2) and bracteates in Pomerania in comparison to cemeteries of the Dębczyno group with Scandinavian elements: green bullet – hoards; yellow bullet – single finds; black bullet – hoards with bracteates; violet bullet – cemeteries of the Dębczyno group

Mapa 1. Znajdźiska solidów, naśladownictw (nr 1 i 2) oraz brakteatów na Pomorzu na tle cmentarzysk grupy dębczyńskiej z elementami skandynawskimi: zielone punkty – skarby; żółte punkty – znajdźiska pojedyncze; czarne punkty – skarby z brakteatami; fioletowe punkty – cmentarzyska grupy dębczyńskiej



Map 2. Finds of solidi in Europe – red bullet (after: Fischer 2021), supplemented with finds from Ukraine – blue bullet (after: Gavritukhin 2005)

Mapa 2. Znaleziska solidów w Europie – czerwone punkty (za: Fischer 2021), uzupełnione o znaleziska z Ukrainy – niebieskie punkty (za: Gavritukhin 2005)



Map 3. Die-links in the group of imitations with a Scandinavian provenance
Mapa 3. Łańcuch połączeń stempeli w grupie naśladownictw pochodzenia skandynawskiego



Fig. 1. Barbaric solidus of Valentinian III from the Karsibór Hoard; the National Museum in Szczecin. Photograph by G. Solecki, A. Piętak. Scale 2:1

Ryc. 1. Barbarzyński solid Walentyniana III ze skarbu z Karsiboru, Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie. Fot. G. Solecki, A. Piętak. Skala 2:1



Fig. 2. Barbaric solidus of Theodosius II, a single find from Smóldzino; the National Museum in Szczecin. Photograph by G. Solecki, A. Piętak. Scale 2:1

Ryc. 2. Barbarzyński solid Teodozjusza II, znalezisko pojedyncze ze Smóldzina, Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie. Fot. G. Solecki, A. Piętak. Skala 2:1



Fig. 3. Barbaric solidus of Valentinian III, a single find from Kyrkeby, parish Etelhem (Gotland), Royal Coin Cabinet, Swedish National Historical Museums. Photograph by G. Hildebrand. Scale 2:1

Ryc. 3. Barbarzyński solid Walentyniana III, znalezisko pojedyncze z Kyrkeby, parafia Etelhem (Gotlandia), Królewski Gabinet Monet, Narodowe Muzeum Historyczne Szwecji. Fot. G. Hildebrand. Skala 2:1



Fig. 4. Barbaric solidus of Theodosius II found at Mallgårds, Hörsne parish (Gotland), Royal Coin Cabinet, Swedish National Historical Museums. Photograph by G. Hildebrand. Scale 2:1

Ryc. 4. Barbarzyński solid Teodozjusza II znaleziony w Mallgårds, parafia Hörsne (Gotlandia), Królewski Gabinet Monet, Narodowe Muzeum Historyczne Szwecji. Fot. G. Hildebrand. Skala 2:1



Fig. 5. Barbaric solidus of Theodosius II found at Kåsbygård, Nørre district (Bornholm), Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, the National Museum of Denmark. Photograph by R.H. Nielsen. Scale 2:1

Ryc. 5. Barbarzyński solid Teodozjusza II znaleziony w Kåsbygård, dystrykt Nørre (Bornholm), Królewska Kolekcja Monet i Medali, Muzeum Narodowe Danii. Fot. R.H. Nielsen. Skala 2:1

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Barbaric solidi and connections over the Baltic Sea in the Migration Period

Summary

The contribution concerns imitative solidi produced on Gotland in the second half of the 5th century. These imitations were aimed to be a symbol of status and prestige of Germanic elites, often worn in a form of a pendant. Today less than 30 such imitations are known. They usually derive from gold deposits or single finds. At least two such pieces were found in Polish Pomerania – one in the hoard of solidi from Karsibór, the other as a single find in Smoldzino. Both coins are die identical to finds from Gotland and one piece is also die identical to the find from Bornholm. The distribution of these imitations suggests that they were involved in the exchange of goods practiced by the Germanic societies of a political character. They can also point to long distance mutual contacts among the Germanic elites in the Late Migration Period.

**Barbarzyńskie solidy i kontakty nad Morzem Bałtyckim
w okresie wędrówek ludów**

Streszczenie

Praca dotyczy naśladownictw solidów odkrytych na terenie dzisiejszej Polski, które wyprodukowano w 2. połowie V wieku na Gotlandii. Naśladownictwa te miały być symbolami statusu i prestiżu germańskich elit, często noszonymi jako zawieszki. Obecnie znanych jest mniej niż 30 tego typu przedmiotów. Zazwyczaj są elementami skarbów zawierających złote wyroby. Znane są też znaleziska pojedyncze. Co najmniej dwa naśladownictwa solidów pochodzą z terenu Pomorza: jeden znajdował się w skarbie solidów z Karsiboru, drugi jest pojedynczym znaleziskiem ze Smołdzina. Obie są identyczne jak okazy z Gotlandii, a jedna z nich także jak moneta z Bornholmu. Rozprzestrzenienie tego rodzaju naśladownictw wskazuje, że były one elementami wymiany dóbr o charakterze politycznym, jaka praktykowana była przez społeczności germańskie. Wskazują także na dalekosiężne kontakty wśród germańskich elit w późnym okresie wędrówek ludów.

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