



# Journal of Archaeology and Ancient History

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**2022**

**Number 30**

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**Editors:** Karl-Johan Lindholm

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**Editorial history:** [www.arkeologi.uu.se/Journal/](http://www.arkeologi.uu.se/Journal/)

ISSN: 2001-1199

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**Published:** 2022-02-15 at <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-467195>

## **The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Solidi of Scania & the Lund University History Museum**

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## ABSTRACT

Svante Fischer 2022. The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Solidi of Scania & the Lund University History Museum

*Journal of Archaeology and Ancient History*. 2022, No. 66 pp 1–66. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-467195>

This paper is a study of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine solidi from the province of Scania in southern Sweden and the solidi kept in the coin cabinet of the Lund University History Museum. The catalogue lists 34 solidi and classifies the recorded issues according to modern numismatic standards using the current DOC, MIBE and RIC typologies. It is argued that most of the preserved coins from Scania are probably of different types than those originally imported during the solidus influx to Scandinavia. It is more probable than not that the vast majority of solidi imported to Scania in the fifth century came as war booty with returning veterans. As Scania may have had a more hierarchical structure than other parts of Scandinavia, it seems likely that most solidi were recast as ring gold or jewelry in an effort to concentrate wealth and power to inland central places. The few solidi that remain are mainly found along the shorelines of Scania, many of these coins are looped and have been worn as pendants. As symbolic manifestations of political alliances, these solidi have served a different function than most solidi preserved elsewhere in Scandinavia, notably on neighboring Bornholm, and Öland.

*Keywords:* Late Roman Empire, Roman solidus, Scandinavian Migration Period, Scania, Scandinavian archaeology, central places, 19th century antiquarianism, Lund University History Museum, Late Roman and Early Byzantine numismatics

SVANTE FISCHER

# The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Solidi of Scania & the Lund University History Museum

## Introduction

This paper is a study of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine solidi from the province of Scania in southern Sweden, and the solidi from the same period kept in the coin cabinet of the Lund University History Museum, including finds from the central place of Helgö in Uppland, Sweden.<sup>1</sup> The catalogue lists 34 solidi, see table I. The recorded coins have been classified according to modern numismatic standards using the DOC (Grierson & Mays 1992), MIBE (Hahn & Metlich 2000), RIC VIII (Carson, Sutherland & Kent 1981), RIC IX (Pearce, Mattingly, Sutherland, & Carson 2003) and RIC X (Kent 1994). Gold bracteates have been classified according to the IK (Hauck 1985).

The paper puts forward two propositions. First, it is argued that the small number of recorded and preserved solidi in the catalogue and in table I are not representative of the fifth century solidus import to Scania. Rather, it is more likely that most solidi brought to Scania were recast into gold rods and jewelry at major central places and then redistributed within elite networks, as suggested by the large quantities of unminted gold that have been retrieved since the late seventeenth century (see fig 27). The total weight of the sample of 54 gold finds from Scania in table II, some 5 kg, is roughly equivalent to 1,000–1,100 solidi. The most probable explanation for this distribution

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<sup>1</sup> The research presented in this paper has been financed by the Gyllenstiernska Krapperup Foundation, the Gunnar Ekström Foundation for Numismatic Research, and the Sven Svensson Numismatic Foundation. I am very grateful to Bertil Helgesson, Frands Herschend, and Lennart Lind for assistance and encouragement. Carina Bergman and Ylva Schmidt of the KVHAA library deserve much credit for their help. Thanks are due to Ulrika Bornestaf, Charlotte Fabech, Ulf Näsman, Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson, and Nancy L. Wicker. The study is dedicated to the memory of my maternal grandparents – professores emeriti Carin Boalt (1912–1999) and Gunnar Boalt (1910–2001), two great friends of Scania.

of gold finds is that the process of melting down *solidi* and the recasting of Roman gold in general represented a conscious effort by the local elite to remove gold from circulation in order to concentrate wealth and power. A possible scenario is that the imported coins were recast into rods because there was a desire to quell potential dissent and bargaining power among returning veterans who may have had interest in toppling the old elite (see the discussion on returning veterans on Öland in Fischer 2017). The second proposition is that because of the peculiar position of the LUHM as an academic museum in Scania in the perennial struggle between antiquarian centralism and regular provincial museums, the *solidi* from Scania kept in the LUHM (but also the Helsingborg Museum, HM and the Danish National Museum, DNM) have lingered in limbo. They have not been put to proper scientific use precisely because of where they have been kept – in an obscure No man's land oscillating between center and periphery in the fiefdom of Swedish state antiquarianism. Coincidentally, this is also where the other crucial piece of comparative evidence – the Sösdala finds of cavalry equipment – were put in hibernation until recently (Fabech & Näsman 2017).

The geographical definition of Scania in this paper (see fig 27) corresponds to the current Swedish concept of *Skåne* as a single *landskap*, rather than the larger, traditional Danish concept of *Skånelandene*, which once encompassed not only Scania but three adjacent *landskap* – Halland to the northwest, Blekinge to the east, and the island of Bornholm to the southeast. After Sweden first conquered Scania in the First Danish War of Charles X Gustavus in 1657–1658, Scania was divided into two administrative counties, *län*: Malmöhus län and Kristianstads län. This division lasted until 1997, when Scania once again became a single administrative unit, a *region*. The Swedish administrative division of Scania in the late seventeenth century had important implications for the acquisition of reported antiquarian finds from Scania, because the bureaucracy in one administrative region of Scania was not necessarily aware of what was going on in the other region.

Following the peace accords of Roskilde 1658 and Copenhagen 1660, whereby Sweden permanently gained Scania, Blekinge and the island of Ven from Denmark, the Swedish privy council founded Lund University in 1666. The new university was meant to serve as an academic counterweight to the University of Copenhagen in Denmark. Lund University is therefore inextricably tied to the Swedish definition of Scania. A slightly later creation was the coin cabinet of Lund University that eventually developed into the Lund University History Museum (from now on referred to as the LUHM). The director of the coin cabinet and the LUHM was usually the professor of history at Lund University, while the custodian in charge of the coin cabinet often was a junior scholar. Over time, the LUHM gradually assumed the role as a regional antiquarian Swedish authority, ranking somewhere between and below the Danish National Museum (DNM) in Copenhagen, and the Swedish History Museum (SHM) in Stockholm (to which the governors of Malmöhus län and Kristianstads län had to report archaeological finds). But the actual

long-term purpose of the LUHM and its coin cabinet has never been entirely clear – there is a wide span from the erstwhile Swedish nationalist project of establishing a new bastion of learning to a dormant provincial cabinet of curiosities, cut off from the antiquarian chain of command leading up to the central government in Stockholm.

Lund University began acquiring ancient coins in the eighteenth century, but not in an organized fashion with a proper accession catalogue. Both private coin collections and find coins were purchased or acquired from time to time, and a coin cabinet was formed, eventually becoming the LUHM. The earliest collection, consisting of naturalia, was donated in 1735 by the Lund University professor of medicine, natural history, and history Kilian Stobæus (1690–1742). Born and raised in Göinge in northern Scania, Stobæus was by all accounts an extremely erudite scholar and important coin collector. He was a very competent physician and an outstanding teacher – among his students one may mention Carl Linnæus (1707–1778), the “father of modern taxonomy”. Later, after Stobæus’ death, the widow also sold the coin collection to Lund University. It consisted of 606 coins and medals (Silvegren 2000:154, Tarnow Ingvardson & Bjerg 2020:78–89). In 1776 six denarii were discovered in Ravlunda that were acquired by the LUHM. In 1776 and again in 1780, a successor of Stobæus, professor of history Sven Lagerbring (1707–1787), mentioned a solidus issued for Julius Nepos discovered in Ravlunda (Lagerbring & Forsselius 1780, Balling 1966:73, no. 32), but it is uncertain if it reached the LUHM.

The first two certain records of Scandinavian finds of solidi reaching Lund University both date to the early 1780’s. In 1780, the Gyllerup hoard was discovered in Hörup Parish in eastern Scania. The site and some of the components of the hoard were described in 1792 by the antiquarian draughtsman Carl Gustaf Gottfrid Hilfeling (1740–1823) in a document kept at the Antiquarian-Topographic Archive (ATA) in Stockholm (von Heijne 2015:276–277, Pl. II). In 1783, Lund University was able to acquire parts of the Kaggeholm 1783 hoard from Ekerö Parish in Uppland following an intervention by the *Antikvitetskollegium*, the main antiquarian state agency in Sweden at the time, see Kyhlberg (1986:42–43, Pl. I). On the night of August 9, 1788, a detachment of two ships from a Russian navy squadron stationed in Copenhagen, Denmark attacked and burned the fishing village of Råå on the shore near Helsingborg, departing with war booty and hostages. The event is known as “Ryssbranden”. There was a genuine fear that a larger Russo-Danish invasion would follow, the city of Lund being a key inland military objective.

All coins from the Lund University collections were hurriedly raked together by the custodian Erland Samuel Bring (1736–1798) in preparation for an emergency evacuation. The late twentieth century LUHM Coin Cabinet custodian Ulla W. Silvegren (2002:156) has correctly pointed out that this caused nearly irreparable damages to the collection. Once upon a time Lund University received its share of acquired gold from the chief antiquarian circles in Stockholm. This ceased in the wake of the disaster of 1788. Today, the

LUHM is stuck with very important finds from other parts of Sweden that are of little scientific use at the LUHM. The catastrophic event may also be the reason why senior faculty at Lund University later preferred to donate finds of gold and solidi to various antiquarian institutions in Stockholm instead, notably the Lund University professor of Latin, Johan Lundblad (1753–1820), who in 1809 handed over a solidus issued for Anthemius from an unknown find place in Scania to the KMK, the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet (cat. no. 17, SHM 390, see table I). Similarly, Adolph Modéer (1739–1799), an economist, naturalist and land surveyor who also served as secretary of the Swedish Patriotic Society, chose to send a gold foil figure found 1791 in Ravlunda (SHM 374:V, see table II) to the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (KVHAA) in 1794. But Modéer later sold his own coin collection to Lund University.

In the course of the early nineteenth century, the decontextualized coins in the LUHM were painstakingly reorganized into a systematic collection, using the new classification system conceived by the Danish numismatist Christian Ramus for the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen (Ramus 1816). The responsible LUHM coin cabinet custodians Nils Henric Sjöborg (1767–1838), Johan Gustaf Liljegren (1791–1837), and Bror Emil Hildebrand (1806–1884) were quite competent numismatists and archaeologists for their time (Silvegren 2000:156–157). Coincidentally, they would all leave Lund for higher ranking positions in Stockholm. Both Liljegren and Hildebrand later assumed the chief antiquarian position as *riksantikvarie*, director of the Swedish National Heritage Board (RAÄ).

In 1833, 1840 and 1845 three additional solidi (cat. nos. 10, 12, 14) reached the LUHM, the first one due to the intervention of the bishop of Lund, Wilhelm Faxe (1767–1854). In the late nineteenth century, there were further acquisitions, notably the unprovenanced solidus LUHM 30311/MK 21704, struck for Mauricius Tiberius (585–602), which was donated in 1898 by the German historian of architecture Friederich Seeßelberg (1861–1956). Three coins from the 1871 denarius hoard of Hagestadsborg were donated in 1934 (von Heijne 2015:93). Given the chaos following the 1788 evacuation and the process of antiquarian decontextualization implicit in the creation of a systematic collection in the nineteenth century, many find coins have been deprived of their origin and there seems not to have been a real accession catalogue such as that of the SHM to fall back upon. It is thus much more difficult to trace the origin of coins in the LUHM than in the SHM. The only remedy is to include as much material as possible. The coin catalogue below therefore includes all decontextualized solidi from the fourth to the sixth centuries kept in the LUHM Coin Cabinet, see table I.

## Background – Musealization, Decontextualization and Oblivion

The impetus for this research project on the solidi of Scania has its origin in the 2015–2017 Sösdala project (Fabech & Näsman 2017). This was a major study of early fifth century cavalry equipment from Sösdala and Fulltofta, two sites located in inland Scania, see fig 27. Sösdala was first discovered in 1929. The preserved find material is kept at the LUHM – a sizeable assemblage of horse tackle and saddle mounts presumably belonging to returning military veterans. The Sösdala assemblage appears to have been deactivated by means of an incendiary ritual deposition in a gravel pit. Charlotte Fabech and Ulf Näsman have argued that the unusual rite itself could have been a loan or cultural appropriation from Nomadic affinities on the European Continent (Fabech & Näsman 2017).

During the early stages of the Sösdala project, it was natural to ask if one could connect the Late Roman solidus horizon of Scania to that of the early fifth century Sösdala horsemen and trace the two back to the European Continent. I thus began to examine the research on the Scanian solidus material. There were basic distribution maps and tables in the exhibition catalogue of Strömberg (1963:38, fig I; 94, fig II) and the doctoral dissertation of Helgesson (2002, fig 25, tab 14). In addition, there were often repeated references from older publications, notably Lagerbring & Forsselius (1780), Montelius (1869, 1872), Hauberg (1894), Sundin (1918), Janse (1922), and Bolin (1926). Later publications of importance include Kindström (1952, 1956), Olsson (1952), Strömberg (1961, 1963), Balling (1966), Fagerlie (1967), Stjernquist (1983), Jonsson (2006), and von Heijne (2015). Two of the nineteenth century scholars, Montelius (1872:74) and Hauberg (1894:346, no. 147) provided misleading information, arguing that the seven looped solidi from Elsehoved, Funen in Denmark, (Fagerlie 1967 hoard no. 194) had been discovered somewhere in Scania. These claims were often repeated by later scholars, notably by Sundin (1918) and Stjernquist (1983). A frustrating discovery was that the earlier researchers rarely ever presented any systematic compilation of weights of the precious metal finds. This made much of the presented evidence mostly anecdotal in terms of quantitative source value.

On February 23, 2016, I was allowed to inspect a dozen fifth century solidi kept at the LUHM. It was immediately evident that much more work was needed to elucidate the material. The LUHM employs two catalogue systems for its coins, one for the larger LUHM and one for the coin cabinet, the *Mynt-och medaljkabinettet* (MK). There had been a mismatch between two solidi for Leo I in the alphabetical subsection of the LUHM catalogue, which has caused somebody responsible for inking inventory numbers of the MK to write the wrong inventory numbers on two coins (cat. nos. 4, 12). In two other cases one could see that an error had been corrected, with a partially erased inventory number (cat. nos. 10, 14).



By contrast, some of the denarii and bronze coins from Uppåkra and the sole siliqua from Örja, near Landskrona, have already been published, see Silvegren (1999, 2002), Aspeborg (2012). There are 75 silver denarii in the LUHM, most of which were retrieved in Uppåkra during the repeated detecting campaigns of 1996–2011 (Silvegren 1999, 2002). In addition, there are two bronze coins from the fourth and fifth centuries from Uppåkra, the last one being a RIC X 2123, issued for Valentinian III (425–455). In total, there are 13 find places for denarii in Scania, and the largest hoard from Hagestadsborg contained over 600 denarii (SHM 4521, Lind 1981).<sup>2</sup>

Faced with the chaotic nature of the Scanian solidus material kept at the LUHM, I decided to employ the far better recorded solidus material from Öland mainly kept in the SHM as empirical evidence in the comparative study of returning military veterans of the Migration Period for my contribution to the Sösdala Project (Fischer 2017). The considerably more difficult solidus finds from Scania had to be dealt with later, in a separate project. Above all, it was clear that a research project on the solidi of Scania had to depart from a historiographic-antiquarian survey of what had happened to the two solidus hoards of Skättekärr and Fjärestad from the Kullen area in western Scania, and the Gyllerup hoard in eastern Scania. Scania was a neglected field of solidus research, not least when compared to neighboring Denmark, see Breitenstein (1944), Balling (1962), Kromann (1990), Horsnaes (2010, 2013). Another comparison is that of Öland, the most important region for solidus finds in Scandinavia, see Herschend (1978), Fischer (2017, 2019a).

Charlotte Fabech has recently demonstrated how the Sösdala and Fulltofta finds were eventually acquired by the LUHM instead of the SHM, and that as a result, the finds were never published or properly examined until recently (Fabech 2017). Fabech outlines a three stage process of “rescue, musealization and oblivion”. This is equally true for the solidus finds from Scania currently kept in provincial museums. Much of the current situation can be explained by an ambivalent stance on behalf of Swedish antiquarian authorities. There is neither consensus nor any clear guidelines as to how one ought to administrate and distribute precious metal finds from Scania efficiently. Unsurprisingly, there are often disjointed and contradictory archival records when it comes to the reported but lost solidus material. This is especially true in the case of the dispersed Gyllerup hoard, acquired by the LUHM in 1780 and described in 1792. Later scholars such as Fagerlie (1967), Stjernquist (1983) and von Heijne (2015) offer extremely diverging accounts of the very same hoard that could have contained anything from 7 to 24 solidi depending on whom you read.

The two solidus hoards of Skättekärr and Fjärestad from the Kullen area include solidi and bracteates. Soon after its gradual discovery in 1946, 1949 and 1951, the Fjärestad hoard was divided between the Helsingborg Museum (HM), which kept the solidus, and the SHM, which acquired the five gold bracteates IK 53–56 (Hauck 1985) and the spiral gold (Kindström 1952,

<sup>2</sup> Lennart Lind has kindly provided additional information on the denarius finds from Uppåkra.



1956). The art historian Martin Olsson (1885–1981), who held the position as *riksantikvarie* in 1946–1952, was the responsible antiquarian bureaucrat behind all this. He went to great lengths to motivate his decision in an article (Olsson 1952). In the said article, he duly mentioned that vociferous critics such as Mårten Stenberger, K. A. Gustawsson and Birger Nerman had quite correctly emphasized the high scientific value of the find, arguing that it should not be divided between museums in Scania and Stockholm, but rather kept together near competent expertise. Instead, galvanoplastic copies of the gold bracteates were made at the SHM and sent to HM. The accession record of Fjärestad SHM 24624 in 1953 was signed by Dagmar Selling. In 1974, the late SHM director of Iron Age antiquities, Jan Peder Lamm (1935–2020) reexamined the gold bracteates, weighed and measured them anew, and entered the correct data in the SHM accession record.

The interesting circumstance that there is a runic legend **ota** on the gold bracteate IK 55 means that the Fjärestad hoard is one of the earlier find combinations where runic objects on the one hand (gold bracteates) and Latin textual objects (*solidi*) on the other have been deliberately deposited together. This alone should have motivated a permanent display of all objects together in a central museum right away. Alas, the coin is currently on display in the HM in a large showcase together with a potpourri of other curiosities without an accompanying explanation as to what a looped Late Roman gold coin found in Scania represents, while the galvanoplastic copies of the gold bracteates are nowhere to be seen. Meanwhile, the other objects from the Fjärestad hoard, including the runic gold bracteate are kept out of sight in safe storage in the SHM. As a result of the division, there is no coherent publication of the Fjärestad hoard. The same holds true for the other *solidi* reported from Scania, most of which are either lost or have been decontextualized in the systematic coin collections of the LUHM in Lund, and possibly in the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection, too (Fischer 2020a). The American numismatist Joan M. Fagerlie (1967) seems not to have understood what had happened to the Fjärestad *solidus* when she came to Sweden in 1958–1961. Fagerlie simply put an SHM acronym with a question mark in her catalogue entry. The fact that the coin was kept in Helsingborg but nevertheless managed to slip away from Fagerlie's otherwise quite meticulous survey, shows that despite all hyperbolic rhetoric of the virtues of decentralization, Swedish antiquarian bureaucrats underestimated the tendency of important research material to fall into neglect when handed over to small provincial museums.

Another recurring problem with keeping gold objects such as *solidi* in a wide variety of provincial museums is the question of antiquarian governance and security. There are notable cases of inside jobs and burglaries in the central museums of Stockholm but also in provincial museums – where the crime was made possible because of the decentralization and redistribution of ancient gold to the provinces. Lamm (1987) presented the first Swedish study to focus on the matter including a detailed list of burglaries of ancient gold in Swedish museums in the period 1938–1986. Malmö Museum was deprived of a gold

bracteate from Kläggeröd early on. The LUHM was later robbed of three other gold bracteates from the Kläggeröd hoard in 2013 (Larsson 2015:110). In the neighboring Kalmar County, the Kalmar County Museum (KLM) had a major inside theft when the magnificent Bostorp hoard from Öland (Hofrén 1952), composed of a 100 g necklace, six rare solidi and three large gold bracteates, was scattered by a security guard gone rogue. This was an extremely rare gold hoard that had been deliberately allocated to the KLM at the insistence of the KLM director Manne Hofrén. Meanwhile, Skara Museum had much gold and gold bracteates stolen in 1975 and 1983. The latter theft occurred during a specific gold exhibition to which gold kept at the SHM had been transported only to get looted.

The antiquarian decentralization policy of the twentieth century essentially consisted of leading bureaucrats in Stockholm grudgingly handing out ancient gold finds to small museums in order to assuage quarrelsome curators and custodians. The policy has a quite discouraging track record, because there was no guarantee that the argumentative provincial curators or their less inclined successors actually bothered to follow up with scholarly publications once the precious metal objects had been acquired and/or presented in exhibitions. The various obstacles that usually follow in the three stage process from rescue to oblivion do not add up in favor of provincial museums as either custodians or researchers of precious metal finds from the Scandinavian Migration Period. But there is another side to the coin.

The sensational story of the 1987 discovery of the Kyhl gold necklace from Östra Hoby (see table II, SHM 31892, Helgesson 1990, 2002:103) could be used to illustrate a counter-point where local Scanian heritage simply gets hijacked, neutered and locked up in the central nexus in Stockholm, as if it were the lost Ark of the Indiana Jones movies. The Kyhl necklace was miraculously rediscovered on a farmstead in its secondary state as a useful and often recycled piece of scrap metal wire (keeping the muffler of a moped in place among other things). The owners believed the necklace to be made of some soft alloy but certainly not gold. The find that still consisted of 779.9 g of the original weight (estimated to c. 835 g) was soon brought to Stockholm to the SHM, which has duly posted an image of it online, but without any accession catalogue description or context in the online database.<sup>3</sup>

## Table I – Chronology, Issues and Mints

There are 34 solidi in table I and in the catalogue below, some of which may or may not be identical to each other. The solidi were issued during the period 337–565. There are only fourteen emperors (and no empresses) represented, including the imitations and forgeries: Constantius II (1), Valentinian I (1), Valens (1), Arcadius (1), Theodosius II (8), Marcian (1), Leo I (6), Libius

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<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Bertil Helgesson for having brought this perspective to my attention.

Severus (1), Anthemius (1), Julius Nepos (2 or 3), Zeno (5), Basiliscus (1), Anastasius I (2 or 3), and Justinian I (1). There are six official mints represented in the recorded material: Constantinople (21), Milan (2), Nicomedia (1), Ravenna (1), Rome (1) and Trier (2). These proportions are quite atypical for Scandinavia as a whole, see Fischer & López Sánchez (2016). Fagerlie (1967:104) lists 297 eastern solidi, 216 western solidi and 41 imitations from the period 395–476, and 122 eastern solidi and 71 western solidi (including imitations) from the period 476–565. The following six officinae from Constantinople are represented in the catalogue: Alpha (3), Beta (2), Heta (2), Theta (1), Iota (4) and Sigma (2). There are none from the remaining officinae Gamma, Delta, Epsilon and Zeta although these are common in the Scandinavian solidus material. The fourth century Trier mint is represented by two different officinae, TR and TROBC, but these were not contemporary with each other. The sole solidus from the Nicomedia mint SMN is from the fourth century officina Epsilon. In addition, there are four different imitation workshops, one claiming to be COMOB, officina Alpha, the second COIIOB, the third CONOB, officina Theta, the fourth CONOB, officina Heta.

While there is a late third century aureus struck for Probus (276–282) from Västra Ingelstad (SHM 2346), the subsequent fourth century solidus finds from the Gudme area on the island of Funen in Denmark have no parallels in the Scanian find material, although there are three decontextualized solidi, one each for Constantius II, Valentinian I and Valens in the LUHM which would certainly fit into this horizon (cat. nos. 22–24, table I), see also the discussion in Fischer (2019b, 2020a) of a possible influx of late fourth century solidi to Scandinavia in the aftermath of the Gothic wars on the Balkans. A comparison with other areas in Scandinavia is very difficult, for several reasons. While it would be natural to compare Scania with Zealand and Bornholm, this is easier said than done. Zealand has relatively few solidi, while the hoards from Bornholm are poorly recorded when compared to those from Öland, Gotland and the Swedish mainland. It is very surprising that there are no finds of solidi in Scania issued by Honorius in Ravenna and Milan or Valentinian III in Ravenna and Rome from the period 395–455 even if these solidi appear in Blekinge (Fischer 2021b) and are very frequent on central Öland. (In the case of Valentinian III, there are some 31 solidi from Bornholm as well). In Scania, however, there is only one decontextualized issue in the name of Arcadius struck by Honorius in Milan in the LUHM (cat. no. 25). Finally, there are no later issues of Justin I and Justinian I from the period 518–565 from Scania although such issues have been found in Blekinge (Fischer 2022). Solidi for Justinian I also often appear as final coins in solidus hoards on Gotland. The only example in Scania is a decontextualized western imitation in the LUHM (cat. no. 30, see Fischer 2020a, 2021a). The latter belongs to the same category as the imitation found by Lejre on Zealand (Bondesson 2012).

## Solidus Hoards

There are three certain solidus hoards from Scania: Gyllerup, Skättekärr, and Fjärestad. The two earliest hoards Skättekärr and Fjärestad, with solidi for Theodosius II issued in 421 and 431–434 respectively, include gold bracteates that are less worn than the solidi. The last hoard from Gyllerup has a solidus for Anastasius I (491–518) as its final coin, and apparently included jewelry. The fact that all three certain hoards were mixed, that is, they also contained other gold objects and relatively few solidi, shows that they are probably the result of longer hoarding periods rather than fresh depositions of solidi hidden soon after a return from service in the Late Roman Empire. For a recent discussion of mixed solidus hoards in Sweden, see Fischer (2020b:182, Tab. 17.1). The reports of a fourth large solidus hoard “consisting mainly of eastern issues that was brought from Scania to Copenhagen”, see Montelius (1872:74), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 143, 145), Sundin (1918:89), Stjernquist (1983:6, fn. 9), can be dismissed as a misunderstanding – this is undoubtedly the mixed hoard from Elsehoved, Funen near Gudme, as already noted by Janse (1922), Bolin (1926), Balling (1966) and Fagerlie (1967).

The most important hoard in Scania is obviously that of Gyllerup, discovered in 1780 in a mound called Tornebacken. There was a proper context, the hoard that consisted of solidi and a gold chain with an amulet pendant depicting a human face was found buried in a gravel pit where it was surrounded by coal, ashes and burnt bones (von Heijne 2015). Hilfeling was able to acquire seven solidi for the LUHM. These were decontextualized in the 1788 evacuation of the LUHM, while the other gold was apparently recast by a goldsmith in Ystad soon after the discovery. In 1792, Hilfeling described the context in detail in a document kept at the Antiquarian-Topographic Archive (ATA) in Stockholm. Together with the document, there were three empty envelopes for solidi on which Hilfeling had written detailed descriptions of the coin legends, which is why some of the lost solidi from Gyllerup can still be identified with relative accuracy (see cat. nos. 4-8, table I).

The Gyllerup hoard included mainly issues for Leo I, but also Julius Nepos, Zeno and Anastasius I. Given the composition of solidus hoards in Italy, Pomerania and Scandinavia, there is every reason to believe that all coins in the Gyllerup hoard have arrived to Scania together as a coherent assemblage. The combination of such solidus types is contemporary with the later influx of solidi to Bornholm, Gotland and Helgö in contrast to the earlier import phases dominated by solidus material from Öland. The preserved solidus for Leo I is mutilated. This is an important chronological feature. In Italy, there are no hoards including mutilated solidi that are deposited before 472. The oldest hoard including mutilated solidi seems to be the Como hoard, with issues for Olybrius as final coins, see Facchinetti (2019). In Scandinavia, there are no hoards including mutilated solidi that have been deposited before 468. On the contrary, mutilations tend to become more common in the later fifth century and early sixth century hoards in Scandinavia (especially on Gotland),

and the fact that the final coin in the Gyllerup hoard is for Anastasius I is a confirmation of this pattern. The coin for Julius Nepos issued in c. 475 suggests an Italian origin of the hoard, as solidus issues for Julius Nepos are extremely rare outside Italy and Scandinavia, see Fischer & Wood (2020:172–175, Tab 3). The solidus hoard of Gernetto, located near Milan (see Prohaszka 2009) appears to be roughly contemporary with Gyllerup.

The smallest solidus hoard from Scania consists of the two Skättekärr finds with a total weight of 10.49 g. These were discovered 18 years apart in 1867 and 1885 on the same site (see cat. no 1, table I; table II). They were dispatched to the SHM in Stockholm but never properly published together, although the gold bracteate IK 160 was duly incorporated in the field of gold bracteate studies (see Mackeprang 1952, Hauck 1985, XVI).

The third hoard from Fjärestad consists of one solidus, five gold bracteates and two gold rods, one in two fragments. The hoard had a total weight of 42.96 g (see table II). The hoard was discovered piece by piece in the years after World War II, a period of intensified agriculture. At that point the Swedish antiquarian bureaucracy was in the process of decentralization, which caused finds to be divided between different museums and subsequently neglected. In 1946, young Seth Nordin, son of the gardener Enok Nordin first discovered the looped solidus in a strawberry field. In the summer of 1949, the elder Nordin discovered one of the gold bracteates in the same spot. In the fall of 1949, yet another gold bracteate was found there. Lars-Göran Kindström of the HM conducted an excavation on November 11, 1949, and found three more gold bracteates, one of which was die-linked to the first gold bracteate. A larger excavation was conducted from May 30 to June 21, 1951, west of the earlier finds, where the three pieces of clipped gold rods were discovered. In the Fjärestad hoard, all the loops are in far better condition than the solidus and the gold bracteates themselves, suggesting an assemblage at a later stage (Kindström 1956). It is very tempting to assume that at least the die-linked gold bracteates have been worn together on a single necklace, and it cannot be excluded that the solidus and the gold bracteates have been worn together prior to the deposition.

## Single finds of Solidi

Most of the single finds in Scania were discovered during plowing in the late nineteenth century (see table I). The same pattern can be demonstrated from the SHM and KLM accession catalogue entries from Öland at the time (Herschend 1978). As a rule, the single finds from Scania show signs of considerable wear. The single finds also include pierced and looped solidi, further evidence of longer circulation periods. Save for very worn issues for Libius Severus and Anthemius struck in Milan and Rome in c. 462–472 (cat. nos. 19 and 17, table I) all reported single finds are Constantinopolitan issues from the period 431–518 or imitations of such coins. This is the apex of eastern

minting, especially during some peaks under the long reigns of Theodosius II (408–450) and Leo I (457–474). The issues from the periods 431–434, 441–447 and 462–466 are by far the most frequent types of solidi of the fifth century. The recorded solidus material is thus no certain indication of specific payments from the western mints reaching Scania during the Migration Period. This is a contrast to Bornholm, Gotland, Öland and Uppland, where the die-linked payments from Western Europe are relatively easy to track.

## Lost, Decontextualized and Unprovenanced Solidi

During the Early Modern and Modern Period, people collecting ancient coins rarely understood that it was important to keep coin hoards together and compare these to each other. Instead, there was an antiquarian process of decontextualizing find coins into systematic collections all over Europe, usually with the help of systematic catalogues. The process of decontextualization is manifest in the solidus material kept at the LUHM. Much of this can be attributed to the evacuation of 1788, but also to the rise of systematic collections in Scandinavia following the publication of the seminal catalogue of the Danish numismatist Christian Ramus (1816), who organized the collections of Greek and Roman coins in the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen. There is no doubt that most of the fifth century solidi kept in the LUHM are find coins from Sweden. But there was never any incentive for antiquarians and numismatists at the LUHM after the evacuation of 1788 to take the archaeological context into consideration. What was important was to arrange the coins in a proper chronological order for didactic purposes. Later, it became more important to use the solidi in the LUHM as props in the larger Barbaricum exhibition centered around Uppåkra, where no solidi have been found.

It is very difficult to pinpoint a specific origin without a corresponding find material of preserved die-linked coins concentrated to one area or a reliable record of a find or hoard that has later been dispersed, see the discussion of the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection in Fischer (2020a), where die-linked coins for Valentinian III and Anastasius I can be attributed to specific areas on Öland and Gotland with a reasonable degree of certainty. A major obstacle to a recontextualization of the solidi in the LUHM where one would be able to match a lost but well-described coin with a decontextualized coin is that one has to first ascertain what the frequency of a given coin type with a specific officina happens to be before one can draw any further conclusions.

In the case of the lost solidus for Anastasius I from the Gyllerup hoard (see cat. no. 8, table I) and the unprovenanced issue for Anastasius I (see cat. no. 29, LUHM 30311/MK 9186, table I), both were struck in officina Iota in Constantinople. But so were at least ten other recorded issues for Anastasius I from Scandinavia (Fagerlie 1967:64, nos. 650–659), the majority of which are from Gotland. Similarly, there are two lost coins for Julius Nepos from



Gyllerup and Ravlunda (cat. nos. 5 and 9, table I) and one issue in the LUHM with a dubious provenance (cat no. 34, LUHM 30311/MK 8752). At least one of the lost coins could be a match to the coin in the LUHM, but it is impossible to tell which one. In addition, there is one die-linked specimen in the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection, which is most certainly a Scandinavian find coin (Fischer 2020a, no. 2400-2216) – it could also be one of the lost coins from Scania. But there are eight more issues for Julius Nepos recorded from Scandinavia (Fagerlie 1967:27–28, nos. 175–180, 182). These have been found from Bornholm, via Blekinge, Öland, and Gotland all the way up to Helgö in the Mälars Valley in mainland Sweden.

## Die-identities

A die-identity can be defined as evidence of that at least one side of at least two different coins have been struck with the very same tool, a die, which means that the two coins are die-linked to each other. This also means that at some point in time, the two coins have been in reasonably close contact to each other. In the corpus of 768 Scandinavian solidi that she was able to inspect personally, Fagerlie (1967) did not discover any die-links connecting the preserved find coins from Scania to other hoards or single finds. This shows that there is very little in the Scanian solidus material that allows for its inclusion in a more finely detailed chronology of the various important waves of solidi brought to Scandinavia during the fifth century. During this project, I have so far been able to identify two coins from Scania that are die-linked to other solidi – it should be noted that Fagerlie never had the opportunity to identify these specific die-identities, as the matching coins were either lost, kept in America, or only discovered in 2004 and 2018 in Italy.

The first die-link connects a Ravenna issue for Julius Nepos in the LUHM (cat. no. 34) to a specimen in the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection kept at the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History at the University of Texas in Austin (Fischer 2020a, no. 2400-2216) and a coin in the Vedrin hoard from Namur, Belgium, see Lallemand (1965, no. 49, Pl V), Lacam (1983:618, Pl CLI). Unfortunately, the LUHM coin is decontextualized – it is either from Gotland, Gyllerup or Ravlunda. The second obverse die-link for Libius Severus connects a lost coin from Ravlunda to the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington, DC (DOC 893). This odd obverse die-link is an unexpected contrast to a much longer and more well-recorded die-chain connecting no less than four different recorded finds in Italy and Scandinavia: San Mamiliano (Arslan 2015, no. 377-380), Como (Facchinetti 2019), the Salholm hoard on Bornholm (Fagerlie 1967, hoard 212, no. 118-119) and a single find from Bläsinga on Öland (Fagerlie 1967, hoard 89, no. 120). In the future, further die-links will be discovered and eventually more Scanian finds will fall into place within the larger mosaic that is the financial record of Late Antiquity.



## Wear

The specific definitions of what constitutes assay marks, clippings, mutilations, loops and borders, piercings and refills on solidi can be found in Fagerlie (1967), Kyhlberg (1986) and in my recent study of the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection (Fischer 2020a). The general impression of the solidi from Scania is that of longtime circulation evident in the wear on the surfaces, but also the relative proportion of assay marks and other alterations. Some coins are so worn that their surfaces are almost effaced, making photographic reproductions difficult. There is one mutilated coin of the most common type, a RIC X 605 for Leo I.

The by far most surprising discovery is that of the looped solidus from Fjärestad, issued in Constantinople (cat. no. 2). Normally, solidi from Constantinople have a 6 o'clock die-axis. This means that if one was to put a loop on to a Constantinopolitan solidus, one side of the coin would be upside down (see cat. no. 1 Skättekärr, cat. no. 10 Önnestad). But this is not the case with the Fjärestad solidus. The rare issue celebrating the twentieth vota of Theodosius in 421–422 must have been deliberately struck with a 12 o'clock die-axis so as to facilitate its use as a medallion, something its Scanian owners must have been well aware of, see also DOC 375–376 (Grierson & Mays 1992, Pl 14) where a similar COMOB issue for Theodosius II in 426–429 appears with both 12 o'clock die-axis and 6 o'clock die-axis.

## Imitations and Forgeries

As a rule, people in the past always tried to imitate the most common issues of solidi, simply because the frequent originals were readily at hand as models and an imitation of a common type would not raise suspicion. Still, an imitation is usually identifiable by an incorrect die-axis or faulty legend. The most common fifth century types of solidi had very long circulation periods in both Italy and Scandinavia, not least those from Constantinople, see the comparative discussion in Fischer & López Sánchez (2016) and Fischer & Wood (2020:178–182, tab 4a–5b). It is thus impossible to ascribe a certain date to the imitations, except that these were struck after the original issues entered circulation.

There are three certain imitations in the material. The first case from an unknown find place in Scania is a looped continental imitation with the mintmark COIIOB, seeking to resemble an issue struck for the seventeenth consulate of Theodosius II in 441–447 (Balling 1966:70, no. 19). It has an incorrect die-axis, sports a slipshod image on the reverse and a faulty reverse legend. The second case is a lost imitation for Anastasius I discovered near Ystad. The latter was described as a barbarous imitation since the obverse legend was mirrored. This says something about the possible quality of the solidus and why it was not acquired by a museum. There is no shortage of

barbarous imitations of Anastasius I in Scandinavia. These range widely in style and execution. Even the worst examples still stick to the old iconography and are reasonably close in weight, which means that it is safe to assume some approximate dimensions of the lost coin. The third imitation is a decontextualized mid-sixth century imitation for Justinian I which has not been mentioned by earlier scholars. The latter is very easy to identify as an imitation, given the inferior workmanship of the die-cutter which is evident from the use of an inversed *II* in the obverse legend, the poor execution of the die, and the small diameter under 20 mm. It is probably of Ostrogothic origin and produced somewhere in Italy (see Fischer 2020a, for a discussion of a similar imitation in the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection). Finally, there is a gold plated ancient forgery for Marcian (cat. no. 26). The coin must have aroused suspicion early on, because it has many assay marks on both sides, and it has been exposed to fire on the reverse.

## Loops

Fagerlie (1967:137–141) divides loops on solidi into three types I–III: elaborate border and loop (I), simple border and loop (II), loop only (III). There are no less than five solidi with loops in the Scanian material. This is quite atypical from a statistical perspective and Scania is only matched by Blekinge and Funen, the latter region has a similar disproportional overrepresentation of the Elsehoved necklace that consists of seven looped solidi. The five loops are different from each other, and only the two solidi from Skättekärr and Fjärestad hoards that included gold bracteates are of type II, which is probably not a coincidence as they have been kept together with gold bracteates. The loop on the solidus from Önnestad kept in the LUHM is loose (cat no. 10) and possibly recycled from a different object. The loop is very similar to those of the solidi for Zeno and Anastasius I in the Elsehoved necklace. For a further discussion of loops, see Fagerlie (1967:137–141), Audy (2018), Fischer (2019c, 2020a). The main private coin collectors of the late nineteenth century seem to have disliked the looped solidi, which thus had a tendency to be acquired by museums and antiquarian authorities. A case in point is the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection, with only one specimen out of the 33 fifth and sixth century solidi (Fischer 2020a).

## Weight

The average weight for the 34 solidi in Table I is 4.6 g. This considerably high figure is misleading, given that the five looped solidi are vastly overrepresented in the Scanian material. The non-looped group has an average weight of 4.4 g, below the nominal standard of 4.475 g. One coin for Leo I from Ven is clipped, (cat. no. 14), weighing only 3.39 g. By contrast, the average weight

for the 16 single finds of gold bracteates in Scania in Table II is 16.7 g, but if the Åsum bracteate of a 100 g is excluded, the 15 other single finds weigh 9.7 g, roughly the equivalent of two solidi. For a discussion of solidus weights, see Herschend (1991). The material is essentially too small to represent a statistically representative figure compared to the main regions of Öland, Bornholm and Gotland.

## Unminted Gold and Gold Bracteates

Table II is a compilation of 54 Migration Period gold finds that were acquired by the SHM, the LUHM, the Gothenburg City Museum, the British Museum and the Munich Museum of Prehistory. Table II thus serves as a partial accession catalogue covering the antiquarian acquisition of Late Roman and Migration Period gold in Scania. Table II covers the period 1674–1987, well over three centuries. Neither the finds from Uppåkra, nor those kept in the DNM in Copenhagen are included in table II, however. All gold finds discovered in Uppåkra are presumably in the care of the LUHM. As of October 2021, there is still no publication listing all precious metal finds from Uppåkra. This strange situation is quite remarkable because Uppåkra is the archaeological site in Sweden that has yielded the highest number of metal finds – some 28,000 objects – after many years of detector surveys, see Hårdh (1998, 1999, 2001, 2003), Paulsson (1999), Hårdh & Larsson (2002; 2007, 107–110). There is one published description of a gold bracteate IK 587 including its weight, see Axboe (2001), but in the case of the adjacent find of IK 591, the information is missing, see Axboe & Stoklund (2003). Other finds such as gold rods, gold foil figures, garnet jewelry appear prominently in illustrations in various Uppåkra publications, but there is no comparative compilation of weights and measurements, even if it is obvious that all the Uppåkra gold material must first be presented together and then discussed in great detail. The chronological range of gold finds in Uppåkra may well extend over a millennium and the finds need not all be derived from the fifth century import of solidi, notably continental garnet fittings from the sixth and seventh centuries. I have been told that 200 g of gold (roughly equivalent of 45 solidi) have been discovered in Uppåkra. This is hearsay. No solidi have been reported as discovered in Uppåkra.

How does the unminted gold and gold bracteates from Scania in table II compare to other parts of Scandinavia? It was obvious very early on to the nineteenth century antiquarians that Roman Iron Age and Migration Period gold finds are unevenly distributed in Sweden. At the top of the roster, there is Västergötland with some 18.3 kg (Stålsjö 1983), followed by Södermanland with c. 14 kg (Fischer 2005:256–258, Tab 6.) and Öland with c. 12.5 kg (Herschend 1978). The sum total for recorded unminted gold in Scania is

considerably smaller, slightly more than 5.06 kg, see table II.<sup>4</sup> Still, this is more than either Blekinge, Bohuslän, Gästrikland, Halland, Närke, Västmanland, Östergötland, Småland, or Uppland. Most importantly, there are more than 45 recorded gold bracteates from Scania, see Helgesson (2002:258, Tab 13). The actual figure of recovered gold bracteates including non-reported finds is probably considerably higher. There is general agreement that the unminted gold and the gold bracteates were presumably made from alloys consisting of recast Roman obryzium, either solidi or bars, that were then mixed with silver, electrum and other various scraps of precious metal objects (Arrhenius 1977, 1980, Oddy & Meyer 1986). The best motivation for melting down solidi and mixing up the obryzium with silver was that it enabled the concentration of wealth. By preventing individual actors from having access to minted gold, one also made sure that neither unruly returning veterans nor troublesome upstarts would seek to circumvent the old power structures. There are only sixteen recorded mixed hoards containing solidi and bracteates, two of which are from Scania. The complicated relationship between solidi, unminted gold and gold bracteates was recently accentuated by the important discovery in Vindelev in 2021 of a mixed gold hoard weighing an astounding sum of 945 g. There were four multipla issued for Constantine I, Constantius II, Valentinian I, and Gratian, a dozen bracteates and an exquisite scabbard mouth with zoomorphic filigree decoration (Axboe 2021).

The recorded unminted gold hoards and gold bracteate hoards from Scania in the SHM contain far more gold than do the solidus hoards, although the unminted gold is not as pure. Much gold may have been lost during the nineteenth century. It is clear that many gold bracteates were discovered and decontextualized at an early stage in Scania. There were also thefts of gold bracteates from museums in the late nineteenth century. It cannot be excluded that some of the decontextualized gold bracteates were found together with solidi and subsequently separated by dealers and collectors. A very suspicious instance is the case of the D-bracteate IK 449 from Scania which in 1855 belonged to the Rönnow coin collection in Helsingborg. It was then acquired by August W. Stiernstedt, whose important collection of decontextualized solidi is of considerable interest given the many die-links to finds in Scandinavia and the LUHM (Fischer 2020a). In 1872, Stiernstedt sold the D-bracteate to the Gothenburg City Museum but kept the rest of the coins. The Rönnows were wealthy goldsmiths and philanthropists in their hometown. The Rönnows may well have acquired a wide variety of gold finds in Scania, keeping only a few rarities while recasting the other gold and selling it as jewelry.

Ravlunda could be seen as a central place of the same dignity as Uppåkra, see fig 27. Many precious metal coins, gold bracteates and unminted gold finds were discovered in the Ravlunda area very early on, from 1674 and onwards, see tables I-II. It is most likely that much gold and coinage from Ravlunda was lost already in the eighteenth century simply because the LUHM did not assert

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<sup>4</sup> I am much indebted to Nancy L. Wicker for having provided compiled data on the gold bracteates in table II.

itself as a regional antiquarian authority at the time. Recently, Anders Andrén (2020:75, Fig 6) has sought to identify further possible central places in Scania besides Uppåkra and Ravlunda. Most of the proposed new sites have yielded Migration Period gold finds and solidi that were dispatched to the SHM: Alstad, Börringe, Fjärestad, Förslöv, Hammenhög, Önnestad, Södra Åsum, and Vä are all included in tables I–II and feature prominently in fig 27.

A major problem with the gold bracteates and unminted gold is that it is difficult to discern the origin of the gold alloys. A solidus usually contains c. 96–99% pure gold, the gold alloys used for bracteates and gold rods can vary from anything between 87% to 34%. The gold bracteate hoard from Förslöv is case in point: the three die-linked gold bracteates IK 243 have a four gram spread in weight, and the gold content varies from 83.4% to 69.6% (Oddy & Meyer 1986:172, Tab 9). While there seems to be a progression where earlier objects from the early fifth century contain more gold than later ones from the mid sixth century, this is obviously an uneven development which may also be subject to regional variation. In addition, the samples used by scholars who dealt with these problems in the 1970's and 1980's are often difficult to compare and interpret, see the works of Arrhenius (1977, 1980), Oddy (1986), and Arrhenius' appendix in Stjernquist (1988). Similarly, it is difficult to compare data from objects that are usually considered to be made from imported Roman gold but from the second to fourth centuries, see the studies of Roman Iron Age jewelry in Scandinavia by Andersson (1993, 1995).

## Local Interpretation

There have essentially been two local schools of thought at the LUHM in relation to the Migration Period gold finds from Scania. An early profile of the 'returning warrior' theory was Olof Sundin (1886–1928). He was a promising young custodian of the LUHM in the early twentieth century, only to suddenly switch careers in the 1920's. Sundin's licentiate thesis on the precious metal finds in the LUHM presented the solidus and gold import to Scania as inextricably related to the Hunnic wars and the ensuing conflicts on Öland and the other Baltic islands (Sundin 1918:103–105). The licentiate thesis was published as part of the inaugural publication by the museum director Otto Rydbeck (1872–1954) when the LUHM moved into its current location, the former episcopal residence in Lundagård. Sundin died unexpectedly at the age of 42 while serving as a prison warden at the Hall penal colony near Södertälje (Rydbeck 1929). Sundin's view of the Migration period was very much inspired by the research of Knut Stjerna (1874–1909), a former employee of the Regional Archive in Lund. In his later Uppsala dissertation on the Iron Age settlement patterns of Bornholm, Stjerna (1905) argued that radical change in the material culture marked by a sudden influx of new imported objects, especially precious metals, was caused by long-distance demographic movement rather than piecemeal exchange by trade. Alas, Stjerna's stellar career was brief,

and he died in 1909. Stjerna's perspective was later branched out by Stjernquist (1983:4) who also argued that at least a part of the Late Roman solidi found in Scania had been brought back by returning warriors. Neither Sundin nor Stjerna lived to see the finds of cavalry equipment from Sösdala that were discovered only in 1929–1930, although Sundin's mentor Rydbeck made sure that they ended up in the LUHM (Fabech 2017).

Other scholars at Lund University were less willing to embrace this perspective but instead opted for the 'cash for cows' theory. In particular, one must mention Sture Bolin (1900–1963), professor of history at Lund University, 1938–1963. Bolin was the most influential Swedish numismatist of the twentieth century, not least in an international perspective. He believed that Roman solidi and other precious metals had arrived in Scania by means of trade, but also that unrest had forced the imported gold into the ground, see the doctoral dissertation of Bolin (1926), which also preceded the discovery of the finds from Sösdala. A scholar generally in line with Bolin on numismatic matters, the archaeologist Märta Strömberg successfully defended her German-language two-volume dissertation in 1961 on the metal finds from the Iron Age in Scania (Strömberg 1961). Two years later, Strömberg published a handy, well-illustrated Swedish-language exhibition catalogue on the Iron Age gold finds from Scania (Strömberg 1963). In the latter, Strömberg asserted that solidi had arrived in Scania by means of peaceful commerce in hides, leather and cattle.<sup>5</sup> These goods had been exchanged for minted gold at various trading posts along the Baltic shores (Strömberg 1963:94–96). Both Bolin and Strömberg believed that all Migration Period gold in Scania had been abandoned in the ground as a result of warfare caused by invading raiders. Alternately, Strömberg proposed, the gold had been ritually sacrificed by local Scanians to appease pagan gods who were supposed to intervene and prevent further outside raiding parties.

Strömberg (1963:96–97) proceeded to discuss the mainly unpublished finds of early fifth century cavalry equipment from Scania, especially the finds from Sösdala, which she identified as part of a Nomadic influence from the European Continent. But then followed a paradoxical conclusion. Strömberg did not deduce that since the cavalry units may have returned home to settle inland Scania, they could also have brought gold back home that had been

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5 Besides the 'returning warrior' wage labor hypothesis which argues that Scandinavian military manpower was exchanged for Roman gold, there is no consensus among proponents of the 'cash for cows' hypothesis as to what the non-human primary trading goods exchanged for Roman gold was. Earlier scholars have also argued specifically for amber trade with Ostrogoths in the early sixth century (Fagerlie 1967), wool from Öland to Roman military textile mills in the late third and fourth centuries (Herschend 1978), and fur from inland Sweden via middle hands on Öland to Italy in the late fifth century (Metcalf 1995). The latter claim often seeks support from a short mention in Jordanes' *Getica* III, 21. The *Getica* is not a trade record, but an anecdotal account written by a man of Gothic descent residing in the Eastern Empire in the sixth century. The *Getica* lists various tribes and mentions *in passim* that some of them exported fur to the Romans. There is still no tangible evidence of the proposed trading goods having been produced or extracted in Scandinavia and then reaching the Roman world. This means that the 'cash for cows' hypothesis remains unsubstantiated.



acquired by means of raiding. Instead, Strömberg preferred to argue that the conflict evident in the Sösdala and Sjörup finds had to do with a local strife over the extraction of iron ore in the inland lakes of Scania. It remains unclear how Strömberg arrived at the conclusion that local Scanian cavalry men would have chosen to dress like the Huns only to fight over the bog ore of Lake Finja while outside raiders would arrive on the shores of Scania in search of Roman gold. In short, the ‘cash for cows’ theory cannot match the peaceful influx of Roman gold with the distribution pattern of solidi, unminted gold and warrior equipment in Scania.

Two more recent studies showed that far more research is needed to save the Scanian solidus material from oblivion. A brief survey of Scanian solidi by Berta Stjernquist (1983) was motivated by the 1979 discovery of a solidus for Zeno in Gyllebo, Östra Vemmelöv Parish (cat. no. 21). Stjernquist was a prolific archaeologist with a strong connection to the LUHM. While her short article did provide some new insights, there were some strange lapses and omissions, ominous reminders of how precious metal objects would fall into oblivion at the LUHM. It is not always clear from where Stjernquist was able to gather information about specific sites or inventory numbers. For instance, Stjernquist (1983:7) briefly mentions the presence of two unprovenanced solidi for Theodosius II and Zeno in the LUHM but offers no further details such as inventory numbers, presumably because these were not available at the time. In 2015, Cecilia von Heijne of the KMK published a volume covering all coin finds from Kristianstads län, the eastern half of Scania. She had already begun studying coin finds from Ravlunda a decade earlier (von Heijne 2004, 2010). A modern numismatist, von Heijne (2015) placed far more emphasis on understanding the archaeological context of the Gyllerup hoard than had Fagerlie and Stjernquist before her, but a recorded solidus for Libius Severus from Ravlunda nevertheless escaped her attention (cat. no. 19 below).

## Conclusion

There are relatively few tangible traces of the fifth century influx of solidi to Scania. The current total estimate of c. 40 reported and/or recorded solidi (including lost or mismatched coins and dispersed hoards) from Scania does not compare favorably with Öland (c. 365 solidi), Gotland (c. 285 solidi), Bornholm (c. 211 solidi) or even Uppland (c. 73 solidi). Rather, the quantity is more similar to that of Jutland (c. 22 solidi) or Zealand (c. 12 solidi). Funen, which has a very different fourth century solidus horizon around Gudme, and the early sixth century Elsehoved necklace, is a different matter altogether, see Horsnaes (2010, 2013). It must be emphasized that it is simply impossible to qualify Scania as a peripheral or poor region of Migration Period Scandinavia. On the contrary, Scania must have been relatively affluent both in terms of agricultural output and ownership of imported precious metals, see table II. It follows that Scania presumably had both a larger population and more



settlements per square kilometer than the comparatively peripheral Mälär Valley.

An important observation is that the limited solidus material from Scania does not look like that of nearby regions in Scandinavia. Solidus issues that are very frequent elsewhere in the vicinity are simply missing in the Scanian find material (not least the many issues for Valentinian III typical of Öland). This cannot be a coincidence. More than any other area of Sweden, large parts of Scania with its heavy clay soil were forested or used for pasture well into the Modern Period. Much land was first brought under the steel plow in the late nineteenth century, a period when new archaeological finds became abundant in Sweden. Moreover, Scania had far more feudal landholdings than other parts of Sweden, a situation that still holds true to this day (af Kleen 2009). As a result, many of the farmers in the late nineteenth century were hereditary tenants (*åbor*). They did not own the land they tilled and would thus have had more to gain from handing in finds, as the quite reasonable rewards were paid to the actual finders and not to the landowners. This process was relatively complicated because the finds would first be sent to the county governors of Malmöhus and Kristianstads län who then dispatched the finds to the antiquarian state agencies in Stockholm. Had the solidi been out there in the fields, the tenant farmers armed with new steel plows would have discovered them and handed in the gold to the regional government at the same pace as in other areas of Sweden, see the discussion of the growth of finds in Herschend (1978), Fischer (2014, 2020a).

The fact that so many solidus issues from longer minting phases that are abundant in various parts of Scandinavia seem to be completely absent in Scania is very strong evidence against the hypothesis of a free circulation of solidus coinage in Barbaricum. Rather, this shows that there is next to nothing in the recorded solidus material from Scandinavia to support the theory of a continuous monetized market economy as was once suggested by Metcalf (1995, 2010) and Jonsson (2003). Scania is certainly no exception to this rule. Only some solidi from the mid- to late fifth century were hoarded on the shorelines of Scania because of factors that cannot always readily be identified. It seems difficult to argue for one single direct contact between the Late Roman Empire and Scania, which was made manifest by the arrival of a large sum of solidi brought home to Scania by a specific social affinity – even though such contacts can be demonstrated by the corresponding material from Öland and Gotland. In the case of the looped solidi, the Scanian owners appear to have deliberately kept rare issues (see the discussion of looped solidi in Fischer 2019c), but this explanation does not readily extend to the hoards and single finds of far more common issues of solidi.

Studying the somewhat disappointing solidus material from Scania enables an understanding as to why the finds from Öland remain so exceptional in that the latter allows for a barbarian snapshot image of what went on in Italy and later on Öland in the late fifth century. On Öland, some sort of late fifth century “débâcle”, to re-use a term already employed by Ture J. Arne (1919),

prevented the solidi from being melted down. Many solidus owners on Öland were probably killed in armed conflict before the coins could be recast into new objects in the ensuing sixth century. What happened in Scania at the same time is far more difficult to grasp, but it is reasonable to assume that most of the solidi were recast into larger gold objects at the central places as a way of exercising control in society.

Parts of the preserved solidus material from Scania may perhaps be characterized as a “coastal phenomenon”, see fig 27. Solidus hoards and single finds of solidi are usually located at a relatively short distance from the shore or on major waterways relatively close to estuaries. The mapping of gold finds in fig 27 shows that there seems to be two different coastal zones – one including the Kullen region close to Zealand and the Sound, perhaps dominated by Uppåkra, and a second eastern zone facing Bornholm and Blekinge, with Ravlunda being an important central place. By contrast, Helgesson (2002) has rightfully emphasized that some very large quantities of unminted gold have been discovered inland Scania. But large finds tend to obliterate small finds. It is probable that there are heavier gold objects in the inland of Scania because local elites had time to concentrate wealth, removing both gold coinage and potential dissent from circulation.

It seems likely that the Scanian Migration Period elite belonged to a Scandinavian network of competing central places through which it could procure precious metals from the Late Roman Empire. While there is no consensus as to how this import worked or how central place networks were subject to transformation over time, it seems reasonable to assume that it was a warrior elite rather than a group of merchants who controlled the major central places in Scania. There is every reason to believe that Scanian warrior retinues were active as cavalry units on the European Continent, as recently argued by Fabeck & Näsman (2017). The by far simplest explanation in accordance with Ockham’s razor would be to argue that those who live by the sword also die by the sword. That is to say that if people in Scania were attacked by raiders because of their gold, and owned cavalry equipment themselves, the very same Scanians were probably just as guilty of having raided others for gold.

In order to describe Migration Period Scania, it is perhaps fitting to borrow the ecological term “landscape of fear”, which is used to describe what happens to a given biotope when big predators are introduced to the area (Zanette & Clinchy 1999). The competing central places and major farmsteads of Scania would repeatedly come under attack by pillaging warbands throughout the fifth and sixth centuries. Living right on the shore was extremely dangerous unless one was actively engaged in warfare and consistently maintained the right connections. The affluent residents of the central place of Ravlunda, for instance, must have been a very tempting target for rival neighbors in Pomerania, Blekinge and Bornholm. No surprise, then, to see that a major central place such as Uppåkra was located at a safe distance inland. In addition, there seems to have been some sort of organized rearguard settlement of returning veterans in the inland periphery as demonstrated by the ritual

depositions at Sösdala and elsewhere (Fabech & Näsman 2017). But not even an inland central place such as Uppåkra was sacrosanct. The central place and its hall buildings were sacked several times during this period. The repeated attacks on Uppåkra are evident from ritual deposits of deactivated weapon parts, burnt down houses, hastily buried gold, and osteological evidence of armed violence, see Herschend (2009:369–377), Andersson (2012), Fischer, Soulat & Linton Fischer (2013), Larsson & Söderberg (2013).

## CATALOGUE OF SOLIDI

The catalogue below includes 34 solidi from Scania and the LUHM, see table I. It follows the numerical order of hoards and coins listed by Fagerlie (1967) as far as possible, but Fagerlie's catalogue has here been supplemented with coins included in Sundin (1918) and Balling (1966). Two later find coins have been added, following Strömberg (1963) and Stjernquist (1983). The issue for Libius Severus (cat. no. 19) was discovered in 1955 in Ravlunda. It is now lost again, but two photographs survive in the Ulla Westermarck solidus archive in the KMK. From these photographs, I have been able to extract digital images which are clear enough to allow the classification of die-identities. A solidus for Zeno from Gyllebo (cat. no. 21) discovered in 1979 is currently kept at the LUHM. The catalogue includes individual lost coins, which are known by description only if there was sufficient information available, notably emperors, mints, officinae, piercings or loops. Some of the unprovenanced and decontextualized coins in the LUHM may well be identical to lost coins, not least from the Gyllerup hoard, which today stands at one preserved coin and four recorded coins, to which one must add anything from 3 to 18 more solidi. After these entries follow the decontextualized coins in the LUHM that usually do not appear in earlier scholarship. The latter lacuna is hard to explain because several of the solidi kept under the inventory number LUHM 30311 have obviously been at the LUHM for a long time. These appear in chronological order from Constantius II to Justinian I. The catalogue also includes three coins (cat. nos. 31–33) kept at the LUHM from Stafsund, Ekerö Parish in Uppland (Fagerlie hoard no 5). These are usually attributed to the dispersed Kaggeholm 1783 hoard from a site which must have belonged to the larger Helgö central place. It is known that three of the originally 21–29 solidi from this hoard were acquired by the LUHM (Kyhllberg 1986:42–43). Finally, the last entry (cat. no. 34) is a solidus for Julius Nepos, that was attributed to Gotland by Fagerlie (1967, no. 181), but which may actually be from the Gyllerup hoard or one of the many find places in Ravlunda. The last four solidi highlight the peculiar situation where the LUHM is not only a local custodian but has a larger antiquarian responsibility beyond its scope.

### 1. SHM 3678

Skättekärr, Brunnby Parish, Malmöhus län.

Theodosius II, Constantinople mint. RIC X 292. Issued c. 441–447.

Fig 1c-d, Plate I, p 43. Photographs by Gabriel Hildebrand. Courtesy of the KMK.

Diameter: 24 mm with rim. Weight: 5.86 g including loop and border. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N THEODOSI-VS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: IMP XXXXII COS-XVII P P In exergue: COMOB

Constantinopolis enthroned left, globus cruciger in right hand, scepter in left, left foot on prow, shield at right. Star in left field.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 133), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 153), Janse (1922:62, no. 189), Bolin (1926:144, no. 22), Mackeprang (1952:164, no. 243) Balling (1966:71, no. 20), Fagerlie (1967:180, hoard no. 23, coin no. 324), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 3), Hauck (1985, IK 160), Fischer (2019c: 250–251, Tab. 1).

Condition: very worn, looped with rim. The worn loop has three ribs, the rim has been beaded, but the beading has been completely worn down on the outside.

The coin can be identified as a RIC X 292 by means of the obverse legend.

Discovered in 1867 by the tenant farmer Anders Jönsson while plowing. Later, in 1885 the gold bracteate IK 160 was found in the same field (SHM 7752), see fig 1c, table II.

### 2. HM 58–47

Fjärestad 24:4 near Gantofta, Fjärestad Parish, Malmöhus län.

Theodosius II, Constantinople mint. DOC 353, RIC X 219. Issued c. 421.

Fig 2d-e, Plate I, p 43. Photographs by courtesy of the HM.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 6.17 g including loop and border. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N THEODO-SIVS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VOT XX-MVLT XXXXX In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Olsson (1952), Kindström (1952, 1956), Fagerlie (1967:180, hoard no. 24), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 4), Hauck (1985), Fischer (2019c:248, 250–251, Figs 6, 9, Tab. 1; 2020b:182, Tab 17.1). Condition: worn, looped.

The loop consists of three large ribs and two smaller ones. The beaded rim is in fair condition. Correct inventory number 58-47 painted with white paint on the reverse side of the coin. Found together with a hoard of gold bracteates and unminted gold (SHM 24624), see fig 2c, table II.

### 3. SHM 3677

Hammenhög no. 25, Hammenhög Parish, Kristianstads län.

Zeno, Constantinople mint, officina Iota. DOC 665, RIC X 930. Issued c. 476–491.

Fig 3a-b, Plate II, p 44. Photographs by Gabriel Hildebrand. Courtesy of the SHM/KMK.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.44 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N ZENO-PERP AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.  
 Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG , officina letter I. In exergue: CONOB  
 Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.  
 References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 137), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 162), Janse (1922:62, no. 190), Bolin (1926:144, no. 6), Balling (1966:73, no. 29), Fagerlie (1967:180, hoard no. 25, coin no. 587), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 13), von Heijne (2015:64, no. 82).  
 Condition: worn. Discovered in 1867 on the ground by the tenant farmer Anders Nilsson in a field after plowing.

#### **4. LUHM 19672 c/MK 9362**

Gyllerup (Hörup 6:2), Hörup Parish, Kristianstads län.  
 Leo I, Constantinople mint, officina Sigma. DOC 525, RIC X 605. Issued c. 462–466.  
 Fig 4a-b, Plate II, p 44. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.  
 Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.44 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.  
 Obverse: D N LEO PE–RPET AVG  
 Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.  
 Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG , officina letter S. In exergue: CONOB  
 Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.  
 References: Montelius (1872:75, no. 19), Sundin 1918 (105, XV), Janse (1922:63, no. 202), Bolin (1926:144, no. 9), Balling (1966:74, no. 33), Fagerlie (1967:180, hoard no. 26, coin no. 461), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 10), von Heijne (2015:69, 276–277, Pl. II, no. 96).  
 Condition: fair. Discovered in 1780 and acquired by the LUHM, decontextualized in 1788.  
 Incorrect inventory nr MK 9360 inked on the right border of reverse side of the coin. An older, partially erased inventory number visible on the left.

#### **5. LOST 1**

Gyllerup (Hörup 6:2), Hörup Parish, Kristianstads län.  
 Julius Nepos. Struck after 474.  
 Obverse: D N IVL NE–POS P F AVG  
 Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.  
 Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG In exergue: COMOB  
 Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.  
 References: Montelius (1872:75, no. 19), Sundin 1918 (105, XV), Janse (1922:62, no. 192), Bolin (1926:144, no. 9), Balling (1966:74, no. 33), Fagerlie (1967:180, hoard no. 26), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 10), von Heijne (2015:69, 276–277, Pl. II, no. 96).  
 Discovered in 1780 and acquired by the LUHM, decontextualized in 1788.  
 The unprovenanced solidus LUHM 30311/MK 8752 (cat. no. 34 below) could

possibly be identical with this lost coin. It is not possible to identify the mint or type without a record of the reverse legend.

## 6. LOST 2

Gyllerup (Hörup 6:2), Hörup Parish, Kristianstads län.

Leo I, Constantinople Mint. Issued c. 462–473.

Obverse: D N LEO PE–RPET AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Montelius (1872:75, no. 19), Janse (1922:62, no. 192), Bolin (1926:144, no. 9), Balling (1966:74, no. 33), Fagerlie (1967:180, hoard no. 26), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 10), von Heijne (2015:69, 276–277, Pl. II, no. 96).

Discovered in 1780 and acquired by the LUHM, decontextualized in 1788.

The unprovenanced solidus LUHM 30311/MK 9182 (cat. no. 26 below) could possibly be identical with this coin. It cannot be determined what issue it belongs to, although RIC X 605 and RIC X 630 are the most likely.

## 7. LOST 3

Gyllerup (Hörup 6:2), Hörup Parish, Kristianstads län.

Zeno, Constantinople mint, officina Alpha. RIC X 930? Issued c. 476–491.

Obverse: D N ZENO–PERPET AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG , officina letter A. In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Montelius (1872:75, no. 19), Janse (1922:62, no. 192), Bolin (1926:144, no. 9), Balling (1966:74, no. 33), Fagerlie (1967:180, hoard no. 25, coin no. 587), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 10), von Heijne (2015:69, 276–277, Pl. II, no. 96).

Discovered in 1780 and acquired by the LUHM, decontextualized in 1788.

## 8. LOST 4

Gyllerup (Hörup 6:2), Hörup Parish, Kristianstads län.

Anastasius I. Constantinople Mint, Officina Iota. Issued 491–518.

Obverse: D N ANASTASIVS PERP AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG , officina letter I. In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Montelius (1872:75, no. 19), Janse (1922:62, no. 192), Bolin (1926:144, no. 9), Balling (1966:74, no. 33), Fagerlie (1967:180, hoard no. 26), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 10), von Heijne (2015:69, 276–277, Pl. II, no. 96).

Discovered in 1780 and acquired by the LUHM, decontextualized in 1788. The unprovenanced solidus LUHM 30311/MK 9186 (cat. no. 29) from officina Iota is possibly identical with this lost coin.



## 9. SHM 4565

Norrvidinge prästgård, Norrvidinge Parish, Malmöhus län.

Leo I, Constantinople mint, officina Alpha. DOC 527, RIC X 605. Issued c. 462–466.

Fig 5a-b, Plate II, p 44. Photographs by Gabriel Hildebrand. Courtesy of the SHM/KMK.

Diameter: 20-22 mm. Weight: 4.44 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N LEO PE–RPET AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over

shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG , officina letter A. In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Montelius (1872:74), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 160), Janse (1922:62, no. 194), Bolin (1926:144, no. 18), Fagerlie (1967:180, hoard no. 27, coin no 386), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 8).

Condition: very worn. Discovered in 1871 by a farmhand of the vicar C E Ströberg on the lands of the Norrvidinge vicarage.

## 10. LUHM 19672 b/MK 9359

Önnestad, Önnestad Parish, Kristianstads län.

Theodosius II, Constantinople mint, officina Theta. DOC 383, RIC X 257. Issued c. 431-434.

Fig 6a-b, Plate II, p 44. Photographs by the author.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 5.35 g with loop. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N THEODO–SIVS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VOT XXX–MVLX XXXX , officina letter Θ. In exergue: CONOB

Constantinopolis enthroned left, globus cruciger in right hand, scepter in left, left foot on prow, shield at right. Star in right field.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 132), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 151), Sundin (1918:18, no. XIV), Janse (1922:63, no. 199), Bolin (1926:144, no. 24), Balling (1966:71, no. 23), Fagerlie (1967:180, hoard no. 28, coin 262), Stjernqvist (1983:7, no. 5), von Heijne (2015:185, no. 393), Fischer (2019c: 250–251, Tab. 1).

Condition: worn, looped. Correct inventory number MK 9359 inked on the left rim of the reverse side of the coin, a partially erased incorrect inventory number above on the rim. Discovered before 1833. Handed in to the LUHM by Bishop Wilhelm Faxé. The rather wide loop weighs c. 0.9 g. It consists of seven ribs, with five small ribs and two large ribs. It is detachable, has never been soldered to the coin and could possibly have been recycled from a different pendant.

## 11. LOST 5

Östra Vemmenhög, Östra Vemmenhög Parish, Malmöhus län.

Zeno. Struck after 474.

Obverse: D N ZENO–PERP AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG In exergue: CONOB?



Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 135), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 161), Janse (1922:63, no. 198), Bolin (1926:144, no. 25), Balling (1966:73, no. 30), Fagerlie (1967:181, hoard no. 29). Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 12). Discovered in 1824. Not acquired. It cannot be determined if this is an eastern or western issue or even an imitation, although a regular eastern issue seems most likely.

## **12. LUHM 19672 e/MK 9360**

Kämpinge, Räng Parish, Malmöhus län.

Leo I. Constantinople mint, officina Alpha. DOC 519, RIC 605 X. Issued c. 462–466.

Fig 7a-b, Plate III, p 45. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.43 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N LEO–PERP AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG, officina letter A. In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Montelius (1872:75, no. 18), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 158), Sundin (1918:18, no. XVI). Janse (1922:62, no. 195), Bolin (1926:144, no. 14), Balling (1966:72, no. 26), Fagerlie (1967, hoard no. 30, coin no. 385), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 9).

Condition: worn. Discovered in 1840 near the sea, acquired by the LUHM. Incorrect inventory number MK 9362 inked on the rim of the obverse side, visible on February 23, 2016.

## **13. LOST 6**

Rörsjön, Alnarp, Lomma Parish, Malmöhus län.

Theodosius II, Struck after 441.

Obverse: D N THEODOSI–VS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: IMP XXXXII COS–XVII P P. In exergue: CONOB

Constantinopolis enthroned left, globus cruciger in right hand, scepter in left, left foot on prow, shield at right. Star in left field.

References: Montelius (1872:74, no. 17), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 154), Janse (1922:62, no. 193), Balling (1966:71, no. 21), Fagerlie (1967:181, hoard no. 31), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 2).

Condition: Pierced. Discovered in 1870. Owned in 1872 by the adjunkt G. Brunius, a resident of Landskrona. Already Hauberg 1894 lists the site as “nær Malmø”, not providing the corresponding parish or the fact that the find place is closer to Alnarp than Malmö, as pointed out by Helgesson (2002).

## **14. LUHM 19672 d/MK 9361**

Ven, St Ibb Parish, Malmöhus län.

Leo I. Constantinople mint, officina Beta. DOC 524, RIC X 605. Issued c. 462–466.

Fig 8a-b, Plate III, p 45. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: c. 20-22 mm. Weight: 3.39 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N LEO PE-RPET AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORIA AVGGG , officina letter B. In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Montelius (1872:74), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 159), Janse (1922:62, no. 191), Bolin (1926:144, no. 7), Balling (1966:72, no. 27), Fagerlie (1967:181, hoard no. 32, coin no. 394), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 7). Condition: fair, clipped. Correct inventory number MK 9361 on the reverse, a partially erased inventory number still visible as well. Discovered before 1845 on the island of Ven, acquired by the LUHM. There is also a gold bracteate from St Ibb (SHM 7257), but there is no record of a connection with the solidus.

### 15. SHM 1083

Djurslöv no. 7, Tottarp Parish, Malmöhus län.

Theodosius II. Constantinople mint, officina Heta. DOC 384, RIC X 257.

Issued c. 431–434.

Fig 9a-b, Plate III, p 45. Photographs by Gabriel Hildebrand. Courtesy of the SHM/KMK.

Diameter: c. 20-22 mm. Weight: 4.4 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N THEODOSIVS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VOT XXX-MVLT XXXX , officina letter H. In exergue: CONOB

Constantinopolis enthroned left, globus cruciger in right hand, scepter in left, left foot on prow, shield at right. Star in right field.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 134), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 152), Janse (1922:62, no. 196), Balling (1966:72, no. 24), Fagerlie (1967:181, hoard no. 33, coin no. 257), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 1).

Condition: worn. Discovered in 1843 by the tenant farmer Jöns Nilsson while digging.

### 16. LOST 7

Ystad, Malmöhus län.

Barbarous imitation of Anastasius I. Officina mark Theta. Struck after 491.

Obverse: D N ANASTASIVS PF AVG (in reversed letters).

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORIA AVGGG , officina letter Θ. In exergue CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 135), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 163), Janse (1922:63, no. 197), Balling (1966:75, no. 37), Fagerlie (1967:181, hoard no. 34), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 15).

First mentioned by Montelius (1869). The coin was reportedly in the private collection of a captain von Braun in Ystad. Montelius (1869:19) compares it to Ramus (1816:335, no. 7). It had been discovered at a 10 km distance from the town of Ystad. Not acquired.

### 17. SHM 390

Uncertain find place, Scania.

Anthemius, Rome Mint. DOC 924, RIC X 2835 var. Issued c. 467-472.

Fig 10a-b, Plate III, p 45. Photographs by Gabriel Hildebrand. Courtesy of the KMK.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.3 g. Die-axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: D N PROC AN-THEMIVS P F AVG

Reverse: SALVS R-EIP-VBLICAE In exergue: COMOB. In center: RM

Two emperors, draped, cuirassed, standing front, each holding spear in outer hand and supporting a globe surmounted by a cross between them.

References: Montelius (1869:18 no. 131), Janse (1922:63, no. 200), Balling (1966:73, no. 28), Fagerlie (1967:181, hoard no. 35a, coin 161), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 11), Fischer (2014:121, Tab. 4).

Condition: very worn. Donated by the Lund University professor of Latin Johan Lundblad to the KMK in 1809.

### 18. Museet for Nordiske Oldsager, no. 18618

Uncertain find place, Scania.

Imitation of Theodosius II. Struck after 441.

Fig 11a-b, Plate IV, p 46. Photographs by courtesy of the National Museum of Denmark (DNM).

Diameter: c. 20 mm. Weight: 5.17 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N THEODOSIVS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: IMP XXXXII COS-XVII P P. In exergue: COIIOB

Constantinopolis enthroned left, globus cruciger in right hand, scepter in left, left foot on prow, shield at right. Star in left field.

References: Montelius (1872:74, no. 15), Hauberg (1894:346, no. 155), Janse (1922:63, no. 201), Bolin (1926:144, no. 22), Balling (1966:70, no. 17, Fig 19), Fagerlie (1967:181, hoard no. 35b), Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 6).

Condition: worn, looped, double-struck. The loop consists of two symmetrical large ribs, subdivided into sections. It is in fair condition and could possibly have been recycled from another object. Acquired in 1859 by the Museet for Nordiske Oldsager in Copenhagen, Denmark.

### 19. LOST 8

Kalvhagen, Ravlunda Parish, Kristianstads län.

Libius Severus, Milan mint. DOC 893, RIC X 2723. Issued c. 462-465.

Fig 12a-b, Plate IV, p 46. Images by the author from anonymous photographs kept in the Ulla Westermark solidus archive at the KMK.

Die-axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: D N LIBIVS SEVERV-S PERPETV AVG

Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.

Reverse: VICTORIA AVGGG / M - D. In exergue COMOB

Emperor standing facing, holding long cross in right hand, Victory on globe in left, foot on human-headed serpent.

Condition: worn. Die-linked obverse to DOC 893.

References: Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 16).

Condition: worn. First recorded in 1955, then in private ownership. It should be noted that besides a major gold necklace, there are two gold bracteates from Ravlunda IK 143–144,1 (Hauck 1985, XV), see table II. None of these finds can be connected to the two solidus finds, however.

## **20. LOST 9**

Ravlunda, Ravlunda Parish, Kristianstads län.

Julius Nepos. Issued c. 474–477?

Obverse: D N IVL NE–POS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG In exergue: COMOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Lagerbring & Forsselius (1780:26–28), Balling (1966:73, no. 32), von Heijne (2015:111, no. 224). Discovered before 1780. First mentioned in 1776, see Lagerbring & Forsselius (1780), the coin is possibly identical with LUHM 30311/MK 8752 although there is no record of it reaching the LUHM. It is impossible to identify the mint or issue without a record of the reverse legend.

## **21. LUHM P/6 618**

Gyllebo 1:29, Östra Vemmerlöv Parish, Kristianstads län.

Zeno, Constantinople Mint, officina Heta. DOC 643, RIC X 930. Issued c. 476–491.

Fig 13a-b, Plate IV, p 46. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.48 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N ZENO–PERP AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORIA AVGGG , officina letter H. In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Stjernquist (1983:7, no. 14, Fig 2), von Heijne (2015:204–205).

Condition: worn. Discovered in April 1979 by Jörgen Johansson, a boy who was helping his father during plowing near Gyllebo manor, some 20 m from the old shoreline of the Gyllebo Lake, see the map in Stjernquist (1983, p. 4, Fig 1).

## **22. LUHM 19672.a**

Uncertain find place, Scania?

Constantius II, Trier mint. RIC VIII, 122. Issued 342–343.

Fig 14a-b, Plate IV, p 46. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: c. 20 mm. Weight: 4.39 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N CONSTAN–TIVS P F AVG

Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.

Reverse: VICTORIA–DD NN AVGG In exergue: TR

Victory walking left, holding wreath and palm branch.

References: Sundin (1918:106, XIII), Bolin (1926:144, Fn.1), Balling (1966:70, no. 17), Fischer (2019c:248, Fig 5; 250–251, Tab. 1).

Condition: very worn, clipped, looped. The loop consists of three worn ribs that have been soldered on leaving substantial marks of melted gold on both sides of the coin. Correct inventory number 1967a inked on the reverse side of the coin. Traces of soil. First identified as a find coin from Scania by Sundin (1918), it would seem to belong to the late fourth century Gudme hoarding horizon.

### **23. LUHM 30311/MK 8644**

Uncertain find place.

Valentinian I, Trier mint, officina C. RIC IX, 17b. Issued c. 367.

Fig 15a-b, Plate V, p 47. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: 21.2 mm. Weight: c.4.44 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N VALENTI-NIANVS P F AVG

Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.

Reverse: VICTORI-A AVGG In exergue: TROB, officina letter C.

Two emperors enthroned facing, holding globe between them, behind and between them Victory is standing with outspread wings, small palm between.

References: Fischer (2020a, tab X).

Condition: fine, double-struck. Correct inventory number 8844 inked on the reverse side of the coin.

The coin has been cleaned.

### **24. LUHM 30311/MK 8869**

Uncertain find place.

Valens, Nicomedia mint, officina Epsilon. RIC IX, 2d. Issued c. 367.

Fig 16a-b, Plate V, p 47. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: 21.4 mm. Weight: 4.29 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N VALENS-P F AVG

Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.

Reverse: RESTVTITOR-REI PVBLICAE In exergue: SMN, officina letter E.

Emperor standing, facing, head right, holding labarum and Victory on globe.

References: Fischer (2020a, Tab X).

Condition: fair. Correct inventory number 8869 inked on the reverse side of the coin. Traces of soil in the ear of the emperor and in several letters.

### **25. LUHM 30311/MK 9158**

Uncertain find place, Scania?

Arcadius, Milan mint. DOC 265, RIC X 1205. Issued c. 395–402.

Fig 17a-b, Plate V, p 47. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: 21.3 mm. Weight: 4.33 g. Die-axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: D N ARCADI-VS P F AVG

Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.

Reverse: VICTORI-A AVGGG / M - D. In exergue: COMOB

Emperor standing front, head to right, his left foot set on captive, holding labarum with his right

hand and Victory set on globe in his left.

References: Fischer (2020a), tab X, p.

Condition: fair. The coin has been cleaned.

## **26. LUHM 30311/MK 9181**

Uncertain find place, Scania?

Forgery in the name of Marcianus, Constantinople mint, officina Heta.

Imitating DOC 477, RIC X 510. Struck after 450.

Fig 18a-b, Plate V, p 47. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: c. 20 mm. Weight: c. 4.11 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N MARCIA– NVS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI–A AVGGG , officina letter H. In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Fischer (2020a, tab).

Condition: Several assay marks on the obverse, partially melted parts of the surface on the reverse. Traces of soil, tar and corrosion protruding through the gold plating.

## **27. LUHM 30311/MK 9182**

Uncertain find place, possibly from the Gyllerup hoard.

Leo I Constantinople mint, officina Sigma. DOC 517, RIC X 605. Issued c. 462–466.

Fig 19a-b, Plate VI, p 48. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: c. 21.7 mm. Weight: c. 4.45 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N LEO–PERP AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI-A AVGGG , officina letter S. In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Fischer (2020a), tab.

Condition. Very worn, pierced. Traces of soil. This coin could possibly be identical with the lost coin no. 6 from the Gyllerup hoard.

## **28. LUHM 30311/MK 9185**

Uncertain find place, Scania?

Basiliscus, Constantinople mint, DOC 608, RIC X 1002. Issued c. 476.

Fig 20a-b, Plate VI, p 48. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: c. 21.3 mm. Weight: c. 4.39 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N bASILIS–CVS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI-A AVGGG In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

Reference: Fischer (2020a).

Condition: very worn. Traces of soil.

### 29. LUHM 30311/MK 9186

Uncertain find place, possibly from the Gyllerup hoard.

Anastasius I, Constantinople mint, officina Iota. MIBE 4a. Issued c. 491–518.

Fig 21a-b, Plate VI, p 48. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: 21.5 mm. Weight: c. 4.47 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N ANASTA-SIVS P P AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI-A AVGGG, officina letter I. In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Fischer (2020a, tab I).

Condition: worn. Traces of soil. This coin could be identical with the lost coin no. 8 for Anastasius I from the Gyllerup hoard.

### 30. LUHM 30311/MK 9197

Uncertain find place, Scania?

Imitation of Justinian I, COMOB mint (Ostrogothic imitation?), officina Alpha. Struck after 527.

Fig 22a-b, Plate VI, p 48. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: 19.8 mm. Weight: 4.41 g. Die-axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: D N IVSTINI-AIVS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI-A AVGGG, officina letter A. In exergue: COMOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in left field.

References: Fischer (2020a tab).

Condition: worn. Traces of soil.

### 31. LUHM 19672 f/MK 9357

Stafsund, Ekerö Parish, Uppland

Theodosius II, Constantinople Mint, DOC 425, RIC X 293

Fig 23a-b, Plate VII, p 49. Photographs by the author.

Diameter: c. 20-22 mm. Weight: 4.39 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N THEODOSI-VS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: IMP XXXXII COS-XVII . P . P. In exergue: CONOB

Constantinopolis enthroned left, globus cruciger in right hand, scepter in left, left foot on prow, shield at right. Star in left field.

References: Fagerlie (1967:177, hoard no. 5), Kyhlberg (1986:42–43, Pl. I).

Condition: worn. Correct inventory number MK 9357 inked on the reverse side of the coin after 1986, cf. the non-inked illustration in Kyhlberg (1986), visible on February 23, 2016. Discovered in 1783. The coin has been cleaned.



### 32. LUHM 19672 f/MK 9358

Stafsund, Ekerö Parish, Uppland

Theodosius II, Constantinople Mint, DOC 416, RIC X 292. Issued 441–447.

Fig 24a-b, Plate VII, p 49. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: c. 20-22 mm. Weight: 4.32 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N THEODOSI-VS P F AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: IMP XXXXII COS-XVII P P In exergue: COMOB

Constantinopolis enthroned left, globus cruciger in right hand, scepter in left, left foot on prow, shield at right. Star in left field.

References: Fagerlie (1967:177, hoard no. 5), Kyhlberg (1986:42–43, Pl. I).

Condition: very worn, pierced. Correct inventory number MK 9358 inked on the reverse side of the coin after 1986, cf. the non-inked illustration in Kyhlberg (1986), visible on February 23, 2016. Discovered in 1783. The coin has been cleaned.

### 33. LUHM 19672 f/MK 9363

Stafsund, Ekerö Parish, Uppland

Zeno, Constantinople Mint, officina Iota. DOC 642, RIC X 910.

Fig 25a-b, Plate VII, p 49. Photographs by the author.

Diameter: c. 20-22 mm. Weight: 4.45 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N ZENO-PERPET AVG

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI-A AVGGG , officina letter I. In exergue: CONOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.

References: Fagerlie (1967:177, hoard no. 5), Kyhlberg (1986:42–43, Pl. I).

Condition: worn. Correct inventory number MK 9363 inked on the reverse side of the coin after 1986, cf. non-inked illustration in Kyhlberg (1986), visible on February 23, 2016. Discovered in 1783. The coin has been cleaned.

### 34. LUHM 30311/MK 8752

Attributed to Gotland, but possibly from the Gyllerup hoard or from Ravlunda.

Julius Nepos, Ravenna Mint. DOC 939, RIC X 3312 . Issued c. 474–475.

Fig 26a-b, Plate VII, p 49. Photographs by Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Diameter: 20.6 mm. Weight: 4.47 g. Die-axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: D N IVL NE-POS P F AVG:

Emperor diademed, helmeted and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.

Reverse: VICTORI-A AVGGG : / R – V. In exergue: COMOB

Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross.

References: Fagerlie (1967:205, coin no. 181), Fischer (2020a:42, tab X).

Condition: very worn. Obverse die-link to the Vedrin hoard in Namur, Belgium (Lallemand 1965, no. 49 Pl V, Lacam (1983:618, Pl CLI), and the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection, no. 2400-2216 (Heilborn 1882, no. 2216, Fischer 2020a:42, Pl IX, Fig 26a-b). Fagerlie (1967) lists the coin as a find from Gotland but has no further reference to support this claim. It cannot be excluded that the coin is from the Gyllerup hoard or from Ravlunda.

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## Plate I



Fig 1a-b. The Skättekärr hoard. Photographs courtesy of the SHM/KMK.  
 Fig 1c-d. SHM 3678. Photographs by G. Hildebrand. Courtesy of the SHM/KMK.  
 Fig 1e-f. SHM 7752, IK 160b. Photograph by L. Karlsson. Courtesy of the SHM/KMK. Drawing after Hauck (1985).



Fig 2a-c. The Fjärestad hoard. Photographs courtesy of HM, SHM/KMK.  
 Fig 2a-b. HM 48-57. Courtesy of HM.  
 Fig 2c. Photograph by L. Karlsson. Courtesy of the SHM/KMK.  
 Fig 2d-e. HM 48-57. Courtesy of HM.  
 Fig 2f-i. SHM 24624: IK 53b, IK54b, IK55b, IK 56b. Drawings after Hauck (1985).

## Plate II

Fig 3a-b.  
3. SHM 3677



Fig 3a-b. 3. SHM 3677.  
Photographs by G.  
Hildebrand. Courtesy of the  
SHM/KMK.

Fig 4a-b.  
4. LUHM 19672 c/ MK 9362



Fig 4a-b. 4. LUHM 19672 c/  
MK 9362. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy  
of LUHM.

Fig 5a-b.  
9. SHM 4565



Fig 5a-b. 9. SHM 4565.  
Photographs by G. Hildebrand.  
Courtesy of the SHM/KMK.

Fig 6a-b.  
10. LUHM 19672 b/ MK 9359



Fig 6a-b. 10. LUHM 19672 b/  
MK 9359. Photographs by the  
author.

# Plate III

Fig 7a-b.  
12. LUHM 19672 e/MK 9360



Fig 7a-b. 12. LUHM 19672 e/  
MK 9360. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy  
of LUHM

Fig 8a-b  
14. LUHM 19672 d/MK 9361



Fig 8a-b. 14. LUHM 19672 d/  
MK 9361. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy  
of LUHM.

Fig 9a-b  
15. SHM 1083



Fig 9a-b. 15. SHM 1083.  
Photographs by G. Hildebrand.  
Courtesy of the SHM/KMK.

Fig 10a-b  
17. SHM 390



Fig 10a-b. 17. SHM 390.  
Photographs by G. Hildebrand.  
Courtesy of the SHM/KMK.



## Plate IV

Fig 11a-b. 18. Museet for Nordiske Oldsager, no. 18618



Fig 11a-b. 18. Museet for Nordiske Oldsager, no. 18618. Courtesy of the DNM.

Fig 12a-b  
19. LOST 8. Ravlunda



Fig 12a-b. 19. LOST 8. Ravlunda. Images by the author.

Fig 13a-b  
21. LUHM P/6 618



Fig 13a-b. 21. LUHM P/6 618. Photographs by G. Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Fig 14a-b  
22. LUHM 19672.a



Fig 14a-b. 22. LUHM 19672.a. Photographs by G. Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

## Plate V

Fig 15a-b.  
23. LUHM 30311/MK 8644



Fig 15a-b. 23. LUHM 30311/  
MK 8644. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy  
of LUHM.

Fig 16a-b.  
24. LUHM 30311/MK 8869



Fig 16a-b. 24. LUHM 30311/  
MK 8869. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvarson. Courtesy of  
LUHM.

Fig 17a-b.  
25. LUHM 30311/MK 9158



Fig 17a-b. 25. LUHM 30311/  
MK 9158. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy  
of LUHM.

Fig 18 a-b.  
26. LUHM 30311/MK 9181



Fig 18a-b. 26. LUHM 30311/  
MK 9181. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy  
of LUHM.

## Plate VI

Fig 19a-b.  
27. LUHM 30311/MK 9182



Fig 19a-b. 27. LUHM 30311/  
MK 9182. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy  
of LUHM.

Fig 20a-b.  
28. LUHM 30311/MK 9185



Fig 20a-b. 28. LUHM 30311/  
MK 9185. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy  
of LUHM.

Fig 21a-b.  
29. LUHM 30311/MK 9186



Fig 21a-b. 29. LUHM 30311/  
MK 9186. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy  
of LUHM.

Fig 22a-b.  
30. LUHM 30311/MK 9197



Fig 22a-b. 30. LUHM 30311/  
MK 9197. Photographs by G.  
Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy  
of LUHM.



## Plate VII

Fig 23a-b.  
31. LUHM 19672 f/MK 9357



Fig 23a-b. 31. LUHM 19672 f/MK 9357. Photographs by G. Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Fig 24a-b.  
32. LUHM 19672 f/MK 9358



Fig 24a-b. 32. LUHM 19672 f/MK 9358. Photographs by the author.

Fig 25a-b.  
33. LUHM 19672 f/MK 9363



Fig 25a-b. 33. LUHM 19672 f/MK 9363. Photographs by G. Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

Fig 26a-b.  
34. LUHM 30311/MK 8752



Fig 26a-b. 34. LUHM 30311/MK 8752. Photographs by G. Tarnow Ingvardson. Courtesy of LUHM.

### Fig 27. Parish map of Scania.

Red stars=finds of solidi.

Blue triangles=finds of gold bracteates.

Green circles=finds of unminted gold.

Red ovals with stars and triangles=find combinations of solidi and gold bracteates.

Black squares=finds of sacrificed cavalry equipment.

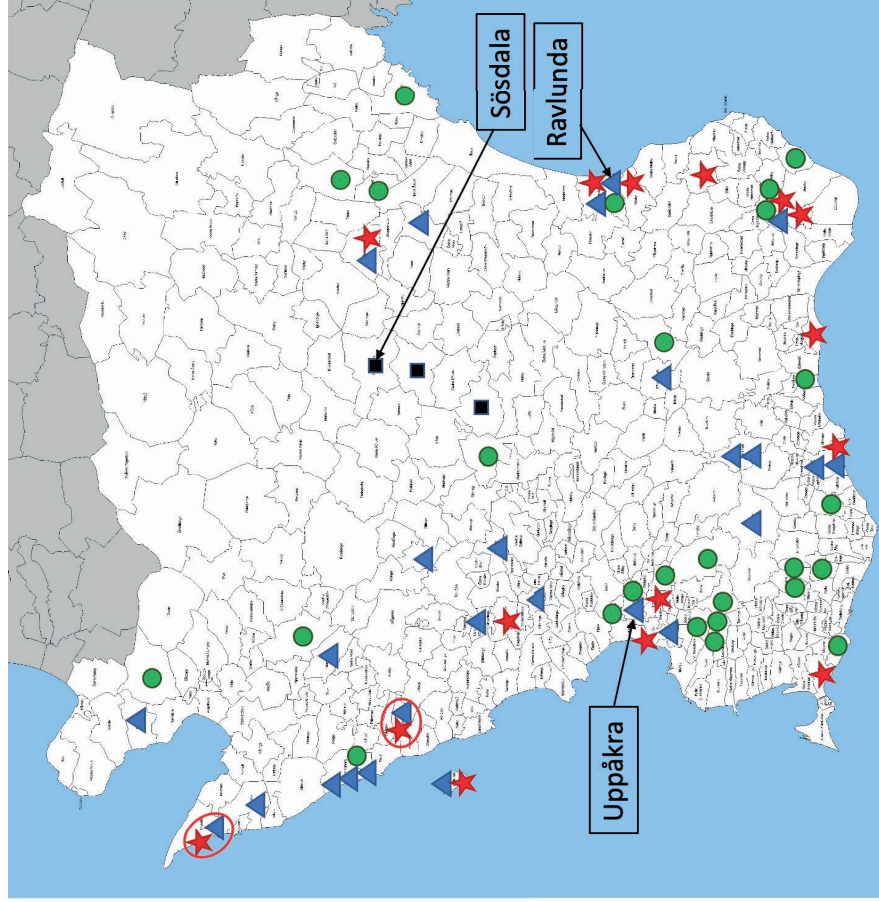


Fig 27. Parish map of Scania. Illustration by the author. Red stars=finds of solidi. Blue triangles=finds of gold bracteates. Green circles=finds of unminted gold. Red ovals with stars and triangles=find combinations of solidi and gold bracteates. Black squares=finds of sacrificed cavalry equipment.

Table I, Solidi of Scania and the LUHM

Cat #	Inv #	F Hoard	F Coin	Fig. Plate	DOC/RIC/MIBE type	Ruler	Chronology	Site	Parish	Weight (g)	Acquisition	Diam (max)	Minmark	Context	Feature	Die-axis
1	SHM 3678	23	F 324	1e-d, I	RIC X 292	Theodosius II	441-447	Skärtekår	Brumby	5,86	1867	24	CONOB	Mixed hoard	Looped	6
2	HIM 38-47	24	—	2e-d, I	DOC 353, RIC X 219	Theodosius II	421-422	Fjårestad 244	Fjårestad	6,17	1946	21	CONOB	Mixed hoard	Looped	12
3	SHM 3677	25	F 587	3a-b, II	DOC 665, RIC X 930	Zeno	474-491	Hammenhög 25	Hammenhög	4,44	1867	20,5	CONOB, Iota	Mixed hoard	—	6
4	LUHM 19672 c/MK 9362	26	—	4a-b, II	DOC 523, RIC X 605	Leo I	462-466	Gyllerup (Hörup 6:2)	Hörup	4,44	1780	21	CONOB, Sigma	Mixed hoard	Mutilated	6
5	Lost 1	26	—	—	?	Julius Nepos	474-477	Gyllerup (Hörup 6:2)	Hörup	—	1780	—	COMOB?	Mixed hoard	—	12?
6	Lost 2	26	—	—	RIC X 605, 630?	Leo I	462-466	Gyllerup (Hörup 6:2)	Hörup	—	1780	—	CONOB	Mixed hoard	—	12?
7	Lost 3	26	F 587	—	RIC X 930?	Zeno	474-491	Gyllerup (Hörup 6:2)	Hörup	—	1780	—	CONOB, Alpha	Mixed hoard	—	6?
8	Lost 4	26	—	—	?	Anastasius I	491-518	Gyllerup (Hörup 6:2)	Hörup	—	1780	—	CONOB, Iota	Mixed hoard	—	6?
9	SHM 4565	27	F 386	5a-b, II	DOC 527, RIC X 605	Leo I	462-466	Norvindinge Prästgård	Norvindinge	4,44	1871	21	CONOB, Alpha	Single find	—	6
10	LUHM 19672 b/MK 9359	28	F 262	6a-b, II	DOC 383, RIC X 257	Theodosius II	431-434	Örnestad	Örnestad	5,35	Pre-1833	20	CONOB, Theta	Single find	Looped	6
11	Lost 5	29	—	—	x	Zeno	474-491	Östra Vemmenhög	Ö. Vemmenhög	—	1824	—	CONOB?	Single find	—	6
12	LUHM 19672 e/MK 9360	30	F 585	7a-b, III	DOC 519, RIC X 605	Leo I	462-466	Käppinge	Rång	4,43	1840	20	CONOB, Alpha	Single find	—	6
13	Lost 6	31	—	—	?	Theodosius II	441-447	Rösjön	Lönna	—	1870	—	CONOB	Single find	—	—
14	LUHM 19672 d/MK 9361	32	F 394	8a-b, III	DOC 524, RIC X 605	Leo I	462-466	Ven	St. Ibb	3,39	1845	20	CONOB, Beta	Single find	—	6
15	SHM 1083	33	F 257	9a-b, III	DOC 384, RIC X 257	Theodosius II	441-447	Djurslov 7	Tortarp	4,4	1843	20	CONOB, Heta	Single find	—	6
16	Lost 7	34	—	—	Imitation	Anastasius I	Post-491	Ystad	?	—	Pre-1872	—	CONOB, Theta	Single find	—	—
17	SHM 390	35a	F 161	10a-b, III	DOC 924, RIC X 2835 var	Anthemius	468-472	Scania	?	4,3	1809	20	COMOB RM	Single find	—	12
18	Musset for nordske Oldsager 18618	35b	—	11a-b, IV	Imitation	Theodosius II	Post-441	Scania	?	5,17	1859	—	COHOB	Single find	Looped	12
19	Lost 8	—	—	12a-b, IV	DOC 892-893, RIC X 2723	Julius Severus	462-465	Kalvhagen	Ravlanda	—	1955	—	COMOB MD	?	—	12?
20	Lost 9	—	—	—	?	Julius Nepos	474-477	Ravlanda	Ravlanda	—	Pre-1780	—	COMOB?	?	—	12?
21	LUHM P/6 618	—	—	13a-b, IV	DOC 643, RIC X 930	Zeno	474-491	Gyllebo 129	Ö. Vemmenhög	4,48	1979	20	CONOB, Heta	Single find	—	6
22	LUHM 19672 a	—	—	14a-b, IV	RIC V III, 122	Constantinus II	342-343	—	—	4,39	Pre-1918	20	TR	Single find	Looped	6
23	LUHM 30311/MK 8644	—	—	15a-b, V	RIC IX, 17b	Valentinian I	367-375	—	—	4,44	?	21,2	TROB, C	—	—	6
24	LUHM 30311/MK 8869	—	—	16a-b, V	RIC IX, 2d	Valens	367-375	—	—	4,29	?	21,4	SMN, Epsilon	—	—	12
25	LUHM 30311/MK 9158	—	—	17a-b, V	DOC 265, RIC X 1205	Aradius	395-402	—	—	4,33	?	21,3	COMOB MD	—	—	6
26	LUHM 30311/MK 9181	—	—	18a-b, V	DOC 477, RIC X 510	Marcian	451-457	—	—	4,11	?	21,3	CONOB, Heta	—	Hogery	6
27	LUHM 30311/MK 9182	—	—	19a-b, VI	DOC 517, RIC X 605	Leo I	462-466	—	—	4,45	?	21,7	CONOB, Sigma	—	Pierced	6
28	LUHM 30311/MK 9185	—	—	20a-b, VI	DOC 608, RIC X 1002	Basiliscus	475-476	—	—	4,39	?	21,3	CONOB	—	—	6
29	LUHM 30311/MK 9186	—	—	21a-b, VI	MIBE 4a	Anastasius I	491-518	—	—	4,47	?	21,5	CONOB, Iota	—	—	6
30	LUHM 30311/MK 9197	—	—	22a-b, VI	Imitation	Iustinian I	Post-527	—	—	4,41	?	19,5	COMOB, Alpha	—	—	12
31	LUHM 19672 f/MK 9357	5	F 298	23a-b, VII	DOC 425, RIC X 293	Theodosius II	441-447	Stafsund (Käggelholm)	Ekero	4,39	1783	20	CONOB	Mixed hoard	—	6
32	LUHM 19672 f/MK 9358	5	F 309	24a-b, VII	DOC 416, RIC X 292	Theodosius II	441-447	Stafsund (Käggelholm)	Ekero	4,32	1783	22	CONOB	Mixed hoard	Pierced	6
33	LUHM 19672 f/MK 9363	5	F 595	25a-b, VII	DOC 642, RIC X 910	Zeno	474-491	Stafsund (Käggelholm)	Ekero	4,45	1783	19,7	CONOB, Iota	Mixed hoard	—	6
34	LUHM 30311/MK 8752	182d	F 181	26a-b, VII	DOC 939, RIC X 3312	Julius Nepos	474-477	?	?	4,47	—	20,6	COMOB RV	—	—	12

Table II

Inv #	Weight (g)	Acquisition date	Site	Parish	Object	Strömberg 1963	IK #
SHM 16675	1255,4	1921	Trolleberg	Flackarp	Necklace	35	–
SHM 13651	967,7	1908	Ryd	Skabersjö	Necklace	36	–
SHM 31892	779,9	1987	Kyhl	Östra Hoby	Necklace		
SHM 10756, SHM 10829	334,14	1899	–	Maglarp	Gold rods, finger ring	29	–
SHM 21528	301	1936	Burahus	Ravlanda	Necklace	P. 127, 21	–
SHM 587	176,4	1832	Käglinge	Glostorp	Kolbenarmring	32	–
SHM 2353	173,75	1857	Fjälkestad 3	Fjälkestad	Necklace	–	–
SHM 5986	141	1877	Hammenhög 27	Hammenhög	Gold rod	43	–
LUHM 19061	140	?	Hammenhög boställe	Hammenhög	Gold rod	42	–
SHM 7128	100,3	1882	Åsum 32	Södra Åsum	Gold bracteate	17	296,1
SHM 868	57	1839	Scania	–	Gold bracteate	–	150,1
SHM 71	54,82	1781	Ravlanda	Ravlanda	Gold bracteates	12	143
SHM 3518	45,05	1866	Bärlöv 2	Bärlöv	Gold rod	38	–
SHM 24624, HM 47–58	42,96	1952	Fjärestad 24:4	Fjärestad	Gold rod, l. solidus, bracteates	5	53–56
LUHM 12682	40	?	–	Fru Alstad	Gold rod	40	–
SHM 5297	36,55	1874	Balkåkra 1	Balkåkra	Recycled gold object	64	–
SHM 7143	34,86	1883	Husie	Husie	Gold rings, necklace	P. 131,3	–
SHM 2046	30,83	1854	Klockarbostället	Hyby	Gold spiral	46	–
SHM 12898	28	1906	Virestad 12	Bösarp	Gold rod	39	–
SHM 11934	23,81	1903	Tegelberga	Västra Alstad	Finger ring	31	–
SHM 67	22,2	1674	Väby	Vä	Gold bracteate	20	202
SHM 1373:1	21	1847	Vanneberga	Trolle-Ljungby	Gold rods	–	–
SHM 14020	19,95	1900	Näsby 8	Tolånga	Arm ring	33	–
SHM 2263	18,7	1856	–	Skabersjö	Gold rod	51	–
SHM 3072	18,3	1863	Isternäset	Kristianstad	Finger ring	28	–
SHM 10706	18,1	1898	Sännahed	Kvidinge	Gold rod	47	–
SHM 3657	17,55	1867	Jordberga	Källstorp	Gold rod	48	–
LUHM 25572, LUHM 28048, F 3971	17,7+	1893	Kläggeröd	Slimminge	Gold bracteates, gold rod, brooch		96,1 , 97
SHM 3671	16,15	1867	Skurups by	Skurup	Sword pommel	37	–
SHM 7004	14,32	1882	Claestorp	Bosjöklöster	Pendant	24	–
SHM 9363, BM 1921.11-1-367,368	14,05	1893	Förlöv	Förlöv	Gold bracteates	6	243
SHM 2119	13,55	1855	Böringe	Gustav	Gold bracteates	–	26–28
SHM 3678, SHM 7752	10,49	1885	Skättékärr	Brunnby	Gold bracteate, looped solidus	2	160
SHM 3077	9	1863	–	Nevishög	Gold rod	–	–
LUHM 19659	8	?	Scania	–	Gold rod	–	–
SHM 2180	7,2	1855	Åkarp	Burlöv	Gold bracteates	3	4–5
LUHM 6604	6,53	1830	Tirups hed	Tirup	Gold bracteate		352
SHM 31314, ex-DNM 8643	5,46	1981	Ravlanda	Ravlanda	Gold bracteate	12	144,1
SHM 2791	4,7	1860	Hammenhög	Hammenhög	Gold bracteate	7	267
LUHM 19006	4	?	–	Skabersjö	Gold rod	–	–
LUHM 6606	3,8	?	Fredriksdal	Helsingborg	Gold bracteate		429
LUHM 6605	3,73	1846	Helsingborg	Helsingborg	Gold bracteate		68
SHM 685	3,68	1835	Hermanstorp	Sora Harrie	Gold bracteate		272
SHM 15149	3,42 +	1914	Ravnstorp	Norra Vram	Gold bracteate, finger rings	11	313
LUHM 6607	3,32	1860	Asmundtorp	Trollenäs	Gold bracteate		18
SHM 7050	3,16	1882	–	Väsby	Gold bracteate	21	241,2
–	3,1		Fridhem	Önnestad	Gold bracteate		242
SHM 18023	2,7	1926	Allegården	Hjärnarp	Gold rod	45	–
SHM 7257	2,65	1883	Ven	St. Ibb	Gold bracteate	13	379
München 204/1939	2,56	1939	Dybäck	Östra Vemmenhög	Gold bracteate		235
LUHM 8402	2,26	1871	Allarp	Ask	Gold bracteate		213
LUHM 6323	1,4	?	Fälborn	Helsingborg	Gold bracteate		424
SHM 30	?	1784	Havsbackarna	Ravlanda	Gold bracteate fragments	–	485
SHM 374:V	0,17	1794	Ravlanda	Ravlanda	Gold foil figure	26	–