

STOCKHOLM STUDIES IN LATE ROMAN AND EARLY  
BYZANTINE SOLIDUS COINAGE

Occasional papers 1

# The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Solidi of Småland

Svante Fischer

Stockholm Numismatic Institute



Stockholm  
University

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# ABSTRACT

## The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Solidi of Småland

This paper is a study of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine solidi from the three counties of Jönköping, Kalmar, and Kronoberg in the province of Småland in southern Sweden (see map 1). The catalogue lists 33 gold coins, mostly official solidi but also imitations, including one medallion imitation, from finds and collections in Småland (see table 1). Six of the solidi are published for the first time. In the catalogue, the coins are listed in six categories 1–6 according to their contexts: 1. Preserved hoards, 2. Preserved single finds, 3. Decontextualized coins in public collections with possible contexts, 4. Decontextualized coins without contexts, 5. Reported but lost hoards, 6. Reported but lost single finds. The catalogue classifies the recorded coins according to modern numismatic standards using the DOC, IK, MIBE and RIC typologies. The earliest solidus is an unprovenanced issue for Constantius II kept at Smålands Museum (SM) in Växjö, capital of Kronoberg County. The earliest recorded find from Småland is a late Ravenna issue for Honorius (395–423). The last issue is for Anastasius I (491–518). Ten of the solidi were issued for Theodosius II (408–450). At least four solidi are lost. Two or more solidi belonged to a hoard that is no longer available, while two separate decontextualized solidi offered for sale before 1866 were not acquired by the Swedish Museum of History (SHM). Eight solidi are from a private collection in Småland that was acquired in two parts by the SHM in 1857 and 1878. One of these solidi is currently missing. Four solidi belong to a public collection in Kalmar. These four may well all be decontextualized finds from neighboring Öland. There are four imitations, two of which are die-linked to other imitations. One imitation is a medallion with the equivalent weight of four solidi and a surface with twice the diameter of a regular solidus. 26 official solidi and one imitation are sufficiently intact to allow for a deeper analysis. Five of these solidi are die-linked to solidi in hoards from Öland and Bornholm in Scandinavia, and hoards in Italy and Hungary on the European Continent, while two others can be die-linked to solidi in private ownership.

### Keywords

*Late Roman Empire, Roman solidus, Constantius II, Valentinian III, Scandinavian Migration Period, Småland, Scandinavian archaeology, 19th century antiquarianism, Late Roman and Early Byzantine numismatics.*





## Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to publish the Late Roman and Early Byzantine *solidi* from the province of Småland, in southern Sweden.<sup>1</sup> Småland is one of 25 *landskap* (historical provinces) in Sweden. It is located on the Swedish mainland, west of Öland across the Kalmar Sound. Today, Småland is divided into three administrative regions: Jönköping, Kalmar and Kronoberg. In the Late Iron Age Period, the *landskap* of Småland consisted of thirteen *folkländer*: Aspeland, Finnveden, Handbörd, Kinda, Möre, Njudung, Sevede, Tjust, Tveta, Varend, Vedbo, Vista, and Ydre (Larsson, Johansson & Larsson 2006). In the Early Modern Period, these thirteen were merged into three *län*, or counties: Jönköping to the north, Kalmar to the east, and Kronoberg to the southwest. The capital of Kronoberg County was the episcopal see of Växjö, while the two other *län* were named after their capitals. In addition, the old *landskap* of Öland became part of Kalmar County in 1824 (Carlquist 1947–1955).

## Småland – Numismatic Background

The first report of a *solidus* hoard near Kalmar Castle dates to 1690 (Rudbeck 1702:334), see cat. no. 30–31. But Late Roman and Early Byzantine *solidi* were not the first Roman coins imported to Småland. Given that there are preserved mixed hoards of *solidi* and *denarii* from Bornholm, Gotland and Öland, a brief survey of other Roman coin finds in Småland is in place, see table 2. Finds of Roman silver *denarii* on the Swedish mainland have been discussed by Lind (1981, 2006). Finds of Roman bronze coinage in Sweden have been briefly presented by Westermark & Wiséhn (1983, 1984, 1989), and the northernmost finds have been discussed further by Zachrisson (1993). In Kalmar County, there were two small hoards and three single finds of *denarii* around the ramparts of Kalmar

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Castle and town of Kalmar (Lind 1981, 2006). The lost solidi found in 1690 around Kalmar Castle thus appear to conform to a general pattern, where imported precious metal coinage seem to concentrate on the site of Kalmar Castle. There is every reason to expect long settlement continuity on such a strategic location at the gate of the Kalmar Sound facing Färjestaden and Björnhovda on Öland. Indeed, the Roman silver coins from Småland are all but one from Kalmar County. They mainly belong to the mid- second century and the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161). In addition, there was a hoard of six Roman bronze coins from Lofta Parish, near the preserved solidus hoard of Hässelstad in northern Kalmar County (Westermarck & Wiséhn 1983). From Moheda, deep inland Kronoberg County, is the only current record in Småland of a mixed hoard of bronze coinage and unminted gold, discovered in 1862. It consisted of a Roman bronze sestertius for Vespasian and a piece of gold filigree jewelry, estimated to be from a Roman workshop by Wittlock (1874:80–81, no. 342) who first acquired the hoard in 1866.

The last major inventory of solidi from Småland was that of the American numismatist J. M. Fagerlie (1967:103, 179), who conducted research in Sweden in 1958–1961. Unfortunately, Fagerlie often seems to have skipped over difficulties she encountered or, alternately, she did not receive the help she really needed. Fagerlie would also often content herself with references to the early catalogues of Montelius (1869, 1872) rather than following up on Montelius' sometimes brief or obtuse notes and references by tracking donors or sellers in the SHM accession catalogue. For one, she did not understand that two of her catalogue entries (Fagerlie 1967:103, 205; hoards 19d and 183) belong together, see cat. no. 17–24 (SHM 2345 and SHM 6236). Moreover, in her catalogue (Fagerlie 1967:196, hoards 121a-i) there are several solidi listed either as “not acquired” or with an added reference to Kalmar in parenthesis with a question mark: (*Kalmar?*). It is quite likely that Fagerlie had been informed that these solidi were indeed preserved in Kalmar at some point, but she was never able to see them – probably because they were kept in Kalmar Läroverk and not in the KLM. Of the four solidi transferred from the Kalmar Läroverk Collection to KLM in 2020, it appears likely that the reported but not acquired solidi for Honorius and Pulcheria from Smedby Parish, Öland (Fagerlie 1967:193, hoards 106-107) are indeed the same, because the “not acquired” generally refers to the RAÄ and the SHM and to provincial museums such as the KLM or the SM. Still, it cannot be excluded that the Honorius issue could be the solidus from Mossberga (Fagerlie 1967:187, hoard 74). The solidus for Anthemius in Kalmar Läroverk (cat. no. 27) could be from at least four different reported finds from Öland (Fagerlie 1967:184, 192, 196; hoards 50, 103, 121d and 121e). The issue for Zeno (cat. no. 28) could be identical to a lost coin from Öland (Fagerlie 1967:196, hoard 121 i).

Table 1a. *Solidi of Småland.*

Cat. no.	Inv. no.	F Hoard	F Coin	Plate	DOC/RIC/MIBE/IK, etc.	Ruler	Chronology	Site	Parish	County	Acquis/Discov	Context
1	SHM 12457	18	F 17	Plate I	DOC 735, RIC X 1287	Honorius	408-423	Hässelstad	Lofta	Kalmar	1905	Hoard
2	SHM 12457	18	F 247	Plate I	DOC 379-387, RIC X 257	Theodosius II	431-434	Hässelstad	Lofta	Kalmar	1905	Hoard
3	SHM 12457	18	F 267	Plate I	DOC 379-387, RIC X 257	Theodosius II	431-434	Hässelstad	Lofta	Kalmar	1905	Hoard
4	SHM 12457	18	F 271	Plate I	DOC 414-425, RIC X 291	Theodosius II	441-447	Hässelstad	Lofta	Kalmar	1905	Hoard
5	SHM 12457	18	F 48	Plate II	DOC 849-850, RIC X 2015	Valentinian III	450-455	Hässelstad	Lofta	Kalmar	1905	Hoard
6	SHM 12457	18	F 357	Plate II	DOC 477-484, RIC X 510	Marcian	451-457	Hässelstad	Lofta	Kalmar	1905	Hoard
7	SHM 12457	18	F 489	Plate II	DOC 516-529, RIC X 605	Leo I	462-466	Hässelstad	Lofta	Kalmar	1905	Hoard
8	SHM 12457	18	F 437	Plate II	DOC 516-529, RIC X 630	Leo I	468-473	Hässelstad	Lofta	Kalmar	1905	Hoard
9	SHM 12457	18	F 754	Plate II	Fischer 2021, Type 5b	Imitation	400-500?	Hässelstad	Lofta	Kalmar	1905	Hoard
10	SHM 2085	15	F 322	Plate III	DOC 414-425, RIC X 293	Theodosius II	441-447	Guleboda	Ålmeboda	Kronoberg	1854	Single find
11	SHM 1606	16	F 186	Plate III	DOC 949, RIC X 3417	Romulus Augustus	475-476	Rinkaby	Hossmo	Kalmar	1850	Single find
12	SHM 1192	17	F 11	Plate III	DOC 735, RIC X 1287	Honorius	408-423	Holmäkra Dragonortorp	Hylletofta	Jönköping	1807	Single find
13	SHM 4967	19c	F 162	Plate III	DOC 923-925, RIC X 2831	Anthemius	467-472	Vicinity of Kalmar	Kalmar	Kalmar	1873	Single find
14	KLM 35517	-	-	Plate III	DOC 414-425, RIC X 291	Theodosius II	441-447	Högsrum 1-4	Hålltorp	Kalmar	1968	Single find
15	SHM 20510	-	-	Plate IV	IK 14	Imitation	c. 350-450	Aneby	Bredestad	Jönköping	1934	Single find
16	SHM 673	19a	-	Plate IV	Fischer 2021, Type 1b	Imitation	post-441	Elfström Donation	?	Kalmar	1834	Collection
17	SHM 6236.1	183	F 10	Plate IV	DOC 735, RIC X 1287	Honorius	408-423	Trägårdh Collection	?	Kalmar	pre-1878	Collection
18	SHM 6236.3	183	F 218	Plate IV	DOC 374-376, RIC X 237	Theodosius II	425	Trägårdh Collection	?	Kalmar	pre-1878	Collection
19	SHM 2345	19b	F 36	Plate V	DOC 849-850, RIC X 2014	Valentinian III	450-455	Trägårdh Collection	?	Kalmar	pre-1857	Collection
20	SHM 6236.4	183	F 367	Plate V	DOC 477-484, RIC X 510	Marcian	451-457	Trägårdh Collection	?	Kalmar	pre-1878	Collection
21	SHM 6236.2	183	F 146	Plate V	RIC X 3752, plate coin	Libius Severus	461-465	Trägårdh Collection	?	Kalmar	pre-1878	Collection
22	SHM 6236.5	183	F 403	-	RIC X 605/630?	Leo I	462-466	Trägårdh Collection	?	Kalmar	pre-1878	Collection
23	SHM 2345	19b	F 182	Plate V	RIC X 3213	Julius Nepos	474-477	Trägårdh Collection	?	Kalmar	pre-1857	Collection
24	SHM 2345	19b	F 666	Plate V	MIBE 7	Anastasius I	507-518	Trägårdh Collection	?	Kalmar	pre-1857	Collection
25	KLM dnr 83-134-23	74, 107?	-	Plate VI	RIC X 1326	Honorius	408-423	Kalmar Läroverk	Smedby, Öland?	Kalmar	post-1852	Collection

cont. Table 1a. *Solidi* of Småland.

Cat. no.	Inv. no.	F Hoard	F Coin	Plate	DOC/RIC/MIBE/IJK, etc.	Ruler	Chronology	Site	Parish	County	Acquis/Discov	Context
26	KLM dnr 83-134-23	106?	–	Plate VI	RIC X 288	Pulcheria	441–447	Kalmar Läroverk	Smedby, Öland?	Kalmar	post-1852	Collection
27	KLM dnr 83-134-23	50, 103, 121?	–	Plate VI	DOC 923-925, RIC X 2834fn	Anthemius	467–472	Kalmar Läroverk	Öland?	Kalmar	post-1852	Collection
28	KLM dnr 83-134-23	121 ?	–	Plate VI	RIC X 930	Zeno	476–491	Kalmar Läroverk	Öland?	Kalmar	post-1852	Collection
29	MK 619	–	–	Plate VI	RIC VIII, 100	Constantius II	355–361	Smålands Museum	?	Kronoberg	post-1935	Collection
30	Lost 1, 2+?	19e	–	–	RIC X ?	Theodosius II	402–450	Kalmar Castle	Kalmar	Kalmar	1690	Hoard
31	Lost 2, 2+?	19e	–	–	RIC X ?	Theodosius II	402–450	Kalmar Castle	Kalmar	Kalmar	1690	Hoard
32	Lost 3	19d	–	–	RIC X ?	Theodosius II	402–450	Ekman Collection	?	Kalmar	pre-1869	Collection
33	Lost 4	19d	–	–	RIC X ?	Theodosius II	402–450	Ekman Collection	?	Kalmar	pre-1869	Collection

Table 1b. *Solidi* of Småland.

Cat. no.	Inv. no.	F Hoard	F Coin	Plate	Condition	Die-axis	Diam (max)	Mint	Mintmark	Weight (g)
1	SHM 12457	18	F 17	Plate I	Pierced, worn	12	22	Ravenna	RV COMOB	4,39
2	SHM 12457	18	F 247	Plate I	Mutilated, Pierced, worn	12	22	Constantinople	CONOB, Epsilon	4,34
3	SHM 12457	18	F 267	Plate I	Pierced, fair	12	21	Constantinople	CONOB, Iota	4,37
4	SHM 12457	18	F 271	Plate I	Pierced, worn	12	22	Constantinople	CONOB	4,4
5	SHM 12457	18	F 48	Plate II	Pierced, worn	6	22	Rome	RM COMOB	4,36
6	SHM 12457	18	F 357	Plate II	Fair	12	21	Constantinople	CONOB, Beta	4,3
7	SHM 12457	18	F 489	Plate II	Pierced, fair	12	20,5	Constantinople	CONOB, Heta	4,4
8	SHM 12457	18	F 437	Plate II	pierced, good	12	20,5	Constantinople	CONOB, Delta	4,43
9	SHM 12457	18	F 754	Plate II	Pierced	12	21,5	Continent?	?	4,49
10	SHM 2085	15	F 322	Plate III	Pierced, worn	12	22	Constantinople	COMOB	4,28
11	SHM 1606	16	F 186	Plate III	Fair, pierced, clipped	6	20	Milan/Pavia?	COMOB:	4,49
12	SHM 1192	17	F 11	Plate III	Very worn	6	22	Ravenna	RV COMOB	4,39
13	SHM 4967	19c	F 162	Plate III	Pierced, worn	12	21	Rome	RM	4,43
14	KLM 35517	–	–	Plate III	Worn	12	20	Constantinople	COMOB	4,46

cont. Table 1b. *Solidi of Småland.*

Cat. no.	Inv. no.	F Hoard	F Coin	Plate	Condition	Die-axis	Diam (max)	Mint	Mintmark	Weight (g)
15	SHM 20510	-	-	Plate IV	Worn	6	37,6	Scandinavia?	?	17,61
16	SHM 673	19a	-	Plate IV	Fair	12	20	Scandinavia?	?	4,37
17	SHM 6236.1	183	F 10	Plate IV	Very worn	6	22	Ravenna	RV COMOB	4,45
18	SHM 6236.3	183	F 218	Plate IV	Very worn	12	20	Constantinople	CONOB, Beta	4,16
19	SHM 2345	19b	F 36	Plate V	Worn	6	22	Rome	RM COMOB	4,32
20	SHM 6236.4	183	F 367	Plate V	Worn	12	20	Constantinople	CONOB, Sigma	4,44
21	SHM 6236.2	183	F 146	Plate V	good	12	20	Gaul	RA COMOB	4,36
22	SHM 6236.5	183	F 403	-	Very worn, missing	12	?	Constantinople	CONOB, Beta	4,43
23	SHM 2345	19b	F 182	Plate V	Worn	12	20	Ravenna	RV	4,26
24	SHM 2345	19b	F 666	Plate V	Assay mark on left of obverse	12	20	Constantinople	CONOB, Sigma	4,31
25	KLM dnr 83-134-23	74, 107?	-	Plate VI	Worn	12	20	Ravenna	RV COMOB	4,42
26	KLM dnr 83-134-23	106?	-	Plate VI	Worn	6	21	Constantinople	COMOB	4,12
27	KLM dnr 83-134-23	50, 103, 121?	-	Plate VI	Fair	12	20	Rome	RM * COMOB	4,45
28	KLM dnr 83-134-23	121 ?	-	Plate VI	Worn	5	19	Constantinople	CONOB, Theta	4,42
29	MK 619	-	-	Plate VI	Cut	6	22	Nicomedia	SMNS	4,48
30	Lost 1, 2+?	19e	-	-	-	-	-	Constantinople?	-	-
31	Lost 2, 2+?	19e	-	-	-	-	-	Constantinople?	-	-
32	Lost 3	19d	-	-	-	-	-	Constantinople?	-	-
33	Lost 4	19d	-	-	-	-	-	Constantinople?	-	-

In 2003, the Stockholm Numismatic Institute presented an overall assessment of coin finds from Småland (Jonsson 2003). At the time, Kenneth Jonsson pointed out that Småland ranked fifth among the historical provinces of Sweden in terms of coin finds. Most of these belong to the Early Modern Period, and the “Era of Sweden as a Great Power”. But among over 30,000 find coins from Småland in 2003, Jonsson listed only 18 Roman coins and 13 Late Roman coins. This is an extremely small portion of the total number of find coins. As of 2023, there are records of 18 Roman denarii from Vespasian (69–79) to Septimius Severus (192–211) and 9 Roman bronze coins from Tiberius (14–37) to Philip the Arab (243–248) in Småland, see table 2 with references to Montelius (1869, 1872), Wittlock (1874), Bæhrendtz (1890), Bolin (1926), Lind (1981, 2006), Westermark & Wiséhn (1983, 1984, 1989), and Pontén & Rubensson (2002).<sup>2</sup> In addition, there are 28 recorded solidi and barbarous imitations from Honorius to Anastasius I, see table 1, compiled from Montelius (1869, 1872), Wittlock (1874), Salin (1892), Hauberg (1894), Janse (1922), Bolin (1926), Fagerlie (1967), Westermark (1980, 1983), Kyhlberg (1986). At least eight of these may be from Öland. There is one decontextualized and previously unpublished solidus for Constantius II in the SM, and three barbarous solidus imitations, see the catalogue and table 1 below. In addition, there are four unpublished solidi for Honorius, Pulcheria, Anastasius and Zeno from Kalmar Läroverk that belong to Kalmarsunds gymnasieförbund now kept at the Kalmar County Museum (KLM). These four are probably all from Öland, however. The total figure for unminted gold (including Bronze Age, Roman Iron Age and Medieval Period finds) from Småland is *c.* 625 g, of which only 106.67 g can be dated to the Migration Period, see table 6. Two years prior to his assessment of Småland, Jonsson (2001) presented the corresponding figures from Öland. He then listed a total of 18,400 find coins of which 263 were solidi. As of 2023, there are at least 365 solidi from Öland (and the real figure is presumably far higher, given the presence of specific solidus types in several Swedish coin collections which probably hail from Öland). The figure for unminted gold from Öland in 1980 was *c.* 9,000 g (Herschend 1980:214–217, Fig 31–32). These are some hard quantitative data from which there is no escape.

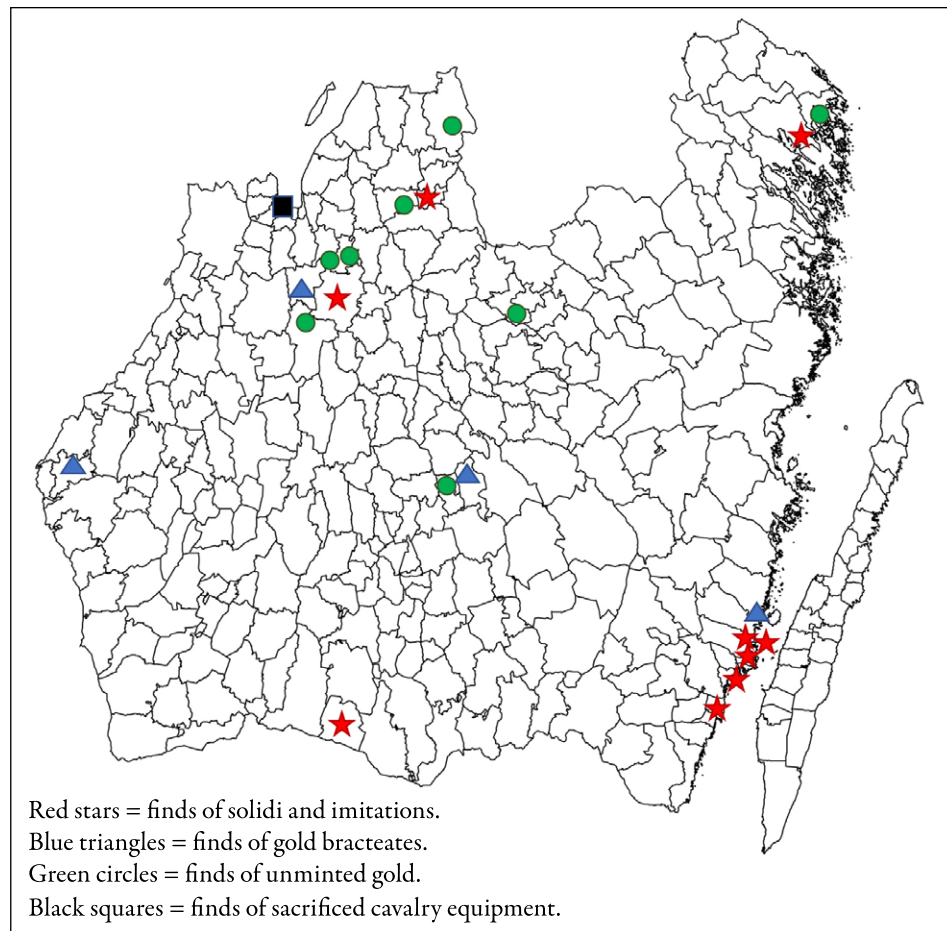
There are almost twice as many recorded find coins from Småland as from Öland. But Öland has more than 14 times as many solidi and more than 14 times as much unminted gold than Småland does. The ratio is quite unlikely to be a coincidence. Rather, the tens of thousands of recorded coin finds from other periods must be considered evidence in favor of an interpretation that few solidi and little unminted gold reached Småland in the fifth and sixth centuries. Had

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<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Lennart Lind for providing much of the data in table 2.

Table 2. Other Roman coin finds in Småland.

<b>Hoard 1. Varvsholmen, City of Kalmar, Kalmar County. Discovered 1918.</b>			
SHM 16085. Lind 1981, cat. no. 265. 5 denarii.			
Coin	RIC	Ruler	Chronology
Denarius	91 or 101	Vespasian	69–79
Denarius	182	Hadrian	125–128
Denarius	204	Antoninus Pius	151–152
Denarius	282	Marcus Aurelius	172–173
Denarius	686	Faustina II	161–176
<b>Hoard 2. Kalmar Hospital, City of Kalmar, Kalmar County. Discovered 1908.</b>			
KLM. Lind 2006, cat. no. 261. 7 denarii. Two identified.			
Coin	RIC	Ruler	Chronology
Denarius	167	Antoninus Pius	147–148
Denarius	377	Septimus Severus	
<b>Hoard 3. Nygård, Lofta Parish, Kalmar County. Discovered in the 1840's.</b>			
SHM 5291. 3 sestertii, 2 assi, 1 dupondius. Westermark & Wiséhn 1983.			
Coin	RIC	Ruler	Chronology
Ass	40	Tiberius	35–37
Ass	69	Claudius	42–44
Dupondius	1232	Marcus Aurelius	177–178
Sestertius	M Aurelius 1690	Faustina II	161–176
Sestertius	Commodus 657	Marcus Aurelius	180
Sestertius	171a	Philip	243–248
Single Find 1. Ramparts of Kalmar Castle, City of Kalmar, Kalmar County. Discovered 1932. KLM 11536. Lind 2006, Cat. No. 262. Denarius. Antoninus Pius, RIC 200c or 216a, issued 151–152.			
Single Find 2. Ramparts of Kalmar Castle, City of Kalmar, Kalmar County. Discovered before 1918. KLM. Lind 2006, Cat. no. 263. Denarius.			
Single Find 3. Ängsö, City of Kalmar, Kalmar County. Discovered before 1890. KLM. Bæhrendtz 1890, Cat. No. 22. Lind 2006, Cat. no. 260. Denarius. Antoninus Pius, issued 138–161.			
Single Find 4. City of Kalmar, Kalmar County. Discovered before 1918. KLM. Lind 1981. Cat. No. 177. Lind 2006, Cat. no. 264. Denarius. Antoninus Pius, issued 138–161.			
Single Find 5. Bottorp, Ljungby Parish, Kalmar County. Discovered 1885. KLM. Bæhrendtz 1890, Cat. No. 26. Lind 2006, Cat. no. 266. Denarius. Antoninus Pius, issued 138–161.			
Single Find 6. Norra Hagby, Kvarnbacken, Hagby Parish, Kalmar County. Discovered before 1979. KLM 24298. Sestertius. Hadrian, issued 117–138.			
Single find 7. Vitteryd. Moheda Parish, Kronoberg County. Discovered in 1866. SHM 9041:29. Wittlock 1874, no. 342. Sesterius. Vespasian, RIC 437, issued in 71.			
Grave Find 1. RAÄ 10 Gunnarstorp "Hästhagen", Söderåkra Parish, Kalmar County. Discovered in 1998. KLM 39170. Denarius. Hadrian, issued 119–122. Pontén & Rubensson 2002. Lind 2006, Cat. No. 267.			



*Map 1. Parish map of Småland. Illustration by the author. Base map Stockholm Numismatic Institute.*

there been more solidi or unminted gold finds, they would have been discovered and recorded like the other coin finds in Småland, the solidus finds on Öland and Gotland, or the numerous finds of unminted gold in Scania, Södermanland, and Västergötland (Fischer 2020b). Metcalf (1995, 2010:570–572) has argued that a hypothetical fur export from Småland via Öland could explain the solidi on Öland, while providing no material evidence from Småland in favor of this interpretation. Such arguments for widespread coin circulation or a monetized market economy in the Scandinavian Migration Period find no support from the gathered data in this paper.

## Archival Records and State Antiquarianism

Are recorded finds and preserved solidi from Småland representative of the past solidus import or not? To answer this question, one must understand that Sweden is very much a centralist state with a long tradition of authoritarian rule from the capital of Stockholm ever since 1523 when Gustavus I Vasa was crowned



king. This has considerable implications for the study of solidus finds in various Swedish provinces. Paragraph 11 of the Swedish antiquarian law, previously known as *Lag om fornminnen* (1942:350), once stipulated that it was the antiquarian administration of *Riksantikvarieämbetet* (RAÄ), that is, the National Board of Heritage in Stockholm, that had the last word on what was to be done with ancient coins and precious metal finds. The top-down chain of command from Stockholm to provincial administrators means that if there are archival records for a given find, these usually begin with the SHM accession catalogue. As a result, there are few useful archival records in provincial archives and museums. The normal procedure in accordance with the law was for the RAÄ to pay the gold value plus 1/8 for any gold object handed in to the SHM that was considered important. Note here that the international gold price remained almost constant throughout the nineteenth century after the Napoleonic wars. One troy ounce of 24 carat gold in 1833 cost *c.* 18.93 British Pounds. The price in 1905 was *c.* 18.96 British Pounds, a negligible increase. See also the discussion of the accession of gold from Öland in Herschend (1980), who demonstrated that reported finds from Öland decreased in the 1920's and 1930's when the gold value increased, and finders thought they could get more money by selling finds to local goldsmiths than to the RAÄ.

In the case of Scania, and the LUHM coin cabinet which at times was allowed to act independently of Stockholm, it is quite clear that the current picture is skewed. The preserved solidi from Scania are not representative of the solidus import (Fischer 2022a). In the case of Småland which was under far tighter control from Stockholm, it is painfully evident that the centralist antiquarian system was at times quite deficient. Local collectors had no qualms about abusing the system and often got away with this behavior. A quick look at the SHM accession catalogue therefore raises the question if the system of rewards for handing in precious metal finds was working. The responsible antiquarians in Stockholm were three consecutive holders of the office of *riksantikvarie* (director of the RAÄ): Bror Emil Hildebrand (1806–1884), his son Hans Hildebrand (1842–1913), and their collaborator Oscar Montelius (1843–1921). All of them were knowledgeable about the market value or rarity of certain solidus types and they were not under any obligation to follow a policy of acquiring every reported precious metal coin unless they wanted to. A more profound study of the individual accession records of find coins in the SHM reveals that they did not purchase all solidi from Småland that were offered to them, see cat. no. 32–33, two common issues for Theodosius II that were rejected. The donation of an imitation by Georg Elfström, cat. no. 16, merited a reward of 7 Riksdaler and 44 Skilling in 1834. Cat. no. 12 for Honorius was acquired at a price of 8 Riksdaler in 1845, and cat. no. 10 for Theodosius II for a lower sum of 7 Riksdaler in 1854.

By contrast, the Hildebrands sometimes paid more than was required by law to acquire what they considered to be rare *solidi*. Cat. no. 11 for Romulus Augustus was acquired for 12 Riksdaler in 1850 from O. C. Ekman, the very same man who had his offer of the two *solidi* (cat. no. 32–33) rejected even if this would not have cost the government more than an additional 16 Riksdaler at the most. In the case of cat. no. 13 for Anthemius in 1873, the reward was raised from 12 Riksdaler and 17 Öre to a total of 16 Riksdaler. Finally, the Hässelstad hoard with 8 genuine but common *solidi* and 1 one rare imitation was acquired for 150 Kronor in 1905, a rather generous sum. The two Trägårdh collections (SHM 2345 and SHM 6236) contained many other objects besides *solidi* and it is therefore not possible to deduce the exact price for the *solidi*. In sum, the centralist system was working but with considerable deficiencies in terms of archival records and acquisition procedures. The latter were motivated primarily by the desire to fill lacunae in the systematic coin collection at the KMK.

## Public Coin Cabinets – Mills of Decontextualization

An important feature that needs to be reckoned with in the study of *solidus* finds from Swedish provinces is the nineteenth century antiquarian process of decontextualization. Find coins have often been deprived of important information in terms of provenance and archaeological context (Fischer 2020a:5, 2022a:14). This decontextualization process was an unfortunate byproduct of the overriding urge to create typological and systematic collections by a new generation of antiquarians led Bror Emil Hildebrand, Hans Hildebrand, and Oscar Montelius. Their approach to numismatics was heavily influenced by new trends from the European Continent, not least the first important numismatic catalogues of the Royal Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen, Denmark, notably C. Ramus (1816), but also the archaeological typologies of the great Danish scholar Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788–1865), who served as a mentor to Bror Emil Hildebrand.

The most common type of decontextualization in Sweden occurred in public coin cabinets, where find coins were not seldom (correctly) organized according to provenance but subsequently rearranged in systematic collections, a process in which the provenance was often lost. Cases in point are the coin cabinets of LUHM and the KMK under the management of Bror Emil Hildebrand, the first modern Swedish numismatist. By comparison, there were relatively few large private collections that that included *solidi* at this time, the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection being a rare case in point (Fischer 2020a). The decontextualization process would also include exchanges with other coin cabinets and collections. Ironically, the archival and historical research in Sweden would

soon go in the opposite direction under the leadership of *riksarkivarie* (director of the National Archives) Emil Hildebrand (1848–1916), a second son of Bror Emil Hildebrand. Origin, even if chaotic, was to become more important rather than systematic order. It was Emil Hildebrand (1903) who successfully introduced “the provenance principle” as the norm for all government archives and to which eventually other antiquarian institutions would follow suit. Still, this great intellectual remains in relative obscurity compared to his famous father and older brother (Norberg 2018).

The two most important numismatic collections in Småland are the coin cabinet of Växjö Gymnasium, later renamed Växjö Högre Allmänna Läroverk (Rundquist 1928–35; Sundberg, & Thor 1987), and the Kalmar Läroverk Collection (Baehrendtz 1884). The former has since been transferred to the SM, while the latter has recently been transferred and donated to the KLM. The coin cabinets in Kalmar and Växjö belonged to a network of provincial public coin collections of schools and churches all over Sweden and Finland (Hildebrand 1935, Hedlund 2012, 2023). The collection custodians were occasionally aware of the background of the find coins, as is the case with a solidus for Zeno from Helgö in the Mälars Valley kept at Borgå Gymnasium in Porvoo, Finland (Fischer 2020a:24). The custodians of the provincial coin collections traded coins with other custodians and/or private persons, but the collections were also frequently subject to theft. Later in the nineteenth century, especially the Växjö Collection expanded through many donations. The Växjö custodians were involved in several exchanges with other collections, notably that of Strängnäs (Hedlund 2012, 2023), which had the state herald and co-founder of the Swedish Numismatic Society, baron August W. Stiernstedt (1812–1880) as one of its main patrons (Fischer 2020a). The current scientific value of the individual collections remains uneven as far as solidus coinage is concerned. This has recently been demonstrated by means of comparative studies of the decontextualized solidi in the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection at the University of Texas in Austin (Heilborn 1882) and the Lund University History Museum (LUHM), see Fischer (2020a, 2022a). Some of the provincial coin collections could harbor important coin hoards or single finds, often from other regions of Sweden and Finland.

Växjö Gymnasium is the fifth oldest senior high school of Sweden, founded in 1643. This institution edified local young men who were to study theology at either of the two universities of Lund and Uppsala. In 1792, the first donation of coins came from the private collection of Gustav Adolph Modéer (1739–1799). This was not an isolated gift. On the contrary, Modéer was an active coin collector, donator and antiquarian whose collection of gold finds from Scania can be traced in the SHM and the LUHM (Fischer 2022a:6). The coin

collection in Växjö was proof of erudition, scholarly connections, and could be employed to demonstrate government loyalism, too. The Växjö bishops would make sure to show the collection whenever there were prominent visitors from Stockholm, notably the young king Gustavus IV Adolphus in 1795 (Sundberg 1987:10).

The Växjö Collection was subject to substantial coin thefts in 1803–1804 (Sundberg 1987:11–14). Over 800 coins, many of them of gold and silver, were stolen and sold to goldsmiths in Växjö who melted down the coins. Two students of Växjö Gymnasium were proven guilty of having spent the acquired money on trips abroad. One of the coin thieves, Jonas Birger Elgmarck, the son of the assistant vicar in the Växjö Cathedral, was apprehended while the other, Sandberg, a farmer's son from Sandsjö Parish, managed to escape abroad with a large sum of money collected by parishioners who wanted to help the culprits (Rundquist 1928:19–21). The privileged background did not help Elgmarck. On the contrary, the impressive coin collection was considered the pride of the Växjö bishopric. Elgmarck should have known better. In accordance with the stern Swedish penal code "*enom till straff, androm till varnagel*" (one's punishment is another's warning), the coin thief Elgmarck was first forced to sit with a placard explaining his crime around his neck during mass, ten consecutive Sundays in a row. He was then brought in front of Växjö Courthouse, chained to the pole of shame, and flogged by the local executioner, see the detailed account of Rundquist (1928:11–28). It cannot be excluded that also solidi were among the gold coins stolen from the Växjö Collection and melted down by goldsmiths.

In 1911, the celebrated star soprano Kristina Nilsson (1843–1921) retired to Växjö. She later donated her coin collection to the SM. Nilsson's coin collection was meant for the display of opulence, but it was also a savings investment including contemporary American gold coinage acquired during Nilsson's successful tours in the United States. In 1935, the coins in Växjö Gymnasium were transferred to SM, because the school director felt that the collection was no longer needed. In 1965, there was another theft from the coin cabinet inside the SM. The thief, a teenager who mainly stole large silver coins from the Early Modern Period, was apprehended and later dispatched to juvenile detention in northern Sweden. Today, some 40,000 coins belong to the collection (Sundberg 1987:40). The archival records of the Växjö Collection were first discussed by Rundquist (1928–1935), and then Dahlgren (1971) while more recent studies on find coins kept in the SM have been published by Sundberg & Thor (1987).

In Kalmar County, the earliest written records of Kalmar Läroverk, a venerable educational institution date to the 1430's. The coin collection was formed after a donation of 255 coins and medals by the Kalmar bishop Martin Georg

Wallenstråle (1733-1807) in 1795 (Bæhrendtz 1884:3). The earliest handwritten catalogue of Swedish coins and medals dates to 1807. In 1847, Bror Emil Hildebrand compiled a hand-written list of all Roman coins in the Kalmar Läroverk collection: "*Conspectus Numorum Antiquorum qui in Museo Reg. Gymnasii Calmariensis adservantur*". There are no solidi in the list, however. Three decades later, the new systematic and typological approach to antiquarian studies became manifest by one man alone, Fabian Julius Bæhrendtz (1849–1920). Originally from Blekinge, Bæhrendtz moved to Kalmar from Lund in 1880, assuming the leadership of Kalmar Läroverk. Bæhrendtz had served as assistant professor of History at Lund University but went on to manage a wide array of responsibilities in Kalmar. Besides serving as chairman and/or inspector of all senior high school boards in town, he formed the local antiquarian society Kalmar Läns Fornminnesförening and in 1885 created the KLM in Kalmar Castle. Even though his main research interest belonged to the field of Early Modern History, he published on the Early Iron Age archaeology in Kalmar County (Bæhrendtz 1890) but also on the renaissance architecture of Kalmar Castle and the baroque of the Kalmar Cathedral (Lindqvist 1920:548). His ability to manage antiquarian matters enabled him to keep many objects in the KLM that were not reported to the SHM or the RAÄ.

The Kalmar Läroverk Collection was kept under Bæhrendtz' supervision, but he only published a first volume of the coin collection listing Swedish coins (Bæhrendtz 1884). This volume follows the 1807 handwritten catalogue but has several interesting features, notably a list of 20 donors (Bæhrendtz 1884:3). Two features are striking about this list of donors. First, they are almost all senior clergy, military officers, or teachers. Second, the known antiquarian collectors from Småland and Kalmar County who sold solidi to the SHM in the nineteenth century are all notably absent from the roster. The Kalmar Läroverk Collection cabinet also came to include the denarius hoard from Hulterstad Parish on southeastern Öland (Lind 1981, Fischer 2020a). It was the contemporary logic of keeping systematic coin collections for educational purposes in schools rather than in museums that caused Bæhrendtz to keep his own school stocked with imported Roman precious metal coinage from Öland while he dispatched all other prehistoric objects to the KLM. In 2020, the remaining coins from Kalmar Läroverk were transferred to the KLM. In the process, four fifth-century solidi were identified by Harald Nilsson of the Uppsala University Coin Cabinet (UUM). In 2023, Kalmarsunds gymnasieförbund formally donated the Kalmar Läroverk Collection to the KLM. The same year, the KLM generously handed over new digital documentation on four solidi, cat. no. 25–28 to the author, with the explicit purpose of having the solidi published in this paper.

## Clerics and Capitalists – Collectors and Donors

In addition to the nineteenth century public coin collections in Kalmar and Växjö there were circles of learned antiquarians and collectors in Småland, some of whom made important donations to the SHM, KLM, and SM, while others preferred to sell at a profit. The fate of these collectors, donors, and their families over time mirrors much of the general historical development, but also how our collective understanding of past material culture changes over time. Until 1866, Sweden had four estates in parliament: nobles, clerics, burghers, and free peasants. The three lower estates stood the most to gain from acquiring higher learning. With the advent of industrial capitalism and urban growth in Sweden, there were vast changes in how ancient precious metal coinage was understood, collected, and donated to the museums and public collections. Here, one can trace the shift from landowning nobles via the politically well-connected clergy to urbanized merchants and industrial capitalists.

An important early collector of numismatic literature in Småland was the ethnologist and compiler of the medieval Swedish diplomatarium, Leonard Fredrik Rääf (1786–1872) who was elected to the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (KVHAA) in 1828. One of Bror Emil Hildebrand's closest associates, Rääf worked mainly as a paleographer at *riksarkivet* (the National Archive) in Stockholm. Rääf stands out as the quintessential learned reactionary, an authoritarian conservative noble landowner (Rääf 1856–75). Rääf held a literary salon at his manor and was a prominent member of *Götiska Förbundet* (the League of Geats), a national romanticist organization. In his own lifetime he was known as *Ydre-drotten* (“the petty king of the *folkland* Ydre”). As a prominent member of parliament in 1840–1851, Rääf was vehemently opposed to the encroaching railroads of industrial capitalism. He would live to see his dream shattered. By 1865, the railroad had reached Växjö in the heartland of Kronoberg County. There is currently no evidence that Rääf owned our collected *solidi* himself.

A generation younger, and definitely part of the burgeoning capitalist society so resented by Rääf, Johan August Zakarias Wittlock (1828–1910) served as medical doctor to the Vislanda-Lammhult railroad line in 1866–1873, and then at the Växjö garrison with the Kronoberg 11th Infantry Regiment in 1873–1887. Proprietor of one of the new dominant buildings on Växjö main street, Wittlock was a passionate amateur numismatist and archaeologist of the modern cosmopolitan type. Wittlock published a study of the earliest archeological finds from the *folkland* of Väreend, which is still of scientific value (Wittlock 1874). He was elected a corresponding member of the KVHAA in 1891. In 1892, Wittlock handed over a bronze sestertius for Vespasian, the gold bracteate IK 102, and a golden filigree cross pendant to the SHM in a larger donation (SHM 9041). He

also donated finds to the SM. Wittlock was a friend of the leading antiquarian authorities of his own time, archaeologist Oscar Montelius, and runologist George Stephens (1813–1895). Another important acquaintance of Wittlock was Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius (1818–1889) a retired career diplomat who became an amateur ethnologist of the *Virdar*, the ancient people of Varend *folkland* (Hyltén-Cavallius 1863). Hyltén-Cavallius also founded the SM in 1867. A member of the KVHAA from 1883, Hyltén-Cavallius collected Migration Period finds: a cruciform brooch, first published by Wittlock (1874, Pl 10, no. 3), was later donated by Hyltén-Cavallius to the SM.

The accession records of solidi to the SHM highlight the slow decline of the *ancien régime* and the advent of industrial capitalism, followed in more detail below. First, one of the solidus imitations (cat. no. 16) was donated to the SHM in 1834 by Anders Georg Elfström (1784–1879). Elfström was a relatively prominent vicar, residing near Mönsterås in Kalmar County (Olsson 1950:294). In Stockholm, he served several terms as a conservative member of the clerical estate in parliament in 1828–1829, 1834–1835, and 1844–1845. Elfström followed the example of Bishop Wilhelm Faxe and other prominent church functionaries in Lund by donating solidi to government institutions (Fischer 2022a:6). The donation is likely to have coincided with Elfström's second parliamentary sojourn in Stockholm. It was probably meant both as a sign of philanthropy and an expression of *esprit du corps* of an aspiring statesman.

In the period 1828–1850, antiquarianism in Kalmar County was dominated by the provincial doctor Otto Christian Ekman (1791–1866). Ekman studied at Lund University together with the *riksantikvarie* Johan Gustaf Liljegren (1791–1837) and had managed to gain the latter's confidence. It thus came that the somewhat shady private collector Ekman served 1828–1834 as the local representative of the *riksantikvarie* in Kalmar County. Ekman often confused his own love for collecting with his official government mission. It must be emphasized that Ekman was repeatedly accused of stealing ancient objects by both Liljegren and his successor Bror Emil Hildebrand. Ekman chose to resign his commission in 1834 rather than admitting to having abused his position, but this did not stop Ekman from going on as before. A grandson of Bror Emil Hildebrand, the historian and genealogist Bengt Hildebrand (1950:149) describes Ekman's acquisition method as follows: "*E. höll under sin ölandstid en särskild uppköpare på landsbygden, en båtsman, som vandrade från stuga till stuga. Varje lördag avlämnade han till E. en fullpackad säck antikviteter av alla slag; även efter E:s förflyttning till Kalmar inkom båtsmannen allt emellanåt med en rik skörd.*" (During his tenure on Öland, Ekman kept a special buyer for the countryside, an enlisted boatswain who went from cottage to cottage. Every Saturday, he would deliver a full sack of all kinds of antiquities; even after

Ekman's transfer to Kalmar, the boatswain would occasionally show up with a rich harvest.) It was probably no coincidence that it was Ekman who sold the rare solidus for Romulus Augustus (cat. no. 11) from Rinkaby in Hossmo Parish to the SHM in 1850. Ekman had further collections that were acquired by the SHM in 1846 and 1853 (SHM 1304, SHM 1985). Montelius (1869:18, no. 127) specifically mentions that two solidi (cat. no. 32–33) offered for sale by Ekman were not acquired by the SHM. As was also the case with the Karlskrona circle of antiquarian collectors in Blekinge and some of the amateur antiquarians in Lund, Ekman turned to Ch. J. Thomsen in Copenhagen to have a professional evaluation of his finds after having been reprimanded by the central government in Stockholm (Hildebrand 1950:149).

In 1873, the Kalmar town merchant Johan Gottfried Leopold Meurling (1837–1878) handed in a coin for Anthemius (cat. no. 13), discovered in a field in the vicinity of the town of Kalmar, to the SHM. Meurling's family were prominent noblemen and vicars in Kristedala parish from 1582 to 1953 (Elgenstierna 1925–1936). Meurling's branch of the family had turned to trade already in the late eighteenth century in Figeholm. By the early nineteenth century they had settled in the town of Kalmar instead. But the by far most important group of collectors in Kalmar County after Ekman was the Trägårdh family, who in many ways were his direct successors.

In 1857, three solidi (cat. no. 19, 23–24) for Valentinian III, Julius Nepos, and Anastasius I (SHM 2345) were sold to the SHM by the industrialist Otto Emanuel Trägårdh (1814–1872), owner of the Läggevi gunpowder factory in Fliseryd Parish, Kalmar County, some 17 km inland from Mönsterås. In 1866 and 1868, he also donated coins to a local senior high school, Oskarshamns Elementarläroverk, founded in 1858. In 1878, his oldest son, Johan Otto Trägårdh (1841–1883) sold another four official solidi (cat. 17–18, 20–21) for Honorius, Theodosius II, Marcian, Leo I, and a Gallic solidus imitation (cat. no. 22) for Libius Severus (SHM 6236). Salin (1892:118) referred to the new coins as coming from the Trägårdh collection. A relative outsider, the American scholar Fagerlie (1967) failed to grasp Salin's comment and thus ignored the connection between the two catalogue entries SHM 2357 and SHM 6236. Instead, Fagerlie (1967:205) incorrectly classified the five later solidi as "stray finds" from unknown find places in Sweden, while arguing that the three first solidi were from Kalmar County.

In 1881, the estate of a second son, Claes Emil Trägårdh (1845–1880), sold a vast collection (SHM 9816) that consisted of no less than 976 Iron Age and Medieval Period artifacts to the SHM via the amateur antiquarian Emanuel Thure



Cederström (1848–1920).<sup>3</sup> This impressive collection was partially assembled from an earlier collection belonging to O. C. Ekman. The parts of Ekman's collection that were acquired by the Trägårdh family included many finds from Öland, not least from sites with many recorded solidi such as Holmetorp in Algutsrum Parish and Gunnarstorp in Norra Möckleby Parish. There is thus every reason to argue for a common background for several of the eight solidi owned by the Trägårdh family. Just like Ekman, the Trägårdh family presumably knew from where to acquire both solidi and other antiquities in Kalmar County – and Öland seems to have been the best hunting ground. They also knew perfectly well that solidi were valuable, and they offered them for sale to the SHM on both occasions rather than donating them. The only major numismatic difficulty in the Trägårdh collection is the solidus for Anastasius I, cat. no. 24, which does not fit well into the Ölandic solidus horizon, as only one other solidus for Anastasius I is known from Mellböda on the northern tip of the island (Fagerlie 1967:183, no. 650, hoard 47c). As time progressed, the Trägårdh gun powder factory was becoming less profitable, not least since the government cancelled the contract with the Trägårdh family in 1872. Nevertheless, the Trägårdh family continued to operate the factory until 1890 when it was shut down. The coin sale in 1878 was probably caused by the need to capitalize on other investments. By 1900 the family had moved permanently to Stockholm, and the old factory compound was left to decay. The Läggevi mansion and the gun powder factory archives were destroyed in a fire in 1905 (Tärnfors 1979).

The nineteenth century collectors and donors in Småland were not all cast in the same mold and their motives appear to have changed over time. The philanthropical vicars, senior teachers and military officers who donated to the Kalmar Läroverk Collection were not the same people as those who sold solidi to the SHM. Among the latter, the medical doctor Ekman was clearly driven by an insatiable passion to gather precious things from the past. By contrast, the clergyman Elfström may have used an ancient coin to appear as a generous donor to further his political career. Others, like Trägårdh family, were first and foremost capitalists. By the early twentieth century, all these categories of sellers and donors had begun to disappear from the entry records of the SHM accession catalogues. Swedish society had entered a new era. The reforms of the *riksarkivarie* Emil Hildebrand in the National Archives began to have effect elsewhere in the state apparatus (Norberg 2018). The general attitude towards antiquarianism and systematic collections changed accordingly. This becomes particularly evident in the case of the preserved Hässelstad hoard discussed below.

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3 I am grateful to André Nordin for providing me with additional information about Ekman and the Trägårdh family and their collections.

## Preserved Hoards (Coins 1–9)

There are at least two solidus hoards in Småland, one from Kalmar Castle discovered in 1690 (cat. no. 30-31), and one from Hässelstad in Lofta Parish discovered in 1905 (cat. no 1-9). Only the latter is preserved. We will never know the full extent of the solidus hoard from Kalmar Castle. In addition, the eight solidi in the Trägårdh Collection (cat. no. 18-24) and the four solidi in the Kalmar Läroverk Collection (cat. no. 25-28) could theoretically come from dispersed hoards discovered on Öland, but this cannot be conclusively proven. By contrast, the Hässelstad hoard is important for several reasons. First, the hoard provides us with an unusual stratigraphy and a possible explanation for other pierced coins. There are sparse records of stratigraphy in the solidus find material in general. This is unfortunate, because it seems likely that in most cases there must have been some conscious structuring of solidi prior to their deposit. The by far best example of a preserved conscious hoarding stratigraphy is the Como hoard (Facchinetti 2022:43–62), followed by the two Funglsangsager hoards from Bornholm (Horsnæs 2002), and the Bostorp hoard from Öland. In the latter case, the position of the finds was reconstructed from memory for a later photograph (Hofrén 1952). One solidus from the Hässelstad hoard is die-linked to the Como hoard, and the stratigraphic comparison therefore becomes relevant.

The Hässelstad hoard was discovered by four workers in a gravel pit in Lofta Parish in northern Kalmar County, just south of the road between Lofta and Söderköping. Instead of destroying the context, the finders immediately stopped digging when they found the solidi and called for assistance. Help soon arrived in the shape of no other than Hans Niklas Teodor Hansson (1859–1918), director of the nearby Norra Kalmar Läns Folkhögskola och Lantmannaskola in Gamleby. Hansson happened to be a quite competent field archeologist and land surveyor who dispatched many reports and objects to the RAÄ and SHM throughout his career (his most famous excavation being that of the runic stone cist of Kylver on Gotland). The hoard was thus described in detail by Hansson in a concise and clear report in neat handwriting. The report reveals that Hansson personally knew the find manager at the SHM, Oscar Almgren (1869–1945), later professor of archaeology at Uppsala University. There is every reason to believe that Hansson sought to be professional in his communication with Almgren. The report shows that the Hässelstad hoard was hidden away at a depth of one Swedish foot (0.2969 m). There were no traces of burials or settlement near the hoard. It was organized in two parts, with seven pierced coins deposited in one pile (one Honorius, three Theodosius II, two Leo I and one imitation) and the two intact coins (Valentinian III and Marcian) in another.

## Preserved Single finds (Coins 10–15)

The single finds were found during spring plowing or on road works. The earliest preserved find is from Holmåkra Dragontorp, discovered as early as 1807 but only acquired in 1845, after having changed hands a few times. Then followed finds in the mid- to late nineteenth century, a period of agricultural expansion in Småland. The most recent find dates to 1968. To my knowledge there has been no subsequent metal detecting at the find spots. It thus remains an open question if they really are but single finds or if they could belong to larger contexts.

## Decontextualized Solidi (Coins 16–29)

There are several problems with the decontextualized solidi in both the private and the public collections. First, a comparison with the preserved finds and accession catalogue records shows that there has been a selection in both cases. Find coins that were offered for sale to public coin cabinets and collectors were not acquired if they belonged to frequent types or if they were pierced or too worn. Table 1 demonstrates clearly how there are more rare solidi in the collections, often in fair or good condition, and that none of them are pierced. They are thus not necessarily representative of the find material from Småland. Still, this survey has showed that two donations of decontextualized solidi derive from the same Trägårdh family and that this was also understood back in the late nineteenth century (Salin 1892). It appears likely that many of the decontextualized coins in the various collections from Småland hail from Öland rather than the Swedish mainland.

## Unprovenanced Solidus (Coin 29)

The unprovenanced solidus, cat. no. 29, was possibly offered as a gift to SM sometime after 1935.<sup>4</sup> The coin MK 619 (cat. no. 29) was identified as a solidus issued for Constantius II by the author during a routine search on the Digitalt Museum website in May 2022. On the website it was presented as being an issue for Constantine I (306–337). The coin was easily identified as a RIC VIII 100, officina Sigma. It was issued in Nicomedia in 355–361, celebrating the fortieth vota of Constantius II (337–361), who was anointed Caesar by his father Constantine I already in 324. SM in Växjö and the amateur numismatist Sonny Serrestam in Kalmar were duly contacted. Serrestam agreed to travel to Växjö, where he measured and weighed the coin in June 2022. The question of

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<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Sonny Serrestam for much of this information.

provenance has not been resolved. While the coin is permanently exhibited in the SM coin cabinet there is no record of it in the SM accession catalogue nor in the published history of the Våxjö Collection (Rundquist 1928, Dahlgren 1971, Sundberg & Thor 1987). There is an unprovenanced coin for Constantius II in the LUHM (Fischer 2019a, Fischer 2022a) and solidus hoards and single finds of solidi for Constantius II in Gudme, Funen in Denmark. Similarly, there is a recorded find of a solidus for Valens from Nicomedia in Medelpad, Sweden (Fischer 2019b). There are no recorded finds of RIC VIII 100, however. Cat. no. 29 was issued in a relatively small series from a mint that was by no means the dominant in the eastern half of the Empire. There are many problems with the coin. First, the condition is no indication of provenance. There are traces around the rim that could suggest that it has once been fitted inside a circular suspension mechanism to be worn as a pendant.<sup>5</sup>

As of 2023, there is a total of 65 fourth century solidus finds in Scandinavia. Their respective condition ranges from very fine to very worn. Among these, there are finds of fourth century solidi from Nicomedia in Scandinavia that are in very fine condition (Fischer 2019b:17, Fig 8–9). There are no die-linked solidi of this type from archaeological finds, all are decontextualized museum objects or items from auctions. Fourth, there is an even earlier issue for Constantius II from the Nicomedia mint in the late fifth century Casa delle Vestali hoard in Rome (Ungaro 1985:77, no. 1) which shows that it is impossible to ascertain for how long the coin may have circulated. In short, even if the solidus in SM is a relatively rare fourth century issue and in fine condition, it cannot be excluded that it is an unrecorded find coin from the fifth century solidus import to Småland.

## Lost Hoards and Finds (Coins 30–33)

There is a minimum of four lost solidi in Småland. At least two solidi for Theodosius II (cat. no. 31–32) belong to a hoard discovered in 1690 near Kalmar Castle (Rudbeck 1702:334). In addition, Montelius (1869:18, no. 127) lists two further solidi for Theodosius II from Kalmar County found on separate occasions and offered for sale by O. C. Ekman to the SHM (cat. no. 32–33). Presumably, the two latter solidi were of common types and the antiquarian authorities in Stockholm preferred not to do business with Ekman unless it was deemed by any means necessary, as in the case of the solidus for Romulus Augustus discovered in Rinkaby in Hossmo Parish (cat. no. 11).

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<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Lars Ramsköld for discussing the coin.

## Die-links (Coins 4–5, 9, 11, 13–14, 16, 19, 23, 26, 29)

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. The study of die-linked solidi has become far more complex with the discovery of the Como hoard (Facchinetti 2022). In the Småland material, as many as 11 of the 29 preserved coins are die-linked to other coins. The average statistical proportion for Scandinavia is far lower, see the studies of Kyhlberg (1986) and Metcalf (2010). This means that die-links from Småland appear to be overrepresented in the Scandinavian material even if the solidi are preserved finds or decontextualized coins from collections. This motivates a more profound study of the die-linked coins of each relevant emperor. Three genuine solidi (cat. no. 29 Constantius II, cat. no. 26 Pulcheria and cat. no. 23 Julius Nepos) and cat. no. 9, the imitation from the Hässelstad hoard, are only die-linked to decontextualized coins in collections and auction catalogues.

In the case of Constantius II (cat no. 29), there are nine obverse dies and six reverse dies of RIC VIII 100 from officina Sigma of the Nicomedia mint. Five of the coins have a 6 o' clock die-axis while the four others have a 12 o' clock die-axis. MK 619 (cat. no. 29) shares the same reverse die as two other coins, all with a 12 o' clock die-axis. As there are no obverse die-links and the standardized imperial portrait of Constantius II sees little change over time in the Nicomedia mint, it seems reasonable to assume that the obverse dies were abundant in all officinae, and that the new reverse dies were the only noticeable change. There seems not have been any effort towards maintaining a coherence regarding the die-axis of the specific issue.

The seven other die-linked solidi offer important insights in the circulation of solidi, however. First, the two chains of die-links for Theodosius II are quite different from each other. While they are both from an engraver's workshop in Constantinople, they are easy to distinguish from each other. The solidus from Högsrum, cat. no. 14, has an obverse die-link to a double-struck issue in the vast Szikancs hoard of 1439 solidi (Birò-Sey 1976: Tab 3. no. 76). This solidus is thus related to the large Hunnic tributes while the other, cat. no. 4 from Hässelstad is die-linked to the Åby hoard of 80 solidi on eastern Öland (Fagerlie 1967:191–192, no. 272, hoard 99). These two may perhaps be related to East Roman subsidies to Italy (Fischer & López Sánchez 2016). Second, there are four West Roman die-links. The first two are for Valentinian III. The issue from the Trågårdh collection, no. 18, is die-linked to a long chain connecting Öland, Italy, and the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection (Fischer 2020a:33–34). The issue from Hässelstad, cat. no. 5, connects to Bornholm, Poland, and Italy (Fis-

cher 2023a). There is one die-link for Anthemius, no. 13, with unusual obverse and reverse die-links to San Mamiliano (Arslan 2015:200–201, no. 419 and 425). The solidus for Romulus Augustus, cat. no. 11, from Rinkaby in Hossmo, connects to three sites on Öland including the Åby hoard, and to decontextualized issues in the British Museum and the Gneccchi collection in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome. Finally, cat. no. 19, the barbarous imitation from the Elfström Donation is die-linked to the Saltholm hoard on Bornholm (Fagerlie 1967:212, no. 756, hoard 212; Westermark (1983:29), Fischer 2021a:22, Tab. 2).

To sum up, the most valuable evidence of die-links comes from the recorded finds. The earliest of these belongs to the great Hunnic tributes under Attila (cat. no. 14). Then there are West Roman die-links from the reigns of Valentinian III, Anthemius, and Romulus Augustus. These reinforce the strong connections between Sweden and Italy, especially between Åby on Öland and the San Mamiliano hoard in Tuscany. Småland does not appear to have any certain connection to the overall solidus import to Scandinavia after 476.

### Piercings (Coins 1–4, 6–9, 10–11, 13)

Most of the solidi in the Småland material exhibit considerable wear. Some may appear very worn but die-linked issues can be used to show that the solidi are rather issued from poor and worn dies, giving an erroneous impression of a longer period of circulation. This becomes particularly evident when comparing die-linked solidi for Anthemius (467–472) in the San Mamiliano hoard (Arslan 2015, no. 419, 425) and the find from the Vicinity of Kalmar (cat. no. 13), where one would have expected the solidus from Småland to be more worn than those from Italy, which is not the case. Similarly, there are no cut coins. What is apparent, however, is that the number of pierced specimens among the preserved find coins is unusually high, while pierced coins do not appear in the coin collections at all. The piercings differ from each other. First, there are regular circular piercings, notably among seven solidi in the Hässelstad hoard. The exception is cat. no. 10, that sports an uneven piercing. This jagged stab mark on a single find should perhaps be interpreted as an assay mark.

### Mutilations (Coin 3)

The term mutilation describes a peculiar form of piercing on eastern solidi, that of a punch mark straight through the face of the three-quarter profile cuirassed and helmeted emperor. This was obviously intentional, and the idea must have been to separate these coins from other issues (Fischer 2020a:18). Mutilations are currently only known from East Roman solidi. Mutilations are far more fre-

quent in the Scandinavian material than elsewhere (Fagerlie 1967:145–147, Fischer 2019a, Fischer 2020a:18–19, 2022a:12, 16). In Småland, there is one such mutilated solidus from the Hässelstad hoard, cat. no 3 for Theodosius II. Mutilated issues belonging to hoards of a similar date are known from Italy, notably Como and San Mamiliano. In her recent study of the Como hoard, Facchinetti (2022:180–187) establishes several facts, thereby also begging further questions about the elusive nature of the mutilations.<sup>6</sup> Above all, Facchinetti aptly demonstrates that the mutilations have occurred prior to the striking of the coins in Constantinople. This disproves my earlier hypothesis that the mutilations were made in Italy prior to the export to Scandinavia (Fischer 2020a:18, 2022a:12). However, Facchinetti (2022) also agrees with my assumption that the mutilations were made by Romans for domestic reasons – likely of fiscal nature – prior to the striking of coins. A fundamental question that remains to be resolved is why Scandinavia nevertheless has an overrepresentation of mutilated coins from Constantinople. We now know that the mutilations were not intentionally destined for Scandinavia. Yet, some sort of selection has obviously taken place – presumably inside the Roman Empire because there are more mutilated solidi in Scandinavia than in Italy. The current earliest certain record of a mutilation is a VOT XX for Theodosius II struck in 421 from the Björnhovda hoard on Öland (Fagerlie 1967:194, no. 203, hoard 115). This means that the mutilation process of solidus coinage had begun more than a decade before the large VOT XXX and IMP XXXXII COS XVII issues for Theodosius II and Valentinian III were struck in Constantinople in 431–434 and 441–447. This observation is important because most of these frequent coins are not mutilated. Mutilation must therefore have been a limited practice but with a long tradition. The last recorded mutilated issues in Scandinavia are for Justinian I (527–565) from Gotland (Fischer 2022b). By contrast, the last recorded mutilated solidi from Italy are for Leo I (457–474) (Facchinetti 2022:182).

## Imitations (Coins 9, 15, 21, 29)

There are four imitations in the material. The earliest imitation is cat. no. 15, the Aneby medallion imitation. It belongs to a group of 17 barbarous medallion imitations, see table 3, based on Arbman (1936), Hauck (1985), Skaare (1993), and Horsnæs (2021). The obverse sports an emperor turned left in consular robe, raising his hand. The reverse depicts an adventus scene: a warrior on horseback is being greeted by a woman on foot. Arbman

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<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Grazia M. Facchinetti for discussing this matter – her important contribution in the study of mutilated solidi has considerably advanced our knowledge.

Table 3. *Medallion imitations in Scandinavia.*

Inv no.	Site	Parish	County	Country	Weight, g.	Diameter, mm.	Loop type	Acq/Disc	Context	Reference	IK
DNM 8512	Gunheim	Nes	Telemark	Norway	28,32	43,3	I	1776	Grave	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	263
DNM D 11/25	Gundsomagle	Gundsomagle	Zealand	Denmark	20,5	37,4	I	1925	Single find	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	262
HistM Bergen 1875	Hove	Vik	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway	20,36	35,9	I	1831	Grave	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	85
SHM 420	Tunaland	Hjälsta	Uppland	Sweden	19,28	38,2	II	1817	Single find	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	193
NVSUMIT-T 17460	Inderøy	Inderøy	Nordtrøndelag	Norway	18,155	38,5	I	1937	Grave	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	86
SHM 20510	Aneby	Bredestad	Jönköping	Sweden	17,61	37,6	I	1934	Single find	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	14
SHM 421	Lilla Jored	Kville	Bohuslän	Sweden	17,206	39	I	1817	Grave	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	107
HistM Bergen 1876	Midtmjelde	Haus	Hordaland	Norway	14,89	33,9	II	1827	Grave	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	126
KMMS KP 176-21	?	?	?	?	13,16	28	III	1853	Auction	Horsnæs 2021	-
Olds Oslo 5874	Åk	Grytten	Møre og Romsdal	Norway	11,27	30	I	1872	Grave	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	3
HistM Bergen 11546a	Godøy	Giske	Sunnmøre	Norway	10,55	32	I	1962	Grave	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	256
SHM 11019	Svarteborg	Svarteborg	Bohuslän	Sweden	9,86	31,35	I	1900	Grave	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	181
SHM 709	Stånga	När	Gotland	Sweden	6,54	21	III	1885	Grave	Bornestaf 2009	-
AmS 2245	Mauland	Time	Rogaland	Norway	5,81	23,3	III	1899	Single find	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	124
SHM 21733	Sundsvall	Sundsvall	Medelpad	Sweden	4,97	25	II	1890	Grave	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	351
DNM MCDLXXXII	Lyngby	Randers	Jutland	Denmark	4,72	28,9	III	1826	Hoard	Hauck 1985, Skaare 1993	297
SHM 7903	Lundby	Kullerstad	Östergötland	Sweden	4,72	19,5	III	1835	Single find	Bornestaf 2009	-



(1936:59) considered the Aneby medallion to be a Scandinavian work of art, inspired by or related to an adventus scene on the reverse of two of the largest medallions from the Szilagy-Somlyo hoard in Hungary (Gnecchi 1912, tav. 17). The chronology of medallion imitations is quite uncertain, but the Aneby medallion is likely to have been produced in the mid- to late fourth century in effigy of multipla issued by the Constantinian and Valentinian dynasties. There are no die-linked medallion imitations, a stark contrast to the typically die-linked solidus imitations (Fagerlie 1967:xxiv–xxv, Fischer 2021a).

Most of the finds of medallion imitations from Scandinavia are certain grave finds, but this is unfortunately not the case with the Aneby medallion, cat. no. 15. The fact that the medallion imitations generally lack die-links and are found in graves suggests that they were conceived as singular individual objects meant for personal use even in the afterlife. Specific characteristics separate the medallion imitations from genuine solidi and solidus imitations, even though the medallion imitations are clearly related to the invention and distribution of genuine Roman gold coinage. The possibly Scandinavian example among the three solidus imitations, cat. no. 16, sports legends that are clearly derived from the Constantinopolitan VOT XXX MVLT XXXX issue, while reproducing the reverse image of Valentinian III. It was thus produced after 431, presumably in the late fifth century. The second solidus imitation is a Gallic imitation for Libius Severus from the mint RA, issued after 461. Cat. no. 9, the pierced imitation in the Hässelstad hoard (tpq 468), is far more difficult to date, because the two or possibly three other decontextualized examples are known only from literature (Friedländer 1844:8) and the Berlin coin cabinet (Kluge 2007, no. 27.) They do not provide additional archaeological context (Fischer 2021a:29).

## Loops (Medallion Imitation 15)

Cat. no. 15 is the only looped specimen in the catalogue. It does not qualify as a regular coin but as a medaillon. This imitation was discovered deep inland Jönköping County in Aneby. It qualifies as a type I “opulent loop with border” according to the classification system of Fagerlie (1967:137–141), see the discussion in Fischer (2022a:17). The loop enables the wearer to display either the emperor or the adventus scene to a spectator. The absence of looped genuine solidi separates Småland from the neighboring provinces of Scania and Blekinge, where these are relatively common. The fact that there is only one loop in the periphery of Småland brings the rest of the material closer to Öland, Gotland, and the Swedish mainland regions such as the Mälars Valley rather than Scania, Blekinge, or Funen where looped solidi are far more frequent (Fischer 2019c, Fischer 2022a:18).

Table 4. *Solidi* of type RIC VIII, 100.

Inv no. or Auction Catalogue no.	Obv die	Rev die	Weight	Diameter	Die-axis	Condition	Collection	Accession/auction date	Provenance
SM MK 619	1	1	4,44	22	12	Cut, fair	Växjö	post-1935	?
Musei Capitolini	2	1	–	–	12	Worn	Rome	?	?
Ex-Hess-Divo, 7 June 2007, Lot 1767	3	1	4,51	–	12	Worn	Auction 2	2007	?
ANS 1974.26.222	4	2	4,31	22	12	Worn	New York	1974	Newell Bequest
CGB.FR, brm_274818, 2013	5	3	4,17	–	6	Very worn	Auction 1	2013	?
Teutoburger Münzauktion 59, lot 12	6	4	2,94	–	6	Clipped	Auction 4	2011	?
Harian J. Berk, Ltd Sale 211, 30 Jun 2020	7	5	–	–	6	Worn	Auction 3	?	?
BNK.R 213	8	5	4,43	–	6	Worn	London	1877	Bank of England
MKB 18256371	9	6	4,2	22	6	Pierced	Berlin	1853	Prof. Dr. J. H. Petermann

Table 5. *Die-linked solidi*.

Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Hoard	Coin	Type	Ruler	Chronology	Die-axis	Die-link 1	Die-link 2	Die-linked context
4	SHM 12457	18	F 271	RIC X 291	Theodosius II	441	12	Obv	–	Öland
5	SHM 12457	18	F 48	RIC X 2014	Valentinian III	450	6	Obv	Rev	Bornholm, Italy, Poland, Czech Republic, Collection
9	SHM 12457	18	F 754	Fischer 2020 Type 5a	Imitation	450-470?	12	Obv	Rev	Collection
11	SHM 1606	16	F 186	RIC X 3417	Romulus Augustus	475	6	Obv	Rev	Öland, Collections
13	SHM 4967	19c	F 162	RIC X 2831	Anthemius	467	12	Obv	Rev	Italy
14	KLM 35517	–	–	RIC X 291	Theodosius II	441	12	Obv	–	Hungary
16	SHM 673	19a	–	Fischer 2020 Type 1a	Imitation	post-441	12	Obv	Rev	Bornholm
19	SHM 2345	19b	F 36	RIC X 2014	Valentinian III	450	6	Obv	Rev	Öland
23	SHM 2345	19b	F 182	RIC X 3213	Julius Nepos	474	12	Obv	Rev	NAC AG Auction 80, Lot 304, 20141020
26	KLM?	106?	–	RIC X 288	Pulcheria	441	6	Obv	Rev	Triton V Sale, 20020116, lot 2222
29	MK 619	–	–	RIC VIII, 100	Constantius II	355	6	Rev	–	See table 4.

Inv no.	Weight (g)	Accession date	Site	Parish	County	Object	IK no.
SHM 1444	10	1848	Hagreda	Sjösås	Kronoberg	C-Bracteate	69
SHM 4327	6	1870	Espeland	Ryssby	Kalmar	C-Bracteate	49
SHM 8430	4,97	1888	–	Forsheda	Jönköping	C-Bracteate	339
SHM 9041.28	3	1892	–	Långaryd	Kronoberg	C-Bracteate	102
SHM 9041.27	4,155	1892	Västratorp	Drev	Kronoberg	Cross-pendant	–
SHM 5930	12	1877	Barkeryd prästgård	Barkeryd	Jönköping	Finger ring	–
SHM 17901	10	1925	Brusarps banvaktstuga	Säby	Jönköping	Finger ring	–
SHM 6641	8,63	1880	Ryssby sjö	Barkeryd	Jönköping	Gold rod	–
SHM 8462	12	1888	–	Bredaryd	Jönköping	Gold rod	–
SHM 9592	31,2	1894	Eds bruk	Ed	Kalmar	Gold rod	–
SHM 12435	8,87	1905	Tolja	Skirö	Jönköping	Gold rod	–

Table 6. Migration Period Finds of Unminted gold and Gold Bracteates in Småland

## Weight (Coins 1–30)

The average weight for 28 solidi and two imitations is 4.375 g, a relatively low weight, for comparative data on Scandinavian solidus hoards, see Fischer, López Sánchez & Victor (2011:196, Tab 2). Note that cat. no. 15, the Aneby medallion imitation weighing 17.61 g would suffice to represent four solidi of the average weight. The three solidus imitations weigh 4.36, 4.37 g, and 4.49 g respectively. As already noted by Fagerlie (1967:8), the relatively high weight of the solidus imitations is an indication that they were intended to function the same way as genuine solidi rather than as barbarian ideological showcases such as the gold bracteates or the medallion imitations. The heavy weight of the Aneby medallion can be explained by table 3, where a total of 17 barbarian medallions are listed. Most medallions of this type have a Constantinian or Valentinian consular type of iconography on the obverse and a cavalry motif on the reverse. The average weight for the heavier imitation medallions is 18.87 g and the average diameter is 37.8 mm. This suggests that there was some sort of barbarian awareness regarding the dimension and metrology of Late Roman multipla, too.

## Unminted Gold and Gold Bracteates

There is little recorded unminted Migration Period gold in Småland, the total sum of ten certain finds from this period weighs a total of 106.67 g, see table 6. Most of this gold has been found deep inland in the landlocked counties of Jönköping and Kronoberg. There are four gold bracteates (IK 49, 69, 102, 339). There are two finger rings and four gold rods. None of the gold bracteates have known die-links, see Hauck (1985). In short, the unminted gold from the Migration Period must be interpreted as a certain sign of relative isolation and scarcity, especially when compared to Öland. Moreover, the fact that solidi are

generally found along the shores of Småland while these finds of unminted gold are from the inland serves to discourage any tentative argumentation in favor of an overseas import of unminted gold to Småland or a strong connection to the main areas of gold bracteate finds such as Gudme on Funen, Denmark.

## Conclusion

By the nineteenth century, reported antiquarian finds from Småland became more common in the SHM accession catalogue. The antiquarian background of some of the *folkländer* has been summarized by Nicklasson (1997, 2005, 2008). The prehistory of Kronoberg County has recently been summarized by Hansson (1999). For Kalmar County, one can point to the studies on the town of Kalmar (Hagberg, Haglund & Winberg 1979) and Möre (Brink 2001, Magnusson & Selling 2001) and earlier works of Bæhrendtz (1890) and Åberg (1923). These antiquarian studies together reveal the presence of a martial and equestrian Migration period culture in various parts of Småland with important deposits such as the saddle from Kanalgatan, discovered downtown Jönköping (SHM 18359), and the Pjätteryd sword hilt (SHM 12624). It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that the earliest solidi discovered in Småland were brought in at an early date in the mid-fifth century, towards the end of the Sösdala horizon, c. 375–450 (for a discussion of the finds from Sösdala, see Fabech & Näsman 2017). The influx of these solidi is contemporary with the large tributes from Constantinople to the Huns in the late reign of Theodosius II.

There are three main conclusions from this study. First, Småland conforms to a general trend, “the coastal phenomenon,” where most recorded and/or preserved solidi on the Swedish mainland have been discovered near the shore while most of the recorded and/or preserved unminted gold has been found further inland, see Fig 29. The presence of “the coastal phenomenon” has most recently been demonstrated with the solidus finds and the unminted gold from Scania (Fischer 2022a:24, 50, Fig 27). This means that gold was imported to the shores from across the Baltic in the shape of solidus coinage and that solidi were later recast into gold bracteates, rods, and spirals after having been brought further into the Swedish mainland, possibly by returning veterans sent to settle frontier zones and wastelands. Second, there is reason to believe that solidi were discovered in Småland and Öland and included in the coin collection of Växjö already in the late eighteenth century, but that these solidi were subsequently stolen in 1803–1804. Third, there is ample proof from the nineteenth century that several private collectors residing in Kalmar County were actively engaged in acquiring solidi without reporting these before selling them off to the SHM. Most of these solidi were probably from Öland rather than Småland, though.

The solidi that were offered for sale to the SHM but not acquired may have ended up in other Swedish collections, notably the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection (Fischer 2020a:23).

The Småland solidus material belongs to several different waves of solidus imports in the fifth century but is clearly dominated by Constantinopolitan solidi for Theodosius II from the 430's and 440's. The Småland solidus horizon thus reaches its apex already in the mid fifth century. The solidi issued for Theodosius II connect Småland to Pannonia in Central Europe, notably the Szikancz hoard in Hungary, and the Bina hoard in Slovakia, two hoards that have a distinct chronology related to the Hunnic tributes (Kolnikova 1968, Birò-Sey 1976). The West Roman solidi issued for Valentinian III in Rome around *c.* 450 connect Småland to many regions of Italy as demonstrated by the published solidus hoards from Aquileia in Veneto (Gorini 1979, Stella 2020), Como in Lombardy (Facchinetti 2022), Noli in Liguria (Arslan 2007), San Mamiliano in Tuscany (Arslan 2015), and the fifth century solidi in the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection (Fischer 2020a).

The most similar hoard from Öland would be the relatively early Stora Brunneby hoard (tpq 451), see Fischer, López Sánchez & Victor (2011), while many parallels belong to the Szikancz hoard in Pannonia. In short, it looks like most solidi in Småland are somehow related to an early East Roman payment that reached Pannonia as tributes under the reign of Attila the Hun rather than East Roman subsidies reaching Italy, Aetius and/or Valentinian III. The later West Roman material is not without complications. The coins for Julius Nepos, Romulus Augustus, and one for Anthemius are die-linked – but not to all hoards in Italy. The long die-chains typical of large Italian hoards such as Casa delle Vestali and Como do not connect to Småland (Ungaro 1985, Fischer 2014, Facchinetti 2022). The exception is the San Mamiliano hoard (Arslan 2015), but then again, this is the one Italian solidus hoard that is most like the Åby hoard, the largest hoard from Öland. This suggests a limited influx of solidi related to the military expeditions after the 460's (Fischer 2017).

The recorded and preserved solidus material found in Småland displays strong regional features that separates the province from other nearby regions in Scandinavia. Gold is relatively scarce in the province compared to Bornholm, Öland and Scania, but reminiscent of adjacent Blekinge. Most of the solidi are relatively early, in line with the first fifth century import phase to Öland, manifest in the Stora Brunneby hoard. There is a tendency for coins in Kronoberg County and the inland of Kalmar County to be older than those found on the shore of Tjust and Möre, the coastal *folkländer* of Småland. There are several possible explanations for this. First, the finds of the Aneby medallion (cat. no. 15) and the Jönköping saddle shows that people from Småland have participated

in military campaigns on the European Continent. But nothing prevents a scenario where the returning veterans came from other Scandinavian regions and settled in Småland as colonizers.

## Imperial *personae*, Chronology, Issues and Mints

The material recuperated from preserved and/or recorded finds and decontextualized collections in Småland consists of 33 gold coins. There are no less than 12 emperors and usurpers (Constantius II, Honorius, Theodosius II, Valentinian III, Marcian, Leo I, Libius Severus, Anthemius, Julius Nepos, Romulus Augustus, Zeno, and Anastasius I) and one empress (Pulcheria) in the material. The following five Roman mints are represented: Constantinople (both as CONOB and COMOB in the case of Theodosius II and Pulcheria), SMNS (that is, the third mint of Nicomedia), COMOB RV for Ravenna, and COMOB RM for Rome. Cat. no. 21 is a solidus imitation from the Gallic mint RA, with an inverted legend of the official Roman mint AR (Arelate, current Arles). In addition, there are two imitations from uncertain mints with corrupt legends. The earliest coin, cat. no. 29 dates to the fortieth vota of Constantius II in 355–361 in Nicomedia. The last issue, cat. no. 24 is from the Constantinople mint and dates to the late reign of Anastasius I (491–518).

### *Constantius II (337–361)*

Early fourth century solidi are extremely rare in Sweden (Fischer 2022a:11). There is no widespread knowledge in Swedish numismatics of the imperial *personae* from the period, which motivates the following brief biography. Flavius Julius Constantius was the third son of Constantine I. He was elevated to the rank of Caesar by his father in 324. After his father's death in 337 and the ensuing "summer of blood" (Burgess 2008), Constantius II consistently outfoxed all competing relatives and usurpers, alternately co-opting or killing them off whenever needed. Eventually, Constantius II had to elevate his surviving nephew Julian to the rank of Caesar in 355. In 356, Julian was proclaimed Augustus by his troops in Gaul while Constantius II was away in the east. But before uncle and nephew could settle scores, Constantius II died in 361. He was buried near his father Constantine in the Church of Holy Apostles in Constantinople. Ammianus Marcellinus who served for many years under Constantius II throughout the empire described the emperor as an increasingly paranoid psychopath. Coins in the name of Constantius II were issued in most of the imperial mints throughout the empire. In Scandinavia, there are hundreds of silver siliquae for Constantius II, with the Gudme II hoard being the largest assemblage in the re-

gion (Kromann 1990). The most frequent types are those celebrating Constantius' thirtieth vota. The by far most frequent mint in the Scandinavian material is that of Sirmium, followed by Arles. In addition to the coin in SM and the many siliquae and solidi recorded from Denmark there are unprovenanced finds of solidi for Constantius II in the KMK (Hallenberg 1804:59) and the LUHM (Fischer 2019c, 2022:33, no. 22).

### *Honorius (395–423)*

The catalogue includes four solidi for Honorius (cat no. 1, 12, 17, 25). While solidi for Honorius are not uncommon in Scandinavia, they are rare on the Swedish mainland (Fischer 2020a:27–28). The only two recorded finds are from Småland, from Holmåkra Dragontorp (cat. no. 12) and the Hässelstad hoard (cat. no. 1). Both are late issues from Ravenna. It could be argued that their presence in Småland may be a sign of proximity to Öland, where solidi for Honorius are common, but the Holmåkra find may well be related to the far closer gold finds in Västergötland (see the discussion of these in Fischer 2020b). One very worn solidus for Honorius from Ravenna was part of the Trägårdh Collection (cat. no. 17), and there is one in the Kalmar Läroverk Collection (cat. no. 25). These two may well be from Öland but could conceivably be from Småland, too. By comparison, the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection has three solidi for Honorius, two of which are early issues from Milan. All three are probably from Öland (Fischer 2020a:28, no. 2400-2187–89). There are no recorded finds of solidi for Honorius in Blekinge, Scania, or in the LUHM (Fischer 2022a:11).

### *Theodosius II (408–450)*

Solidi for Theodosius II are among the most frequent solidi in Scandinavia (Fischer 2020a:28–31). Theodosius II appeared on official coinage from 402 until his death in 450, and Theodosius' coinage would still be imitated in Barbaricum for many decades afterwards. Official solidi are not uncommon on the Swedish mainland, with finds from Blekinge, Medelpad, Scania, Småland, Södermanland, Uppland and Västergötland. The earliest issue in the Småland material is cat. no. 18, a SALVS REI PVBLICAE issue from 425 sporting Theodosius II and the junior emperor Valentinian III on the reverse. The type occurs in the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin collection as well and has been described in further detail (Fischer (2020a:29). The other finds from Småland are VOT XXX (issued c. 431–434), and IMP XXXXII COS XVII (issued c. 441–447). Among the latter, there are some important finds that are die-linked to key hoards on Öland and the Szikancz hoard on the European Continent.

### *Aelia Pulcheria (b. 399, d. 453, regent 414–416)*

Female imperial *personae* seldom appear on solidi in Scandinavia and the Baltic, the most common such solidi being those issued for Galla Placidia (Fischer 2020a:31–32). The presence of a solidus in the name of Pulcheria thus merits a brief biography. Aelia Pulcheria appears to have been an important political actor in Constantinople from early adulthood until her death. She was proclaimed Augusta in 414 and was the de facto regent until c. 416–419 but continued to exercise considerable influence over her brother Theodosius II, not least in religious affairs. After Theodosius' II death, she married the newly proclaimed emperor Marcian, a matter of expediency providing a modicum of continuity and dynastic legitimacy. She died in the fourth year of his reign. The considerable importance assigned to Pulcheria by written sources and later historians is difficult to match with the sporadic iconographic presence in the solidus material, however.

Solidi for Pulcheria are rare and were probably produced sporadically in directed emissions, that is, solidi in her name were probably struck only on specific occasions and earmarked for specific payments. Pulcheria's first solidus coinage dates to her new rank of Augusta, the SALVS REI PVBLICAE issue of 414. She then appeared on four of the most common reverse types from Constantinople in her own lifetime: VOT XX (issued c. 420–422), VOT XXX (issued c. 431–434), IMP XXXXII COS XVII (issued c. 441–447) and VICTORIA AVGGG (issued under Marcian, c. 451–453). She is absent from the SALVS REI PVBLICAE issues of 424–425, the military issue of 440, and the vota issue of 444. There is one solidus for Pulcheria in the Kalmar Läröverk Collection (cat. no 26), an extremely rare RIC X 288 with an IMP XXXXII COS XVII reverse with no punctuation at the P P AVG sequence in the legend. It is likely that this is a reported but not acquired solidus for Pulcheria from Smedby Parish, Öland (Fagerlie 1967:193, hoard 106). The only other preserved find of a solidus for Pulcheria in Scandinavia is an earlier VOT XX issue by Valsnäs nr 2 on northern Öland (Fagerlie 1967:40, no. 334, hoard 87). There are few specimens for Pulcheria in recorded hoards from Italy, notably one each in Comiso (Panvini Rosati 1953, Tab. 1), San Mamiliano (Arslan 2015:170, no. 52) and Como (Facchinetti 2022:128, Tab. 1 no. 38). Outside of Scandinavia and Italy, there are two issues in Trabki Male/Klein Tromp in Pomerania (Dahmen 2015, SMK no. 18213173-4), and one in the Abrittus hoard in Bulgaria (Kent 1994:lxxxviii).

### *Valentinian III (425–455)*

Solidi for Valentinian III are common in Scandinavia, especially on Öland (Fischer 2020a:32–36). Most of the Scandinavian finds were issued late in the reign



of Valentinian III. The Rome issues are far more often die-linked than those from Milan or Ravenna. There are two different solidi for Valentinian III in the Småland material. They are both die-linked Rome issues but belong to separate chains of die-links from hoards deposited in the period 452–477. The first coin, cat. no. 19, is from the Trägårdh Collection. Fagerlie (1967:130) noted that it shares an obverse die-identity with no. 37 in hoard 115 Björnhovda on western Öland. I have since discovered further die-links to the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection, Kanonhøj on Bornholm in Scandinavia, and Como and San Mamiliano in Italy, see Horsnæs (2009:23, no. 29, Fig 3:33), Arslan (2015, no. 305-306, 323), Fischer (2020a:32–33, no. 2400-2209), Facchinetti (2022:150, Tab. 23, no. 384). The second coin, cat. no. 5, is from the Hässelstad hoard. It connects to the Dalshøj hoard on Bornholm (Fagerlie 1967:209, no. 51, hoard 205), to Como (Facchinetti 2022:149, Tab 23, no. 329, 353) and Noli (Arslan 2007:58, no. 4), but also to the Aquileia hoard in Friuli (Gorini 1979:141–143, no. 6–7), the Witow hoard in southern Poland (Bodzek 2009:189, no. 34:4), and a single find from Beroun, Czech Republic (Bolin 1926, no. 106; Militky 2010:87, Pl 13, no. 45).

### *Marcian (450–457)*

Solidi for Marcian are not infrequent in Scandinavia (Fischer 2020a:36–38). Solidi for Marcian are rare on the Swedish mainland, however. There is one recorded find from the Hässelstad hoard in Småland (cat. no. 6), and three solidi from two separate hoards on Helgö in Uppland. In addition, there is one specimen in the Trägårdh Collection (cat. no. 20) and two in the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection. The three latter solidi are likely to be from Öland, however. All these solidi are from the Constantinople mint, as solidi for Marcian from the Thessalonica mint are only known from the Åby hoard on Öland in Scandinavia (Fagerlie 1967:44, no. 375-376, hoard 99). There is no exact chronology for the Constantinopolitan solidi of Marcian because it is uncertain if solidi with officina marks on the reverse precede those without or vice versa (see the discussion in Fischer 2020a:37–38).

### *Leo I (457–474)*

Solidi for Leo I are by far the most frequent in Scandinavia (Fischer 2020a:38–39). Solidi for Leo I are thus common on the Swedish mainland. They appear both in hoards and as single finds in Gästrikland, Scania, Småland, and Uppland. All finds from the mainland are issues from Constantinople belonging to the two main types; RIC X 605 (issued *c.* 462–466), and RIC X 630 (issued

c. 468–473). The Hässelstad hoard contains one RIC X 605 and one RIC X 630 (cat. no. 7-8), the latter being the final coin of the hoard. There was a solidus for Leo I in the Trägårdh Collection (cat. no. 22), which may have been from Öland, however. It is currently missing and has been so at least since 1994.

### *Libius Severus (461–465)*

There is one Gallic imitation for Libius Severus from the RA mint in the Småland material, cat. no. 21. It happens to be the plate coin for the RIC X 3752 type, that is, it is depicted in the RIC X and serves as a typological reference for all other such coins. Unfortunately, it is a decontextualized specimen from the Trägårdh Collection. Preserved solidi for Libius Severus are common in Scandinavia, the vast majority being finds from Öland. Most of these belong to long die-chains connecting the major hoards of Öland to the largest contemporary hoards in Italy (Fischer 2019a, tab I). Official solidi for Libius Severus are rare on the Swedish mainland, however, there are finds from important central places such as Ravlunda in Scania (Fischer 2022a:32). The Gallic imitations from the mint RA are rare in Scandinavia. Besides the Trägårdh specimen, there is one issue from a hoard on Helgö in Uppland, and a looped specimen in Denmark (Fagerlie 1967:21–22).

### *Procopius Anthemius (467–472)*

Solidi for Anthemius are common in Scandinavia (see Fischer 2014, 2019a, 2020a, 2022a). The wide range of solidi issued under Anthemius is also one of the most complicated and fascinating aspects of Late Roman numismatics. The Canadian numismatist R. W. Burgess' unpublished on-line study of die-links remains by far the most complete, including the Casa delle Vestali hoard and most of the Scandinavian material, see Fischer (2014, 2020a).<sup>7</sup> Burgess' main feat is that he can convincingly divide the coinage into several phases, and that he provides a system whereby one can add more dies or new die-links without disrupting the overall system. Still, Burgess' pioneering study is slowly becoming somewhat dated because it does not include the many finds from San Mamiliano (Arslan 2015, Fischer 2019a) or Como (Facchinetti 2022).

There are two solidi for Anthemius in the Småland material. Cat. no. 13 is a preserved find coin from Kalmar County. The unusual pattern where some solidus hoards have an abundance of die-links of certain types for Anthemius while others appear disconnected with isolated chains of internal die-links has

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<sup>7</sup> I am indebted to Richard W. Burgess for discussing the solidi of Anthemius.

been emphasized by recent finds and comparative studies. The Småland material adds further complexity to the overall picture. Cat. no. 13 is unusual in that it is die-linked only to the San Mamiliano hoard but not to Casa delle Vestali or Como. Meanwhile, cat. no. 27 from the Kalmar Läroverk Collection is probably from Öland and is perhaps identical with a find from Smedby Parish (Fagerlie 1967:193, hoard 106).

### *Zeno (474–476, 476–491)*

Solidi for Zeno are common in Scandinavia, especially on Gotland. On the Swedish mainland there are preserved finds from Medelpad, Scania, Södermanland, Uppland, and Västergötland (Fischer 2020a: 43–44, 2020b). There are only eight solidi reported from Öland, however, one of which is no longer preserved. Zeno's solidus coinage from Constantinople can be divided into three main types. The first belongs to his early reign in 474–476 before the usurpation of Basiliscus. The second type RIC X 910–911 dates to his return to Constantinople in 477 and the subsequent years. The third final period dates to the late 480's. This third type RIC X 930 often has an elaborate Victoria on the reverse with beautifully executed wings. There is one such decontextualized specimen in the Kalmar Läroverk collection. It could possibly be identical with the lost specimen from Öland (Fagerlie 1967:196, hoard 121 i).

### *Julius Nepos (474–477?)*

Solidi for Julius Nepos are rare in Scandinavia (Fischer 2020a:41–42, 2022a:14–15). There are three recorded finds on the Swedish mainland in Scania, Blekinge and Helgö in Uppland. In addition, there is an unprovenanced find in the Trägårdh Collection (cat. no. 23), one in the LUHM and one in the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection. The most comprehensive studies of Julius Nepos' coinage prior to the publication of the DOC and RIC catalogues were those of the Belgian numismatist Jacqueline Lallemand (1965) and the French private collector Guy Lacam (1983). While many types and die-links have been catalogued by them and Kent (1994), there are many unanswered questions regarding the chronology of the coinage. Cat. no. 23 from the Trägårdh Collection does not really elucidate matters.

### *Romulus Augustus (475–476)*

There are only ten recorded finds of solidi of Romulus Augustus. Four are from hoards located in Italy: San Mamiliano (Arslan 2015), Naples (Ungaro 1985:55),

Zeccone (Brambilla 1870), Gernetto (Prohászka 2009). Unfortunately, there are several problems with the Italian hoards. First, the Naples hoard and the Gernetto hoard were dispersed soon after their discoveries. Second, the partially dispersed Zeccone hoard is relatively poorly recorded. Five finds are from Sweden. Four of these are on Öland (three of which were recorded by Fagerlie (1967:29), and one single find from Rinkaby in neighboring Småland (cat. no. 11).

The disproportional distribution pattern where Sweden is dominant outside Italy is most likely a result of payments to barbarian mercenary units. The last recorded find is a single find from Velden am Wörther See in Austria, *en route* between Italy and Sweden which was sold to the private market in 1922.<sup>8</sup> This find serves as a strong point of evidence connecting the two spheres. For a recent study on the transfer points for solidi along the Alpine passes, see Fischer & Wood (2020). In addition, there are solidi for Romulus Augustus in some major museums, most of which are probably decontextualized finds from Italy.

### *Anastasius I (491–518)*

Solidi for Anastasius I are abundant on Gotland, and not infrequent among finds in mainland Sweden (Fischer 2020a:45–46). There is at least a half dozen solidi for Anastasius reported from Scania, with several solidi reported from the dispersed Gyllerup hoard (Fischer 2022a:12–13). Meanwhile there is only one preserved find on Öland, and one in Blekinge. The Blekinge find is die-linked to Gotland (Fagerlie 1967:64, no. 636, 656). The Öland find is die-linked to Bornholm (Fagerlie 1967:64, no. 650–651). Unfortunately, the only issue in the Småland material, cat. no. 24, comes from the Trägårdh Collection. It is a Constantinopolitan type dating to the late reign of Anastasius I. While it is most certainly a find coin from Sweden, its exact provenance remains an open question as it has yet to be die-linked to another solidus.

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<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Klaus Vondrovec for sending me images of the casts of the coin kept in the Vienna Coin Cabinet.

# CATALOGUE OF SOLIDI

## 1. SHM 12457

Find spot: Hässelstad, Lofta Parish, Kalmar County.

Honorius, Ravenna mint. DOC 735, RIC X 1287. Issued *c.* 408–423.

Fig 1a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.39 g. Die-axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: D N HONORI – VS P F AVG

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

Reverse: VICTORI – A AVGGG / R – V. 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.

Discovered in a hoard 1905 in a gravel pit by four workers, acquired by the SHM in the same year. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue. The coin belonged to a pile of seven pierced coins, next to two intact coins.

References: Janse (1922:64, no. 208), Bolin (1926:143, no. 4), Fagerlie (1967:7, no. 17, hoard 18), Kyhlberg (1986:83, pl. X).

Condition: pierced, worn.

## 2. SHM 12457

Find spot: Hässelstad, Lofta Parish, Kalmar County.

Theodosius II. Constantinople, officina Epsilon. DOC 379–387, RIC X 257. Issued *c.* 431–434.

Fig 2a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.34 g. Die-axis: 12 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 XXXX – MVLT XXXX Officina mark E. 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.

Discovered in a hoard 1905 in a gravel pit by four workers, acquired by the SHM in the same year. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue. The coin belonged to a pile of seven pierced coins, next to two intact coins.

References: Janse (1922:64, no. 208), Bolin (1926:143, no. 4), Fagerlie (1967:35, no. 247, hoard 18), Kyhlberg (1986:83, pl. X).

Condition: Mutilated with a rhomboid punch and refilled with pellet, pierced, worn.

### 3. SHM 12457

Find spot: Hässelstad, Lofta Parish, Kalmar County.

Theodosius II. Constantinople, officina Iota. DOC 379-387, RIC X 257. Issued *c.* 431–434.

Fig 3a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.37 g. Die-axis: 12 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 Officina mark I. 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.

Discovered in a hoard 1905 in a gravel pit by four workers, acquired by the SHM in the same year. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue. The coin belonged to a pile of seven pierced coins, next to two intact coins.

References: Janse (1922:64, no. 208), Bolin (1926:143, no. 4), Fagerlie (1967:35, no. 267, hoard 18), Kyhlberg (1986:83, pl. X).

Condition: Pierced, fair.

### 4. SHM 12457

Find spot: Hässelstad, Lofta Parish, Kalmar County.

Theodosius II. Constantinople. DOC 414–425, RIC X 291. Issued *c.* 441–447.

Fig 4a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.4 g. Die-axis: 12 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.

Discovered in a hoard 1905 in a gravel pit by four workers, acquired by the SHM in the same year. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue. The coin belonged to a pile of seven pierced coins, next to two intact coins.

References: Janse (1922:64, no. 208), Bolin (1926:143, no. 4), Fagerlie (1967:36, no. 271, hoard 18), Kyhlberg (1986:83, pl. X)

Die-linked obverse to the Åby hoard, Öland (Fagerlie 1967:36, no. 272, hoard 99).

Condition: Pierced, worn.

### 5. SHM 12457

Find spot: Hässelstad, Lofta Parish, Kalmar County.

Valentinian III, Rome mint. DOC 849–850, RIC X 2015. Issued *c.* 450–455.

Fig 5a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.36 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N PLA VALENTI – NIANVS P F AVG, Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.

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

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

Discovered in a hoard 1905 in a gravel pit by four workers, acquired by the SHM in the same

year. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue. The coin was one of two intact coins, deposited next to a pile of seven pierced coins.

References: Janse (1922:64, no. 208), Bolin (1926:143, no. 4), Fagerlie (1967:12, no. 48, hoard 18), Kyhlberg (1986:83, pl. X).

Die-linked to the Dalshøj hoard on Bornholm (Fagerlie 1967:209, no. 51, hoard 205), Como (Facchinetti 2022:149, Tab 23, no. 329, 353), Noli (Arslan 2007:58, no. 4), Aquileia (Gorini 1979:141–143, no. 6–7), Witow (Bodzek 2009:189, no. 34:4), Beroun, (Bolin 1926, no. 106; Militky 2010:87, Pl 13, no. 45).

Condition: Pierced, worn.

## 6. SHM 12457

Find spot: Hässelstad, Lofta Parish, Kalmar County.

Marcian, Constantinople mint, officina Beta. DOC 477-484, RIC X 510. Issued *c.* 451–457.

Fig 6a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.3 g. Die-axis: 12 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 B. In exergue: CONOB

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

Discovered in a hoard 1905 in a gravel pit by four workers, acquired by the SHM in the same year. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue. The coin was one of two intact coins, deposited next to a pile of seven pierced coins. References: Janse (1922:64, no. 208), Bolin (1926:143, no. 4), Fagerlie (1967:43, no. 357, hoard 18), Kyhlberg (1986:83, pl. X).

Condition: Fair.

## 7. SHM 12457

Find spot: Hässelstad, Lofta Parish, Kalmar County.

Leo I. Constantinople mint, officina Heta. DOC 516–529, RIC X 605. Issued *c.* 462–466.

Fig 7a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 20.5 mm. Weight: 4.4 g. Die-axis: 12 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 H. In exergue: CONOB

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

Discovered in a hoard 1905 in a gravel pit by four workers, acquired by the SHM in the same year. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue. The coin belonged to a pile of seven pierced coins, next to two intact coins.

References: Janse (1922:64, no. 208), Bolin (1926:143, no. 4), Fagerlie (1967:49, no. 489, hoard 18), Kyhlberg (1986:83, pl. X).

Condition: Pierced, fair.

## 8. SHM 12457

Find spot: Hässelstad, Lofta Parish, Kalmar County.

Leo I. Constantinople mint, officina Delta. DOC 516-529, RIC X 630. Issued *c.* 468–473.

Fig 8a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 20.5 mm. Weight: 4.43 g. Die-axis: 12 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 Δ. In exergue: CONOB  
Victory, winged, draped, standing left, supporting long jeweled cross, star in right field.  
Discovered in a hoard 1905 in a gravel pit by four workers, acquired by the SHM in the same year. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue. The coin belonged to a pile of seven pierced coins, next to two intact coins.  
References: Janse (1922:64, no. 208), Bolin (1926:143, no. 4), Fagerlie (1967:48, no. 437, hoard 18), Kyhlberg (1986:83, pl. X).  
Condition: Pierced, worn.

### 9. SHM 12457

Find spot: Hässelstad, Lofta Parish, Kalmar County.  
Imitation, Fischer 2021 type 5b. Uncertain mint. Struck *c.* 450–500.  
Fig 9a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.  
Diameter: 21.5 mm. Weight: 4.49 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.  
Obverse: blundered legend. Image of emperor.  
Reverse: blundered legend. Image of victory standing with cross.  
Discovered in a hoard 1905 in a gravel pit by four workers, acquired by the SHM in the same year. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue. The coin belonged to a pile of seven pierced coins, next to two intact coins.  
References: Janse (1922:64, no. 208), Bolin (1926:143, no. 4), Fagerlie (1967:48, no. 437, hoard 18), Kyhlberg (1986:83, pl. X).  
Die-linked to two, possibly three specimens, one of which is currently in the Bode Museum, Berlin (BM 18201536), see Friedländer (1844:4).  
Condition: pierced, worn.

### 10. SHM 2085.

Find spot: Guleboda, Älmeboda Parish, Kronoberg County.  
Theodosius II. Constantinople. DOC 414–425, RIC X 291. Issued *c.* 441–447.  
Fig 10a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.  
Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.28 g. Die-axis: 12 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.  
Discovered in 1854 by the farmer Peter Magnus Svensson while plowing a field that belonged to him.  
All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.  
References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 123), Wittlock (1874:78, no. 329), Hauberg (1894:358, no. 335), Janse (1922:64, no. 216), Bolin (1926), Fagerlie (1967:38, coin 322, hoard 20b).  
Condition: worn.



## 11. SHM 1606

Find spot: Rinkaby, Hossmo Parish, Kalmar County

Romulus Augustus, COMOB mint. DOC 949, RIC X 3417. Issued *c.* 475–476.

Fig 11a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.49 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N ROMVLVS A – GVSTVS 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.

Discovered in 1850 at a depth of one half of an aln (59,3812 cm). Sold to the SHM by O. C.

Ekman. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 124), Hauberg (1894:358, no. 332), Janse (1922:64, no. 207), Bolin (1926:143, no. 7), Fagerlie (1967:29, coin 186, hoard 16).

Die-linked obverse-reverse to two recorded solidus finds from Öland (Fagerlie 1967: 29, no. 185, 187, hoards 84 and 99), and obverse die-link to two decontextualized solidi: one in the British Museum (BM 1874,0714.8) and one in the Gneccchi Collection in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Gneccchi 44).

Condition: Worn, pierced.

## 12. SHM 1192.

Find spot: Dragontorp, Holmåkra, Hylltofta Parish, Kronoberg County.

Honorius, Ravenna mint. DOC 735, RIC X 1287. Issued *c.* 408–423.

Fig 12a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

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

Obverse: D N HONORI – VS P F AVG

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

Reverse: VICTORI – A AVGGG / R - V. 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. Condition: very worn.

Discovered in 1807 by a young boy, offered for sale by his mother, the wife of the blacksmith C. Brandt, handed in to the SHM in 1845 by the Svartorp Parish curate A J Rydén. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 122), Hauberg (1894:357, no. 330), Janse (1922:64, no. 209), Bolin (1926:143, no. 3), Fagerlie (1967:7, no. 11, hoard 17).

Condition: very worn.

## 13. SHM 4967

Find spot: Vicinity of the city of Kalmar, Kalmar County.

Anthemius, Rome mint. DOC 923–925, RIC X 2831. Burgess Series 5. Issued *c.* 468–472.

Fig 13a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.43 g. Die-axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: D N ANTHE – MIVS P F AVG

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

Reverse: SALVS R – EI P – VB LICAE Monogram RM with dot underneath. In exergue: COMOB

Two emperors, draped, cuirassed, standing front, each holding spear in outer hand and supporting a globe surmounted by a cross between them.  
Found in the vicinity of the town of Kalmar. Sent to the SHM in 1873 by the merchant Johan Gottfried Leopold Meurling. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.  
References: Hauberg (1894:357, no. 331), Janse (1922:64, no. 209), Bolin (1926:143, no. 7), Fagerlie (1967 coin 162, hoard 19c).  
Die-linked obverse to San Mamiliano (Arslan 2015:201, no. 425), die-linked reverse to San Mamiliano (Arslan 2015:200, no. 419).  
Condition: Pierced, worn. Struck from worn dies.

#### **14. KLM 35517**

Find spot: Högsrum 1:4, Halltorp Parish, Kalmar County  
Theodosius II. Constantinople. DOC 414-425, RIC X 291. Issued *c.* 441-447.  
Fig 14a-b. Photograph by Kenneth Jonsson, SNI.  
Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.46 g. Die-axis: 12 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.  
Discovered in 1968 by the farmer Olle Olofsson, Lindås. Assigned to KLM by the RAÄ, following decision dnr 4298/68.  
Die-linked obverse to the Szikancz hoard (Birò-Sey 1976, Tab. III, no. 76).  
Condition: fair.

#### **15. SHM 20510.**

Find spot: Aneby herrgård, Bredestad Parish, Jönköping County  
Imitation, M-type medallion with loop. IK 14. Struck *c.* 350-450.  
Fig 15a-b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, SHM.  
Diameter: 38 mm. Weight: 17.61 g, including loop. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.  
Obverse: Emperor facing left with hand lifted, smaller person holding snake in front.  
Blundered legend.  
Reverse: Warrior on horseback with spear facing right, woman holding rod facing left.  
Blundered legend.  
Acquired second hand by the SHM in 1934 from a clockmaker A. Gustafsson. The primary find circumstances are unclear.  
References: Arbman (1936:58-59), Hauck (1985:40-42). Skaare (1993:486), Horsnæs (2021:40-42, Fig 2).  
Condition: fair, assay marks on obverse and reverse.

#### **16. SHM 673.**

Collection: Elfström Donation, Kalmar County  
Imitation, Fischer 2021 type 1b. Struck after 441.  
Fig 16a-b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, SHM.  
Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.37 g. Die-axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: Emperor facing right. Blundered legend imitating VOT XXX MVL T XXXX.  
Reverse: Emperor standing facing, holding long cross in right hand, Victory on globe in left, foot on human-headed serpent. Blundered legend imitating VOT XXX MVL T XXXX.  
Donated to the SHM in 1834 by the Mönsterås vicar Georg Elfström.  
Not examined by Fagerlie in 1958–1961. Rediscovered by Westermark 1983 who identified the die-link.  
References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 125), Fagerlie (1967:176, hoard 19a), Westermark (1983:29).  
Die-linked to the Saltholm hoard on Bornholm, (Fagerlie 1967:212, no. 756, hoard 212).  
Condition: worn.

### 17. SHM 6236.1

Collection: Trägårdh Collection, Kalmar County  
Honorius, Ravenna mint. DOC 735, RIC X 1287. Issued *c.* 408–423.  
Fig 17a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.  
Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.45 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.  
Obverse: D N HONORI – VS P F AVG  
Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.  
Reverse: VICTORI – A AVGGG / R - V. 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. Condition: very worn.  
Sold to the SHM in 1878 by O. E. Trägårdh. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.  
References: Sahlin (1892:119), Janse (1922:69, no. 231-235), Fagerlie (1967:205, no. 10, hoard 183).  
Condition: Very worn.

### 18. SHM 6236.3

Collection: Trägårdh Collection, Kalmar County  
Theodosius II, Constantinople Mint, officina Beta. DOC 374-376, RIC X 237. Issued 425.  
Fig 18a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.  
Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.16 g. Die-axis: 12 o'clock.  
Obverse: D N THEODOS – IVS P F AVG  
Emperor diademed, helmeted, and cuirassed three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman.  
Reverse: SALVS REI – PVBLICAE. Officina mark B. In exergue: CONOB.  
Senior emperor, nimbate, wearing consular robes, enthroned, and Junior emperor, nimbate, wearing consular robes, enthroned, holding mappa in right hand and cruciform sceptre in left hand; a star above and between them.  
Sold to the SHM in 1878 by O. E. Trägårdh. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.  
References: Sahlin (1892:119), Janse (1922:69, no. 231-235), Fagerlie (1967:205, no. 218, hoard 183).  
Condition: Very worn.

## 19. SHM 2345

Collection: Trägårdh Collection, Kalmar County

Valentinian III, Rome mint. DOC 849–850, RIC X 2014. Issued *c.* 450–455.

Fig 19a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

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

Obverse: D N PLA VALENTI – NIANVS P F AVG, Emperor rosette-diademed, draped, and cuirassed bust right.

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

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

Sold to the SHM by J.O. Trägårdh in 1857. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 126), Sahlin (1892:119), Hauberg (1894:357, no. 325), Janse (1922:64, no. 209), Fagerlie (1967:176, no. 36, hoard 19b).

Die-linked obverse to Björnhovda on Öland, Kanonhøj on Bornholm, Como and San Mamiliano in Italy, see Fagerlie (1967:196, no. 37, hoard 115), Horsnæs (2009:23, no. 29, Fig 3:33), Arslan (2015: 189, no. 323), Die-linked reverse to the Stiernstedt Ancient Coin Collection, Como and San Mamiliano in Italy, see Arslan (2015:188, no. 305–306) Fischer (2020a:32–33, no. 2400-2209), Facchinetti (2022:150, Tab. 23, no. 384).

Condition: fair, traces of soil.

## 20. SHM 6236.4

Collection: Trägårdh Collection, Kalmar County

Marcian, Constantinople mint, officina Gamma. DOC 477-484, RIC X 510. Issued *c.* 451–457.

Fig 20a–b. Photograph Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.44 g. Die-axis: 12 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 Γ. In exergue: CONOB

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

Sold to the SHM in 1878 by O. E. Trägårdh. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.

References: Sahlin (1892:119), Janse (1922:69 no. 231-235), Fagerlie (1967:205, n. 367, hoard 183).

Condition: Worn.

## 21. SHM 6236.2

Collection: Trägårdh Collection, Kalmar County

Libius Severus, RA mint. RIC X 3752. Struck after 461.

Fig 1a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.36 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N LIBIVS SEVE – RVS P F AVG.

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

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

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

Sold to the SHM in 1878 by O. E. Trägårdh. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.

References: Sahlin (1892:119), Janse (1922:69, no. 231-235), Fagerlie (1967:205, no. 146, hoard 183), Kent (1994, RIC X 3752 plate coin).

Condition: Good.

## 22. SHM 6236.5

Collection: Trägårdh Collection, Kalmar County

Leo I. Constantinople mint, officina Beta. RIC X 605 or 630. Issued *c.* 462–473.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.43 g. Die-axis: 12 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 B. In exergue: CONOB

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

Sold to the SHM in 1878 by O. E. Trägårdh. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue. Fagerlie must have seen the coin at the SHM during her travels in Scandinavia 1958–1961, given that she provided accurate data. In 2016, I discovered a post-it with a led pencil note left in the empty slot on the coin tray, which stated that the coin was missing in the 1994 inventory when the KMK moved out of the SHM. Despite repeated enquiries, the coin has not been retrieved.

References: Sahlin (1892:119), Janse (1922:69, no. 231–235), Fagerlie (1967:205, no. 403, hoard 183).

Condition: very worn, missing.

## 23. SHM 2345

Collection: Trägårdh Collection, Kalmar County

Julius Nepos, Ravenna mint. RIC X 3312. Issued *c.* 474–475.

Fig 22a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.26 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.

Sold to the SHM in 1857 by J. O. Trägårdh. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 126), Sahlin (1892:119), Hauberg (1894:357, no. 325), Janse (1922:64, no. 209), Fagerlie (1967:176, no. 182, hoard 19b).

Die-linked obverse-reverse to NAC AG Auction 80, 20141020 Lot 304.

Condition: Worn.

## 24. SHM 2345

Collection: Trägårdh Collection, Kalmar County

Anastasius I. Constantinople mint, officina Sigma. MIBE 7. Issued *c.* 491–518.

Fig 23a–b. Photograph by Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.31 g. Die-axis: 12 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 S. In exergue: CONOB

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

Sold to the SHM in 1857 by J. O. Trägårdh. All information for this derives from the SHM accession catalogue.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 126), Hauberg (1894:357, no. 325), Janse (1922:64, no. 209), Fagerlie (1967:179, no. 666, hoard 19b).

Condition: worn, cross-shaped assay mark to the left on obverse.

## 25. KLM dnr 83-134-23

Collection: Kalmar Läraverk Collection, Kalmar County

Honorius, Ravenna mint. RIC X 1287. Issued *c.* 408–423.

Fig 24a–b. Photograph by Pierre Rosberg, courtesy of KLM.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.42 g. Die-axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: D N HONORI – VS P F AVG

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

Reverse: VICTORI – A AVGGG / R - V. 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.

There are no references to the coin in the Kalmar Läraverk Collection archives or publications.

Condition: Very worn, traces of soil.

## 26. KLM dnr 83-134-23

Collection: Kalmar Läraverk Collection, Kalmar County

Pulcheria, Constantinople mint. RIC X 288. Issued *c.* 441.

Fig 25a–b. Photograph by Pierre Rosberg, courtesy of KLM.

Diameter: 21 mm. Weight: 4.12 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: AEL PVLCH – ERIA AVG

Empress, draped and diademed facing right, crowned by Hand of God above.

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

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

Die-linked obverse-reverse to: Triton V Sale, 20020116, lot 2222.

There are no references to the coin in the Kalmar Läraverk Collection archives or publications.

Condition: Worn, traces of soil.

## 27. KLM dnr 83-134-23

Collection: Kalmar Läraverk Collection, Kalmar County

Anthemius, Rome mint. RIC X 2834fn, Burgess Series 5. Issued *c.* 468-472.

Fig 26a–b. Photograph by Pierre Rosberg, courtesy of KLM.

Diameter: 20 mm. Weight: 4.45 g. Die-axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: D N ANTHE – MIVS P F AVG

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

Reverse: SALVS R – EI P – VBLICAE. RM monogram with star underneath. In exergue: COMOB.

Two emperors, draped, cuirassed, standing front, each holding spear in outer hand and

supporting a globe surmounted by a cross between them.

There are no references to the coin in the Kalmar Lårover Collection archives or publications.

Condition: Worn, traces of soil.

### 28. KLM dnr 83-134-23

Collection: Kalmar Låroverk Collection, Kalmar County

Zeno, Constantinople mint, officina Theta. RIC X 930. Issued *c.* 476–491.

Fig 27 a–b. Photograph by Pierre Rosberg, courtesy of KLM.

Diameter: 19 mm. Weight: 4.42 g. Die-axis: 12 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 Θ. In exergue: CONOB

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

There are no references to the coin in the Kalmar Lårover Collection archives or publications.

Condition: Worn, traces of soil.

### 29. MK 619

Collection: Smålands Museum, Växjö, Kronoberg County

Constantius II, Nicomedia mint, officina S. RIC VIII, 100. Issued *c.* 355–361.

Fig 28a–b. Photograph courtesy of SM.

Diameter: 22 mm. Weight: 4.48 g. Die-axis: 6 o'clock.

Obverse: D N CONSTAN – TIVS P F AVG

Head of Constantius II, pearl-diademed, right

Reverse: GLORIA – REI – PVBLICAE In exergue: SMNS.

Roma, helmeted, draped, enthroned front, and Constantinopolis, draped, enthroned left, head left, supporting a wreath inscribed VOT/XXXX; Roma holding spear in left hand;

Constantinopolis holding sceptre in left hand, her right foot on prow.

Condition: Fair.

### 30. LOST

Find spot: Kalmar Castle, Kalmar Parish, Kalmar County

Theodosius II.

Discovered during the demolition of a castle wall in 1690. No longer available.

References: Rudbeck (1702:334), Montelius (1869:18, no. 128), Janse (1922:64, no. 211),

Fagerlie (1967:176, hoard 19e).

### 31. LOST

Find spot: Kalmar Castle, Kalmar Parish, Kalmar County

Theodosius II.

Discovered during the demolition of a castle wall in 1690. No longer available.

References: Rudbeck (1702:334), Montelius (1869:18, no. 128), Janse (1922:64, no. 211),

Fagerlie (1967:176, hoard 19e).

### **32. LOST**

Collection: O. C. Ekman Collection, Kalmar County

Theodosius II.

Offered for sale to the SHM by O. C. Ekman before 1866 according to Montelius. Not acquired.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 127), Hauberg (1894:358, no. 333-334), Janse (1922:64, no. 212-213), Fagerlie (1967:176, hoard 19d).

### **33. LOST**

Collection: O. C. Ekman Collection, Kalmar County

Theodosius II.

Offered for sale to the SHM by O. C. Ekman before 1866 according to Montelius. Not acquired.

References: Montelius (1869:18, no. 127), Hauberg (1894:358, no. 333-334), Janse (1922:64, no. 212-213), Fagerlie (1967:176, hoard 19d).



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## Abbreviations

- Dnr* Diarienummer (Archival record number).
- DOC* Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Grierson, P. & Mays, M. 1992. *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, Washington: Harvard University Press.
- IK* Ikonografischer Katalog. Hauck, K. 1985. *Ikonographischer Katalog der Goldbrakteaten*. Munich: Fink.
- KLM* Kalmar Läns Museum (Kalmar County Museum, Kalmar).
- KMK* Kungliga Myntkabinetten (Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm).
- KVHAA* Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien (The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm).
- LUHM* Lunds universitets historiska museum (Lund University History Museum, Lund).
- MIBE* Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire. Hahn, W. & Metlich, M. A. 2000. *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I–Justinian I, 491–565)*. *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien* Band 6. Vienna: Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien.
- RAÄ* Riksantikvarieämbetet (National Heritage Board, Stockholm).
- RIC VIII* Roman Imperial Coinage vol. 8. Carson, R. A. G., Sutherland, H. & J. P. C. Kent. 1981. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 8, *The Family of Constantine I, A.D. 337–364*. London: Spink.
- RIC X* Roman Imperial Coinage vol. 10. Kent, J.P.C. 1994. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 10. *The divided Empire and the fall of the Western parts A.D. 395-491*. London: Spink.
- SHM* Statens historiska museum (Swedish History Museum, Stockholm).
- SM* Smålands museum (Museum of Småland, Växjö).
- UUM* Uppsala universitets myntkabinett (Uppsala University Coin Cabinet, Uppsala).

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# PLATES



*Fig 1a–b. Cat. no. 1. Photo by Gabriel Hildebrand, courtesy of the KMK.*



*Fig 2a–b. Cat. no. 2. Photo by Gabriel Hildebrand, courtesy of the KMK.*



*Fig 3a–b. Cat. no. 3. Photo by Gabriel Hildebrand, courtesy of the KMK.*



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Fig 17a–b. Cat. no. 17. Photo by Gabriel Hildebrand, courtesy of the KMK.



Fig 18a–b. Cat. no. 18. Photo by Gabriel Hildebrand, courtesy of the KMK.



*Fig 19a–b. Cat. no. 19. Photo by Gabriel Hildebrand, courtesy of the KMK.*



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