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and Aurei in Barbaricum

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# The Battle of Abritus, the Imperial Treasury and Aurei in Barbaricum

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[PLATES 32-37]

*Abstract:* From the region between the southern Baltic seaboard and Ukraine, territory of Gothic culture settlement, we have records of a great many aurei of Trajan Decius and his immediate predecessors. The early years of the 21st century have witnessed a considerable increase in these finds, the result of widespread amateur metal detector use. In contrast, elsewhere in Barbaricum the same issues are very seldom recorded. All the aurei are pierced above the head of the emperor and some were deliberately chopped into fragments prior to deposition. This treatment of gold coins is not noted elsewhere in Barbaricum or within the Roman Empire. The coins described here are quite certain to be the remains of plunder taken by Goths after their defeat of the Romans at Abritus in AD 251. It is very likely that the entire imperial treasury was captured by the Gothic troops. This is because the Augustus himself and his son, Herennius Etruscus, were killed in that battle. The capture of so many tonnes of gold by the barbarians may be the direct cause of the deterioration in the quality of the aureus under the successors of Trajan Decius. The chopping of the coins into fragments prior to their deposition, that is, a *de facto* destruction of the enemy's portrait and annihilation of his power, shows that they must have been a part of the plunder. The destruction of booty taken from defeated enemies is a typically Germanic custom, attested also by the bog deposits of northern Europe.

IN SPRING 1941 in preparation for their offensive against Soviet Russia, the Germans started construction of a military airfield outside the village of Stara Wieś, Węgrów distr., in Podlasie in eastern Poland.<sup>1</sup> During sand extraction the unexpected discovery was made of a Pre-Roman and Early Roman Period cemetery of the Przeworsk Culture and of a Late Roman Period grave-field of the Wielbark Culture, the latter identified with Gothic tribes; finds included a deposit of fragments of 22 aurei from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century, deliberately quartered and totalling in weight 33.97 g.<sup>2</sup> As reported by their finder, *Gefreiter* Hellmuth Kämpel (participant in excavations on the island

<sup>1</sup> In the collection of material for this article I received help from Dr Frank Berger, Dr Roger Bland, Dr hab. Jarosław Bodzek, Dr Karsten Dahmen, Dr Adam Degler, Dr Arkadiusz Dymowski, Dr Cristian Găzdac, Vera Gureleva, Dr Helle Horsnæs, Dr Sergei Kovalenko, Dr Maksim Levada, Dr Kiril Myzgin, Dr Barbara Niezabitowska, Prof. Kenneth Painter, Dr Péter Prohászka, Dr Andreas Rau, Andrzej Romanowski, Vitaliy Sidrovich and Dr Klaus Vondrovec; for a number of observations I am indebted to Professor Jerzy Kolendo and to Marcin Rudnicki; my warm thanks go to all my fellow researchers for their contribution.

<sup>2</sup> Radig 1942a; Radig 1942b; Piotrowicz 1948; Nosek 1957, pp. 317-20; Romanowski 2008, pp. 123-6 no. 203; the findspot is now in the administrative area of the village of Ludwinów, Węgrów distr. (Dąbrowska 1972).

of Sylt), the coins lay in four depressions, each *c.*5 cm in diameter, arranged in a half circle less than 50 cms in diameter.<sup>3</sup> The deposit rested between graves of the cemetery partly investigated at a later date by K. Jażdżewski, then director of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw and published by W. Radig, a director of the *Sektion Vorgeschichte, Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit in Krakau*, the Nazi institution created in Cracow, then the capital of Generalgouvernement (Jażdżewski 1995, pp. 154-5; Kozłowski 2012, pp. 35-7).

The 28 fragments recovered were reassembled into one complete coin, one coin three-quarters complete, and a half-coin, the remainder belonging to 19 other aurei (**Pl. 32, Fig. 1**). The coins were identified as follows: Gordian III (2), Philip the Arab (2, one for Otacilia Severa), and Trajan Decius (18, of which five were struck for Herennia Etruscilla and one for Hostilian).<sup>4</sup> All the coins were in prime condition with a shiny and unworn surface. Nine fragments were pierced, but whether the rest of the aurei were pierced cannot be determined as this is not apparent on the remaining quarters. The coins all date to the very restricted chronological period 238/239-251, the latest coin being struck in 251.

In 1941 the deposit from Stara Wieś was displayed by the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit in Cracow and, when this institute was disbanded, it was presumably shipped to Germany, but its present location is not known.

An archaeological investigation in this century of a Wielbark Culture grave-field at Ulów, site 7, in Tomaszów Lubelski distr., in south-eastern Poland, led to the discovery, in grave no. 19, of an aureus of Trajan Decius (for Herennia Etruscilla) struck at Rome in 249-251 (*RIC* 59 – **Pl. 33, Fig. 2**). This coin had been cut deliberately into ten fragments<sup>5</sup> but because the fragment above the head of the empress is missing we cannot establish whether the coin was pierced, although to judge from similar finds (see discussion below) this is almost certain. In the same grave there were also 28 cut fragments of gold wire and gold foil, presumably belonging to locally made ornaments.

An interesting parallel for the deposits from Stara Wieś and Ulów is provided by a series of eight deliberately chopped aurei of Trajan Decius discovered, together with pottery fragments, in the early 21st century by metal detectorists in a cremation grave

<sup>3</sup> Original description: *Gefr. Kumpel beobachtete nun beim Abtragen der Humusschicht und der obersten Sandschichten im hellen Sande vier dunkle, kleine Pfostenlöcher, die wegen ihres geringen Durchmessers von etwa 5 cm als Stakenlöcher bezeichnet werden sollen. Diese Stakenlöcher waren nach genauer Beschreibung in einem Halbkreis angeordnet. In jedem dieser Stakenlöcher lagen am Grunde eine Anzahl der zerschnittenen Goldmünzen... Welche bestimmten Münzviertel in den einzelnen vier Pfostenlöcher lagen und wie weit die Pfosten, in genauen Massen ausgedrückt, voneinander entfernt lagen, wurde von Finder nicht beobachtet. Seiner mündlichen Beschreibung nach kann aber die Sehne des Halbbogens nicht mehr als 50 cm lang gewesen sein. Bei diesen Fundumständen wurde keine Steinsetzung beobachtet. Vor allem handelt es sich an dieser Stelle nicht um ein Grab, denn es wurden keinerlei Anzeichen weder für eine Brand- noch für eine Körperbestattung festgestellt. Die Art der Fundstelle und die Zusammensetzung des Fundes lassen auf einen Hort schliessen, dessen rituelle Bedeutung weiter unten umrissen wird (Radig 1942a, pp. 17-19).*

<sup>4</sup> The coins were examined in 1941 by specialists from the Münzkabinett in Berlin.

<sup>5</sup> For the reconstruction of its appearance I am indebted to Tomasz Więcek, for the photographs to Miron Bogacki.



at Bilopillya Vinnica distr., Ukraine, on the territory of the Chernyakhiv Culture settlement.<sup>6</sup> This is a group of 17 fragments, very probably belonging to five coins of Trajan Decius, mostly struck for Hostilian and for Herennius Etruscus, of which at least four were pierced over the bust, at 11 o'clock, and one was partly melted (**Plate 33, Fig. 3**). From the photographs of the fragments we can see that originally the coins were in prime condition, without evidence of wear. This group of aurei has an even narrower chronology, 250-251, than that from Stara Wieś.

Gold coins from the time of Trajan Decius are the most frequently recorded aurei in finds from the territory inhabited by Gothic tribes, identified with the Wielbark and the Chernyakhiv cultures (see distribution map on **Pl. 34, Fig. 4**). We know at present of about 40 of these coins, 18 from the Stara Wieś deposit.

From Wielbark Culture territory, at Leszczyna, Pasłek distr., comes a pierced aureus of Trajan Decius of undetermined issue (Conwentz 1897, p. 120; Ciołek 2007, p. 118 no. 183), and from Rypin, Rypin distr., a pierced aureus of Trajan Decius struck for Herennia Etruscilla, again of unknown issue (Potin 1971, p. 203 no. 2; Bursche 1996, p. 156 no. 73; Romanowski 2008, p. 113 no. 179). Moreover, grave 265 at Cherneliv Russkiy, Ternopil distr., on the territory of the Chernyakhiv Culture settlement, yielded a pierced aureus struck for Herennia Etruscilla (**Pl. 35, Fig. 5** – Gereta 1997, p. 26). The same burial had been furnished with weapons which had certainly belonged to a Gothic warrior. Finally, an aureus of Trajan Decius reportedly surfaced at Bronnitsia, Vinnytsia distr., together with a silver coin, a barbarian imitation.<sup>7</sup> We have no information whether these two coins were pierced.

The deposit from Stara Wieś has the hallmarks of a primary hoard, i.e. one assembled in a single episode, and, given that it included coins of Gordian III and Philip the Arab, we may suspect that aurei of those rulers entered Barbaricum at the same time as those issued by Trajan Decius. From the same territory of Wielbark Culture settlement (and of the Masłomęcz Group) we have records of at least three finds of aurei of Gordian III (map on **Pl. 34**): one from Gołębie, Hrubieszów distr. (Bursche 1996, p. 150, no. 25); one from the grave-field at Lubieszewo, Nowy Dwór Gdański distr. (Lissauer, Conwentz 1886, p. 233, Pl. V, fig. 15; Bursche 1996, p. 153, no. 47; Ciołek 2007, p. 121 no. 193); and one from the area around Kwidzyn, Kwidzyn distr., which is said to have surfaced with four other undetermined aurei (Dymowski 2006, p. 69 no. 2; Ciołek 2007, p. 117 no. 180). Another aureus, again of unknown issue, came from Volhynia (Bursche 1996, p. 160 no. 97). In 2012 a gilded and pierced aureus of Gordian III was found by detectorists in Shchuchyntsi, Vinnytsia distr., Ukraine.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, from the Gothic environment comes a pierced Philip the Arab aureus discovered early this century at Tarnowo, Oborniki distr., in northern Greater Poland (map on **Pl. 34**); this coin is pierced below the ruler's bust (**Pl. 36, 6\_1**); another almost identical piece was found near Miastko, Bytów distr. in Pomerania<sup>9</sup>; in addition an aureus of the same emperor, pierced above the head,

<sup>6</sup> For this information and a photograph I am indebted to Dr Kiril Myzgin, University of Kharkiv.

<sup>7</sup> It is possible that the imitation was gold plated (Secinskiy 1901, p. 287; Braichevs'kiy 1959, p. 122, no. 37; Kropotkin 1961, p. 50, no. 264).

<sup>8</sup> Communication from Dr Maksim Levada.

<sup>9</sup> Unpublished, in the Słupsk Museum.

came from an unspecified locality in eastern Poland (**Pl. 36, 6\_2**).<sup>10</sup> Another pierced specimen was discovered in the Kiev district in Ukraine (**Pl. 36, 6\_3**).<sup>11</sup> From Zbójna, Łomża distr., comes a find of a quaternio of Philip the Arab with a loop and border, but this gold medallion, which was presumed to have been found with a binio of Gallienus and second century denarii, appears to have nothing in common with the aurei under discussion here.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, in recent years there have been reports of the discovery by metal detectorists, probably in Poland, of five more pierced aurei of Trajan Decius (**Pl. 36, 7 and 8**), including one struck for Herennius Etruscus with a hole at the back of the head, and another for Herennia Etruscilla with a filled-in hole and an added loop (**Pl. 36, 8\_4 and 7**); unfortunately we have no more precise details about the findspot of any of these coins.<sup>13</sup> In addition, we have also received reports of ten pierced aurei struck in the time of Trajan Decius, two of them for Etruscilla and three for Hostilian, found this century by detectorists in Ukraine; one of these pieces reportedly surfaced in the Kursk district, the other in the Vinnytsia district.<sup>14</sup>

One particularly interesting coin of Trajan Decius (*RIC* 21a), found most probably also in Ukraine, had been bent twice and prepared for quartering (**Pl. 36, 9**). Let us note that of the new aurei finds with an alleged provenance in Poland and Ukraine, the majority appear to be coins from the brief reign (no more than 22 months) of Trajan Decius. Aurei of Trajan Decius account for more than 30% of finds of third century gold coins from Ukraine.<sup>15</sup>

In Belarus, in raj. Shchuchyn, Hrodna distr., a territory close to Wielbark Culture settlement, a metal detectorist in 2011 discovered a group of five pierced aurei of Trajan Decius (including one each for Herennia Etruscilla, Hostilian and Herennius Etruscus), partly melted (**Pl. 36, 10**).<sup>16</sup>

It is also striking that of the 45 third century pierced gold coins in the collection of the National Historical Museum of Ukraine in Kiev, no fewer than twelve (27%) are aurei from the time of Trajan Decius (Bursche and Więcek 2010, p. 210 no. 23). With the eight specimens of Gordian III and Philip the Arab they make up 40% of all the pierced third century aurei in that collection. The vast majority of these coins derive from the eighteenth century collection of Stanisław August, the last Polish king, which, one may surmise, could well have been formed from coins found in his kingdom. We may conclude that most of these coins probably came from Gothic deposits of the Wielbark Culture and Chernyakhiv Culture, mainly from the

<sup>10</sup> Neither of these coins was published - communication from anonymous finders.

<sup>11</sup> Communication from Dr Kiril Myzgin.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Bursche 1998, pp. 72-3, 257-8, no. 34.

<sup>13</sup> Degler 2006, and information in an email from A. Dymowski; I am indebted to them both for photographs of the coins.

<sup>14</sup> I owe this information to Dr Kiril Myzgin; cf. also <http://auction.violity.kiev.ua/20253-herennia#top>.

<sup>15</sup> Calculation made by Dr Kiril Myzgin.

<sup>16</sup> I owe this information to Vitaliy Sidorovich who tells me that the archaeology of this region is poorly understood and that it has yielded a vast quantity of metal detector finds which include Roman denarii, fibulae, and also an axe pendant. The five aurei are in poor condition; compare the Trajan Decius specimen, pierced and partly melted, in Hirsch auction catalogue 240, 2 May 2005, no. 689.

area of north-western Ukraine (Volhynia and Podolia in particular), and also eastern Mazowsze, Podlasie and the Lublin region. We cannot of course discount other areas of provenance such as in particular the territory of Przeworsk Culture settlement, the area of Lesser Poland. These are lands which prior to the partitions of the late eighteenth century were part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A few coins were added to the collections of Stanisław August after they were taken over by Saint Vladimir University in Kiev, especially at the time when the eminent numismatist V.B. Antonovych was in charge of them. These additions came from finds made mostly in the Kiev Governorate of the Russian Empire, Volhynia, Podolia and the region of Kiev, i.e. the territory settled in the Late Roman Period by Chernyakhiv Culture societies (Bursche & Więcek 2010, pp. 193-5).

Still more significant for our topic is the structure of the collection held by the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław. Of its eight third century aurei, all pierced, no fewer than five are of Trajan Decius (one of them for Herennia Etruscilla);<sup>17</sup> one belongs to Philip the Arab (Degler 2008, pp. 10-15). Of particular interest is the aureus struck for Herennia Etruscilla, a type identical with the piece discovered at Ulów (**Pl. 36, 11**), which has two holes above the head of the empress, the first having been made too close to the edge of the coin.<sup>18</sup> All these aurei entered the collections of the Ossoliński National Institute in the nineteenth century when it was in Lwów (now Lviv in Ukraine), but it is not known where they were found. We may surmise that they had surfaced in the eastern part of Galicia and, possibly, in Volhynia, the territory of Gothic settlement during the Late Roman Period, although we cannot rule out that at least some came from the territory settled by Vandals, that is, from Przeworsk Culture deposits (Degler 2006).

The Coins and Medals Cabinet of the National Museum in Warsaw, currently the largest collection of ancient coins in Poland, has only two pierced aurei from the period under discussion, one of Gordian III<sup>19</sup> and one of Hostilian.<sup>20</sup> However, this collection suffered serious depredation during World War II and its aftermath and its records are not complete (Szemiothowa & Jodkowski 1948; Bylicki 1975; Wiercińska 1996, pp. 7-8).

In contrast, the nineteenth century collection of ancient gold coins built up by Adolf von Rauch included eighteen aurei from the period of interest to us, of which twelve (67%) were pierced: four Gordian III, two Philip the Arab (for Philip II and Otacilia), and no fewer than six Trajan Decius (including two for Herennia Etruscilla, one for

<sup>17</sup> The collection has another aureus of Trajan Decius for Etruscilla (Degler 2008, pp. 12-13, fig. 10). Both coins entered the Ossoliński collections in 1828 and were regarded as authentic, but comparison with other specimens suggests that the second coin, on stylistic grounds, is false. For this information my thanks go to Dr Adam Degler, Ossoliński National Institute.

<sup>18</sup> Degler 2008, pp. 12-13, fig. 9; a similar specimen is known from the deposit discovered in Shchuchyn, Belarus: see above and **Pl. 36, 10**.

<sup>19</sup> Inv. no. NPO 46642, *RIC* IV, p. 26 no. 104, purchased in July 1977 from Hanna Moczarodzyńska.

<sup>20</sup> Inv. no. 219070, *RIC* IV, p. 144 no. 181, acquired in February 1960 with a collection of ancient coins of Mr Protassowiecki, private collector, from his heirs; see *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 1960, p. 245.

Herennius Etruscus and one for Hostilian).<sup>21</sup> A large group of gold Roman coins in this collection came from finds made on the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, for example two medallions from Zbójna in eastern Poland (von Rauch 1842; Bursche 1998, pp. 72-3).

The numismatic collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna has a group of nine pierced aurei from the period of interest to us: three Gordian III, three Philip the Arab (including one for Otacilia and one for Philip II), and three Trajan Decius (two for Herennius Etruscus, one of them with the hole filled, and one for Hostilian), but they make up a relatively small percentage (16%) of the Museum's aurei from the period of interest to us here.<sup>22</sup> The Viennese collection was formed largely in the days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the coins must, at least in part, come from local finds within it; the specimens mentioned here could have come from the eastern reaches of Galicia, which during the Late Roman Period was under Wielbark Culture and Chernyakhiv Culture settlement.

The Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, has eleven pierced gold coins of Trajan Decius (one for Herennius Etruscus, one for Hostilian), most of them purchased in the nineteenth century. Given the close ties between Paris and the inhabitants of former Poland-Lithuania under the partitions,<sup>23</sup> we may surmise that many of these pieces were finds made in its eastern outlying region.<sup>24</sup>

In the collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen there are 12 pierced aurei from the period 238-251, five of Gordian III and seven of Trajan Decius. At least four coins of the latter derive from Danish finds: one from an older discovery made at Ørbæk on eastern Fyn (Breitenstein 1943, p. 6, pl. XII, fig. 8; Horsnæs 2010, pp. 49, 93, 147); another is a more recent detector find from Dybbøl in eastern Jutland; and two others belong to hoards from Brangstrup (Horsnæs 2010, pp. 88-90, 157-8, 169-70) and Boltinggård (Horsnæs 2010, pp. 87-90, 157-8) on Fyn dated to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century and thus perhaps to be excluded from the present discussion.<sup>25</sup> These

<sup>21</sup> As recorded in two manuscripts in the Münzkabinett in Berlin: A. von Rauch, 'Ausführliches Verzeichnis meiner Goldmünzen' [Winter 1875 in Verweg], [A. von] Rauch, 'Ankäufe römischer Münzen & kurzes Verzeichn. der röm. Goldmünzen'.

<sup>22</sup> I owe this information to Dr Klaus Vondrovec. Two aurei of Gordian III and two of Philip II entered the collection in 1875 and could originate from a single deposit. One Trajan Decius came to the collection in 1821 from the Tiepolo collection, and another in 1852 from *Ingenieur* Fischer. The remainder were acquired during the twentieth century from various private collections but more detailed provenances are not known.

<sup>23</sup> For instance, the Paris holdings include a large collection purchased from Michał Tyszkiewicz.

<sup>24</sup> We can trace to purchases made on the antiquities market of the nineteenth century many of the pierced aurei of Trajan Decius now found in other larger European collections, e.g., in Copenhagen (four specimens, including one for Etruscilla) and Glasgow (three coins, including one for Etruscilla). We should also note that in the past pierced coins were avoided by collectors and as a rule were not added to the more distinguished private collections (Callu 1991, p. 111, no. 2). Auction catalogues record a total of 17 pierced aurei of this emperor, often filled in in modern times. The above information as well as that about the collection in Paris is from the files of Dr Roger Bland who has been amassing material for the new edition of *RIC*.

<sup>25</sup> Two of the aurei of Trajan Decius have been in the museum in Copenhagen at least since 1816 and may originate either from Danish or from continental finds. The third came from the numismatic dealer

two coins suggest that the two other pierced aurei from single finds in Denmark could have made their way to the North during the fourth century from the Gothic settlement area linking in this period the lower Danube region with north-western Scandinavia. However, we cannot exclude contact in earlier periods also.

The State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg has in its keeping 11 pierced aurei from the period of interest, namely four of Gordian III, two of Philip the Arab (one of them for Otacilia) and five of Trajan Decius (**Pls 36-37, 12-22**). Most of these specimens certainly passed to St. Petersburg from 19th century Polish collections and originated from finds made on the former territory of the Polish Commonwealth, now in eastern Poland and northern Ukraine. During the Late Roman Period these areas were under Gothic settlement. This, presumably, is also the provenance of two pierced aurei of Gordian III and Trajan Decius in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, previously in the collections of Moscow University (**Pl. 37, 23-24**).

On the territory of continental Barbaricum, the part not under Gothic settlement, finds of gold coins of Trajan Decius and his immediate predecessors are far less numerous. A single Trajan Decius specimen occurs in a longer series of aurei discovered in elite burials of the Zakrzów/Sacrau horizon. Male inhumation no. 2 at Ostrovany (Osztrópaka), okr. Prešov, Slovakia, contained an aureus of Trajan Decius for Herennia Etruscilla, identical with the find from Ulów (*RIC* 59a); it had a hole above the head, later filled in (**Pl. 37, 25**), presumably to enable the coin to be used as Charon's obol (Ondruch 1964, p. 119 no. 356; Kolníková 1972, p. 41; Wiczorek, Périn 2001, pp. 84 [Fig.], 93-7; Kaczanowski, Margos 2002, p. 422 no. 188; Bemmann 2005, p. 49 no. 260; Prohászka 2006, pp. 30-1, 65-6, Plates 1 and 14). The same grave contained a group of gold objects: a fibula, two finger rings, a neckring, a 'Kolbenarmring' etc., which marks the deceased as a member of the Germanic power elite, probably to be associated with the Vandal Hasdingi. Incidentally, it is possible that at least some of these objects, especially the bracelet, were made from melted-down aurei originally given as a part of *donativa*, the emperor's gifts to his soldiers (cf. Werner 1980; cf. recently Lau 2012, pp. 55-60).

From Przeworsk Culture territory we know of two finds of Trajan Decius aurei: from Łagiewniki, Łagiewniki distr., pierced (Ciołek 2008, p. 139 no. 217), and from the region of Nowa Cerekwia, Głubczyce distr., an aureus struck for Herennia Etruscilla of an obscure type.<sup>26</sup> Three aurei of Gordian III are also recorded: from Kietlice, Głubczyce distr. (pierced, Ciołek 2008, p. 107 no. 161); from Oleśnica, Oleśnica distr. (Ciołek 2008, p. 184 no. 266); and from Opatów, Opatów distr. (pierced, Bursche 1996, p. 201 no. 135). From the territory of Przeworsk Culture settlement we have a record of 26 third century aurei in total, and the coins from the period with which we are concerned make up less than 20%.

It is striking that in the oldest extant Polish numismatic collection, now in the Museum of the Jagiellonian University, most of whose Roman coins are local finds

J. Fr. Koch and was purchased in Cologne in 1852 together with four barbarian imitations, suggesting that the former owner may have bought coins originating from Central-Eastern Europe (information kindly provided by Dr H. Horsnæs).

<sup>26</sup> Ciołek 2008, pp. 169-70 no. 253, 2, with incorrectly cited archival documentation pertaining to a denarius of Vespasian.



made in Lesser Poland (Kisza 1990, Kolendo 2006), there is not a single aureus from the period under discussion, and that in the Coin Cabinet of the National Museum in Kraków there is only a single pierced gold coin of Trajan Decius (*RIC* 16a).<sup>27</sup> This confirms our observation that on the territory of Przeworsk Culture settlement these coins are uncommon. Moreover, the practice of chopping aurei, known from the Gothic environment, is not observed in this area. It is plausible that these coins found their way to the Przeworsk Culture territory not as a result of political contacts with the Roman Empire but in consequence of an indirect relationship with representatives of the Gothic elites.

Among the ten third century aurei discovered in deposits of the Luboszyce Culture, which include two of Septimius Severus, there is not a single specimen we can assign to the period of interest to us (Bursche 1996, pp. 161-70).

Similarly, out of over fifty third century aurei recorded from the Carpathian Basin<sup>28</sup> there is just one Gordian III (unpierced), from Tileagd, jud. Bihor, in Romania (hence outside the region of interest to us), and a single Trajan Decius struck for Herennia Etruscilla, from Ostrovany in Slovakia (see earlier discussion). A second aureus of Trajan Decius (pierced) surfaced in a deposit at Beregovo, Zakarpatska distr. in Ukraine, together with three aurei of Probus (Prohászka 2012, p. 38), an association which places it outside the period under discussion. In the Carpathian Basin aurei from the last quarter of the third century predominate.

Not a single aureus from the time of Trajan Decius is recorded in Bohemia and Moravia. The only known pierced gold coin is a Gordian III discovered during the nineteenth century between the villages of Líbeznice and Měšice, Prague-East district (Militký 2010, p. 261 no. 327).

In contrast to the areas discussed above, on Wielbark Culture territory out of 37 third century aurei as many as 34 (92%) are issues from the time of Gordian III, Philip the Arab and Trajan Decius whose combined years of reign cover less than 13 years.

This marked over-representation of gold coins from the time of Trajan Decius and his immediate predecessors among the third century aurei recorded in the Gothic environment cannot be fortuitous. The reason for it may be sought in the historical record. In the summer of 251 Trajan Decius suffered an ignominious defeat at the battle of Atritus in Lower Moesia, at the hands of Goths led by Cniva (Scardigli 1976, pp. 230-8; Gerov, pp. 130-42; Wolfram 1990, pp. 55-8; 2001; Potter 1990, pp. 283-7; 2004, pp. 245-7; Bleckmann 1992, pp. 157-60; Heather 1997, p. 40; Birley 1998, p. 77; Kolendo 1998, p. 21; 2008, pp. 117-18; Depeyrot 2004, pp. 7-20; Ziółkowski 2011). According to the most recent research the battle took place about 15 kilometres north-west of Atritus (now Razgrad in Bulgaria), south of the village of Dryanovets, near the site known locally as 'Poletó' ('the Field'), very probably a Roman marching camp, and the fortress 'Kullyata' (Forum Terebronii?), on swampy ground in the valley of the river Beli Lom (Radoslavova, Dzanev, Nikolov 2011).

<sup>27</sup> Inv. no. MNK-VII-A-2478 of unknown provenance.

<sup>28</sup> Because some of the aurei from the time of both Tetrarchies are not more closely identified, all the coins dated to AD 310 were placed in this group – cf. Prohászka 2009; 2012.

Here almost the entire Roman army was put to the sword, and the emperor was killed, becoming the first Roman ruler to die in battle with a foreign enemy; his older son Herennius Etruscus perished too.

These events completely overturned the relationship between the Romans and the barbarians, showed that Rome's borders were no longer impenetrable, and shattered the myth of the emperor's invincibility. The Scythians (*Skythai*), as East Germanic peoples particularly the Goths were referred to at the time (Wolfram 1990, pp. 23, 29-34), were allowed to return home, keeping their Roman captives and plunder, and Trebonianus Gallus, now proclaimed emperor, agreed to resume annual subsidy payments to them (Wolfram 1990, pp. 56-8; Bursche 1996, pp. 112-13; Potter 2004, pp. 247-8; Kolendo 2008, p. 128). Moreover, it is not impossible that Trebonianus Gallus had made an alliance with Cniva even earlier. Captives were ransomed, including those taken by the Goths, among whom were many residents of Philippopolis, the capital city of Thrace (Kolendo 2008, p. 126). As I have suggested elsewhere, the increased influx of mid-third century antoniniani recorded on Wielbark Culture territory confirms the payment of subsidies, and the ransoming of captives (Bursche 1996, pp. 105-22; cf. recently Dymowski 2012).

These events can also explain the inflow of so many aurei from the time of Trajan Decius and his immediate predecessors. What remains to be done is to reconstruct the special circumstances responsible for generating such an intensive influx of gold coins, very probably in a single episode. I believe that progress made in the study both of Roman-barbarian battlefields and of the ways in which the spoils of war were treated within Germanic communities, can help us understand this development.

Battlefield archaeology, notably the discoveries made east of the Rhine at Kalkriese and Harzhorn in Lower Saxony, confirm that in their campaigns against the barbarians the Roman army and its commanders were abundantly supplied with gold and silver coinage. From Kalkriese alone, in addition to bronze coins and numerous denarii (including hoards), no fewer than sixteen aurei have been recovered (Berger 1996; 1999; 2000; 2007; Werz, Berger 2000; Wigg-Wolf 2007). On the other hand, Harzhorn, on the eastern side of the Vogelberg ridge, the northern part of the Harz massif, which was the site of a battle between Roman and Germanic troops dated at present to the time of Maximinus Thrax (Geschwinde et al. 2009; Geschwinde, Lönne 2011; Callies 2011), has produced only a sestertius of Commodus and ten denarii, Septimius Severus to Alexander Severus, the latest dated to 225.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless this is only the beginning of a reconnaissance investigation made at this exciting site.

Let us recall also that starting from late in the nineteenth century the area identified as Abritus (near Razgrad in Bulgaria) has produced finds of assemblages of gold and silver coins from the mid-third century. In 1952 a pottery vessel was found at 'Poletto' containing about 30 aurei, Gordian III to Trajan Decius,<sup>30</sup> in prime condition

<sup>29</sup> I owe this information to Dr Frank Berger from Frankfurt am Main; cf. <http://www.roemerschlachtamharzhorn.de/was-ist-das-harzhorn.html>; an exhibition about this discovery will open in Braunschweig in 2013.

<sup>30</sup> The presence in this and other assemblages recovered near Abritus of aurei of the predecessors of Trajan Decius lends weight to the argument that this coinage found its way into Barbaricum as part of one and the same event.

(Pl. 37, 26), and more than 540 denarii and antoniniani, Septimius Severus to Trajan Decius (including Herennia Etruscilla, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian).<sup>31</sup> A nearly identical scattered deposit surfaced in 1997 east of the village of Osenets, comprising about ‘thirty aurei of the following emperors: Maximinus I (AD 235-238), Gordian III (AD 238-244), Philip I (AD 244-249), Trajan Decius (AD 249-251), his wife Herennia Etruscilla and Herennius Etruscus (251), several hundred antoniniani from the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century until Trajan Decius, including his wife Herennia Etruscilla and their sons Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian as Caesar, four gold rings and a gold ingot’ (Radoslavova, Dzanev, Nikolov 2011, p. 32). Both these assemblages may be interpreted as the property of senior officers concealed shortly before or during the battle.

The present century has produced more finds of the same kind: south of the village of Rakovski, 5 km from ‘Poletto’, a deposit of a few hundred antoniniani, Gordian III to Trajan Decius (including some struck for Herennia Etruscilla, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian), and two aurei of Trajan Decius (for Hostilian) came to light; from Abritus itself comes a deposit of 48 antoniniani, Gordian III to Trajan Decius (some of them for Herennia Etruscilla and Herennius Etruscus).<sup>32</sup>

As well as the coins, the area of ‘Poletto’ has produced numerous finds of military equipment and weaponry such as Roman military tent-pegs, fragments of helmets and *lorica squamata* armour, shield bosses, *spatha* swords, a scabbard, spear heads, spear butts etc.

These finds of coinage and military gear from the region of Abritus are similar to the archaeological record from Kalkriese and the Roman camp at Haltern associated with the circumstances of the defeat of Varus in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest.

Gold and silver coins must have been regarded as useful in emergencies. Roman soldiers setting out on a long march to war would have derived some feeling of security from having silver and gold coins on them, whether from army pay or from *donativa*. This practice of carrying gold coins in one’s marching pack as a guarantee of relative safety in extreme situations continued until the time of World War II and the final decline of precious metal money. In the period under scrutiny the losses could have occurred only as a result of a setback suffered by the Roman army when the soldiers buried part of their property, even on the battlefield, hoping to survive and recover it later, or when it was captured by the barbarians and used for deposits.

Given the complete defeat suffered by the Roman army in the battle of Abritus in circumstances that were, as is clear from the written and archaeological sources, very similar to those of the battle of the Teutoburg Forest, a significant part of these possessions could have fallen into barbarian hands as spoils of war.<sup>33</sup> The very number

<sup>31</sup> Radoslavova, Dzanev, Nikolov 2011, pp. 28, 30-1; these authors have suggested that the irregular shape of the gold coins and their extremely irregular weight (3.74g to 6.69g) indicates that these aurei could have been minted by an itinerant workshop travelling with the emperor and his armies, which I find very likely.

<sup>32</sup> Radoslavova, Dzanev, Nikolov 2011, pp. 33-4.

<sup>33</sup> Kolendo and Trynkowski (1998) have suggested that the votive hand discovered in Volhynia at Myszków (now Myshkiv, Ternopil distr.) could have been brought north with the same spoils of war from the Gothic invasions of the middle of the third century.



of five aurei recorded e.g., at Shchuchyn in Belarus could suggest that plunder was taken directly from Roman soldiers fallen on the battlefield as this was the amount traditionally issued as *donativum*.<sup>34</sup>

But what appears to be the most plausible hypothesis of all is that, since the emperor himself was killed, his own financial resources fell into barbarian hands, even the entire treasury which accompanied the emperor when he left Rome on a distant campaign in what were very uncertain times. The progress of the war had been erratic; Decius mustered his armies in Moesia several times, only to lose them and to muster them again (Kolendo 2008, pp. 117-18). Thus, we may conclude that he would have needed a large amount of precious metal with him, to make, as circumstances required, a subsidy or ransom to the barbarians, and especially to make *donativa* to soldiers after the expected victory or the success of the whole campaign. In the prevailing unstable political situation, it would make no sense to leave any money in Rome and it may have appeared to Trajan Decius much safer to keep it under his care, and that of the army, complete with the praetorian guard who surely accompanied him. To avoid carrying too much weight over long distances the best solution would have been to transport the money in the form of aurei which had the highest nominal and real value and were at the time the only precious metal denomination in the Empire, the one most often used in the *donativa* (Bastien 1988, pp. 8-41). The known amount of the *donativa* issued to common legionaries during the third century was between five and twenty aurei; for officers they would have been higher. The emperor probably had with him three legions, *legio XIV Gemina* from Carnuntum, *legio IV Flavia Felix* from Sigidunum, and *legio VII Claudia* from Viminacium and/or their *vexillationes*, auxiliary units, and the praetorian guard. The groups of mid-third century aurei and antoniniani recorded in the region of Abritus (in okr. Razgrad) show that Trajan Decius could have rewarded his soldiers for earlier successes by issuing *donativa* in aurei and also have paid them *stipendia* in silver, i.e. in antoniniani.

Thus, it is quite likely that he was left only with the reserves, to be issued to his soldiers as *donativa* after the final victory over the barbarians. His portable treasury must have consisted of at least a few hundred thousand aurei and may have included gold ingots, totalling over a ton in weight, possibly even several tons. As noted earlier this is because the emperor probably had with him the entire financial resources of Rome.<sup>35</sup>

If we consider the evident dominance of aurei struck in the time of Trajan Decius among finds in the North originating from numerous recent discoveries by metal detectors, often the same issues as those discovered around Abritus, the argument that the imperial treasury was captured by the Goths becomes convincing. Let us note also that these finds, regardless of how well their context is known to us, must represent only an infinitesimal fraction of the true numbers, whether at the level

<sup>34</sup> See below.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the penetrating assessment of the emperors made by Ziółkowski 2011, p. 125: 'they only wanted to preserve, first, their money, and, second, their old ways and values'.

of 'living culture' (that is, the number of aurei introduced into the North with the returning barbarians), or 'dead culture' (that is, the number of buried coins).

That gold coins minted in the time of Trajan Decius and his immediate predecessors fell into barbarian hands as spoils of war is suggested by the way in which they were treated back home by the Gothic warriors, presumably those who had participated in the campaign in Lower Moesia: the coins were chopped and deposited, in the same way as weapons taken from a fallen enemy were deposited in the lakes of the North. In two cases, that of Stara Wieś and Ulów, the chopped coins were buried in a sacred space, a grave-field; regrettably, the archaeological context of all the other finds is unknown. It is quite possible that chopped fragments of aurei are much more common, but are either missed by metal detectorists because of their small size or not recognised for what they are.

It is striking that the chopped aurei from Stara Wieś and Berdychiv had been pierced earlier which suggests that at least for a short time they had been used as pendants or as ornaments of the armour. The uncirculated condition of the coin fragments from Stara Wieś, Berdychiv and Ulów indicates that they were chopped, and presumably deposited, not long after minting. Thus, we can imagine a situation in which the coins were pierced when the Gothic troops were still in the South, soon after the capture of the imperial treasury, its contents presumably shared out among the men according to merit shown in battle, as was done some fifty years earlier with the denarii and the equipment which ended up in the lake at Illerup (Bursche 2011). That the holes were made in hurry is indicated by the fact that some are too close to the coin's edge and caused a break, making it necessary to make another hole. Then the aurei were used for pendants or dress accessories, or to decorate weapons and horse trappings<sup>36</sup> while the troops were making their way back North, which would have taken many weeks; finally, they were chopped or burnt and used as a sacrifice when the war band came back home.<sup>37</sup>

The interpretation proposed here, if accepted, will have important implications for the question of the absolute chronology of chopped third century gold coins. We will have to conclude that the coin from Ulów, and also the hoards from Stara Wieś and Berdychiv, were buried in 251, for booty-sacrifices were usually deposited by Germanic warriors in their homeland immediately after the battle.

Another significant fact is that in Barbaricum chopped aurei are known exclusively from the period under discussion. There are several deposits which perhaps also belong to the same tradition whereby war booty was defaced: the so-called 'hoard'

<sup>36</sup> The use of these coins not only as simple pendants but also as dress accessories or decorations of horse trappings and weaponry, is indicated best by the aurei from the deposit discovered at Shchuchin, some of which have an additional smaller hole or preserve traces of a bronze rivet.

<sup>37</sup> The fact that the coins of the period under discussion make up approximately 20% of all finds from the Przeworsk Culture territory, and in particular the context of the aureus discovered at Ostrovany, suggest that Vandal troops may have accompanied the Goths in the battle of Abritus. In 248 troops of the Hasdingi (*Astringi nonnulli*) were said to have joined the Goths, presumably on the Tisa River, in their assault on Lower Moesia (Wolfram 1990, p. 55; Strzelczyk 1992, p. 61; Kolendo 2008, p. 120). In the written sources the name Scythians (*Skythai*) may have been used to describe a conglomerate of East Germanic troops, including the Vandal units (Wolfram 1990, pp. 23, 230-4; Potter 2004, pp. 245-6).

discovered in 1914 at Pilipki, Bielsk distr., which, in addition to fragments of a bronze cauldron, type E 48, included chopped gold ornaments, such as a neckring and a bracelet;<sup>38</sup> and the grave from Sapolno, Człuchów distr., with a chopped gold bracelet in its contents (Sprockhoff 1928; Bursche 1983, pp. 66-7). Both these assemblages belong in C1b-C2, that is, the second half of the third century. Similarly the grave from Ulów, in addition to a chopped aureus held some chopped gold ornaments. These gold objects of local make could have been made from melted down aurei looted at Abritus.<sup>39</sup>

It is also worth noting that almost all the aurei under discussion, where the detail was recorded, have a hole made from the obverse side, above or behind the head of the emperor or members of his family. This suggests they were used by members of the Germanic elite, possibly commanders of the war band, as a mark of status, the imperial image on the gold disc playing a central role in the local language of symbols. Important confirmation of this use of the pierced aurei is the specimen discovered in the elite male burial at Ostrovany in Slovakia and the aureus from the warrior's grave at Cherneliv Russkiy, Ternopil district.

The Greek graffito 'F. Gouthoi' proclaiming that Gouthious was the owner of a perforated aureus of Postumus in the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław (**Pl. 37, 27**), presumably discovered in the northern territory of Chernyakhiv Culture, is another excellent proof that in Gothic society these artefacts were an important distinguishing mark of the power elites and perhaps played a special role among the men in the Gothic war bands.

Presumably soon after AD 250, the sudden influx of a large quantity of gold coins to Gothic lands was followed by a period of 'deficit', when very little gold was imported. The resulting shortage could have led to the production of local imitations, but this is a subject I propose to discuss at greater length elsewhere.

Nevertheless, some coins must have continued in use as pendants on the territory of Barbaricum for a relatively long time, at least half a century; this is suggested by a pierced Trebonianus Gallus aureus struck for Herennia Etruscilla (**Pl. 36, 7**) discovered in Poland.<sup>40</sup> The hole had been filled in and a loop added above the head of the empress, a practice which would become widespread only during the fourth century (Bursche 1998).

There is an additional argument to support our assumption that Trajan Decius, going to war with his praetorian guard, took with him the entire treasury, especially the gold, in the form of coins and ingots. Hostilian, who remained in Rome and was proclaimed Augustus after the death of Trajan Decius, struck no new series of aurei although he issued quite a few of antoniniani (*RIC*, pp. 145-6, nos 186-192), including some with the same reverse type as those he had issued when he was

<sup>38</sup> Okulicz 1970, pp. 468-77; Semianchuk 2001 cites important archival material now preserved at Grodno (Hrodna), Belarus.

<sup>39</sup> The origin and purpose of chopping gold coins and ornaments in mid-3rd century Barbaricum is quite different from the tradition of hacksilver of the Late Roman Period: Curle 1923, Grünhagen 1954, Voss 1954, Munksgaard 1995, Cameron 1992, Hunter 2006, Hunter 2009, Hunter & Painter 2013.

<sup>40</sup> This coin was offered at the first joint auction of two auction houses, Gdyniński Dom Aukcyjny and Warszawski Dom Aukcyjny, in Warsaw in 2006.

Caesar which then had their gold counterparts (*RIC*, p. 144, nos 177 and 178). It is exceptional for an emperor resident in Rome to fail to strike series of gold coins on the occasion of his proclamation as Augustus. Presumably the reason was a shortage of gold in the *aerarium*. It is not unlikely that other emperors when setting forth on distant military expeditions took with them the entire reserve of gold which at the time of battle they hid behind the lines. Thanks to its high specific gravity gold took up little room and was easy to transport and, possibly, to place in hiding. If necessary, gold could always be changed into silver or bronze coinage.

The capture of the Roman imperial treasury by the northern Barbarians may help explain the deepening fiscal crisis and progressive devaluations of aurei observed during the latter half of the third century. The average weight of Trebonianus Gallus' aurei (with laureate head) was much lower than that of the aurei from the reign of Trajan Decius. In the times of Valerian and Gallienus there was also a sharp drop in the gold content of aurei (Morrisson et al. 1985, p. 83), possibly a direct consequence of the defeat at Abritus.

There may be a link between the events described here and a passage in *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, relating to the period of Pescennius Niger, which states that Roman soldiers about to go into action were not allowed to take gold and silver coins (*aureos vel argenteos nummos*) with them but had to deposit them with a relevant official for later reclaim or to leave them with their families, in order to prevent them from falling into enemy hands (*SHA*, Pesc. Nig. 10,7). The *vitae* of *SHA* reflect conditions in the fourth century when they were written more closely than they do the periods of the emperors written about. One may speculate that such a ban on taking precious metal into battle was introduced as a result of the losses at Abritus or other reverses suffered by the Romans during the 3rd and 4th centuries, and was falsely retrojected on to Pescennius Niger by the author.

Future research should concentrate on comparing the dies used to strike the pierced aurei of the period Gordian III to Trajan Decius found in the North with the dies used for the aurei found in the region of Abritus.

### *Abbreviations*

*RIC*: H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV, III: *Gordian III – Uranius Antoninus* (London 1949).

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*Key to Plates 32-37*

- Fig. 1. Stara Wieś, Węgrów distr., Poland, the deposit of chopped aurei from a Wielbark Culture cemetery (after Radig 1942a, scale unknown).
- Fig. 2. Ulów, Tomaszów Lubelski distr., Poland, site 7, grave 19, aureus of Trajan Decius for Herennia Etruscilla, Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski, photographed by M. Bogacki (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 3. Bilopillya Vinnica distr., Ukraine, fragments of aurei of Trajan Decius for Hostilian and Herennius Etruscus, present location and photographer unknown (scale unknown).
- Fig. 4. Distribution map.
- Fig. 5. Cherneliv Russkiy, Ternopil distr., grave 265, Ukraine; after Gereta 1997, p. 26.
- Fig. 6. Aurei of Philip the Arab from Gothic deposits, present location and photographer unknown: . 6\_1 Tarnowo, Obroniki distr., Poland; 6\_2 from the territory of Poland; 6\_3 Kiev distr., Ukraine (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 7. Poland, aureus of Trajan Decius (for Herennia Etruscilla) with a filled hole and an added loop, after auction catalogue of Gdyński Dom Aukcyjny and Warszawski Dom Aukcyjny, Warszawa 2006, fig. 35; findspot, present location and photographer unknown.
- Fig. 8. Aurei of Trajan Decius from unidentified locations in Poland, present location and photographer unknown (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 9. Aureus of Trajan Decius, findspot, present location and photographer unknown.
- Fig. 10. Region of Shchuchyn, Grodno distr, Belarus, a group of aurei of Trajan Decius, findspot, present location and photographer unknown.
- Fig. 11. Aureus of Trajan Decius for Herennia Etruscilla, findspot unknown, Ossoliński National Institute, Wrocław, photographed by A. Degler (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 12. Aureus of Gordian III, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2038, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 13. Aureus of Gordian III, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2040, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 14. Aureus of Gordian III, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2041, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 15. Aureus of Gordian III, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2042, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 16. Aureus of Philip the Arab, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2044, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 17. Aureus of Philip the Arab, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2045, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 18. Aureus of Trajan Decius, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2049, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 19. Aureus of Trajan Decius, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2050, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 20. Aureus of Trajan Decius, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2051, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 21. Aureus of Trajan Decius, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2054, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 22. Aureus of Trajan Decius, © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No ON-A-Az-2055, Photographed by N. Antonova, I. Regentova, D. Bobrova (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 23. Aureus of Gordian III, © Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Inv. No 6406 (scale 1:1).

- Fig. 24. Aureus of Trajan Decius, © Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Inv. No 6583 (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 25. Aureus of Trajan Decius for Herennia Etruscilla, from Ostrovany (Osztrópaka), okr. Prešov, Slovakia; Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, from Prohászka 2006, Pl. 14, 2 (scale 1:1).
- Fig. 26. Selection of aurei from the hoard at the site 'Poletó', south of the village of Dryanovets, okr. Razgrad, Bulgaria, photographed by Georgi Dzanev.
- Fig. 27. Aureus of Postumus, findspot unknown, Ossoliński National Institute, Wrocław, photographed by A. Degler (scale 2:1).



PLATE 32

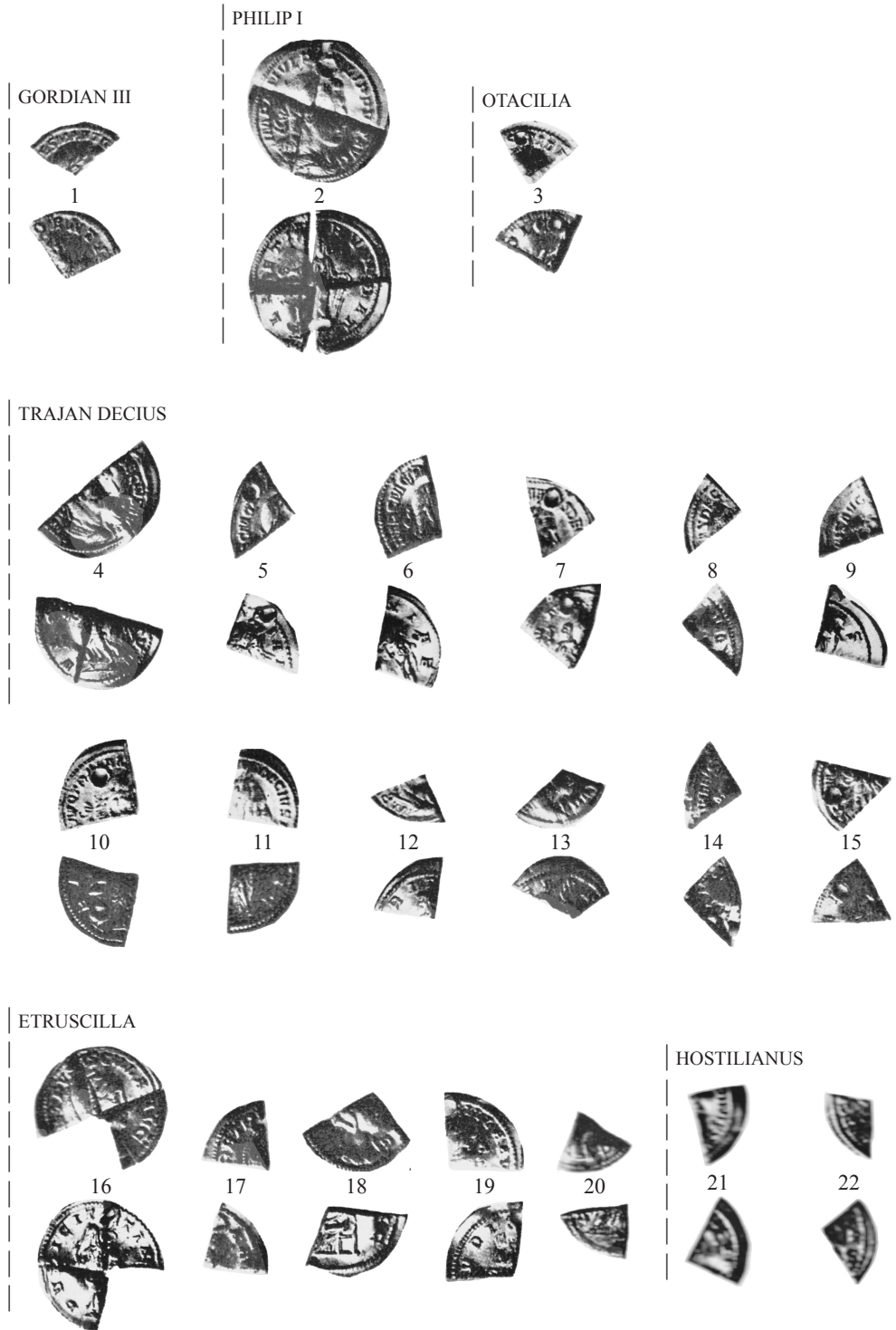


Fig. 1.



*Fig. 2.*



*Fig. 3\_1.*



*Fig. 3\_2.*



*Fig. 3\_3.*

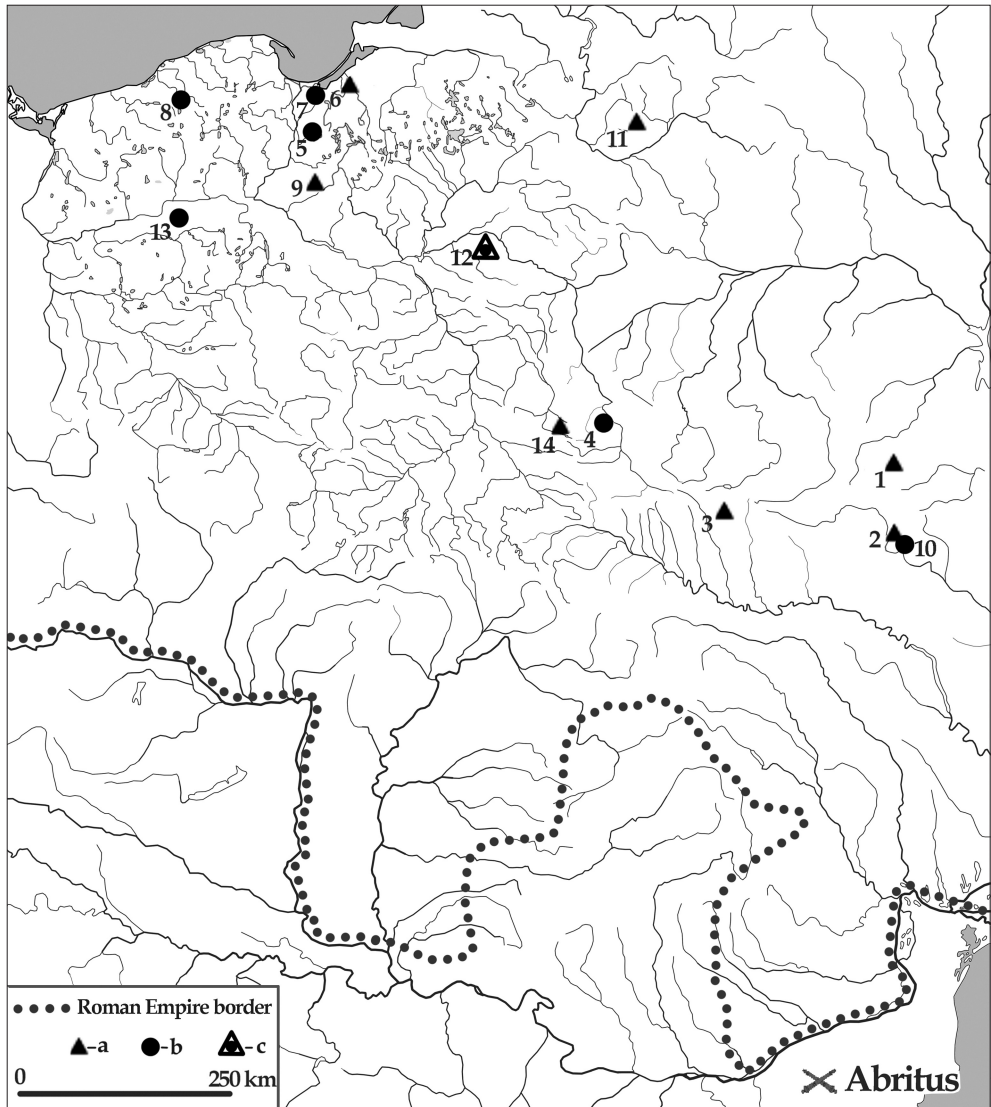


Fig. 4.

Finds of mid-3rd century aurei in deposits recorded in the ‘Gothic settlement area’ in Poland (PL), Ukraine (UA) and Belarus (BY): a. Trajan Decius, b. Gordian III or Philip the Arab; c. Gordian III, Philip the Arab and Trajan Decius. 1. Billopillya, Vinnica distr., UA; 2. Bronnitsia, Vinnytsia distr, UA; 3. Cherneliv Russkiy, Ternopil distr., UA; 4. Gołębie, Hrubieszów distr., PL; 5. Region of Kwidzyn, Kwidzyn distr., PL; 6. Leszczyna, Pasłęk distr., PL; 7. Lubieszewo, Nowy Dwór Gdański distr., PL; 8. Miastko, Bytów distr., PL; 9. Rypin, Rypin distr., PL; 10. Shchuchyntsi, Vinnytsia distr., UA; 11. Region of Shchuchyn, Grodno distr., BY; 12. Stara Wieś, Węgrów distr., PL; 13. Tarnowo, Oborniki distr., PL; 14. Ulów, Tomaszów Lubelski distr., PL.

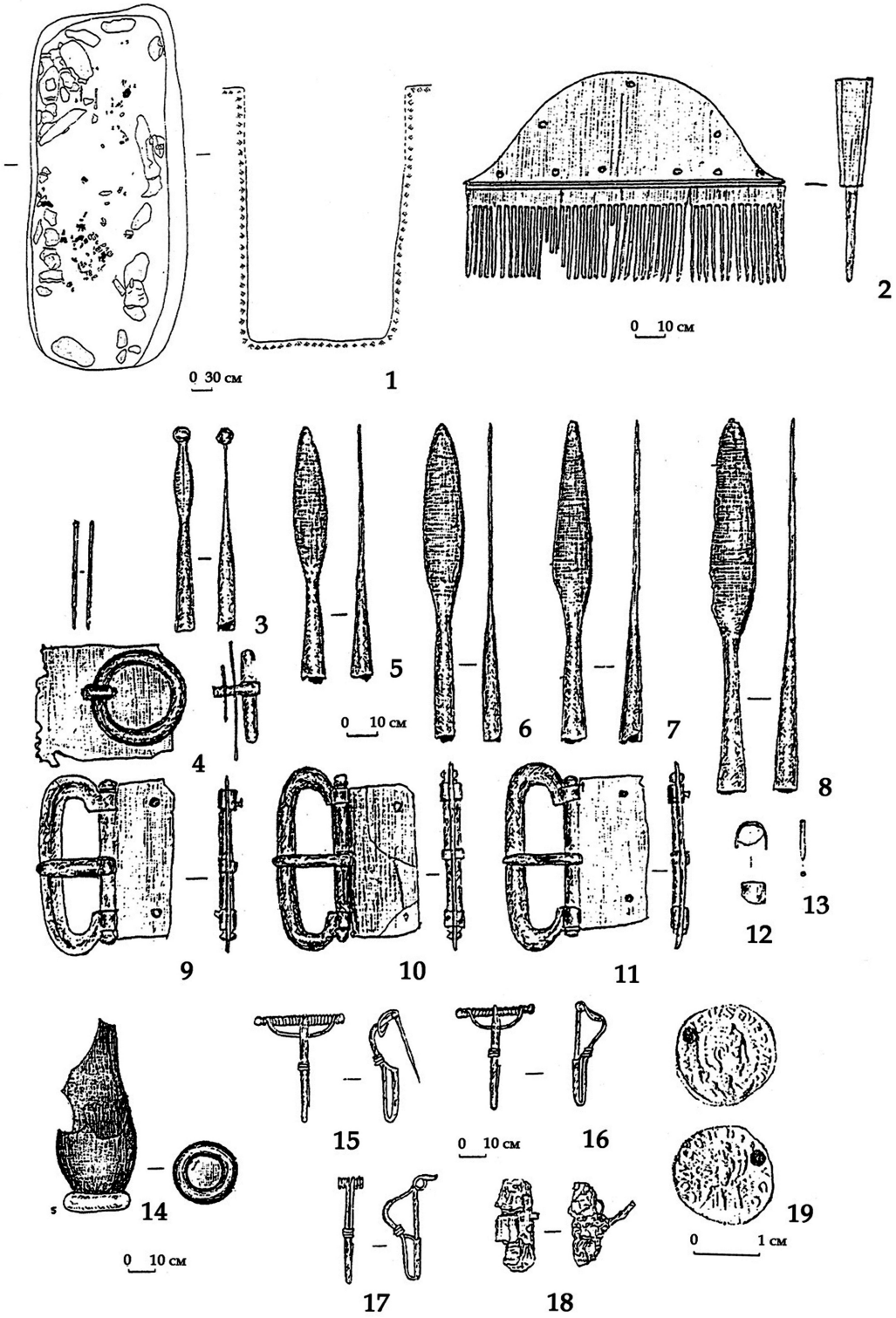


Fig. 5.

BURSCHE, ABRITUS, THE IMPERIAL TREASURY AND AUREI IN BARBARICUM (4)



PLATE 36



BURSCHE, ABRITUS, THE IMPERIAL TREASURY AND AUREI IN BARBARICUM (5)





