

ROMAN DENARII

2018:1

Hoard and Stray Finds in Sweden



Imitations of Roman Denarii
found in Sweden

Editorial note

Roman Denarii, Hoards and Stray Finds in Sweden is published by Stockholm Numismatic Institute (Gunnar Ekström chair in numismatics and monetary history) at Stockholm University. Hoards are defined as two or more coins or one coin found together with other objects.

Each issue will cover one or more finds. In the PDF-version the photos can be magnified c. ten times.

The series is edited by Kenneth Jonsson and the layout is made by Ylva Holmberg Jansson.

It is only distributed in PDF-format on the Internet which enables everybody to print it themselves.

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Covers: Coin no. 50, find no. 21, Gotland, Hemse parish, Sindarve, the largest hoard of Roman denarii found in Scandinavia, 1,500 coins (1870).

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 Maps: Ylva Holmberg Jansson & Kenneth Jonsson

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CNS - Coins from the Viking-Age found in Sweden is a project under The Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. The acronym of the project is CNS based on the title of the publication. (CORPUS NUMMORUM SAECULORUM IX-XI QUI IN SUECIA REPERTI SUNT, CATALOGUE OF COINS FROM THE VIKING AGE FOUND IN SWEDEN).

So far c. 259,000 coins have been found. Nine printed volumes were published 1975-2010. They list finds with more than 57,000 coins. The aim now is to publish all remain-

ing finds on the Internet. Myntstudier is a numismatic periodical in Swedish published on the Internet since 2003 by NFG.

A total of more than 90 seminar papers have been written. They cover the period c. 800-1800. The files (mainly in Swedish) are available for downloading at:

<https://www.archaeology.su.se/numismatiska-forskningsgruppen/nfg-s-publikationer/uppsatser>

On our website you will also find information about our research as well as maps showing mints and coin finds in Sweden.



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Abbreviations

CNS - *Corpus nummorum saeculorum ix-xi qui in Suecia reperti sunt (Catalogue of coins from the Viking Age found in Sweden)*. Stockholm 1975-.

GF - Gotlands Fornsal, Gotlands Museum, Visby.

KMK - Kungliga Myntkabinettet, Stockholm.

NFG - Numismatiska forskningsgruppen/Stockholm Numismatic Institute, Stockholm.

NNÅ - Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift, Copenhagen, Helsinki et al.

RIC - H. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* I-. London 1923-.

SHM - Historiska museet/The National Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Imitations of Roman Denarii Found in Sweden

Introduction

Among the more than 8,000 Roman denarii found in Sweden, almost all of them from the Imperial era, from Nero (54-68) onwards, there is a certain number of irregular coins, imitations of denarii, made, for all that we know, in antiquity. Although denarii have been found on the Swedish Mainland, as well as on Öland and on Gotland, imitations are restricted to the two islands, most of them to Gotland. The distinction between a regular Roman denarius and an imitation is not always clear, especially as to Gotland, where the coins as a rule are more or less worn and sometimes corroded. In 2018 there seems to be at least 63 imitations on Gotland and three on Öland, all, as far as can be judged, with prototypes of the Imperial era, and all seem to be struck rather than cast. Metal analysis has been made only in one case, no. 31 in the *Description of imitations of Roman denarii found in Sweden* (silver: 79.7 %), but most of the coins have a silvery surface and may have passed as silver in antiquity. The imitations are of about the same weight and general appearance as genuine coins, which they clearly try to copy as closely as possible, with a variety of results; the distance between an imitation and its supposed prototype is sometimes great.

The *Catalogue of finds in Sweden with imitations of Roman denarii*, (pp. 12-21) henceforth Catalogue of finds, registers the whereabouts and literature about the find, find spot, find year and circumstances of discovery of the imitation, whether belonging to hoards, settlements, graves or found singly; hoards with imitations all essentially consist of regular denarii. For each find there is a summary description of the

imitations in the find, with nos. from the *Description of imitations of Roman denarii found in Sweden*, below. Here, when relevant, information about condition or reworking of the coin is given, such as “much worn”, “corroded”, “pierced” and “filled-in-hole”. Information is also given about die-links of individual coins with other imitations, in or outside of Sweden, in so far as such are known. “Anokhin no. ” refers to Anokhin 2015, and his Internet site *barbarous-imitations.narod.ru/*, the section of imitations in silver. The finds in the *Catalogue of finds* are arranged alphabetically according to province and parish. As to Gotland, some imitations with unknown find spot, but which probably or possibly were found on the island, have been included. The 52 coins in *Catalogue of finds* nos. 1-29 are certainly found on Gotland (nos. 1-28 with a known find spot), the six coins in nos. 30-31, long kept in Gotlands Museum in Visby, most probably so. The five coins of nos. 32-33 are more debatable, but a Gotlandic origin seems likely. On Öland only one find spot for imitations is known (no. 34) (Fig. 1).

In the *Description of imitations of Roman denarii found in Sweden* (pp. 22-32), henceforth *Description*, the imitations from Gotland, nos. 1-63, are arranged under three headings. 1 - *Coins with identifiable portrait prototype*, i.e., coins with portraits of an emperor or empress of which there is no or little doubt about the prototype. In one case, no. 26, consideration has been taken to the reverse type rather than the obverse portrait. 2 - *Types with crude portraits*; i.e., coins with a distinct portrait, where however, the prototype is highly debatable. 3 - *Types with very crude portraits*, i.e., coins where the

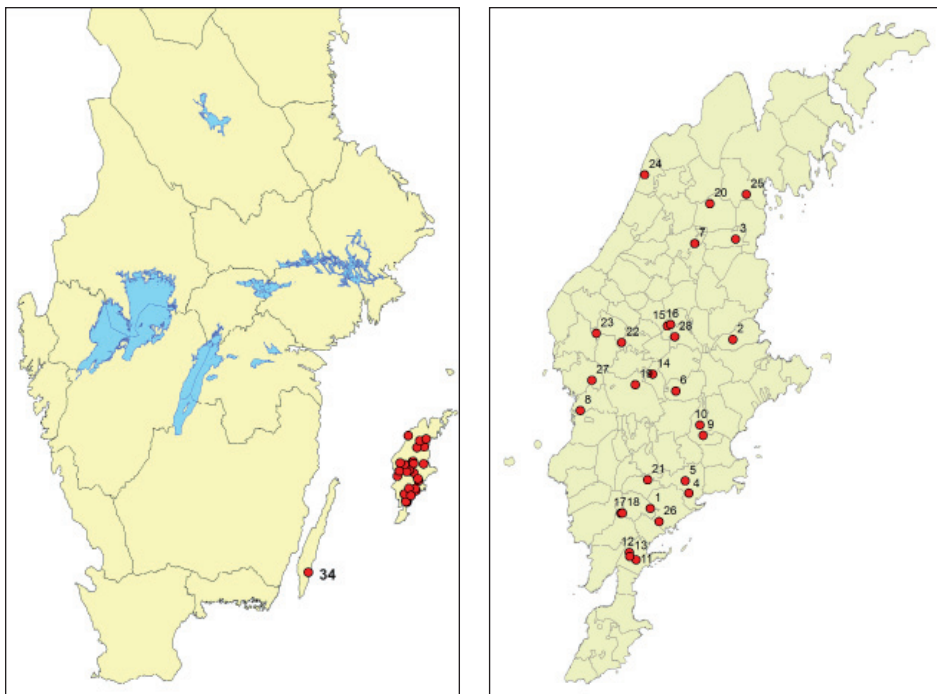


Fig. 1. Location of the known sites where imitations of Roman denarii have been found in Sweden. Gotland: nos. 1-28. Öland: no. 34.

portrait has almost lost its character as a portrait. For each category the coins are arranged chronologically according to portrait prototype or suggested portrait prototype. The three imitations on Öland, nos. 64-66, all belong to the first category. As to coins of category 2 or 3 from Gotland, the given portrait prototype is merely a suggestion. Coins which seem to have a portrait inspired by that of an emperor, but otherwise impossible to determine nearer, are classified as “Antonine emperor”, sometimes with a question-mark after “Antonine”, if there is a beard or traces of a beard, or when they are not primarily suggestive of coins before 138. For each coin the legend on the obverse and reverse, if any, is transcribed as far as possible, in Latin or quasi-Latin letters, and the obverse portrait and the reverse type described after the

pattern of the RIC. Weight and previous literature about the actual coin is given.

To avoid confusion, finds in the *Catalogue of finds* will, when necessary, be referred to as “find no.”, followed by the number in question, coins in the *Description* as “coin no.”.

The plates show 65 of the 66 imitations.

The general context

There is a passage from a work by two eminent Swedish archaeologists, Oscar Almgren (1869-1945) and Birger Nerman (1888-1971), who knew 5,016 denarii from Gotland (Almgren & Nerman 1923, p. 59). It illustrates well the state of knowledge in Sweden, and elsewhere, about imitations of Roman denarii, of the Imperial era, at the beginning of the twentieth century. Their Figs. 328-332 correspond to coins nos. 62,

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Lind, L. 2008: "En ny grupp imitationer av romerska denarer representerad på Gotland", *Myntstudier* 2, pp. 9-13. PDF. <http://www.myntstudier.se/pdf/0802hog.pdf>

Lind, L. 2013a: *Roman Denarii. Hoards and Stray Finds in Sweden. 2013:1. Hoards. Gotland, Fröjel par. Mulde*. Stockholm. Numismatic Institute. PDF. www.archaeology.su.se/polopoly_fs/1.128646.1363607495!/menu/standard/file/RomanDenarii_2013_1.pdf

Lind, L. 2013b: *Roman Denarii. Hoards and Stray Finds in Sweden. 2013:2. Hoards. Gotland, Höggrän par., Djupbrunn*. Stockholm. Numismatic Institute. PDF. www.archaeology.su.se/polopoly_fs/1.145374.1378294443!/menu/standard/file/Roman_Denarii_2013_2.pdf

Lind, L. 2015: *Roman Denarii. Hoards and Stray Finds in Sweden. 2015:1. Hoards. Gotland, Garde par., Robbenarve*. Stockholm. Numismatic Institute. PDF. http://www.archaeology.su.se/polopoly_fs/1.246542.1441614472!/menu/standard/file/Roman%20Denarii_2015_1.pdf

Montelius, O. 1869: *Från Jernåldern*. Stockholm.

32, 53, 33 and 46, respectively, in the *Description*. "Fredrich" is Fredrich 1909.

"Ein eigenartiges Interesse bieten die unter den gotländischen Denarfunden auftretenden barbarischen Nachprägungen (15 St., darunter Fig. 328-332; Fig. 329 gibt vielleicht eine Münze von Antoninus Pius wieder). Es ist bemerkenswert, dass solche aus dem übrigen Skandinavien bisher gar nicht bekannt sind. Vom Kontinent kennen wir durch Fredrichs sorgfältige Veröffentlichung der römischen Münzfunde in Posen (S. 220 ff.) 4 Nachbildungen von Denaren, bei denen allen festgestellt werden konnte, welcher Kaiser das Vorbild abgegeben hat. Sonst haben wir keine Nachrichten über solche Nachprägungen finden können. Wir möchten indessen die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher auf dies Problem lenken, da es von nicht geringer Bedeutung wäre, die Ursprungsgebiete dieser Nachbildungen festzustellen; man würde vielleicht dadurch wichtige Aufschlüsse über die Wege des Denarimports erhalten können. Unter den in Frage kommenden Barbarvölkern möchte man wohl am ehesten an den Goten oder die Bastarnen als Träger der Nachbildungen denken; doch ist es wohl nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die auf Gotland gefundenen wenigstens zum Teil auch auf dieser Insel geprägt worden sind ..." (Almgren & Nerman 1923, p. 66).

Finds of Roman denarii in Europe outside what was once the Roman Empire have been reported at least since the sixteenth century (Lind 1988, p. 11), but as far as I know imitations of denarii from the Imperial era were not acknowledged as such before the nineteenth century. The first such imitation to be observed in Sweden was no. 48 in the *Description*, in 1842 (letter dated 1842 in SHM Inv.). Thus, although the phenomenon was known, it was not until 1923 that anyone tried to put it into context, in Sweden and, as far as I know, elsewhere ("Wir möchten indessen die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher auf dies Problem lenken ...") (Almgren & Nerman

1923, p. 66). Almgren and Nerman knew about fifteen imitations, all from Gotland, none from the rest of Scandinavia, and only four from the European continent. Today the situation is quite different. The *Description*, as mentioned, has 63 imitations, all probably found on Gotland, and three found on Öland. Although they are still lacking from the Swedish mainland, imitations have been found on Bornholm and in other parts of Denmark (Bursche 2011, pp. 19-23; Horsnæs 2007; Horsnæs 2010, pp. 135-138; Horsnæs 2013, pp. 55f.). As to the European continent, outside what was once the Roman Empire, several works have been published, such as Jónás (1935), Zedelius (1974), and, most importantly, Stribny (2003), which sums up the situation towards the close of the twentieth century, and Anokhin 2015, with the Internet site of the latter: barbarous-imitations.narod.ru/. From 2011 onwards the work of Oleg Anokhin, in Chernivtsi in Ukraine, has brought about a complete revolution to the study of imitations of denarii of the Imperial era.

Oleg Anokhin in Anokhin 2015 and his Internet site illustrates imitations of Roman coins of all kinds, in gold, silver, bronze, gilded bronze etc. They have been unearthed by amateurs, using metal detectors, in Ukraine and Moldova. Some additional information about the activities and finds of these amateurs is supplied by Violy, a Ukrainian auction site: https://auction.violity.com/auction/273-monety-drevnegorima?show_type=0&sort=0. All coins published by Oleg Anokhin lack circumstances of finding, and the find spot usually only refers to the region, "oblast", but as coins on his site often are offered for sale on Violy, supplementary information can sometimes be found there. Depeyrot & Caverio (2018) have maps showing the overall distribution of imitations of Imperial era denarii in Ukraine and Moldova, based on Anokhin's work (Depeyrot & Caverio 2018, pp. 46-48, Maps 17-19).

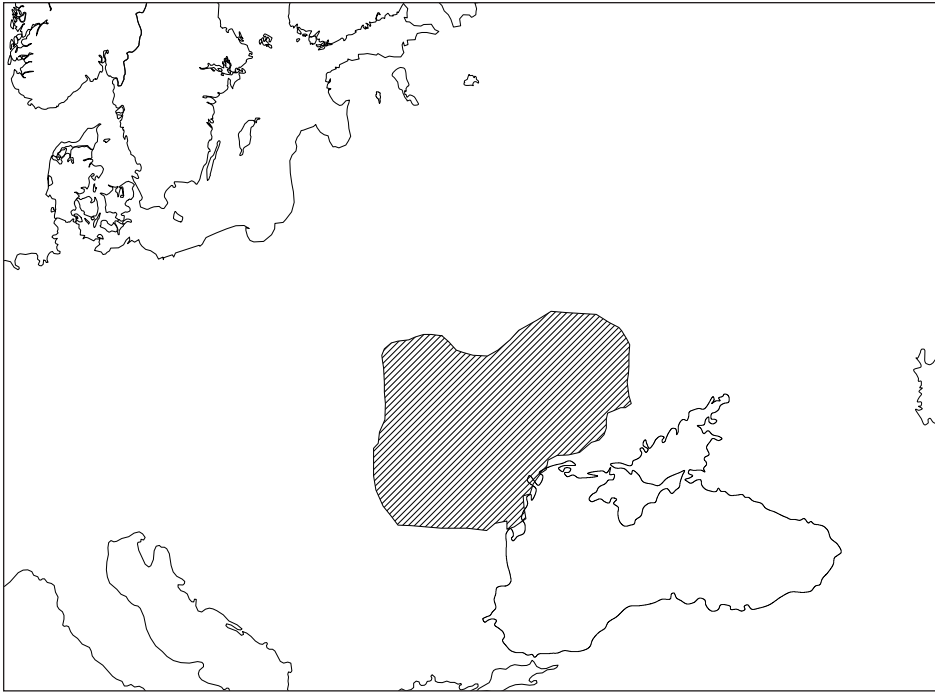


Fig. 2. Approximate extension of the Chernyakhiv culture which is usually associated with the Goths.

In 1923 Almgren and Nerman stressed the importance of finding the place of origin for the imitations found on Gotland. Thanks to the work of Oleg Anokhin, we know that the number of imitations of Imperial era denarii in Ukraine and Moldova is much bigger than was previously imagined. This gives renewed actuality to the hypothesis suggested by Almgren and Nerman about a connection between Gotland and the Goths and Bastarnae, peoples who in antiquity lived to the north of the Black Sea in present-day Ukraine.

For archaeological material concerning the Goths on the European continent, see Bierbrauer 1994 and Leiber 1995. The archaeological Chernyakhiv culture in Ukraine and adjacent areas, dated to the third-fourth centuries, is usually connected with the Goths (Fig. 2).

The German scholar Karlhorst Stribrny had no knowledge about the work of Oleg Anokhin and Volodymyr, and thought that the Imperial era denarius imitations had their origin in Hungary (Stribrny 2003, pp. 66f.). Today an origin more to the east seems more probable. Finds of regular Imperial denarii, especially in the form of hoards, are very common in Ukraine (Lind 1981, pp. 130-135; cf. Depeyrot & Caverio 2018, pp. 41-43, Maps 12-14). Denarii found in Ukraine, regular ones and imitations, are often worn in about the same way as those found on Gotland.

Die-links and groups of imitations restricted to Gotland

Most of the imitations on Gotland lack close parallels on or outside the island. This is the case

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For numbers 1089 onwards: barbarous-imitations.narod.ru/

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Carlsson, D. & Jonsson, K. 2008: "Utgrävningen av en skattfyndplats i Klints, Othem sn, Gotland", *Myntkontakt* 2008:1, pp. 1-7. PDF: <http://www.myntstudier.se/pdf/0801hog.pdf>

Depeyrot, G. & Cavero, J. 2018: "Roman Coin Finds in Moldova and Ukraine", in *From ore to money. Mining, trading, minting. Proceedings of the Tallinn (2018) conference*, eds. Depeyrot, G. & Leimus, I. Wetteren (Moneta, 202).

even with very distinct ones, such as *Description* no. 50 (find no. 21, Hemse par., Sindarve, the largest hoard of denarii in Scandinavia) and no. 51 (Sjonhem par., Sojvide). Found with regular denarii, they are undoubtedly denarius imitations; the reverse of no. 51 shows a much barbarized version of a genius at an altar with corn-ears (cf. reverse of Commodus, RIC 76). But there are many which are die-linked to or closely resembling other imitations, on Gotland or elsewhere. Two or three groups of imitations, clearly belonging together, are represented only on Gotland and, to my knowledge, unknown in the rest of Scandinavia and Europe.

The four coins of *Description* nos. 1-4, with the portrait of Trajan (98-117), have been found in different places, nos. 1 and 3 form part of hoards essentially consisting of regular denarii, no. 2 is a stray find and no. 4 comes from a private collection on Gotland, now in the Gotlands Museum. At least two pair of dies, close to each other, have been used, one for coin no. 1, another for coins nos. 2-4. The high degree of wear makes it unlikely that these imitations were made on Gotland. There is a possibility that the hoard with coin no. 3, (find no. 2, Anga par., Boters), is a part detached on Gotland from the hoard with coin no. 1, (find no. 21, Hemse par., Sindarve).

Another assemblage of worn imitations known only from Gotland, whether one or two groups, is formed by the six coins nos. 5-10, which, together with coins nos. 35 and 56 and fifteen regular denarii, were found in the course of archaeological excavations of the remains of a prehistoric house of the so-called kämpgrav-type in 1929-30 (find no. 4; Burs par., Kärne). It is not known whether any of these coins were found together. Coins nos. 5-8, with a portrait of Trajan, differing from that of coins nos. 1-4, are unfortunately much worn but may have been struck from the same pair of dies. This is more clearly the case with coins nos. 9-10, with

the portrait of Hadrian (117-138), and the same pair of dies may have been used in the case of the much corroded coin no. 11, found in a different place in 2009 (find no. 11; Grötlingbo par., Domerarve).

It is an open question whether coins nos. 5-8 and 9-10 have a common origin, i.e., whether they form one or two groups. However, it is worth noting that eight imitations were found in the same restricted area, in the remains of a pre-historic house, and that four and two of them, respectively, were made or seems to have been made by the same pair of dies. To my knowledge a parallel in this aspect is only found in Denmark, from the bog at Illerup Ådal in Jutland, where four imitations made from the same pair of dies have been found, together with fifteen official denarii, from Vespasian to Commodus, from 69 to 180. (Bursche 2011, pp. 19 and 94f.). However, these four imitations are not die-linked to any imitation on Gotland, nor, to my knowledge, anywhere else outside of Illerup Ådal.

The Hulterstad-Uggårde/Uggårda group: Öland, Gotland, Hungary and Ukraine

However, several of the imitations on Gotland, and two of the three from Öland, belong to groups mainly represented on the European continent, especially in Ukraine.

For several reasons the most interesting such group is the one I have called the Hulterstad-Uggårde/Uggårda group, which has grown in an unexpected way from 1988 to 2017. It is now represented on Öland, on Gotland, in Hungary and in Ukraine, as single finds or as part of hoards mainly consisting of regular denarii.

In 1988 it consisted of four interrelated coins, two on Öland, coins nos. 65-66 (find no. 34; Hulterstad), and two on Gotland, coin no. 15 (find no. 26; Rone par., Uggårde), and coin no. 22 (find no. 1; Alva par., Gandarve).

	Obverse	Reverse	Find area
Violity, January 15th, 2017. Seller: Бит 70	A	A	Vinnytsia, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 699	A	B	Vinnytsia, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 637	B	B	Cherkasy, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 723 (1)	C	B	Cherkasy, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 723 (2)	C	B	Lviv, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 137	D	B	Kharkiv, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 727 (1)	D	C	Vinnytsia, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 727 (2)	D	C	Vinnytsia, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 376	D	D	Vinnytsia, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 1276	E	D	Kharkiv, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 562	F	D	Khmelmitsky, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 201	F	E	Poltava, Ukraine
Stribrny 2003, SAIG 2	F	F	Germany?
Description no. 65	F	G	Hulterstad, Öland, Sweden
Anokhin no. 769	F	H	Ternopil, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 1477	F	I	Cherkasy, Ukraine
Description no. 15	F	I	Uggårde, Rone, Gotland, Sweden
Description no. 66	G	I	Hulterstad, Öland, Sweden
Description no. 22	G	J	Gandarve, Alva, Gotland, Sweden
Stribrny 2003, Kecel 25	H	J	Kecel, Hungary
Anokhin no. 567	I	J	Chernivtsi, Ukraine
Violity, August 2nd, 2017. Seller: товарищъ	D	K	Vinnytsia, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 234	J	K	Vinnytsia, Ukraine
Anokhin no. 1414	K	K	Vinnytsia, Ukraine
Numismatic Chronicle 1955	L	K	Britain ?
Description no. no. 26	M	K	St. Enbjänne, Hogrän, Gotland, Sw.

(Obvers dies 13, reverse dies 11)

Table 1. Hulterstad-Uggårde/Uggårda. Die-links 26 coins (Status August 2nd, 2017).

Coin no. 22 on Gotland has the same obverse, of Lucius Verus (161-169), as that of coin no. 66 on Öland, which has the same reverse as the coin no. 15 on Gotland; the latter has the same obverse, of Marcus Aurelius, as coin no. 65 on Öland (Lind 1988, pp. 117-119, with plate 9). A fifth coin of this group turned up on Gotland

in 1998, coin no. 26 (find no. 23; Hogrän par., Stora Enbjänne). It had a reverse similar to that of coins nos. 15 and 66 but clearly struck with a different die. The same reverse die seems to have been used for a coin published in *Numismatic Chronicle* 1955 (Lind 2007, fig. 8).

In 2003 Stribrny, added two more coins to

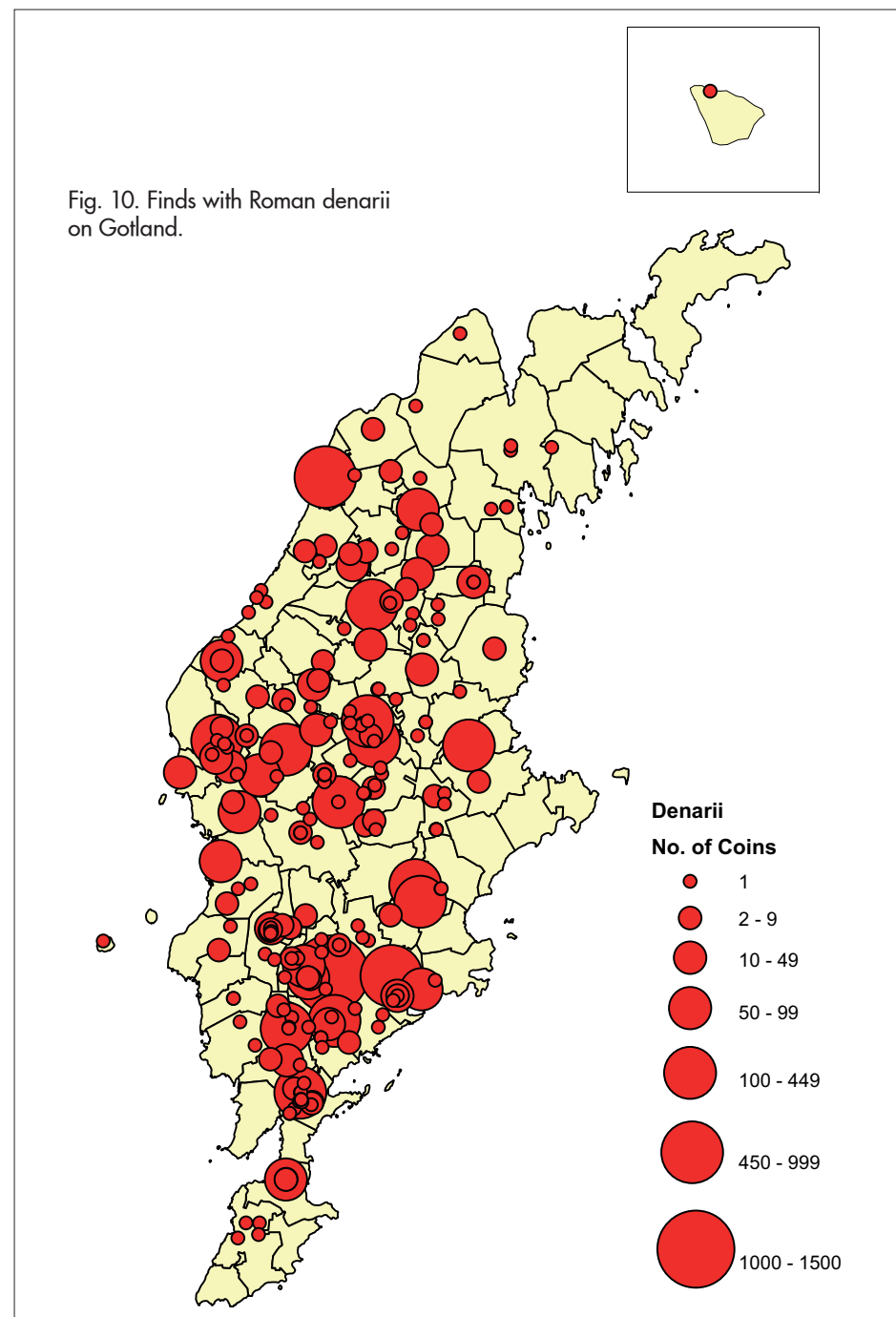
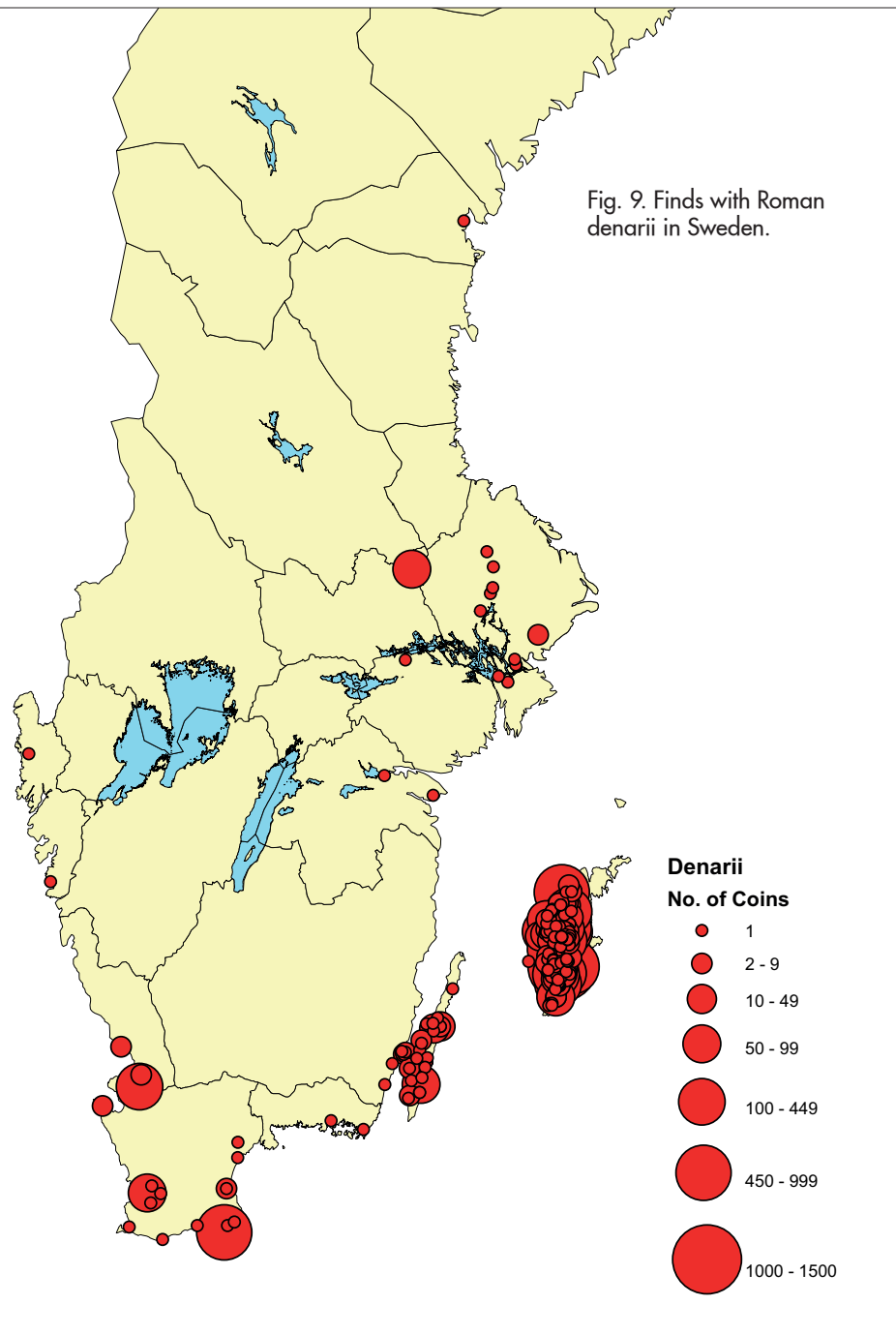


Fig. 9. Finds with Roman denarii in Sweden.



this group, one from a collection in Göttingen in Germany, with the same obverse as the coins nos. 15 and 65 in the *Description*, and another one from the large hoard of Kecel in Hungary, with the same reverse as coin no. 22 in the *Description* (Stribrny 2003, pp. 46-62; Lind 2007, figs. 1 and 6). The Kecel hoard, found in 1934, consisted of at least 2,596 denarii, among them 44 Imperial era imitations (Stribrny 2003, pp.18-30).

In Lind 2007, I was able to sum up the situation, but the real size and importance of the Hulterstad-Uggårde group did not become clear to me until 2011, when I was made aware of the Internet site of Oleg Anokhin. In 2017 Anokhin had sixteen coins on his site, directly or indirectly die-linked to the coins presented by me in 2007. One of them, Anokhin no. 1477, is struck with the same pair of dies as coin no. 15 in *Description*, and three coins, Anokhin nos. 201, 562 and 769, with the same obverse die as coin no. 15 on Gotland and coin no. 65 on Öland (and Stribrny's Göttingen coin). Further, the reverse of coin no. 22 seems to have been made with the same die as Anokhin no. 567, and coin no. 26 with Anokhin nos. 234 and 1414.

The die-links of the eight coins of Lind 2007 and the sixteen from Anokhin 2015 and his Internet site are shown in *Table 1*, with two coins from *Violity* added. *Violity*, January 15th, 2017, and *Violity*, August 2nd, 2017, in all twenty-six (26) coins. The imitations from Sweden are shown in *italics* in *Table 1*.

Already in 1988 it could be stated that the group as a whole must belong to the third century (or later?) rather than the second, despite the fact that the four coins then known only had portraits of second century emperors, because of the reverse of coins nos. 15 and 66. This shows a barbarous representation of the god Jupiter, of a type the prototype of which cannot be earlier than the reign of the emperor Severus Alexander (222-235). (Lind 1988, p. 118; cf.

Stribrny 2003, p. 60). Several of the imitations in *Table 1* of types not represented on Öland and Gotland have also used coins from the third century as prototypes for the reverses.

But there are a number of obverses for which only coins of the second century have been used as prototypes. The obverses A, C, D, E and F in *Table 1* all have or seem to have portraits of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), and more or less garbled versions of legends that fit this emperor. A, C and F seem to try to reproduce the legend M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXIII, used for Marcus Aurelius in 169 (RIC 203 etc.). See, for example, nos. 15 and 65 in *Description* (obverse F). Obverse E, only represented on Anokhin no. 1276, has a legend that could be transcribed I I PMAVPEL(?)ANTONIN-VZAVC, which seems to be a garbled version of IMP M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG, used in 161-162 (RIC 6 etc.), and obverse D, transcribed ΛΛ ANIOIVV .. – CIBAAZAPAA (best visible on Anokhin nos. 727 and 1414), perhaps tries to reproduce the legend M ANTONINVS AVG GERM SARM, used in 175-178 (RIC 225 etc.), just as obverse K, which, however, has a portrait of Antoninus Pius (138-161). Obverse G, only represented in Sweden, has a portrait of Lucius Verus (161-169) and a legend that tries to reproduce (L) VERVS AVG ARMENIACVS, used for this emperor in 163-165 (RIC 501 etc.). See no. 22 and 66 in *Description*. Obverse H, finally, has a portrait of Faustina I, and perhaps the legend [FAVSTINA] – AVGVST[A] (Lind 2007, fig. 6).

The legends of obverses B, I, J, L and M are uncertain. Obverse B has a portrait of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, obverse I probably of Trajan, obverse J of Hadrian and L and M perhaps of Caracalla (196-217). Stribrny in 2003 had no knowledge about imitations with portraits of emperors later than Commodus (180-192), but there are such coins in Ukraine, for example Anokhin 2015 no. 54 (Septimius Severus) and



Fig. 3. Imitation from Ukraine. Obverse: Marcus Aurelius; reverse: Hercules with branch and club. Table 1, obverse A, reverse A. From *Violity*.

no. 768 (Caracalla). Anokhin no. 54 has the obverse legend SEVERVS PIVS AVG, which was not used on official coins before 201.

Reverse A, from the coin of *Violity*, *January 15th, 2017* (Fig. 3), with a legend PM TI - XVI - COZ IIII PP that undoubtedly imitates legends of coins of Caracalla from 213, PM TR P XVI COS IIII PP, and which has a Hercules with branch and club, is clearly inspired by Caracalla RIC 206. Reverse B, represented on five coins, all from Ukraine, has a Victory inscribing a shield, a type used by several emperors. But if the legend, P? MTRP?+V - COOZIIPI (best visible on Anokhin no. 723), is a garbled version of PM TRP XV COS III PP, which is possible, the prototype is a coin of Septimius Severus (193-211) from 207, RIC 211. Reverse C seems to imitate a coin of Geta from 200-202, RIC 20. It has a garbled version of the legend SECVRTAS IMPERII (ZEVCI RIT - [IMP?]) EPII, Anokhin no. 727) and shows a seated goddess with a globe, clearly Securitas. Reverses D and E imitates coins of Severus Alexander. Reverse D, with the slightly misspelled rendering of the legend VIRTVS AVG (VIR - TV - ZAVC, best visible on Anokhin no. 562), imitates RIC 226, from 228-231, which shows a military figure with globe and spear. Reverse E, likewise with a slightly misspelled legend, here of PM TR P II COS PP (PMTIRP - II - COZPP, only Anokhin no. 201), imitates RIC 23, from 223, showing the god Mars with branch and spear. In both cases the actual combination of

legend and reverse type were first used during Severus Alexander.

The prototype of reverse F (Lind 2007, fig. 1) is uncertain. The suggestion by Stribrny (2003, p. 46) repeated by me (Lind 2007, p. 57), does not seem to fit. It has an uncertain legend and shows an emperor shaking hands with an empress or a goddess. The prototype of reverse G, only represented on Öland, see no. 65 in *Description*, is likewise uncertain, but it cannot be earlier than 193 (Lind 1988, pp. 118f.). As to the prototype of reverse H, with an uncertain legend and a goddess holding up folds of her skirt, I have no guess.

The prototype of reverses I and K is a coin of Severus Alexander, RIC 141, from 222-228. See above, about nos. 15, 66 and 26 in *Description*. The reverse J, finally, with only traces of a legend, see no. 22 in *Description*, may show Providentia holding a globe and a sceptre, after the pattern of a coin of Faustina I from 141-161, RIC 350.

The dates, as far as it is possible to ascertain, of the prototypes for the obverses and reverses of the coins of the Hulterstad-Uggårde/Uggårda group, is summarized in *Table 2*.

Other groups: Gotland, Ukraine and Hungary (and Bornholm?)

To my knowledge, there are no direct die-links between imitations found in Sweden and imitations in Denmark, but perhaps an indirect one. The reverse of an imitation from Bornholm, published by Horsnæs (Horsnæs 2007, p. 48, Figur 1; Horsnæs 2013, p. 182), may have been struck with the same die as a number of imitations from Ukraine, i.e., Anokhin no. 438 (six coins), which belong to a larger group of more than 70 imitations, most of them from Ukraine, but which includes two imitations certainly or probably from Gotland.

This group, which I have called the *Ceres-Mulde group*, has exclusively used denarii of

1. Färö (incl. Gotska sandön)	47. Viklau	Akebäck	31	Hemse	77
2. Hall	48. Sjonhem	Ala	55	Hogrän	43
3. Fleringe	49. Anga	Alskog	63	Hörsne & Bara	34
4. Bunge	50. Västergarn	Alva	81	Klinte	59
5. Stenkyrka	51. Sanda	Anga	49	Kräklingbo	56
6. Hangvar	52. Väte	Ardre	64	Källunge	23
7. Lärbo	53. Guldrupe	Atlingbo	46	Lau	74
8. Rute	54. Vänge	Barlingbo	32	Levide	69
9. Lummelunda	55. Ala	Björke	44	Linde	71
10. Martebo	56. Kräklingbo	Boge	17	Lojsta	66
11. Tingstäde	57. Gammelgarn	Bro	18	Lokrume	15
12. Othem	58. Östergarn	Bunge	4	Lummelunda	9
13. Hellvi	59. Klinte	Burs	78	Lye	73
14. Väskinde	60. Hejde	Buttle	61	Lärbo	7
15. Lokrume	61. Buttle	Bäl	20	Martebo	10
16. Hejnum	62. Etelhem	Dalhem	33	Mästerby	45
17. Boge	63. Alskog	Eke	85	Norrlanda	41
18. Bro	64. Ardre	Ekeby	27	När	79
19. Fole	65. Fröjel	Eksta	68	Näs	86
20. Bäl	66. Lojsta	Endre	26	Othem	12
21. Visby	67. Garde	Eskelhem	42	Roma	38
22. Hejdeby	68. Eksta	Etelhem	62	Rone	82
23. Källunge	69. Levide	Fardhem	76	Rute	8
24. Vallstena	70. Gerum	Fide	88	Sanda	51
25. Follingbo	71. Linde	Fleringe	3	Silte	80
26. Endre	72. Stånga	Fole	19	Sjonhem	48
27. Ekeby	73. Lye	Follingbo	25	Sproge	75
28. Gothem	74. Lau	Fröjel	65	Stenkumla	36
29. Västerhejde	75. Sproge	Färö (incl. Gotska sandön)	1	Stenkyrka	5
30. Träkumla	76. Fardhem	Gammelgarn	57	Stånga	72
31. Akebäck	77. Hemse	Ganthem	40	Sundre	92
32. Barlingbo	78. Burs	Garde	67	Tingstäde	11
33. Dalhem	79. När	Gerum	70	Tofta	35
34. Hörsne & Bara	80. Silte	Gothem	28	Träkumla	30
35. Tofta	81. Alva	Grötlingbo	87	Vall	37
36. Stenkumla	82. Rone	Guldrupe	53	Vallstena	24
37. Vall	83. Hablingbo	Hablingbo	83	Vamlingbo	90
38. Roma	84. Havdhem	Hall	2	Viklau	47
39. Halla	85. Eke	Halla	39	Visby	21
40. Ganthem	86. Näs	Hamra	91	Vänge	54
41. Norrlanda	87. Grötlingbo	Hangvar	6	Väskinde	14
42. Eskelhem	88. Fide	Havdhem	84	Västergarn	50
43. Hogrän	89. Öja	Hejde	60	Västerhejde	29
44. Björke	90. Vamlingbo	Hejdeby	22	Väte	52
45. Mästerby	91. Hamra	Hejnum	16	Öja	89
46. Atlingbo	92. Sundre	Hellvi	13	Östergarn	58

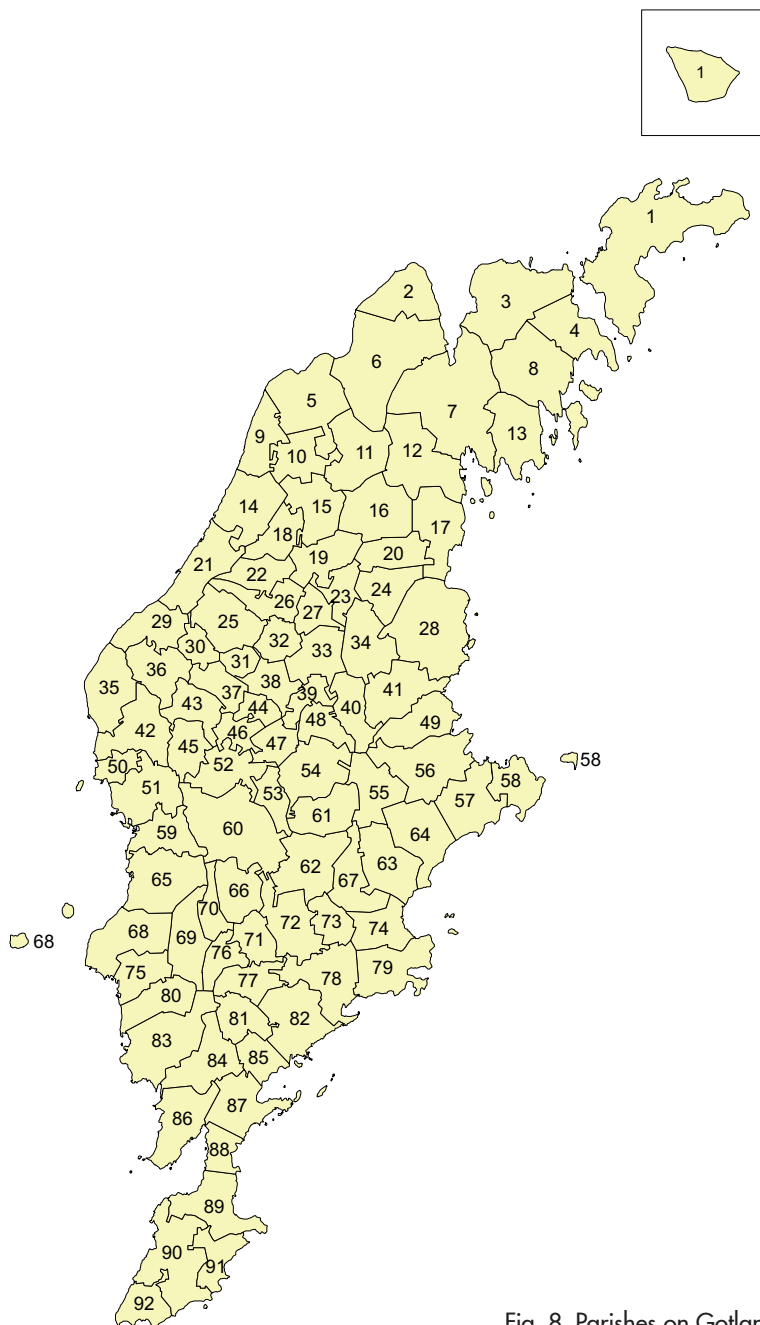


Fig. 8. Parishes on Gotland.

	Obverse	Date AD	Reverse	Date AD
Stribrny 2003, SAIG 2	F	169	F	?
Anokhin no. 769	F	169	H	?
Anokhin no. 567	I	103-17	J	141-61?
Stribrny 2003, Kecel 25	H	138-41	J	141-61?
Description no. 22	G	163-5	J	141-61?
Description no. 65	F	169	G	193+
Anokhin no. 727 (1-2)	D	175-8	C	200-02
Anokhin no. 637	B	117-161?	B	207
Anokhin no. 699	A	169	B	207
Anokhin no. 723 (1-2)	C	169	B	207
Anokhin no. 137	D	176-8	B	207
Violity, January 15th, 2017. Seller: Вит 70	A	169	A	213
Description no. 66	G	163-5	I	222-8
Description no. 15	F	169	I	222-8
Anokhin no. 1477	F	169	I	222-8
Anokhin no. 234	J	117-38	K	222-8
Violity, August 2nd, 2017. Seller: товарищъ	D	175-8	K	222-8
Anokhin no. 1414	K	175-8	K	222-8
Numismatic Chronicle 1955	L	196-217?	K	222-8
Description 26	M	196-217?	K	222-8
Anokhin no. 201	F	169	E	223
Anokhin no. 1276	E	161-2	D	228-31
Anokhin no. 562	F	169	D	228-31
Anokhin no. 376	D	175-8	D	228-31

(Dates according to RIC)

Table 2. Hulterstad-Uggårde/Uggårda group. Dates prototypes 26 coins (Status August 2nd, 2017).

the second century as prototypes, for obverses as well as reverses, in contrast to the Hulterstad-Uggårde group. The first coin from Sweden, no. 13 in the *Description* (find no. 31, Gotlands Museum, find spot unknown) has a portrait of Antoninus Pius on the obverse and the legend ANTONINVS – AVCPPTRIXX, i.e. ANTONINVS AVG PP TR P XX, from 157, and the reverse legend CE – RES, from a coin of Faustina II, dated to 161-176, RIC 669 (cf. Lind 2008).

The second coin, no. 16 in *Description* (find no. 8, Fröjel par., Mulde) has the obverse legend MANTONINVS – AVCO ..., which imitates that of a coin of Marcus Aurelius, 161-180. The reverse legend ..?IIII (in exergue) – TRPO – TII – COSIII, on the other hand, seems to imitate that of a coin of Antoninus Pius, dated to 145-161, with the legend LIB IIII (in exergue) – TR POT – COS IIII, RIC 156. Coins from Ukraine tie these two Gotlandic imitations together,



Fig. 4. Imitation from Ukraine. Obverse: Marcus Aurelius?; reverse: female figure with uncertain object and cornucopiae. Reverse same die as coin no. 17 (in Gotlands Museum). From Violity.

i.e., Anokhin 2015 nos. 107, 314, 507, 544, 658 and 222. The coins of this group are mostly hybrids, freely mixing imitations of obverses and reverses from the same or different emperors and empresses, all of the second century, i.e., Antoninus Pius, Faustina I, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina II, Commodus, and Crispina. Anokhin no. 438, for example, has an obverse legend of Marcus Aurelius from 161-162, and a portrait of the same emperor. The reverse is clearly imitating that of a coin of this emperor from 169-171, RIC 216 or 234. It shows Salus feeding a snake in her arms, i.e., the same type used on the above mentioned imitation on Bornholm, published by Horsnæs in 2007, but the Bornholm coin has Faustina I on the obverse.

There is an imitation in Gotlands Museum, most probably found on Gotland, no. 17 in the *Description*, which has a reverse die-linked to a number of imitations from Ukraine, i.e., Anokhin nos. 34, 731 (at least three coins) and 756. Further, no. 17 in *Description* can, via a coin from Violity, *Violity September 23rd*, 2017, be connected with an imitation in gold from Ukraine. The Violity coin (Fig. 4), has the same reverse as the coin in Gotlands Museum, but a different obverse, which, however, is made with the same die as no. 320 in Anokhin's section of gold coins. The prototypes of obverses and reverses of the coins in this group, which consist of imitations in gold as well as silver, are difficult to specify. They may all belong to the second century, with the possible excep-



Fig 5. Imitation from Ukraine. Obverse uncertain emperor; reverse: figure seated left on chair. Reverse same die as coin no. 52 (Sanda par., Öjvide). From Violity.

tion of that of the Violity coin and the gold coin. Here the obverse portrait may have been inspired by a portrait of Septimius Severus, although the legend seems to be a much garbled ANTONINVS, on imitations a legend usually connected with portraits of Marcus Aurelius. The gold coin is pierced. It seems to have been found with three pierced gold coins from the reign of Trajan Decius (249-251), according to information from Violity, where the coin was offered for sale (<http://forum.violity.com/viewtopic.php?t=1548057>). This makes it possible that the group as a whole belongs to the third century rather than the second.

There are other coins on Gotland which may belong to groups with a wide geographical distribution. Coin no. 32 (find no. 10, Garde par., Robbenarve), Almgren & Nerman 1923, Fig. 329 (".. Fig. 329 gibt vielleicht eine Münze von Antoninus Pius wieder.") was struck with the same obverse die as Anokhin no. 1022, from Ukraine, and Stribrny 2003, Tafel 9.11, probably found in Hungary. Coin no. 23 (find no. 1, Alva par., Gandarve), was made with the same pair of dies as Anokhin no. 1063. The obverse and reverse of Anokhin no. 1039 (at least three coins), made with the same pair of dies as Stribrny 2003, Kecel 38, from the Kecel hoard in Hungary, are very close to those of coin no. 23 in *Description* and Anokhin no. 1063, but not identical. They may have the same origin. Both imitate a coin of Commodus from 191, obverse as well as reverse, RIC 224 (cf. Stribrny 2003, p.

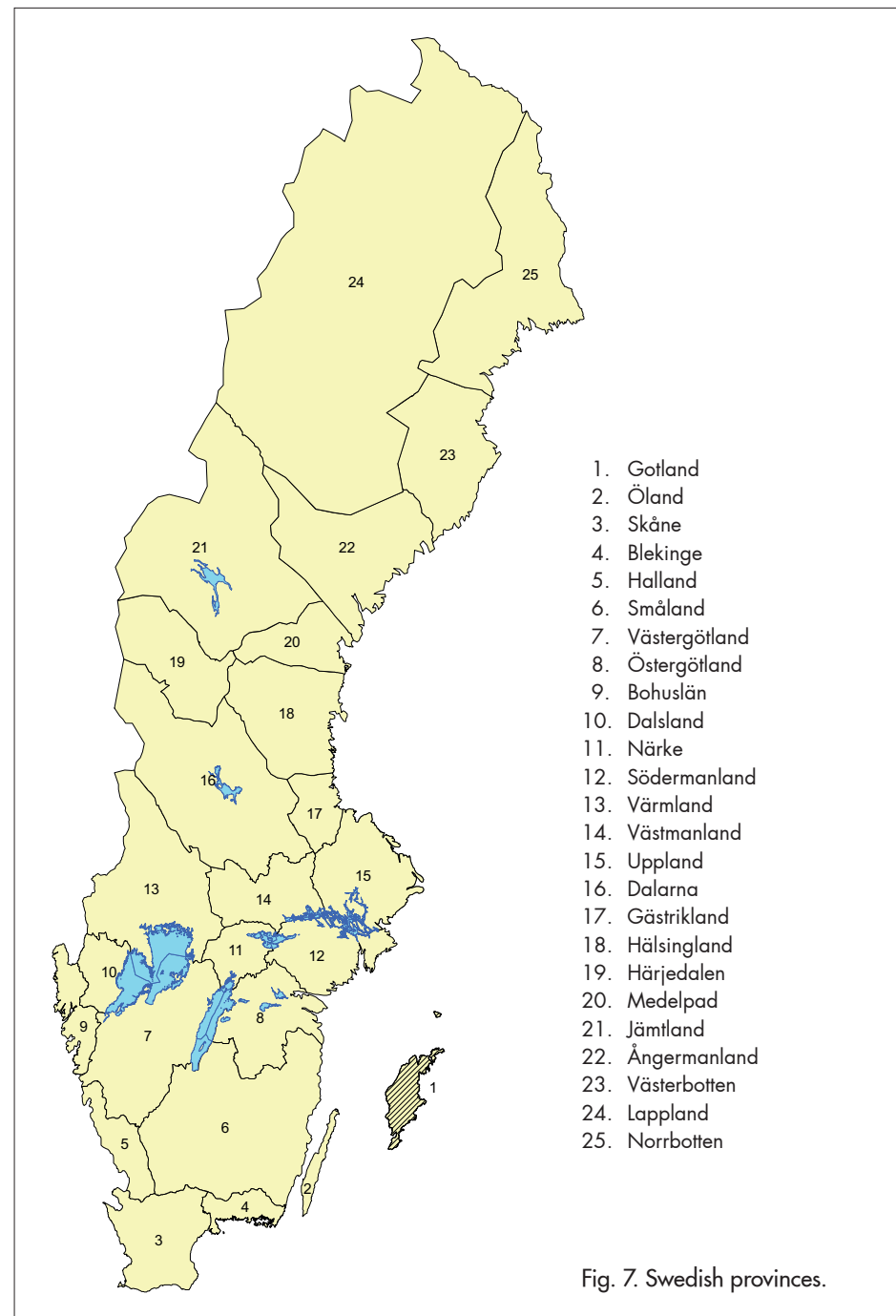


Fig. 7. Swedish provinces.

Roman Emperors and Empresses represented on Denarii

Augustus	27 B.C.–A.D. 14
Tiberius	A.D. 14–37
Caligula	A.D. 37–41
Claudius	A.D. 41–54
Nero	A.D. 54–68
Galba	A.D. 68–69
Otho	A.D. 69
Vitellius	A.D. 69
Vespasian	A.D. 69–79
Titus	A.D. 79–81
Domitian	A.D. 81–96
Nerva	A.D. 96–98
Trajan	A.D. 98–117
Hadrian	A.D. 117–138
Sabina	Wife of Hadrian
Aelius Caesar	A.D. 136–138
Antoninus Pius	A.D. 138–161
Faustina Senior	Wife of Antoninus Pius
Marcus Aurelius	A.D. 161–180
Faustina Junior	Daughter of Antoninus Pius. Wife of Marcus Aurelius
Lucius Verus	A.D. 161–169
Lucilla	Daughter of Marcus Aurelius. Wife of Lucius Verus
Commodus	A.D. 177–192
Crispina	Wife of Commodus
Pertinax	A.D. 193
Didius Julianus	A.D. 193
Pescennius Niger	A.D. 193–194
Clodius Albinus	A.D. 193–197
Septimius Severus	A.D. 193–211
Julia Domna	Wife of Septimius Severus
Caracalla	198–217
Plautilla	Wife of Caracalla
Geta	A.D. 209–212
Macrinus	A.D. 217–218
Diadumenian	A.D. 218
Elagabalus	A.D. 218–222
Julia Paula	First wife of Elagabalus
Acquilia Severa	Second and fourth wife of Elagabalus
Annia Faustina	Third wife of Elagabalus
Julia Soaemias	Mother of Elagabalus
Julia Maesa	Grandmother of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander
Severus Alexander	A.D. 222–235
Orbiana	Wife of Severus Alexander
Julia Mamaea	Mother of Severus Alexander
Maximinus I	A.D. 235–238
Paulina	Wife of Maximinus
Maximus	Caesar, A.D. 235–238
Gordian I	A.D. 238
Gordian II	A.D. 238
Balbinus	A.D. 238
Pupienus	A.D. 238
Gordian III	A.D. 238–244
Tranquillina	Wife of Gordian III
Philip I	A.D. 244–249
Otacia Severa	Wife of Philip I
Philip II	A.D. 247–249

29, no. 38). Together they constitute a group of a number of imitations, represented on Gotland, in Hungary and in Ukraine, dated, at the earliest, to the last decade of the second century.

There are a few coins on Gotland die-linked to only one single coin in Ukraine. An example is coin no. 52 in *Description*, from find no. 27 (Sanda par., Öjvide). Its reverse seems to have been struck with the same die as a coin from Ukraine, Violity, February 19th. 2018 (Fig. 5).

Conclusion: date and origin

None of the imitations found on Öland and Gotland has an obverse portrait of an emperor before Trajan (98–117) or after Commodus (180–192), with the possible exception of no. 26. However, many coins have reverses that undoubtedly imitates reverses of regular coins from the third century, at the latest from the reign of Severus Alexander (222–235). Although a production of imitations in the second century cannot be excluded, many coins must belong to the third century (or later?). In my opinion, the Imperial era denarius imitations as a whole are a phenomenon belonging to the third century (or later?) rather than the second, but more research is needed.

Almgren and Nerman in 1923, who had almost no knowledge about denarius imitations outside of Gotland, had two suggestions about their origin: to the north of the Black Sea, i.e., in present-day Ukraine, among the Goths and the Bastarnae, and Gotland itself. Mainly because of the large number of imitations found in Ukraine, and the die-links, a production of imitations on Gotland seems unlikely. The imitations thus point to a connection between Gotland (and Öland?) and peoples living in what is now Ukraine, during the third century (or later?), rather than the second, Here the Goths come to mind, rather than the shadowy Bastarnae. It is not clear, for instance, whether there was a direct connection between Gotland

and Ukraine, for example in the form of warriors from Gotland taking part in the raids of the Goths into the Roman Empire, or whether there was a more indirect one, via Poland. Here too more research is needed.

ADDENDUM

Oleg Anokhin on his site has four coins, Anokhin nos. 395 (1-2), 765 and 1491, with the same obverse, seemingly struck with one and the same die. It shows a Jupiter seated on a throne, holding a small Victory and a spear reversed. The legend is partly uncertain, but ends with COZ III PP. The obverses have the portrait of Antoninus Pius but are struck with three different dies, having different legends.

On November 17th 2018 a coin was offered for sale on Violity, and subsequently sold, <https://auction.violity.com/uk/93750358-podrazhannya-denariyu-a-piya> with the same reverse as Anokhin no. 201 (Mars with branch and spear, reverse E in Table 1) and the same obverse as Anokhin no. 765, thus making the number of coins in the Hulterstad-Uggårde group 31.

Catalogue of finds in Sweden with imitations of Roman denarii

GOTLAND

1. Alva parish, Gandarve (1927 and later)

SHM-KMK 18666 and 18982, KMK 101101 and 100745, GF C 9195; private collections.

Lind 1981, nos. 8a-g; Lind 1988, no. 8h; Östergren 1981, pp. 48f. no. 9b; Golabiewski 1985, p. 139; Lind 2007.

Hoard of of at least 315 denarii, from Vespasian to Septimius Severus (72-200 A.D.), recovered on several occasions by different persons from 1927 onwards.

22. Lucius Verus. Same obverse as no. 66, same or similar die; same reverse die as Stribrny 2003, Kecel no. 25 and Anokhin no. 567.

23. Commodus. Same obverse and reverse dies as Anokhin no. 1063.

49. Antonine emperor.

55. Antonine (?) emperor.

2. Anga parish, Boters (1937)

SHM-KMK 21893.

Lind 1981, no. 9; Östergren 1981, p. 49 no. 10.

Hoard of 181 denarii, from Vespasian to Septimius Severus (70-198 A.D.), found in August 1937. The first 150 coins were unearthed by the farmer Karl Emil Hellström when digging was made in an area with remains of prehistoric houses. In the same year Mårten Stenberger made an investigation and added 31 coins.

3. Trajan. Same obverse and reverse dies as nos. 2 and 4.

12. Hadrian (?).

3. Bäl parish, Gane (1920s; 1983-1984)

KMK 101144 and 101251.

Golabiewski Lannby 1991a, p. 134 no. 3; Golabiewski Lannby 1991b, p. 155 no. 6.

Hoard of 44 denarii, from Vespasian to Commodus (70-191 AD): 40 coins were found during investigations with metal detector of a find spot where 4 silver coins, now lost but no doubt denarii, had been discovered in the 1920s. 25 coins were found in 1983, 15 (among them the imitation) in 1984.

42. Antonine (?) emperor

4. Burs parish, Kärne (Känne), "Stavgard" (1929-30)

SHM-KMK 19628 and 19629

Nihlén 1932; Björnstad 1955, pp. 886-894; CNS 1.2.33; Lind 1981, no. 16; Östergren 1981, p. 49 no. 16b.

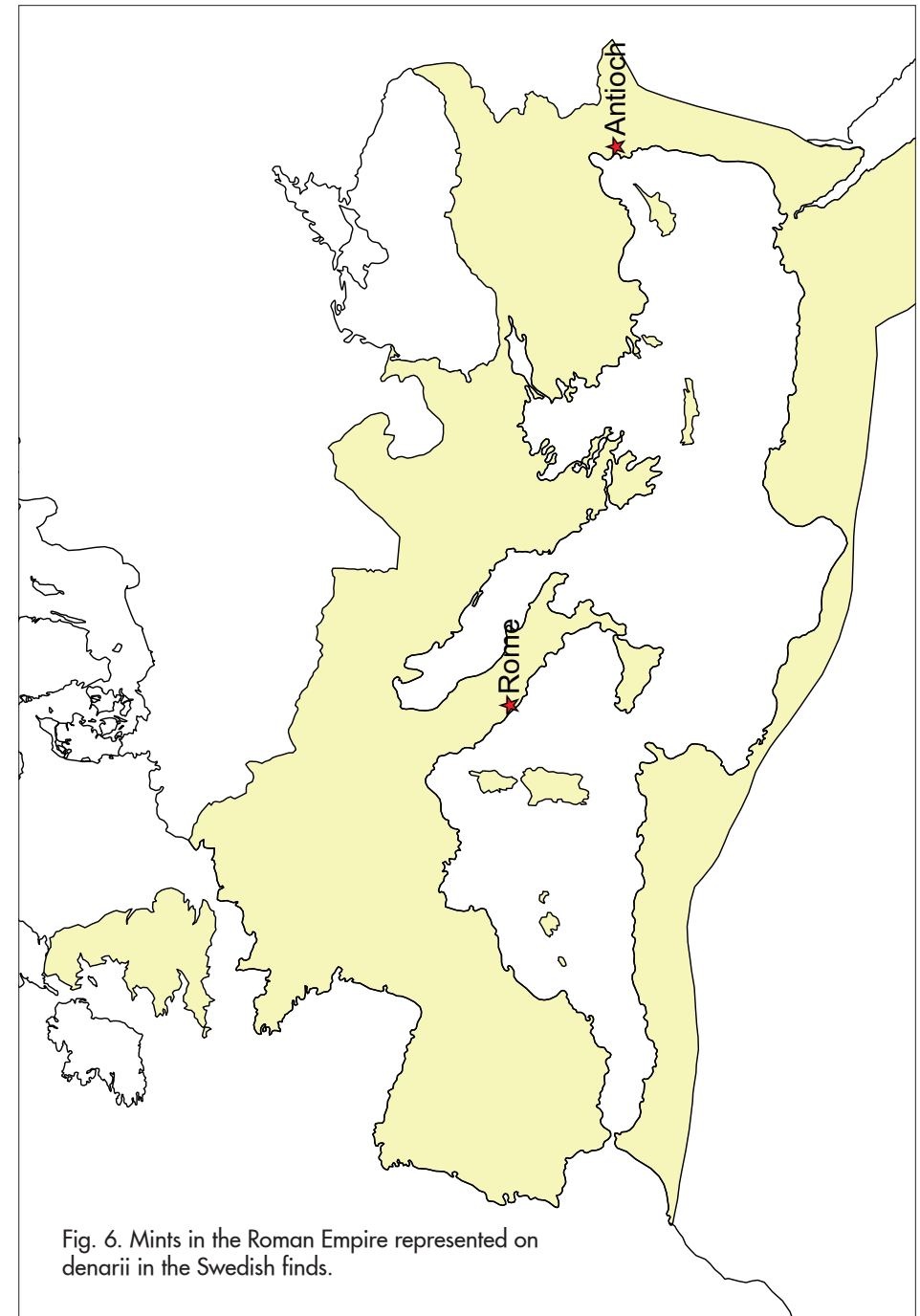


Fig. 6. Mints in the Roman Empire represented on denarii in the Swedish finds.



Settlement find. The coins, 23 in all, i.e., 15 regular denarii from Hadrian to Commodus (119-184 A.D.) and 8 imitations, were found by Dr. John Nihlén, in the course of an archaeological excavation of the remains of a prehistoric house, “Stavgard”, of the so-called kämpgrav-type.

- 5. Trajan. Much worn. Probably same obverse and reverse dies as nos. 6-8.
- 6. “ Much worn. Probably same obverse and reverse dies as nos. 5 and 7-8.
- 7. “ Much worn. Probably same obverse and reverse dies as nos. 5-6 and 8.
- 8. “ Much worn. Probably same obverse and reverse dies as nos. 5-7.
- 9. Hadrian. Filled-in-hole. Same obverse and reverse dies as no. 10 and probably also no. 11.
- 10. “ Same obverse and reverse dies as no. 9 and probably also no. 11.
- 35. Antoninus Pius (?).
- 56. Antonine (?) emperor.

5. Burs parish, Sigdes (1906)

SHM-KMK 12684

Norström 1907, pp. 202f.; Almgren & Nerman 1923, no. 265 and p. 57; Bolin 1926, BH 17; Lind 1981, no. 18; Östergren 1981, p. 49 no. 17; cf. Lind 2006, pp. 63f., Table 1.

Hoard of 646 denarii from Nero to Septimius Severus (64-195 A.D.), found by the farmer August Pettersson and the farm-hand Emil Olsson in the course of ploughing a previously uncultivated part of a field.

- 33. Antoninus Pius (?).
- 46. Lucius Verus (?).
- 53. Antonine (?) emperor.

6. Buttle parish, Änge (before 1949)

SHM-KMK 24375

Rasmusson 1953, p. 141; Lind 1981, no. 20; Östergren 1981, p. 49 no. 19.

Stray find. The coin was first reported in a letter from 1949, as found “a long time ago”, during work in a field.

- 54. Antonine (?) emperor.

7. Fole parish, Stora Sojdeby (2009)

Gotland

Unpublished.

Stray find or part of hoard. Found with a denarius from Marcus Aurelius (161-162 A.D.).

- 60. Uncertain emperor.

8. Fröjel parish, Mulde (1935-36)

GF C 8729

Lind 1981, no. 39; Östergren 1981, p. 51 no. 43; Lind 2013a, no. 50.

Hoard of 50 denarii from Nero to Commodus (64-192 A.D.). The coins were found, on different

occasions but within the same rather restricted area, in the poultry-yard. The coins lay loose in the surface of the soil, isolated or grouped together.

16. Marcus Aurelius. Same obverse and reverse dies as Anokhin no. 325; same obverse die as Anokhin nos. 270 and 1261; same reverse die as Anokhin nos. 107, 269, 404, 1243 and Alram et al. 1983, Tafel 19,1514.

9. Garde (Garda) parish, Prästgården (1984-2008)

GF C 11929; Gotland

Golabiewski Lannby 1991b, p. 170 f. no. 41.

Hoard of 120 denarii from Nero to Septimius Severus (64-194 A.D.). 106 denarii were found in 1984 by Torgny Andersson and Majvor Östergren, during investigations, partly with a metal detector, partly by excavation, of a site where two silver coins, now lost but presumably denarii, had been discovered in the 1940s. A further 8 coins were recovered by Jonas Ström of Gotlands Museum during renewed investigations in 1999. Another 6 coins were found in 2008.

47. Commodus (?).

58. Antonine (?) emperor.

10. Garde (Garda) parish, Robbenarve (1896)

SHM-KMK 10155

Almgren 1902; Almgren & Nerman 1923, no. 263 and p. 57; Bolin 1926, BH 48; Lind 1981, no. 43; Östergren 1981, p. 52 no. 47; Lind 2015.

Hoard of 368 denarii from Vitellius to Septimius Severus (69-194 A.D.). The coins were found by the labourers F. O. Johansson, J. O. Johansson and K. Niclasson while taking away a "stenvast" (prehistoric stone fence) in a field.

32. Antoninus Pius (?). Same obverse die as Stribrny 2003, Tafel 9.11 and Anokhin no. 1022.

11. Grötlingbo parish, Domerarve (2009)

Gotland

Unpublished.

Probably part of hoard with 4 regular denarii from Antoninus Pius to Commodus (138-186 A.D.).

11. Hadrian. Corroded. Probably same obverse and reverse dies as nos. 9-10.

12. Grötlingbo parish, Norrkvie I:b (1983-1990)

KMK 101138, 101250, 101379 and 103304

Östergren 1985, pp. 24-26; 1989, pp. 172-175 no. 78; Lind 1991; Golabiewski Lannby 1991a, pp. 136-138 no. 8; Golabiewski Lannby 1991b, p. 156 no. 8; Golabiewski Lannby 1992a, p. 191 no. 6a.

Hoard of at least 215 denarii from Nero to Commodus (64-190 A.D.). 134 denarii, among them the 2 imitations, were found in October 1983 by Torgny Andersson and Majvor Östergren,



Temporarily
not
available



during an investigation of the find spot of an unknown number of denarii (Lind 1981, 44b; Östergren 1981, p. 52 no. 48b). Another 53 denarii were recovered in May 1984. Further search in May 1985 by Torgny Andersson resulted in 24 denarii. In May 1990, another 4 denarii were found by Torgny Andersson, Ylva Engström and Jonas Ström.

29. Antoninus Pius (?).

14. Faustina I (diva).

13. Grötlingbo parish, Uddvide (2009)

Gotland

Unpublished.

Stray find or part of hoard with 5 regular denarii from Antoninus Pius to Marcus Aurelius (138-180 A.D.).

40. Marcus Aurelius (?).

14. Guldrupe parish, Bjärs (1907)

SHM-KMK 13211

Almgren & Nerman 1923, p. 57; Bolin 1926, BH 51b; Lind 1981, no. 47; Östergren 1981, p. 52 no. 49b.

Stray find. The coin was found by Maria Jacobsson, Bjärs, while beet-hoeing in a very old field. The coin is described as a genuine denarius, probably Trajan, in the SHM Inv. and in literature prior to 1981.

2. Trajan. Same obverse and reverse dies as nos. 3-4.

15. Halla parish, Broa (1966)

SHM dnr 5943/97

Unpublished.

Grave find. The coin was found by Arne Hallström during archaeological excavations of a grave (1966/101c), dated to the Migration or Vendel Period (400-800).

34. Antoninus Pius (?). Pierced. Large round hole.

16. Halla parish, Hallegårda (1867)

SHM-KMK 3701 (312 coins); 3746 (11 coins, now lost)

Montelius 1869, nos. 47-48; Hauberg 1894, nos. 57 and 71; Almgren & Nerman 1923, no. 245 and 252; Bolin 1926, BH 59a-b; Lind 1981, nos. 53a-b; Östergren 1981, p. 52 no. 55a.

Hoard of 323 denarii from Nero to Septimius Severus (64-194 A.D.). 312 coins were found in a field called Kilen, 21 coins by the widow Helena Maria Andersdotter Jakobsson, 291 by the wife of the labourer Olof Tingström. 11 coins found by the labourer Jacob Dahlgren "in a field near Sjonhemsrum" (=Kilen?) were probably part of the same hoard.

25. Marcus Aurelius or Commodus.

17. Havdhem parish, Havor (1888)

SHM-KMK 8404

Hauberg 1894, no. 74; Almgren & Nerman 1923, no. 256; Bolin 1926, BH 61; Lind 1981, no. 55; Östergren 1981, p. 52 no. 56.

Hoard of 121 denarii from Vespasian to Septimius Severus (74-195 A.D.). The coins were found by Hanna Nilsson Havor, while ploughing.

39. Marcus Aurelius (?) as Caesar (?).

18. Havdhem parish, Havor (2009)

Gotland

Unpublished.

Stray find in the autumn of 2009.

37. Faustina I (?).

19. Hejde parish, Simunde (2009)

Gotland

Unpublished.

Stray find in the autumn of 2009.

36. Antoninus Pius (?).

20. Hejnum parish, Rings (1886)

SHM-KMK 8063

Nordin 1886, pp. 145-174; Almgren & Nerman 1923, p. 58; Bolin 1926, BH 67; Björnstad 1955, pp. 864-876; Lind 1981, no. 59; Östergren 1981, p. 53 no. 61.

Settlement find. In the course of an archaeological excavations of a prehistoric house-site, of the so-called kämpgrav-type, by Fredrik Nordin, 2 regular denarii, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (undetermined, now lost) and 1 imitation were discovered. The coins were found together, on the foundation wall of the house.

62. Antonine (?) emperor.

21. Hemse parish, Sindarve (1870)

SHM-KMK 4391, 4398 and 4417

Montelius 1872, p. 60; Hauberg 1894, no. 77; Almgren & Nerman 1923, no. 266; Bolin 1926, BH 69; Lind 1981, no. 62; Östergren 1981, p. 53 no. 64; Lind 2005.

Hoard in a clay pot with 1,500 denarii from Nero to Septimius Severus (64-195 A.D.). 1,471 coins and the pot (lost) were found by the farm-hands Petter Pettersson, Olof Ahlsten and Johanna Johansson while cleaning a ditch. Other coins belonging to the same find were handed in later, 5 by the crofter Olof Lindell, 16 by Olof Hoffman and 8 by the boy Ludvig Jacobsson.

1. Trajan. Similar to nos. 2-4, but different dies.



Find no. 21. Hemse parish, Sindarve (1870). Lind 1981, 62:1391; Lind 1988, B 38, Plate 8.2. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

Finds on Öland: Coins with identifiable portrait prototype

Antoninus Pius (138-161)

64. *Obv.*: ANTONINVS AVC PIVS II OAIXII, head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, right; *rev.*: EO-RTV. AVG, Fortuna standing left, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Weight: 2.45 g.

Find no. 35. Öland, find spot unknown (1870). Lind 1981, 161:1; Lind 1988, B 40, Plate 8.4. (Photo: ATA)

Marcus Aurelius (161-180)

65. *Obv.*: same die as no. 15; *rev.*: EO - RTVN - E - PEDVCI, Aequitas standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Weight: 3.54 g.

Find no. 34. Hulterstad parish, Hulterstad (c. 1800). Lind 1981, 148:72; Lind 1988, B 41, Plate 8.5 and 9.2; Lind 2007, with plate. (Photo: Harald Nilsson)

Lucius Verus (161-169)

66. *Obv.*: V- ERVZAVC - ARMENIACVZ, head of Lucius Verus, laureate, right, same (?) die as no. 22; *rev.*: same die as no. 15.

Weight: 3.01 g.

Find no. 34. Hulterstad parish, Hulterstad (c. 1800). Lind 1981, 148:73; Lind 1988, B 42, Plate 8.6 and 9.4; Lind 2007, with plate (Photo: Harald Nilsson)

- 19. Marcus Aurelius.
- 50. Antonine emperor.
- 61. Antonine (?) emperor.
- 63. Uncertain (second century?) emperor or empress.

22. Hogrän parish, Djupbrunns (1873-74)

SHM-KMK 4877 and 5204

Hauberg 1894, no. 72; Almgren & Nerman 1923, no. 258; Bolin 1926, BH 70; Nerman 1935, p. 101; Lind 1981, no. 63; Östergren 1981, p. 53 no. 65. Lind 2013b.

Hoard of 211 denarii from Nero- to Septimius Severus (64-195 A.D.) and 1 bronze box with 2 gold bracteates and 2 silver finger rings. 200 coins and the box containing the other objects were found in 1873, under a couple of stones, the coins by the farmer Christoffer Johansson and the farm-hand Carl Svensson, the box by the boy Frans Oscar Svensson. In 1874 Carl Svensson found 11 more denarii in the same place as where the other coins had been unearthed. There is some doubt whether the box and the coins were actually found together in the earth.

28. Hadrian (?).

21. Marcus Aurelius (?).

23. Hogrän parish, Stora Enbjänne (1998)

KMK dnr 711-249-2005

Ström 1998, p. 234; Lind 2007.

Hoard of 3 denarii from Hadrian to Antoninus Pius (134-161 A.D.) and 1 imitation. Found by Jonas Ström and Ylva Engström of Gotlands Museum, during an investigation of the supposed find spot of an otherwise unknown hoard of silver coins (denarii?).

26. Caracalla (?). Corroded. Possibly same reverse die as Anokhin nos. 234 and 1414.

24. Lummelunda parish, Kams (1842)

SHM -KMK1021

Carlén 1862, p. 274; Montelius 1869, no. 36; 1872, p. 59; Hauberg 1894, no. 79; Almgren & Nerman 1923, no. 262; Bolin 1926, BH 83; Steffen 1928, pp. 8-10; Lind 1981, no. 73; Östergren 1981, p. 54 no. 77.

Hoard of 660 (?) denarii from Titus or Nerva to Septimius Severus (81(?)-195 A.D.; there may have been coins of Nero and Vespasian, see Steffen 1928 and Carlén 1862, p. 274). This is the first large find of denarii on Gotland that scholars and authorities responsible for national antiquities paid attention to. It was made in October 1842. The exact number of coins is unknown and the information about the circumstances of discovery contradictory. The coins were unearthed by several persons, in a field called Leråker, close to the dam of the "Martebo myr". According to an estimation there may have been 660 coins in all (Steffen 1928). Of these, more than half were immediately split up and dispersed in various ways. 290 coins were handed in to the national collection on two occasions. At first 163 coins were sent to Stockholm. These had been found by five different persons, all or some of them hired for potatoe-lifting in the Leråker (the papermaker-journeyman Sjöstedt, the widow Kams, the boy Johan Mårtensson, the ragman

Johannes Petter Hasselberg and the servant-girl Johanna Lovisa Tystebols: Hasselberg seems to have come upon the first coins). Later 127 denarii, found by the farmer Anders Johansson Kams, allegedly in the same place as the other coins, were sent to Stockholm. Of the 290 coins, 92 were sent back to Gotland and may have been given to the collection of Visby Lärverk (see Montelius 1869, no. 36), which in 1929 was donated to Gotlands Museum (Steffen 1928).

48. Antonine emperor.

57. Antonine (?) emperor.

25. Othem parish, Klints (2002)

KMK 711-250-2005

Carlsson & Jonsson 2008.

Stray find found during the search for remains of a Viking Period silver hoard.

59. Antonine (?) emperor. Pierced.

26. Rone parish, Uggårde (Uggårda) (1964)

SHM-KMK 27518

Rasmuson 1967, p. 165; Lind 1981, no. 83; Östergren 1981, p. 55 no. 88; Lind 2007.

Stray find or hoard. The imitation was found in a field together with a regular denarius Commodus (189 A.D.).

15. Marcus Aurelius. Same obverse and reverse dies as Anokhin no. 1477; same obverse die as no. 65, Stribny 2003, Tafel 10, SAIG 2, and Anokhin nos. 201, 562 and 769; same reverse die as no. 66.

27. Sanda parish, Öjvide /Övide/ (1878)

SHM-KMK 6210 (51 coins) and 6293 (42 coins); GF A 2090. A 1992 ½ and A 2091

Hauberg no. 53 (SHM-KMK 6210); Almgren & Nerman 1923, no. 24 and p. 68; Bolin 1926, BH 97; Lind 1981, nos. 85a-c; Östergren 1981, p. 55 no. 91.

Hoard of 96 (?) denarii from Vespasian to Commodus (69-191 A.D.). 51 coins were found by the labourer Carl Wittberg “while cultivating a meadow”. 42 coins were found by Peter Björkquist during farmwork “in a field”. 3 coins were found by the farmer P. (=Peter?) Björkquist, together with other denarii (probably SHM-KMK 6293) in the meadow Nylända, in a stone construction (“stensättning”) of some length, open at both ends (no doubt a so-called kämpgrav).

52. Antoninus Pius (?). Probably same reverse die as coin offered for sale on Viology February 19th 2018. <https://auction.viology.com/69325905-varvaskoe-podrazhanie-denariyu>. See Fig. 5.

28. Sjonhem parish, Sojvide /Stora Sojvide / (1874)

SHM-KMK 5274

Hauberg 1894, no. 78; Almgren & Nerman 1923, no. 264; Bolin 1926, BH 100a; Lind 1981, no. 89; Östergren 1981, pp. 56 no. 94b.

Hoard of 390 denarii from Vitellius to Septimius Severus (69-195 A.D.). The coins were found

standing right, head left, right hand by side, in left possibly holding cornucopiae pointing right.

Weight: 2.91 g.

Find no. 24. Lummelunda parish, Kams (1842). Lind 1981, 73:100; Lind 1988, B 36, Plate 7.11. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

58. *Obv.*: traces of legend impossible to transcribe, head of Antonine (?) emperor, laureate right; *rev.*: traces of legend impossible to transcribe, female standing left, holding sceptre or spear in left hand.

Weight: 2.58 g.

Find no. 9. Garde parish, Prästgården (1984). Unpublished. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

59. *Obv.*: illegible legend, head of Antonine (?) emperor, laureate right; *rev.*: no visible traces of legend, figure standing (?).

Weight: 2.18 g. Pierced.

Find no. 25. Othem parish, Klints (2002). Carlsson & Jonsson 2008, Fig. 4. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

60. *Obv.*: traces of legend, illegible, head of uncertain emperor, bare or laureate right; *rev.*: no traces of legend, figure standing front or left, head left (?).

Weight: 2.02 g.

Find no. 7. Fole parish, Stora Sojdeby (2009). Unpublished. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

Types with very crude portraits

61. *Obv.*: legend impossible to transcribe; head of Antonine (?) emperor, bare (?), right; *rev.*: traces of legend impossible to transcribe, female (?) figure standing left (?).

Weight: 2.64 g.

Find no. 21. Hemse parish, Sindarve (1870). Lind 1981, 62:1390; Lind 1988, B 37, Plate 8.1. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

62. *Obv.*: no (traces of) legend, head of Antonine (?) emperor (?), bare (?), right (?); *rev.*: no (traces of) legend, female (?) figure standing front, raising both hands.

Weight: 2.76 g.

Find no. 20. Hejnum parish, Rings (1887). Lind 1981, 59:1; Lind 1988, B 39, Plate 8.3. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

63. *Obv.*: no (traces of) legend, head of uncertain emperor [or empress (?)], right; *rev.*: CCC etc., possibly female (?) figure seated left.

Weight: 2.44 g.

51. *Obv.*: IXO - IITAO, head of Antonine emperor, laureate (?), right, draped (?); *rev.*: IAT) - OTIZYC, genius (?) standing left, extending right hand over lighted altar (?) and holding corn-ears in left.

Weight: 3.22 g.

Find no. 28. Sjonhem parish, Sojvide (1874). Lind 1981, 89:371; Lind 1988, B 32, Plate 7.7. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

52. *Obv.*: IIPCIA – PI (?)– .. N (?), head of Antonine (?) emperor, bare, right; *rev.*: traces of legend, impossible to transcribe, figure of uncertain sex seated left on chair (?), holding uncertain object (patra?) in right hand and spear or sceptre (?) in left.

Weight: 2.90 g.

Find no. 27. Sanda parish, Öjvide (1878). Lind 1981, 85b:41; Lind 1988, B 21, Plate 6.9. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

53. *Obv.*: .. IATNINXUQOK (?) .. OXA, head of Antonine (?) emperor, laureate, right; *rev.*: NXT NU, female figure standing left, holding uncertain object (caduceus, branch ?) in right hand and uncertain object (cornucopiae ?) in left.

Weight: 2.84 g.

Find no. 5. Burs parish, Sigdes (1906). Lind 1981, 18:492; Lind 1988, B 22, Plate 6.10. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

54. *Obv.*: no (traces of) legend, head of Antonine (?) emperor, bare (?), right; *rev.*: no (traces of) legend; traces of figure of uncertain sex, standing right or left.

Weight: 2.69 g.

Find no. 6. Buttle parish, Änge (before 1949). Lind 1981, 20:1; Lind 1988, B 24, Plate 6.12. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

55. *Obv.*: no (traces of) legend, head of Antonine (?) emperor, laureate, right; *rev.*: no (traces of) legend, clasped hands (?).

Weight: 2.38 g.

Find no. 1. Alva parish, Gandarve (1927). Lind 1981, 8a:129; Lind 1988, B 30, Plate 7.6. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

56. *Obv.*: legend impossible to transcribe, head of Antonine (?) emperor, bare right; *rev.*: ..ADM..., female figure standing left, holding right hand by side and sceptre or spear in left.

Weight: 2.34 g.

Find no. 4. Burs parish, Känne “Stavgard” (1929-1930). Lind 1981, 16:23; Lind 1988, B 35, Plate 7.10. (Photo: Gunnel Jansson, ATA, 1976)

57. *Obv.*: ... ΛΙΛΑΟ ..., head of Antonine (?) emperor, laureate, r ; *rev.*: .. ΑΔΙΥΧΙ, female figure

in a field by Johan Frans Ahlstand.

30. Antoninus Pius Pius (?).

24. Commodus. Much worn, but possibly same reverse die as Anokhin no. 1022.

51. Antonine emperor.

29. Gotland, find spot unknown (before 1868)

Gotlands Museum

Montelius 1869, no. 29; Hauberg 1894, no. 81; Bolin 1926, BH 138 (with footnote); Lind 1981, no. 135a; Östergren 1981, p. 59 no. 122r.

In the 1860s 16 coins were kept in the collection of the Visby Lärverk (“Visby Museum”, according to Montelius). They were determined by Montelius (handwritten catalogue, today kept in the Gotlands Museum). Montelius doubted that the coins were found together in the earth. In 1929 the collection of the Visby Lärverk was given to the Gotlands Museum. From the handwritten catalogue of Montelius it has been possible to identify the imitation in the collections of the GF (but not the other coins).

45. Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus (?).

30. Find spot unknown, Gotland? (before 1923)

Gotlands Museum

Unpublished.

Part of an assemblage of 9 coins, i.e., 7 regular denarii from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius (69-180 A.D.) and 2 imitations, from a collection assembled by Torbern J. Fegraeus (1853-1923). As he was born on Gotland and lived there from 1917 to his death, all 9 coins were probably found on the island. They may or may not have been found together in the earth.

4. Trajan. Same obverse and reverse dies as nos. 2 and 3.

43. Marcus Aurelius (?).

31. Find spot unknown, Gotland? (before 1970)

Gotlands Museum

Unpublished, with the exception of no. 13, Lind 2008.

These 4 coins, all with the appearance of being found on Gotland, have been kept in the collections of the Gotlands Museum since some time before 1970. They lack inventory numbers and it is not known whether they were found in the earth together. There is some reason to think they once formed part of the coin collection of the Visby Lärverk on Gotland (see Lind 2008), which in 1929 was donated to the Gotlands Museum (Steffen 1928). This collection seems to have included coins from the find at Kams in Lummelunda parish in 1842, see find no. 24 and cf. find no. 32.

13. Antoninus Pius. Same obverse and reverse dies as Anokhin no. 71 and British Museum Antoninus Pius no. 1028; same obverse die as Anokhin no. 222; same reverse die as Anokhin nos. 800 and 1182 and British Museum Marcus Aurelius no. 817. - The number “59” written in ink on obverse, before 1970, probably in the nineteenth century.

17. Marcus Aurelius. Same reverse die as Anokhin nos. 34, 731 and 756. – The number “98” written in ink on obverse, before 1970, probably in the nineteenth century.
 18. Marcus Aurelius. - The number “101” written in ink on reverse, before 1970, probably in the nineteenth century.
 20. Marcus Aurelius.

32. Find spot unknown, Gotland? (before 1971)

KMK

Lind 1981, no. 137a.

These 4 coins, imitations of Roman denarii, were in 1971 and earlier kept in the systematic and duplicate collections of the KMK (nos. 27, 38 and 41 in the former, no. 44 in the latter). Their provenance is not known, but as they are much worn, it is very likely that they belong to finds made on Gotland. They may have been selected from some large hoard of denarii in the nineteenth century, such as find no. 24, Lummelunda parish, Kams,

27. Trajan (?). Same obverse and reverse dies as Anokhin no. 799.
 38. Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius (?).
 41. Marcus Aurelius (?).
 44. Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus (?).

33. Find spot unknown, Gotland? (before 2000)

NFG 95

Unpublished.

This coin was presented in 2000 to the collections of the NFG, Stockholm.

31. Antoninus Pius.

ÖLAND

34. Hulterstad, Hulterstad (c. 1800)

Collection Kalmar allmänna läroverk in Kalmar Läns Museum

Ahlqvist 1827; Montelius 1869, no. 23; Baehrendtz 1890, p. 229; Hauberg 1894, no. 39; Bolin 1926, BI 28; Stenberger 1933, p. 15; Hagberg 1967, p. 126; Lind 1981, no. 148; Lind 2004; Lind 2007.

Hoard of 79 denarii from Vespasian to Severus Alexander (70-223/235 A.D.) found when a ditch was dug. The coins lay “en rouleau” (Ahlqvist).

65. Marcus Aurelius. Same obverse die as no. 15, Stribrny 2003, Tafel 10, SAIG 2, and Anokhin nos. 201, 562, 769 and 1477.
 66. Lucius Verus. Same obverse as no. 22, same or similar die; same reverse die as no. 15 and Anokhin no. 1477.

Weight: 2.31 g.

Find spot unknown, Gotland? Lind 1981, 137a:4; Lind 1988, B 28, Plate 7.4. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

45. *Obv.*: ..IAZIINO - IVIIIINI ..., head of Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus (?), laureate, right; *rev.*: HAICHILII IIIIIIIAH; female figure seated left on chair, holding uncertain object in right hand and sceptre (?) in left.

Weight: 2.11 g.

Find no. 29. Find spot unknown, Gotland? Lind 1981, 135a:1; Lind 1988, B 31 (no illustration). (Photo: Temporarily not available)

46. *Obv.*: legend impossible to transcribe, head of Lucius Verus (?), laureate, right; *rev.*: effaced.

Weight: 2.34 g.

Find no. 5. Burs parish, Sigdes (1906). Lind 1981, 18:494; 1988, B 29, Plate 7.5. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

47. *Obv.*: Illegible traces of legend, head of Commodus (?) laureate right; *rev.*: no visible legend, much worn, upper part of representation of god (?) or goddess (?) standing front (?), lower part effaced.

Weight: 1.95 g.

Find no. 9. Garde parish, Prästgården (2008). Unpublished (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

48. *Obv.*: OXENZXNZO - OXNTZXN-X-, head of Antonine emperor, laureate, right; *rev.*: IONV .. VONT-OXANX-ONC ..., altar (?).

Weight: 2.74 g.

Lummelunda parish, Kams (1842). Lind 1981, 73:99; Lind 1988, B 20, Plate 6.8. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

49. *Obv.*: ...VIII – CVAIIVIIS (?), head of Antonine emperor, bare (?) right; *rev.*: ... VIVVNV.NV., female (?) figure standing left, holding spear or sceptre in right hand and uncertain object in left

Weight: 3.26 g.

Find no. 1. Alva parish, Gandarve (1927). Lind 1981, 8a:130; Lind 1988, B 34, Plate 7.9. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

50. *Obv.*: XOMXOMONNAO ..., head of Antonine emperor, laureate, right, knot of wreath marked by XX; *rev.*: XOXOVXOXO etc., bird standing or walking left.

Weight: 2.73 g.

Find no. 21. Hemse parish, Sindarve (1870). Lind 1981, 62:1389; Lind 1988, B 33, Plate 7.8. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

Find no. 18. Havdhem parish, Havor (2009). Unpublished (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

38. *Obv.*:...SMIAA - AVAIAL ..., head of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius (?) as Caesar (?), bare, right; *rev.*: OAVA.. -- ...VVA, female figure standing left, holding spear or sceptre in right hand and left hand by side (?).

Weight: 3.27 g.

Find no. 32. Find spot unknown, Gotland? Lind 1981, 137a:2; Lind 1988, B 19, Plate 6.7. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

39. *Obv.*: AVPELVS (?) CAE - ARI ..., head of Marcus Aurelius (?) as Caesar (?), bare right; *rev.*: ...IIICOS ..., female figure standing left, holding uncertain object in right hand and cornucopiae (?) in left.

Weight: 2.25 g.

Find no. 17. Havdhem parish, Havor (1888). Lind 1981, 55:121; Lind 1988, B 26, Plate 7.2 (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

40. *Obv.*: traces of legend, illegible, head of Marcus Aurelius (?), bare right; *rev.*: no traces of legend, helmeted figure (?) standing front or left, head left (?).

Weight: 2.71 g.

Find no. 13. Grötlingbo parish, Uddvide (2009). Unpublished (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

41. *Obv.*: IIPNAANTOΛIHAIC, head of Marcus Aurelius (?) laureate, right ; *rev.*: ΠIIOVOIOBT-DXVIIICOΔIII, Providentia (?) standing left, holding patera (?) in right hand and cornucopiae (?) in left.

Weight: 2.95 g.

Find no. 32. Find spot unknown, Gotland? Lind 1981, 137a:3; Lind 1988, B 27, Plate 7.3. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

42. *Obv.*: traces of legend, impossible to transcribe, head of Marcus Aurelius (?), bare right; *rev.*: traces of legend, impossible to transcribe, helmeted (?) figure (Minerva ?) standing left.

Weight: 2.01 g.

Find no. 3. Bäl parish, Gane (1983-1984). Unpublished. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

43. *Obv.*: legend impossible to transcribe, head of Marcus Aurelius (?), laureate right; *rev.*: legend impossible to transcribe, female (?), seated right on chair, holding patera (?).

Weight: 2.60 g.

Find no. 30. Find spot unknown, Gotland? Unpublished. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

44. *Obv.*: legend impossible to transcribe, head of Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus(?), laureate, r ; *rev.*: legend impossible to transcribe, rectangular shape, altar (?).

35. Öland, find spot unknown (before 1870)

SHM-KMK 4372

Montelius 1872, p. 58; Hauberg 1894, no. 43; Bolin 1926, BI 80; Stenberger 1933, p. 15; Hagberg 1967, p. 128; Lind 1981, no. 161.

The coin, allegedly found on Öland, was given to the SHM in 1870, by J. Söderström, ordningsman in Borgholm. It was first identified as a genuine denarius Marcus Aurelius in the SHM Inv. Later a note was added, identifying the coin as an imitation of Antoninus Pius. In the literature prior to 1981 the coin has consistently been described as a genuine denarius Marcus Aurelius. Misreading Bolin, Stenberger, followed by Hagberg, falsely attributed the find spot to “Landborgen”.

64. Antoninus Pius.

Description of imitations of Roman denarii found in Sweden

Finds on Gotland: Coins with identifiable portrait prototype

Traian (98-117)

1. *Obv.*: IOVAUCC AVO ACAVO, bust of Trajan, laureate (?), right, with drapery on left shoulder; *rev.*: OAN - AOAVCPOA, male (?) figure seated left on chair, raising right hand, left hand at side.

Weight: 3.10 g.

Find no. 21. Hemse parish, Sindarve (1870). Lind 1981, 62:1388; Lind 1988, B 1, Plate 5.1. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

2. *Obv.*: IVONCCA VOAVCN, as on no. 1; *rev.*: OAVACO - CNCAVCC (?), as on no. 1.

Weight: 2.31 g.

Find no. 14. Guldrupe parish, Bjers (1907). Lind 1981, 47:1; Lind 1988, B 2, Plate 5.2. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

3. *Obv.*: same die as no. 2; *rev.*: same die as no. 2.

Weight: 2.78 g.

Find no. 2. Anga parish, Boters (1937). Lind 1981, 9:181; Lind 1988, B 3, Plate 5.3 (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

4. *Obv.*: ... CAVOAVCN, same die as no. 2; *rev.*: ..C C...., as on no. 2; same die?

Weight: 3.03 g.

Find no. 30. Unknown find spot. Gotland? Unpublished. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

5. *Obv.*: [IMP TR]AIANO OPTIMO [AVC CER] D[AC.], bust of Trajan, laureate, right, draped; *rev.*: OOOO OO...., female figure (Pax ?) standing left, holding uncertain object (branch ?) in right hand and cornucopiae (?) in left.

Weight: 2.54 g.

Find no. 4. Burs parish, Känne “Stavgard” (1929-1930). Lind 1981, 16:16; Lind 1988, B 4, Plate 5.4. (Photo: Gunnel Jansson, ATA, 1976)

6. *Obv.*: as on no. 5, but legend effaced; *rev.*: as on no. 5.

Weight: 2.68 g.

Find no. 4. Burs parish, Kärne (Känne) “Stavgard” (1929-1930). Lind 1981, 16:17; Lind 1988, B 5, Plate 5.5. (Photo: Gunnel Jansson, ATA, 1976)

7. *Obv.*: as on no. 6; *rev.*: as on no. 6.

Find no. 28. Sjonhem parish, Sojvide (1874). Lind 1981, 89:370; Lind 1988, B 16, Plate 6.4. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

31. *Obv.*: IIII [---] N(?)IXIII [---]. Head of Antoninus Pius (?), laureate, right; *rev.*: TR(?) [---] II – [---]. female figure standing right, holding spear or sceptre.

Weight: 3.65 g.

Find no. 33. Find spot unknown, Gotland? Unpublished. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

32. *Obv.*: IOHIVSVIIS - AVIIV[SHII?], head of Antoninus Pius (?), laureate, right; *rev.*: traces of legend, impossible to transcribe, female figure standing left, holding uncertain object (cornucopiae ?) in right hand and sceptre, spear or torch in left.

Weight: 2.16 g.

Find no. 10. Garde parish, Robbenarve (1896). Lind 1981, 43:366; Lind 1988, B 18, Plate 6.6; Lind 2015, no. 368. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

33. *Obv.*: OIAOIA etc.; head of Antoninus Pius (?), bare, right; *rev.*: effaced.

Weight: 2.27 g.

Find no. 5. Burs parish, Sigdes (1906). Lind 1981, 18:493; 1988, B 23, Plate 6.11. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

34. *Obv.*: [---]CCCCIAA (?) [---] - XAAACII (?), head of Antoninus Pius (?), bare right; *rev.*: legend effaced, figure (woman ?) standing front or left (vaguely discernible).

Weight: 1.96 g. Pierced.

Find no. 15. Halla parish, Broa (1966). Unpublished. (Photo: ATA)

35. *Obv.*: no (traces of) legend, head of Antoninus Pius (?), bare (?), right; *rev.*: no (traces of) legend, figure of uncertain sex standing left (?).

Weight: 2.81 g.

Find no. 4. Burs parish, Känne “Stavgard” (1929-1930). Lind 1981, 16:22; Lind 1988, B 25, Plate 7.1. (Photo: Gunnel Jansson, ATA, 1976)

36. *Obv.*: traces of barbarous legend, head of Antoninus Pius (?), bare (?), right; *rev.*: faint traces of illegible legend, figure or object difficult to describe.

Weight: 1.80 g.

Find no. 19. Hejde parish, Simunde (2009). Unpublished. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

37. *Obv.*: no visible legend, barbarous (?) portrait of Faustina I, right; *rev.*: no visible legend, object difficult to describe, like a shark (?) or dolphin (?).

Weight: 2.15 g.

Marcus Aurelius or Commodus

25. *Obv.*: ..OMIDVAV(?) – NONAVCPIPI(?), head of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus, laureate, right; *rev.*: ..VII (?) ..COS III (?), female figure standing left, holding uncertain object in right hand and cornucopiae in left.

Weight: 2.60 g.

Find no. 16. Halla parish, Hallegårda (1867). Lind 1981, 53a:299. Lind 1988, B 11, Plate 5.11. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

Uncertain emperor (Caracalla?)

26. *Obv.*: Legend uncertain, damaged by corrosion, head of emperor, likewise damaged by corrosion (Caracalla ?), laureate right; *rev.*: [... CO?]NZER VATO[PI?], Jupiter, naked, standing left, holding thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre or spear in left.

Weight: 3.01 g.

Find no. 23. Hogrän parish, Stora Enbjänne (1998). Lind 2007, p. 57 and p. 54, Fig. 7. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

Types with crude portraits

27. *Obv.*: IMIAESAINVATHAMNMOCH, head of Trajan (?), bare, right; *rev.*: ...IIV ATO; male figure standing left, holding scales (?) in right hand, left hand pointing downwards.

Weight: 2.52 g.

Find no. 32. Find spot unknown, Gotland? Lind 1981, 137a:1; Lind 1988, B 15, Plate 6.3. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

28. *Obv.*: legend impossible to transcribe, head of Hadrian (?), laureate (?), right; *rev.*: faint traces of legend, impossible to transcribe, female (?) figure standing front (?).

Weight: 2.20 g.

Find no. 22. Hogrän parish, Djupbrunns (1873-1874). Lind 1981, 63:212; Lind 1988, B 17, Plate 6.5. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

29. *Obv.*: traces of legend, impossible to transcribe, head of Antoninus Pius (?), bare right; *rev.*: traces of legend, impossible to transcribe, figure of uncertain sex seated right on chair (?).

Weight: 2.10 g.

Find no. 12. Grötlingbo parish, Norrkvie. Unpublished. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

30. *Obv.*: traces of legend, impossible to transcribe, head of Antoninus Pius (?), laureate (?), right; *rev.*: no (traces of) legend, eagle standing right, head left, on altar (?).

Weight: 2.30 g.

Weight: 3.00 g.

Find no. 4. Burs parish, Kärne (Känne) “Stavgard” (1929-1930). Lind 1981, 16:18; Lind 1988, B 6, Plate 5.6. (Photo: Gunnel Jansson, ATA, 1976)

8. *Obv.*: as on no. 6; *rev.*: as on no. 6.

Weight: 2.71 g.

Find no. 4. Burs parish, Kärne (Känne) “Stavgard” (1929-1930). Lind 1981, 16:19; Lind 1988, B 7, Plate 5.7. (Photo: Gunnel Jansson, ATA, 1976)

Hadrian (117-138)

9. *Obv.*: [IMP CAESAR T?]RAIAN H[ADRIANVS AVC?], bust of Hadrian, laureate, right, with drapery on left shoulder; *rev.*: legend impossible to transcribe, female (?) figure seated right on uncertain object (chair ?, rock ?, tripod ?) holding uncertain object (cornucopiae ?) in both hands.

Weight: 2.09 g. Filled-in hole.

Find no. 4. Burs parish, Kärne (Känne) “Stavgard” (1929-1930). Lind 1981, 16:20; Lind 1988, B 9, Plate 5.9. (Photo: Gunnel Jansson, ATA, 1976)

10. *Obv.*: same die as no. 9; *rev.*: same die as no. 9.

Weight: 2.05 g.

Find no. 4. Burs parish, Kärne (Känne) “Stavgard” (1929-1930). Lind 1981, 16:21; Lind 1988, B 10, Plate 5.10. (Photo: Gunnel Jansson, ATA, 1976)

11. *Obv.*: much corroded and no traces of legend but probably same die as no. 9; *rev.*: much corroded and no traces of legend but probably same die as no. 9.

Weight: 1.33 g.

Find no. 11. Grötlingbo parish, Domerarve (2009). Unpublished. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

12. *Obv.*: [IMPCAESAR(?)TR]AIAN H[ADRIANVS AVC(?)], head of Hadrian (?), laureate, right; *rev.*: APM ... - ...COSVPP, Aequitas standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Weight: 2.24 g.

Find no. 2. Anga parish, Boters (1937). Lind 1981, 9:47. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

Antoninus Pius (138-161)

13. *Obv.*: ANTONINVS – AVCPPTRIXX, head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, right; *rev.*: CERES, Ceres seated left on basket, holding two corn-ears in extended right hand and torch upright in left.

Weight: 2.43 g.

Find no. 31. Unknown find spot. Gotland? Type as RIC 319. Lind 2008, Fig. 3. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

Faustina I (diva) (141-161)

14. *Obv.*: DIVA P A V F S (?), head of Faustina I, right; *rev.*: PIE[TAS ?] AVC (?), female standing left, holding statuette (?) and rudder on globe (?).

Weight: 2.23 g.

Find no. 12. Grötlingbo, Norrkvie (1984). Unpublished (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

Marcus Aurelius (161-180)

15. *Obv.*: MVNTONINIZ - AVOΓRPXXIII, head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right; *rev.*: C - I - CNZIR - VATOPI, Jupiter, naked, standing left, holding thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre or spear in left.

Weight: 3.02 g.

Find no. 26. Rone parish, Uggårde (1964). Rasmusson 1967, p. 165; Lind 1981, 83:2; Lind 1988, B 13, Plates 6.1 and 9.1. Stribrny 2003, pp. 47f, with Tafel 10; Lind 2007, with plate. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

16. *Obv.*: [IMP (?) M (?) AN (?)] TONINVS (?) - AVC (?) ..., head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right; *rev.*: ...II II (in exergue), (TR?) PO T N(?) CO(S?) III, female figure (Liberalitas ?) standing left, holding uncertain object (counting-board ?) in right hand and cornucopiae in left.

Weight: 2.86 g.

Find no. 8. Fröjel parish, Mulde (1935-1936). Lind 1981, 39:50; Lind 1988, B 12, Plate 5.12; Lind 2013a, no. 50, with photo. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

17. *Obv.*: ΜΑΙΠΙΔΙΙΙΟ – ΥΙ[---]Ι(?)ΜΑΙΙΑ (?).Head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right; *rev.*: ΑΙΡΖΙΙΙΔΙΙΙ (?) – [---]Ν. Female figure standing left, holding uncertain attribute and cornucopiae.

Weight: 2.72 g.

Find no. 31. Unknown find spot. Gotland? Unpublished. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

18. *Obv.*: M(?)ANTONINVS – AVCITΓVXXII, head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right; *rev.*: PMTRPVIII – PVICOSIII, Aequitas standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae, globe at feet.

Weight: ?

Find no. 31. Unknown find spot. Gotland? Unpublished. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

19. *Obv.*: [ANT(?)]ONINVS AVC(?) ..., head of Marcus Aurelius (?), laureate, right; *rev.*: traces of

legend, impossible to transcribe, Fides standing left, holding basket of fruit (?), left arm by side.

Weight: 2.88 g.

Find no. 21. Hemse parish, Sindarve (1870). Lind 1981, 62:1075. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

20. *Obv.*: [---] RELIVS (?) O (?) ANT (?) ANP (?) [---]. Head Marcus Aurelius (?), bare or laureate, right; *rev.*: PRO?[---].Male or female figure standing left, no visible attributes.

Weight: 2.50 g.

Find no. 31. Unknown find spot. Gotland? Unpublished. (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

21. *Obv.*: ... VSAVC – AD .. MHead of Marcus Aurelius (?), laureate, right; *rev.*: ... III Female figure standing left, holding uncertain attribute and spear or sceptre.

Weight: 2.57 g.

Find no. 22. Hogrän parish, Djupbrunns (1873-1874). Lind 1981, 63:134; Lind 2013b, no. 212 (with photo). (Photo: Kenneth Jonsson)

Lucius Verus (161-169)

22. *Obv.*: V- ERVZAVC - ARMENIACVZ, head of Lucius Verus, laureate, right; *rev.*: ...OAR (?) III ..., female figure standing left, holding up uncertain object in right hand and sceptre or spear in left.

Weight: 2.57 g.

Find no. 1. Alva parish, Gandarve (1928-1931). Lind 1981, 8c:37; Lind 1988, B 14, Plate 6.2 and 9.3; Stribrny 2003, pp. 46f, with Tafel 10; Lind 2007, with plate. (Photo: Gunnel Jansson, ATA)

Commodus (180-192)

23. *Obv.*: MCOMMANTPFE – AVCBRITPP (?), head of Commodus, laureate, right; *rev.*: ROM-FEIPMTRLN.. (?) ... Roma (?) seated left on chair (no shield), holding Victory (?) and spear or sceptre.

Weight: 2.40 g.

Find no. 1. Alva parish, Gandarve (1927). Lind 1981, 8a:126. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)

24. *Obv.*: ... OMANVP(?) – E ..., head of Commodus, laureate, right; *rev.*: [-], Mars standing right, holding spear and leaning on shield.

Weight: 2.08 g.

Find no. 28. Sjonhem parish, Sojvide (1874). Lind 1981, 89:325. (Photo: Gabriel Hildebrand, KMK)