

MINTING VICTORY

**Symbols of authority, legitimacy and power in the barbarian
coinage of Late Antiquity**



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Abstract

The overthrow of the Western Emperor in the 5th century gave rise to the kingdoms of the Goths, Franks and others: in short, the barbarians. But how ‘barbaric’ were these kingdoms? Contemporary sources attest to the survival and adaptability of Imperial Roman institutions, titles and values. The ubiquity of the image of the Eastern Emperor on coinage suggests ongoing and mutually beneficial relationships between the Western kingdoms and the Imperial (Byzantine) court in Constantinople.

This thesis reports on my exploration of how authority, legitimacy and power was maintained throughout the Western kingdoms. Specifically, this project focuses on the production of coinage by these kings which seemingly ‘imitates’ Roman currency, evoking the Victoria with a palm and wreath of Classical times. Specifically of interest are the issues on which a subtle, yet distinctive, monogram appears: a •T•. Who does it belong to, and why is it there?

To address this problem, my research involves a thorough re-assessment of previous scholarship on the •T• coins, as well as the incorporation of new data from hoards, site-finds and unpublished collections. This updated corpus provides ample opportunity for analysis and comparison to similar examples of barbarian and Byzantine coins in contemporaneous circulation. As a result of this study, recorded examples of these coins have been considerably expanded. New stylistic groups have been identified, as well as die links. Statistical analytical methods have been applied to estimate die coverage and output in the first study of its kind.

By considering the broader experience and fluency of the numismatic symbols of the barbarian kings, and how they were deployed to maintain (or subvert) Imperial authority, barbarian coinage signals a departure from theories of ‘imitation’ (and its negative connotations) towards agency and intention in leadership during a period of significant transition.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Signed:

Date: 15th February 2021

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Acknowledgments

This thesis is the result of several years of study, motivated by an initial desire to explore my Spanish family heritage and my love of what many refer to as “the Dark Ages” of European history. I began my studies in Ancient History at Macquarie University in 2016 and soon became engrossed in the study of the literature and material culture of Late Antiquity. “Dark Ages” indeed.

In 2017 I was awarded the Junior Research Fellowship at the Australasian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies (ACANS). It is thanks to Assoc. Professor Ken Sheedy that I became seriously interested in numismatics, and was able to study the Visigothic coins in the Gale Collection at ACANS first hand. It was during my time in the Fellowship that A/Prof. Sheedy encouraged me to enrol in the Master of Research degree, and I have benefitted greatly from his guidance, knowledge and support as my supervisor. I also extend my thanks to Dr Danijel Džino, Dr Peter Edwell, Dr Andrew Gillett, Dr Meaghan McEvoy and Assoc. Professor Ted Nixon who have, at different times, provided additional supervision and support throughout my studies at Macquarie University. I would also like to thank Dr Merle Eisenberg (Princeton University), Christopher Entwistle (British Museum), Dr Andrew Kurt (Clayton State University), Dr Fernando López Sánchez (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), Genevra Kornbluth and David Yoon (American Numismatic Society) who shared their time, knowledge and insights with me through correspondence on various aspects of this study. Special thanks also go to Dr Carolyn Cuello and Dr Mark Hebblewhite for their time proofreading and providing valuable feedback.

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Introduction

Coinage minted in the early 6th Century by the ‘barbarian’ successors to the Western Roman Empire attest to the survival of one of the Empire’s oldest institutions. The barbarians were diverse groups of people that, in part, claimed their origins from beyond Rome’s frontiers and are believed to have brought about the Roman Empire’s fall in the West.¹ Yet, the production of gold coinage continued uninterrupted. This was crucial in maintaining social, political and commercial pursuits: commodities, salaries, fines and taxes were all expressed in terms of the *solidus*, a gold coin introduced some centuries earlier. This is true not only in the Western kingdoms but also across the Mediterranean world of Late Antiquity. Where the supply of gold coin from Eastern sources fell away, traditional Imperial mints in the West continued to produce gold coinage under ‘barbarian’ kings using Roman images, inscriptions and weight standards. These mints continued to operate to ensure a supply of legal tender: the “coin of the realm”. The obverse and reverse designs of these coins communicated a guarantee that the metal was of an expected purity and had a module of standard weight, but these images and inscriptions also claimed that the issuer was the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Emperor. The barbarian kings evidently recognised a need to continue minting a Roman coinage. In this thesis I explore the barbarian appropriation of Roman coinage through a focused study of pseudo-Imperial issues minted by the Western kings. I examine just how close the “imitation” was and consider why the new kings in the West saw a need to produce pseudo-Imperial coinage i.e. coinage in the name of Roman or Byzantine emperors.²

Economic and diplomatic relations between the Western kingdoms and the Eastern court continued well after the supposed fall of the West in 476 AD. In the study of the Western kingdoms of the 5th and 6th centuries coinage serves an important role. It is the only credible quantitative evidence currently available for an examination of financial administration and the institutions that require currency to function. The presence of pseudo-Imperial coins amongst hoards of Byzantine coins in Western contexts attests to the compatibility of the two currencies in the region. The geographic spread of these finds shows the maintenance of traditional patterns of supply from Eastern Empire to its Western counterpart. Coins contain highly contextual cultural and administrative symbols relevant to the worldview of their time. On a sample of the pseudo-Imperial coins contained in the hoard from Alise-Sainte-Reine

¹ As mentioned in at least ten of Demandt’s 210 documented reasons for the fall of the Roman Empire. Demandt 1984: 695

² Carlá 2010: 62

discovered in 1804, a distinct mark was observed: a letter-T between pellets, or •T•. In this thesis I use this particular enigmatic coinage as a means to investigate the themes of economic and cultural interdependency between the Western kingdoms and Byzantium in the East. I also wish to argue that these unusual issues provide us with previously unknown chronological markers which help illuminate the significant transitions in the Western kingdoms during the reigns of Anastasius I (491-518 AD) and Justin I (518-527 AD), a period of approximately 36 years.

The most common gold coin minted in the West during this period is the *tremis*, weighing a third of the standard *solidus*.³ The *tremisses* of the Western barbarian kingdoms during this period (with the exception of Ostrogothic Italy) are all of the same reverse type: a striding Victory figure bearing a palm leaf over one shoulder, and brandishing a wreath (known as Victory with Palm and Wreath, or VPW).⁴ It can be associated with Imperial military victory, and is easily recognised in scenes such as the *profectio bellica* – or, ‘the marching out to war’.⁵ It last appeared as a reverse type on Western Roman *tremisses* issued from Ravenna by the usurper Iohannes (423-425 AD).⁶ The literary evidence available does not fully account for the reintroduction of this coin type at the mints of barbarian kingdoms. Historians and numismatists, perhaps most notably Tomasini (1964), have suggested that the type was re-introduced by Theoderic, king of Ostroothic Italy, in an effort to ameliorate the underweight coinage previously issued by the Visigothic kingdom of which he became regent in 511 AD.⁷ By this stage, the Visigothic court had moved from Toulouse to Narbonne following a military defeat, and the death of king Alaric II, against a Franco-Burgundian alliance at the Battle of Vouillé.⁸

The barbarian gold *tremis* coins catalogued in this study are said by numismatists, such as Grierson, to be have been minted in South West Gaul.⁹ The coins were most likely minted by the Visigoths, Burgundians or Franks. Governance of these kingdoms, as well as Italy under

³ Kurt 2020: 35

⁴ Tomasini 1964: 1

⁵ López Sánchez 2017: 151

⁶ Tomasini 1964: 5; Kent RIC X: 157

⁷ Tomasini 1964; Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 48; Kurt 2020

⁸ Jordanes *Get.* LVIII.302; Isidore of Seville *History* 36 & 37; Kurt 2020: 47-48

⁹ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 48

the Ostrogoths, will be considered.¹⁰ This attribution is based on the extensive work of Tomasini (1964) that continues to form the basis for study of the topic today.¹¹ His methods and findings were critiqued by Lafaurie, who also contributed much to the study of ‘barbarian’ *tremisses*, especially in reconstructing the archaeological records of relevant coin finds in France and, more specifically, establishing an attribution for the •T• coins.¹² Lafaurie’s Franco-centric attribution of the •T• coins is widely accepted but does not hold up in light of the new evidence presented in this study. Here I will present a larger corpus of the •T• coins than has ever been available (Appendix I), and a more comprehensive analysis of circulation patterns and weight standards. This new corpus has been expanded from Lafaurie’s original by including new examples from public collections, publications and the numismatic market. The goal is to evaluate the attribution of this coinage using new evidence and analytical methods, notably the first application of statistical modelling to calculate die distribution and output from the Visigothic mints. Based on the findings, this thesis reconsiders the role of the •T• coinage in the broader context of the economic and political administration of the Western kingdoms.

It is my contention that coin production in these kingdoms goes beyond the act of “imitation”, and is the result of a conscious policy to maintain essentially Roman economic and social institutions. This issue is key in advancing our understanding of continuity and change in the political and economic dynamics of the early 6th Century.¹³ Crucial to this study is a consideration of the ongoing political and economic relationships that linked these mutually competitive barbarian kingdoms with the Byzantine court in the East. The aim of this study is to employ numismatic evidence, as a perhaps novel but certainly fresh perspective, to determine the extent to which the Western kings leveraged the institutions, traditions and symbols of Imperial Rome to legitimise their authority.

¹⁰ The influence of the Vandalic kingdom (along the Mediterranean coast of Africa) who did not produce gold, and the lands in the *barbaricum* (in the northern Balkans) fall somewhat out of the scope of this study and are only discussed briefly.

¹¹ The most recent example being Kurt 2020

¹² See Lafaurie 1958, 1968 and 1983

¹³ Brown 1974: 1

Chapter 1: Methodological frameworks

In order to reach meaningful conclusions from the material evidence, an interpretative framework has been constructed to better understand the social and economic context in which this coinage operated. Three key concepts provide a vocabulary and framework to articulate the arguments this thesis puts forward: the construction of identity, the construction of institutions, and the role of coinage in the Late Antique economy.

1.1 On ‘barbarians’

The term ‘barbarian’ is used frequently throughout this study and requires further definition. The application of this term in modern historiography has been explored extensively.¹⁴ Amory offers a concise definition of barbarians as “the *gentes* who laid claim to ancient ethnographic group-names and established kingdoms within Roman provinces in the fifth and sixth centuries” but did not necessarily need to have arrived from beyond Rome’s frontiers (at least in their immediate past).¹⁵ The ‘barbarians’ of antiquity never constituted a homogenous cultural or ethnic group: this is a distortion of modern historiography and fails to convey the complexities of the period.¹⁶

The term persisted in the lexicon of the Roman Empire to refer to foreigners, and certainly had currency in Late Antique contexts. In antiquity it could be used neutrally as well as pejoratively.¹⁷ In one context, ‘barbarians’ were simply the enemy. In another, they constituted a specific legal entity, which entered the Roman *civitas* through military service and other means (discussed in Section 2.I.i.). ‘Barbarian’ kings later issued laws as a demonstration of authority, and Lafferty also observes an effort by the ‘barbarians’ to take responsibility for the problems that arose between communities in the Roman West as a result of their arrival.¹⁸ Ostrogothic king Theoderic manipulated the notion of the ‘other’ in his rhetoric regarding the kingdom of Italy, where the Goths (i.e. the army) would protect the Romans from ‘barbarism’ and could thus cultivate *civilitas* in peace.¹⁹

¹⁴ Gillet 2002: 4-6 provides a thorough summary of the participants in this debate.

¹⁵ Amory 1997: xiv

¹⁶ Goffart 1989: 111; Goffart 2006: 40-1, 188

¹⁷ Goffart 1989: 128

¹⁸ Lafferty 2013: 54. The *leges barbarorum* were drawn up to govern relations between barbarians and Romans. Burgundian kingdom: *Lex Burgundionum* and *Lex Romana Burgundionum* (see Drew 1972). Ostrogoths: *Edictum Theoderici* (see Lafferty 2013). The Visigoths: *Lex Visigothorum* and *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (see King 1972).

¹⁹ *Variae* I.30 & 31, II.16, & V.26 & 37

Goffart stated that “literary (i.e. structural) analysis of texts and the elucidation of the immediate circumstances of their composition are the keys to understanding their purpose”.²⁰ This not only applies to literary texts, but also to coinage. With respect to coinage, the term ‘barbarian’ is often paired with ‘imitation’ or ‘pseudo-Imperial’, both value-laden terms which automatically call into question the validity and authenticity of the object. Grierson (1986) observed in the coins of the Western ‘barbarians’ the practice of “unintelligent copying” of Byzantine types.²¹ It is an aim of this thesis to examine the implications and limitations on numismatic study of this ‘vulgarisation’ of Classical practices in Late Antiquity.²²

1.2 Identities, roles and institutions

The intention and agency which ‘barbarian’ communities exercised in constructing cultural and social identities incorporates identifying and navigating the complexities of the Roman world. Blumer’s model of Symbolic Interaction provides us with a vocabulary to describe this dynamic. For Blumer, all human behaviour is interpreted through a capacity to construct and modify meaning in a social context.²³

Blumer proposed that institutions exist as “recurrent patterns of joint meaningful, or symbolic, action”.²⁴ Roman society was impacted by interactions with the ‘barbarians’ as individuals supported, or subverted, (ancient) social constructions by performing roles accordingly. The re-negotiation of the complex series of symbols, ritual, indoctrination and language, that constituted Roman society also enabled the ‘barbarians’ to ultimately become its rulers: in all ways the barbarians prove to be active participants in the development of Late Antique society.

Applying this framework requires us to look at material from the ancient world as the result of a meaningful action. Those involved in the production, circulation and consumption of coinage effectively maintained leadership roles in society through performed symbolic gestures and interactions. We must turn to material culture to appreciate these moments of

²⁰ Gillet 2002: 8. Goffart’s view is but one of an ongoing and lengthy debate on the nature of barbarian identity.

²¹ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 48

²² Lafferty 2013: 56-7

²³ Blumer 1969: 2-6

²⁴ Blumer 1969: 17

interaction along a moving line of development.²⁵ The usage of Roman coin types and motifs, and marks unique to ‘barbarian’ coinage, as deliberate, considered and meaningful actions should prevent us from simply dismissing these coins as ‘imitations’.

There are, of course, many problems which arise in applying a sociological model to ancient societies and institutions that are not accessible to the investigator. But trans-historical and trans-cultural study is possible through this framework, as demonstrated by Prus, whereby human activities are considered as *generic social processes* and pertaining to a schema of broader themes.²⁶ One can use this to identify “parallel sequences of activity across diverse contexts”.²⁷ We can explore the activity of ‘coin minting’ in the Western kingdoms by the resulting material product i.e. ‘coinage’, via the theme of *forming and coordinating associations* in order to pursue the following lines of inquiry in a broader, pan-Mediterranean context: *who, or what resources, were needed to produce coinage? How were these individuals/resources assembled? How was coin minting legitimised? How did this process involve, or oppose, outsiders?*

A case study by Dennis & Martin (2005) on the concept of power reveals this theoretical framework to be an effective means of studying abstract concepts as sociological phenomena.²⁸ Their focus on the performative aspects of social interaction provides a means to assess the different ways in which individuals attempt to exert power over others i.e. “the outcome, over time, of social processes... which ultimately produce patterns of decisive advantages and disadvantages, often involving the accumulation (or loss) of significant resources – money, land, military might, prestige, and so on”.²⁹ This observation on power is directly applicable to studying the early 6th Century Western kingdoms. It has also been observed by Halsall (2007) that the role demanded by *ethnicity* operates in an interdependent “situation” (micro) and “setting” (macro) such that “every interaction between members of particular ethnic groups has the potential to alter, in however minute a fashion, the broader setting”.³⁰ An individual may assume different identities – including ethnicities – in a lifetime, sometimes simultaneously. Identities were negotiated by participants, and

²⁵ Blumer 1969: 192

²⁶ Prus outlines the following schema: a) engaging sub cultural life-worlds, (b) participating in situations, (c) forming and coordinating associations; and (d) experiencing influence work. Prus 2004: 23-4

²⁷ Prus 1996: 142

²⁸ Dennis & Martin 2005: 195

²⁹ *Ibid.*: 208

³⁰ Halsall 2007: 41

determined by the context of their community.³¹ Association with certain *ethnic* identities was not solely motivated by material gains, but could include support of other means, but the reality is that in a poly-ethnic society benefits are not always distributed equally.³² As “situations” and “settings” are dynamic, so too is *ethnicity* (identity) and one can observe how the prominence of certain groups was modulated depending on broader circumstances.

Barbarian rulers successfully maintained the position of *rex* (king) through public actions that reinforced their legitimacy to rule. As an example, Theoderic was proclaimed *rex* by the Goths i.e. his army, through a set of conditions relevant to his community.³³ In time, his position was “symbolically legitimised” by the gesture of Anastasius I returning the ‘Imperial ornaments’ to their rightful place in Ravenna.³⁴ This extended to other roles and titles. That socially and ethnically diverse identities could be assumed simultaneously, and evolve into a political identity can be no accident: it is the result of considered, meaningful action. The people of Late Antiquity successfully created identities from a range of elements within Roman and barbarian society and culture.

1.1 Economic frameworks: the role of coins in the pan-Mediterranean sphere

To understand the role of coinage in the societies of the 6th Century, a suitable economic framework is required. A ‘formalist’ approach, which only considers coinage as a means of facilitating commercial transactions, is not sufficient.³⁵ The ‘substantivist’ argument maintains that coinage needs to be understood in the context of the societies that produced and used it. Polanyi proposed that money acquires its meaning from the social situation in which it operated symbolically in a pre-industrial economic model based on three forces associated with specific social roles, negotiated and maintained by participation: *market (exchange)*, *reciprocity*, and *redistribution*.³⁶

The ‘market’, according to Polanyi, is driven by “the desire to extract profit from a transaction” and enables production, distribution and consumption of goods.³⁷ This is the varied activity of artisans, merchants and consumers operating at different scales. The profit

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*: 42

³³ Amory 1997: 280-1

³⁴ Barnwell 2000: 136

³⁵ Polanyi 1957: 246

³⁶ Polanyi 1957: 250-6; Tedesco 2016: 11

³⁷ Cleary 2013: 307

of these transactions was received in kind or cash in low-level denominations for daily purchases. ‘Reciprocity’ is realised through mutually beneficial social exchanges such as gift-giving to celebrate a marriage (in social settings) or the granting of official roles and titles. The concept of ‘redistribution’ is embedded in the social hierarchy and is the process by which the economic worth is extracted by social superiors to their inferiors without the mutual benefit of reciprocity e.g. rent, labour obligations and taxes. This also includes the tributes or payments in kind by the elites of the Roman Empire. These three forces are not mutually exclusive, and serve to describe categories of exchanges.

Cleary (2013) provides a convenient summary of this model and its relevance to our current understanding of the Late Antique West.³⁸ The economy operates on four complementary levels: political, prestige, market and peasant economies. The minting of coinage facilitated exchange within and between all levels. The most relevant to this study is the ‘political’ economy. It was the “product of political imperatives” and integral to the functioning of the broader economy.³⁹ The main priority for the political economy was the preservation of the Empire by maintaining internal order and protecting it, and the emperor, from external threat – typically by way of the military. This military needed to be recruited, equipped, maintained, provisioned and paid in coin or in kind. This is of particular importance to this study as the availability of gold coin was critical for these payments. The second priority for the political economy was the provision of food for politically important groups. The third is the discharging of imperial obligations to meet the first two priorities. These priorities were met by raising funds through taxation and large-scale transportation of goods (grain, olive oil and meat) by the state. The minting of smaller denominations – far more numerous in archaeological record – at a provincial level was undertaken to allow the state to “buy back” gold and silver by way of money changers.⁴⁰

The ‘prestige’ economy was driven by the social demands of reciprocity amongst the elites, converting surpluses into cash to pay for sustaining their aristocratic lifestyle. This is evident in the socially dictated expectations around gift-giving of high quality or exotic goods. High denomination coinage was needed to procure such goods, but was a relatively low-volume operation. Operators in the ‘market’ economy, driven by supply and demand, could provide

³⁸ Following the work of Chris Wickham. See Cleary 2013.

³⁹ Cleary 2013: 309

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*: 331-2

goods for ‘political’ and ‘prestige’ exchanges, as well as operating on a smaller scale meeting the day to day needs of the majority of the ancient world: the ‘peasant’ economic sphere.

This economic model provides a framework for further discussion of the role of gold coinage, and minting in general, in the Western kingdoms. It also provides a means by which certain functions of coinage filled in facilitating and maintaining a functioning pan-Mediterranean economy.

The three concepts explored above provide a vocabulary and interpretative framework to explore the extent to which the Western ‘barbarian’ kings leveraged the institutions, traditions and symbols of Imperial Rome to legitimise their authority. The focus of this study is on coinage, but not only as an object. Coinage was crucial in sustaining Western regal, and Imperial, political and economic prerogatives. This was achieved through meaningful, joint actions by the communities governing the Western kingdoms.

Chapter 2: Historical Context

The period of Late Antiquity is characterised by the constant “tension between change and continuity”⁴¹, a sentiment which, as we will see, might also be applied to the coinage of the ‘barbarian’ kingdoms of the West. There is a tendency in modern historiography to define the end of the Roman Empire with the deposition of the Western Roman Emperor, Romulus Augustulus, in 476 AD.⁴² And yet very few contemporary sources associate this event with the conclusive end of the Empire.⁴³ The literary and numismatic evidence shows us that manifestations of Imperial authority on an institutional level continued: the Emperor in Constantinople was still recognised, as was the Senate in Rome. In the absence of an emperor, how was the Western empire governed?

Regional authority was delegated to the ‘barbarian’ kings through Imperial titles and responsibilities, including the minting of coin. They had been accommodated into the Roman Empire by various means since the 3rd Century. Principal amongst the responsibilities was military service. At the commencement of the 6th Century, the Ostrogoths under Theodoric ruled Italy and Illyria, while the Franks inhabited most of Roman Gaul, an area encompassing modern-day France, Belgium, Switzerland, and parts of Germany and the Netherlands. The rest of Gaul was inhabited by the Burgundians and also the Visigoths, whose kingdom also included most of Spain.

Despite these changes, Roman Imperial institutions continued under the barbarian kings, notably the Roman Senate and aristocracy, administrative and episcopal borders, law codes and diplomacy, and a pan-Mediterranean economy. The minting of coinage also continued. It follows that there must have existed a level of integration with Roman society which enabled the barbarians to continue its institutions, and which led them to see the advantages of maintaining these institutions. This chapter will outline the key events that shape our understanding of the barbarian advent in the West, and the state of the successor kingdoms in the West during the period of this investigation.

⁴¹ Brown 1971: 1

⁴² This is a legacy of Gibbon’s *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-89) and continues to be cited as a terminal date, despite evidence to the contrary. See Bowersock 1996.

⁴³ Momigliano 1973: 397; Lafferty 2013: 58

I. The barbarian advent in the West

For centuries, diverse peoples had inhabited *Barbaricum*: the lands beyond the Danube and Rhine rivers. Trading, settlement and cultural transmission along these frontiers was ongoing. So too were the frequent conflicts that occupied the *limitanei* – soldiers stationed on the frontier (*limes*) to defend these borders and cultivate nearby lands.⁴⁴ The archaeological evidence indicates that coins facilitated economic transactions as well as cultural transmission beyond the Danube as early as the 4th Century: coins used to pay the barbarians assumed a distinct role in ‘prestige’ economies.⁴⁵ Actual settlement happened progressively, and in a variety of modes. The exact mechanism of accommodation into the Roman Empire is still debated, but a critical factor in this process was military activity: either for or against the Empire.⁴⁶ Rome’s military had been depleted during clashes with barbarians and through internecine conflicts, and civilian recruitment did not present a solution.⁴⁷ A reliable form of high-value payment was required to compensate military service, bribe/reward good behaviour, and this need was met with Imperial gold coinage. Maintaining the “coin of the realm” through consistency across coin types and weight standards was of great importance for the payments to be accepted, and this informed minting practice for the centuries that followed.

i. Invasion or settlement?

In contrast to a barbarian ‘invasion’, the concept of ‘settlement’ precludes mutual benefits for Rome and for the new arrivals. The view of a relentless stream of ‘Germanic’ (i.e. ethnically homogenous) invaders harassing the borders of the Empire over the centuries is no longer valid.⁴⁸ Barbarians could be received by the state as *dediticii* as a condition of surrender, or granted land to settle as *laeti*. They could also obtain citizenship through military service in the Roman army and sometimes go on to a distinguished career.⁴⁹ The conditional employment of barbarian warriors by way of treaty resulted in *foederati* who would fight for Rome, but were not necessarily settled within its territories.⁵⁰ Such conditions are important when considering how Rome dealt with communities of ‘barbarians’, such as those that had

⁴⁴ Southern & Dixon 1996: 35-6

⁴⁵ Eremic 2004: 122-3

⁴⁶ Barnish 1986: 170-1. Theories around billeting of ‘barbarian’ soldiers have been challenged by Goffart, who instead proposed a model based on tax revenues. More recent developments have been published in Halsall 2007 and Goffart 2006.

⁴⁷ Halsall 2007:184; Southern & Dixon 1996: 67

⁴⁸ Goffart 2006: 115

⁴⁹ Halsall 2007: 152-3

⁵⁰ Southern & Dixon 1996: 35-6

gathered at the banks of the Danube, estimated at 15,000-20,000 warriors and their dependants, to appeal for refuge from the Huns in 376 AD. Here we see a scenario where one group of Goths, the Tervingi, are accepted as refugees on certain conditions, including conversion to the Arian Christianity of the Emperor Valens. Another group, the Greuthungi, entered “illegally” to join them.⁵¹

‘Barbarians’ were settled in Roman lands, and were certainly recruited into the military.⁵² Literary accounts attest to efforts made to expunge the barbarians from the ranks of the Eastern and Western armies, for better or worse.⁵³ The term ‘barbarian’ appears more or less to have been conflated with a military role.⁵⁴ The privilege of soldiers in the Roman world is well attested, and it is important to consider this as a component of the unique social identity of the barbarian and their emerging role as warrior elite fully realised by the 6th Century.⁵⁵ The ‘Italian’ appearance of the Roman *milites* had steadily been replaced by the items of clothing and equipment borrowed from those living on and beyond the frontiers.⁵⁶ What some scholars, such as Southern & Dixon, perceive as ‘barbarisation’ of the military (tinged with overtones of a narrative of ‘decline and fall’) oversimplifies the dynamics of cultural exchange and identity construction.⁵⁷ It can hardly be expected that the descendants of the ‘Goths’ who crossed the Rhine in 376 AD were recognisable amongst their ‘Roman’ neighbours in later centuries. It is difficult to assess the extent to which Imperial indoctrination of earlier centuries was exercised with the barbarian mercenaries and *foederati*, but one powerful medium for propaganda certainly persisted: coin.⁵⁸

A steady supply of coin was needed as conflicts continued across the West: usurpers made bids for power and war was waged on multiple fronts. The support of a strong military

⁵¹ *Amm. Marc.* XXVII.5.6

⁵² Southern & Dixon 1994: 48

⁵³ *Amm. Marc.* XXXI.16.8; Southern & Dixon 1994: 51-2

⁵⁴ Malalas, *Chronicon* 374; Flomen 2009-10: 16; Amory

⁵⁵ James 1999: 15

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: 22

⁵⁷ Southern & Dixon 1994: 46-7

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*: 16; James argues an approach to the Roman Army of the 3rd Century as a “community of soldiers” which operated symbolically through a complex series of ritual, indoctrination, language and dress in which the soldiers are active participants and agents. By entering this “community”, barbarians legally became Roman citizens and thus performed a culturally determined role. James notes that coinage acted as a medium through which ‘barbarians’ could successfully learn to navigate Roman society as a symbolic construct. The “perhaps subliminal impact of imagery on... coins” goes some way to explaining the context in which barbarian kings would later portray themselves as legitimate Roman leaders. The influx of barbarian (and provincial) soldiers fighting for Roman causes provided opportunities to (re)negotiate their place in the pan-Mediterranean Imperial sphere. See James 1999: 14-6

presence, as well as a political one, was key to maintaining leadership. So was a constant supply of gold from the Imperial treasury: Rome had supplied increasing amounts of gold to appease the Huns, paying 700 pounds annually in 434 AD and increasing to 2,100 pounds in 447 AD.⁵⁹ Soldiers also needed to be paid for service (and to ensure loyalty) which has been calculated to require several millions of gold coins to be paid, a figure which is at odds with the archaeological evidence. This suggests either: 1) a highly efficient taxation system, 2) recycling of gold, 3) that many of the coins remain undiscovered, or a combination of all three.⁶⁰ While barbarians in the service of Rome likely received payments in coin or in kind, a condition of settlement was the *annona*. Scholars continue to argue the nature of the *annona* allotted to the barbarians and hypotheses typically fall into two categories: that the *annona* was an allotment of land, or that it was paid in coin sourced from taxation.⁶¹ In either case, the ubiquity of coinage and its role in the interactions between Romans and ‘barbarians’ is clear.

ii. The barbarian kingdoms

In the 5th Century, the influence of military power over the political landscape led to the phenomenon of the “puppet emperors” maintained by (barbarian) warlords in the service of Rome.⁶² Could this have paved the way for the legitimacy of fully-fledged kingship over later years? The ‘barbarian’ *magistri militum*, such as Aëtius and Ricimer, are regarded as the true power in the West at this time.⁶³ A recent reassessment of literary accounts by Flomen found it unlikely that Ricimer – or other high-ranking barbarians – would benefit from self-serving or anti-Imperial motivations.⁶⁴ That is to say that one’s ‘barbarian’ identity needn’t interfere with, or override, their Roman identity. Ricimer was succeeded by his nephew Gundobad, who also inherited his titles. Gundobad departed to assume the reign over the incipient Burgundian kingdom which led his candidate, Glycerius, to abdicate from his role of emperor in favour of the Illyrian governor Julius Nepos who was endorsed by the Eastern Emperor Zeno (474-491 AD). He, in turn, was deposed and sent into exile by Romulus Augustulus supported by the military strength of his father, Orestes, one-time *magister militum* to Julius Nepos. Romulus was deposed by the warlord Odovacer in 476 AD, who was granted the

⁵⁹ Guest 2008: 295

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*: 304-5

⁶¹ Barnish 1986: 170-1. See n. 46 above.

⁶² Barnwell 1992: 42-3

⁶³ Flomen 2009-10: 9-10; Fischer & López Sánchez 2016: 162

⁶⁴ Flomen 2009-10: 11

patriciate as *dux Italiae* by the Emperor Zeno.⁶⁵ At the behest of Emperor Zeno, he nominally recognised the authority of the exiled Julius Nepos as *augustus*, while he ruled Italy as *rex Italiae*. This theory is supported by coins issued in Nepos' name, not Odovacer's, from this period.⁶⁶ In 480 AD, however, Julius Nepos was murdered, prompting Odovacer to expand his kingdom into Illyricum in retribution.

The Emperor Zeno dispatched the warlord Theoderic to Italy to depose Odovacer, restore a delegated Imperial authority and simultaneously draw away growing Gothic forces from Constantinople's borders.⁶⁷ After a series of battles, Theoderic agreed to a co-rulership with Odovacer. While celebrating the occasion at a dinner party, Theoderic accused him of treason and put Odovacer and the rest of his enclave to death.⁶⁸

The Visigoths by this time had been active in the Iberian Peninsula on behalf of various Emperors, and also laid claim to territories in Roman Gaul – particularly Toulouse and Narbonne. Further north, control of Gaul was being steadily consolidated under the power of the famous Frankish king Clovis I, while the South-East remained under the rule of the Burgundians. In 507 AD the Battle of Vouillé saw a united Frankish and Burgundian campaign oust the Visigoths from Toulouse with the death of their king Alaric II.⁶⁹ While the Visigoths retained Narbonne for centuries after the battle, it was the only remaining vestige of their claim to Gaul. Any advances south of Aquitaine were curtailed by Theoderic the Ostrogoth, who defeated the Franco-Burgundian alliance in 509 AD, and annexed Provence in the process. After Clovis died in 511 AD, the Frankish kingdom was divided amongst his four sons.⁷⁰

These are the main political forces which this investigation will consider within the declared scope. There were other communities that played a role in the shaping of the Western kingdoms: the Sueves of Gallaecia in the North-West of the Iberian Peninsula, the Vandals who occupied North Africa (and parts of Spain before) and the diverse groups who remained in the *Barbaricum*. They are discussed where relevant. What remains is a consideration of the

⁶⁵ *Anon. Val.* IX.47; Mathisen 2012: 86

⁶⁶ Kent 1994: 204, 207, 431-4 (Julius Nepos); 213, 422 (Odoacer); 215-7, 443-8 (Zeno); Metlich 2004: 11

⁶⁷ Arnold 2016: 75

⁶⁸ *Get.* LVII.295

⁶⁹ *Hist. Goth.* 36

⁷⁰ *Hist. Franc.* III.1; Wood 1994: 56

Eastern Imperial, or Byzantine, perspective, and to what extent the emperors exerted political, economic and symbolic power or influence in the West.

Chapter 3: Eastern Imperial influences on the Western kingdoms c. 6th Century

Political and economic developments in the West cannot be reliably assessed without looking to the Byzantine empire and the legacy of Imperial rule in the West. The politics and economies of East and West were certainly linked, but the degree of dependence should be assessed carefully. Communication channels between the courts of Late Antiquity are well attested in the historical record: diplomatic communication was active, sent with the intention of effecting a reciprocal response.⁷¹ This sometimes included the exchange of coinage and other gifts. This assumes a mutual understanding of language and gesture for a beneficial outcome to be achieved.

It is evident from the literary and numismatic evidence that the concept of Imperium was still meaningful in the West after the events of 476 AD. Maintaining the institutions, language, and symbols of Imperium remained a benefit to the “new” ruling elite: but to what extent? Here I consider how the Eastern emperors exerted their political and economic influence on the Western kingdoms.

i. Imperial endorsements

Elevation to the role of *rex* in the West was not bestowed by the Emperor, but by the incumbent’s supporters, their armies, and would-be subjects.⁷² Endorsement from the Eastern emperors to the barbarian kings was sought and granted through Imperial titles and other gestures. Thus, the barbarian kings inherited an existing Roman infrastructure with which to administer their kingdoms, and some Imperial institutions were able to continue after the disruption of the last decades of the 5th Century. Theodosius decreed that the Eastern emperor would nominate a Western counterpart to act as co-consul and this continued into the 6th Century.⁷³ The gesture of bestowing titles presents a case for both Imperial continuity and the expression of Byzantine power in the West.⁷⁴ Case studies of three key rulers – Gundobad, Theoderic and Clovis I – further illustrate the extent to which Imperial titles and institutions, including the production of pseudo-Imperial coinage, remained relevant to the rulers of the Western kingdoms.

⁷¹ Gillet 2012: 817; Heather 2016: 21

⁷² *Anon. Val. XII.57*; also *Epistolae* 94

⁷³ *Variae* VIII.1.3. In 519 AD the consulship was granted to Eutharic by Justin I. Eutharic was Theoderic’s son-in-law, who was being groomed as successor to the Ostrogothic throne and was also adopted as son-in-arms by Justin I, elevating his status to colleague. Wood 1994: 165; Ožóg 2016: 140.

⁷⁴ Arnold 2018: 265

Gundobad, king of the Burgundians (474-516 AD), was granted the titles *magister militum praesentalis* and *patricius* from 472 AD, effectively ruling the Roman Empire in this capacity prior to assuming kingship of the Burgundians.⁷⁵ He continued to claim the Imperial titles throughout his reign.⁷⁶ A competent ruler, he issued significant legal documents catering to the requirements of his Gallo-Roman and Burgundian constituents: the *Lex Romana Burgundionum* and *Lex Burgundionum*, respectively.⁷⁷ The Burgundian state was secured by Gundobad through an innovation on Roman legal models.⁷⁸ He successfully petitioned Anastasius I to allow his son and successor, Sigismund I, to carry on the role of *magister militum* and *patricius* sometime after 516 AD.⁷⁹ The principal city of the Burgundian kingdom was Lugdunum (Lyon), the administrative and economic centre of Gaul in the early Imperial period. It was also the location of an Imperial mint, and replaced the Roman mint for a time in 64 AD.⁸⁰ It subsequently declined in importance but continued to issue Imperial coinage until the early 5th Century under Honorius (393-423 AD), including issues from the usurpers Constantine III (407-411 AD) and Jovinus (411-413 AD).⁸¹ Gundobad issued coinage from Lugdunum identifiable by a conspicuous monogram, relying on the existing infrastructure to issue gold and silver and bronze coinage under the auspices of the Eastern emperors.⁸²

Theoderic, king of Italy (493-526 AD), was a hostage of Leo I (457-474 AD) in his youth.⁸³ He was granted the titles of *patricius* around 476 AD, *magister militum praesentalis* (in the Balkans) and *consul* from 484 AD by the Emperor Zeno.⁸⁴ He was recognised as *rex Gentium* of the Goths long before Zeno sent him to Italy to deal with Odovacer.⁸⁵ He sought recognition of his kingship from Anastasius I which he received in 497 AD in the form of the royal vestments and imperial regalia.⁸⁶ Theoderic successfully resisted a naval raid from

⁷⁵ *Ep.* 93, 94; Eisenberg 2019: 158

⁷⁶ Shanzer & Wood 2002: 26

⁷⁷ Drew 1996: 5

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*: 164-5

⁷⁹ Avitus *Ep.* 93, 94

⁸⁰ Metcalf 1989: 68

⁸¹ See Kent RIC X

⁸² Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 75-76, MEC 1 339; Shanzer & Wood 2002: 25. Issues of pseudo-Imperial gold coinage have also been attributed to Sigismund. See Drew 1972: 9.

⁸³ *Get.* LII. 271

⁸⁴ *Get.* LVII. 289; Johnson 1988: 73-4

⁸⁵ *Get.* LVI. 288; Barnwell 1992: 135-7

⁸⁶ Metlich 2004: 5. The same vestments which Odovacer had sent east in 476 AD, perhaps in an attempt to consolidate Imperial power. Scholl 2017: 33; Arnold 2018: 70

Anastasius I after relations had soured in 504 AD, but returned to friendly terms in 507 AD.⁸⁷ Theoderic's marriage to Audofleda, sister of Clovis I, and the marrying-off of his daughters to kings of the Visigothic, Burgundian and Vandals allied him to all the major Western powers.⁸⁸

Literary sources indicate Theoderic regarded Anastasius I as a senior colleague amongst two Roman rulers. Anastasius acknowledged the status of Rome under Theoderic as one of two Republics, with full support from the Roman Senate.⁸⁹ Inscriptions support this notion, referring to Theoderic as *semper augustus* amongst numerous other honorifics.⁹⁰ Theoderic exercised the power to bestow the consulship and other roles amongst the aristocracy.⁹¹ After his death, it is unclear whether these titles were passed on to Athalaric, and unlikely that they passed on to his mother Amalasuntha the queen-regent (526-534 AD) and later regnant (534-535 AD). Theoderic issued gold coinage from the mints of Rome, Ravenna and Milan. He issued the same *tremisses* coin types as the Eastern mints, unlike the neighbouring kingdoms.⁹² Production standards were monitored closely and the counterfeiting of gold coinage was punishable by death.⁹³ Smaller denominations in copper were issued from Rome, and a series of silver coins was issued from Sirmium (Dalmatia).⁹⁴

Clovis I, king of the Franks (481-511 AD), was made *patricius* and granted the consulship in c. 508 AD by Anastasius I.⁹⁵ The *Historia Francorum* alleges that upon receiving the codicils of the consulate, in the church of St. Martin, Clovis I was clad in quasi-Imperial vestments: a purple tunic, a chlamys, and a diadem.⁹⁶ From the same source we are told that from that day Clovis I was addressed as either *consul* or *augustus*. Anastasius I's intention may have been to elevate the Frankish king's status amongst his competitors in the West.⁹⁷ This reflects the politically charged situation attested to in various literary sources leading up to the Battle of

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*: 6; Arnold 2018: 269

⁸⁸ *Get.* LVIII.297-9

⁸⁹ Arnold 2018: 82

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*: 88-92.

⁹¹ Heather 2016: 22

⁹² Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 36. This casts some doubt on the theory that the reverse legend VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM was purely traditional. Grierson 1982: 49; *Augustorum* is the masculine plural. MoFA, Boston 13.1353 minted in Rome by Theoderic and 1998.610 & 2004.1252 minted in Constantinople by Anastasius I both show this in the reverse legend.

⁹³ *ET* 90; Lafferty 2013:208-9

⁹⁴ Metlich 2004: 43-4; Demo 2017: 167; Gennari 2016: 20-8

⁹⁵ Mathisen 2012: 79

⁹⁶ *HF* II.38; Noting that the accuracy of this account has been called into question, see Mathison 2019: 80-1

⁹⁷ Shanzer & Wood 2002: 25-6.

Vouillé in 507 AD and its aftermath, which was most certainly known to Anastasius I. The scarcity of Frankish pseudo-Imperial coin finds prior to the reign of Anastasius I suggests that few were minted during the reign of Clovis I, but this changed significantly in the decades that followed.⁹⁸ Clovis was succeeded in 511 AD by his four sons: Chlodomer, Chlothair and Chlodomer (from his wife Chlothild), and Theuderic (from a previous relationship).⁹⁹

The practice of Eastern endorsement of the “barbarian” rulers demonstrates that the language and power structures of the Roman imperium were still as relevant as they had been in prior decades. The actions of those who would aspire to kingship were endorsed with Imperial titles; but to whose benefit? The Eastern Emperor maintained seniority in these relationships, but this had its limitations. Gundobad, Theoderic and Clovis I all sought affiliation within an Eastern hegemony, yet this seems to have exacerbated mutual competition, or outright hostility, between the kingdoms.¹⁰⁰ That all three rulers were also tied through political marriages seems irrelevant.¹⁰¹ The Western rulers could maintain their kingdoms despite falling in or out of favour with the Eastern court, but were also frequently locked in conflicts despite their own intricate diplomacies.

ii. *Ius cudendae monetae*: the right to mint

As the centre of Imperial power in Constantinople, the Eastern emperors maintained the authority of minting coinage. Gold coin denominations across the Mediterranean in this period were based on the *solidus*, a coin weighing 1/72 of a Roman pound (Fig. 1). The *solidus* entered widespread production across the Empire, completely replacing the *aureus* as the main gold denomination after 312 AD.¹⁰² This continued in the West well after the events of 476 AD, and indicates compatibility of currency across the region.

⁹⁸ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 113-4

⁹⁹ *Hist. Franc.* III.1; Wood 1994: 56

¹⁰⁰ Shanzer & Wood 2002: 26; Mathisen 2012: 106

¹⁰¹ *Get.* LVIII.297-9

¹⁰² Grierson 1982: 1



Fig. 1: A solidus of Anastasius I minted in Constantinople. Source: SMB Digital 18204088

The coinage minted during the reign of Anastasius I is considered to be the beginning of Byzantine coinage, mostly due to the extensive reform conducted on the bronze denominations.¹⁰³ Investigation into copper and silver denominations supports the case for a pan-Mediterranean ‘market’ economy. Elements of a ‘political’ economy, however, are arguably more evident in the minting of gold coinage. The *solidus* was the basis of fiscal administration, evidenced in written sources as the unit for paying salaries, diplomatic gifts and ransoms, and fines.¹⁰⁴ Commercial transactions in gold coin seemed to be of secondary importance to governments, who were more likely concerned with changing money as a result of taxation.¹⁰⁵

Under Anastasius I and Justin I gold coinage production was centralised at Constantinople (with some issues from Thessalonica). State-owned gold mines were typically worked by slaves and the condemned across the Empire.¹⁰⁶ During his reign, Anastasius I seized control of high-yield gold mines in Armenia that were leased for 200 pounds of gold to mine operators.¹⁰⁷ He left a surplus of 320,000 pounds of gold to the treasury.¹⁰⁸ His successor, Justin I, exhausted the surplus by the end of his reign and added another 400,000 of debt.¹⁰⁹

Anastasius I initiated an extensive reform of the copper denominations based on the *nummi* which had a long-standing impact on Byzantine coinage: this was prompted by inflation, against which the mints of Rome and Carthage (under the Vandals) had already taken

¹⁰³ Grierson 1982: 3-4; Hahn & Metcalf 1988: 7;

¹⁰⁴ Lafferty 2013: 207; Naismith 2014: 273

¹⁰⁵ Hahn 2000: 7-8

¹⁰⁶ Vryonis 1962: 2

¹⁰⁷ *Malalas Chron.* 455-456

¹⁰⁸ Bellinger 1966: 2

¹⁰⁹ Bellinger 1966: 34

measures around 475 AD.¹¹⁰ The focus on the reforms of 498 AD has drawn scholarly attention away from the preceding coinage of the mid-late 5th Century rulers, leaving a gap in numismatic studies.¹¹¹

In the centuries prior, the personal representation of the Emperor seen in classical coinage had been replaced by a stylised portrait. The countenance of the Emperor was still regarded as sacred, and carried the assurance of quality that came with it. The production of *falsa moneta* – counterfeit gold coinage – was considered treason and blasphemy and punishable by death according to the Theodosian Code issued in 380s AD.¹¹² This remained the precedent for later laws promulgated in both the Eastern Empire and the Western kingdoms.

The reverses of *solidi* and *tremisses* have been known to contain mint marks and other administrative devices e.g. the ubiquitous legend CONOB or *Constantinopolis obryziacus* (the fine gold solidus of Constantinople). This facilitated exchange from the Byzantine mints to foreign powers.¹¹³ On Western coin issues COMOB (sometimes rendered as COHOB) is used instead. This has been interpreted as *Comitatus obryziacum* as a reference to the main Western Imperial mint and served much the same purpose.¹¹⁴

In order to be acceptable in a pan-Mediterranean economy, its functions and appearance needed to complement the Romano-Byzantine “coin of the realm”. An example of this is seen in Theoderic’s coins minted from Rome and Ravenna (which replaced Mediolanum as the *moneta comitativa* or travelling “capital” mint in 402 AD)¹¹⁵ that exactly match the Byzantine issued *tremisses*.¹¹⁶ Rome continued its role as the central mint through the Ostrogothic period through to the early Byzantine occupation of Italy in the 540s AD.¹¹⁷

iii. Byzantine coin finds in Western contexts

The supply of gold coinage is integral to a functioning political economy. An analysis of coin hoards and single finds has been conducted to better understand the economic and political

¹¹⁰ Whiting 1973: 89-91

¹¹¹ Hahn & Metcalf 1988: 7

¹¹² Grierson 1979: 241, 251

¹¹³ Morrison 2002: 911, 934; Fischer & López Sánchez 2016: 253

¹¹⁴ See Madden 1861; Kent

¹¹⁵ Hahn & Metcalf 1988: 11

¹¹⁶ A related example is the notorious issue of *solidi* by Theudebert replacing Justinian I’s name on the obverse with his own.

¹¹⁷ Kent 1971: 73; Hahn & Metcalf 1988: 11-12.

links between the Byzantine Empire and the Western kingdoms. A coin hoard is typically two or more coins deposited by their owner with the intention of returning to collect them within their lifetime.¹¹⁸ Due to the relatively high value of the *tremisses* it can indicate a wealthy individual in the vicinity of the find; the accidental loss of such a high value coin is unexpected, and a *solidus* even more so.¹¹⁹ In the case of hoards, it is assumed they were intentionally buried because they are of particular significance or value, as opposed to accidental deposition. A hoard itself does not contain the answers as to why it was buried or recovered: this is left to interpretation.¹²⁰ Despite this limitation, a study of hoards can assist us in answering questions about the coins and economic activity at large in the Western kingdoms.

Deposition patterns provide insights to circulation and the output of Byzantine coinage travelling from East to West. The presence of ‘barbarian’ coins along with Byzantine Imperial coins in a hoard indicates compatibility of the currencies and provides some notion of how to address the concept of Byzantine *official* coinage and its “imitations”. The vast majority of coins produced in the West in this period bear the obverse portrait and name of the Eastern Emperor and, therefore, cannot be studied in isolation from Constantinopolitan issues.

Several sources have been consulted to build the sampling of Byzantine hoards (Appendix III). Moser’s *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* (1935) provides a foundation of 80 hoards containing the coins of Anastasius I and Justin I for the present study. Coins in their hoards studied by Moser are attributed according to the Emperor’s name on the obverse, which can only be as accurate as the original attribution.¹²¹ All listed hoards are referenced, but in some cases detail is severely lacking.¹²² R Pliego (2016) observes that the study of French and Spanish hoards discovered in the 19th Century suffers from a paucity of data, and many coins were dispersed shortly after being unearthed.¹²³ This is a problem in the study of barbarian *tremisses* more generally, making attribution and studies of their function and

¹¹⁸ Casey 1986: 51

¹¹⁹ Heath & Yoon 2001: 70-1

¹²⁰ Reece 1988: 261

¹²¹ The correct attribution of ‘pseudo-Imperial coinage has benefitted greatly from the work of Tomasini, Lafuarie, Miles and other 20th century scholars.

¹²² One example, from 1897, is really only an eyewitness account.

¹²³ Pliego 2016: 380

chronology all the more challenging.¹²⁴ Here I present an updated list with entries from more recent publications. In particular I have drawn on *Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire* (2021), as well as J Lafaurie & C Morrison (1987) for information about individual finds and S Fischer & F López Sánchez (2016) for Western hoards from the 6th Century.¹²⁵ In the absence of a similar study of Spanish finds I have tentatively adopted the position that the holdings of public museums reflect coin circulation in the general region where the coins are known to have been deposited.¹²⁶ There is clearly scope to rectify this in a future project. The sample presented here is sufficient to draw meaningful conclusions for the purpose of this study.

The sample of 71 hoards and single finds curated for this study focuses on the coinage minted in the name of Anastasius I (491–518 AD) and Justin I (518–527 AD) found in territories roughly equivalent to the Western kingdoms of the Franks, Goths and Burgundians. The *tremisses* of the East during this period are almost all Constantinopolitan issues with the same reverse type: the Victoria walking right, looking backwards and holding a wreath and *globus cruciger* (VGC) with the inscription VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM – or “victory of the emperors”.¹²⁷ These are virtually indistinguishable from the Ostrogothic *tremisses* issued by Theoderic Amal in Italy (and this has the potential to distort the findings).¹²⁸ The *tremisses* from Frankish Austrasia and Neustria to the far north of Gaul also used a similar coin type.¹²⁹ From the broader survey of 80 “Byzantine” coin hoards, specific attention on the Western kingdoms shows the ongoing hoarding activity of Eastern gold coinage (Fig. 2). The spread of finds correlates with evidence for the East-West flow of coinage in previous centuries: coins minted in Constantinople were sent to a central location in Italy (perhaps Ravenna) or through the Balkans and dispersed throughout the Western kingdoms and the *Barbaricum*.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ Heath & Yoon 2001: 68

¹²⁵ CHRE 2021; Lafaurie & Morrison 1987: 38-98; Fischer & López Sánchez 2016: 267-9

¹²⁶ Kurt 2020: 37

¹²⁷ Grierson 1982: 56

¹²⁸ Grierson 1982: 78

¹²⁹ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 114

¹³⁰ Fischer & López-Sánchez 2016: 255; Gandila notes that a monetary value cannot be attached to gold and silver Byzantine coins found in *barbaricum*, where the state could not guarantee the value of the currency. Therefore, they have been excluded from this study. Gandila 2018: 243, 245.

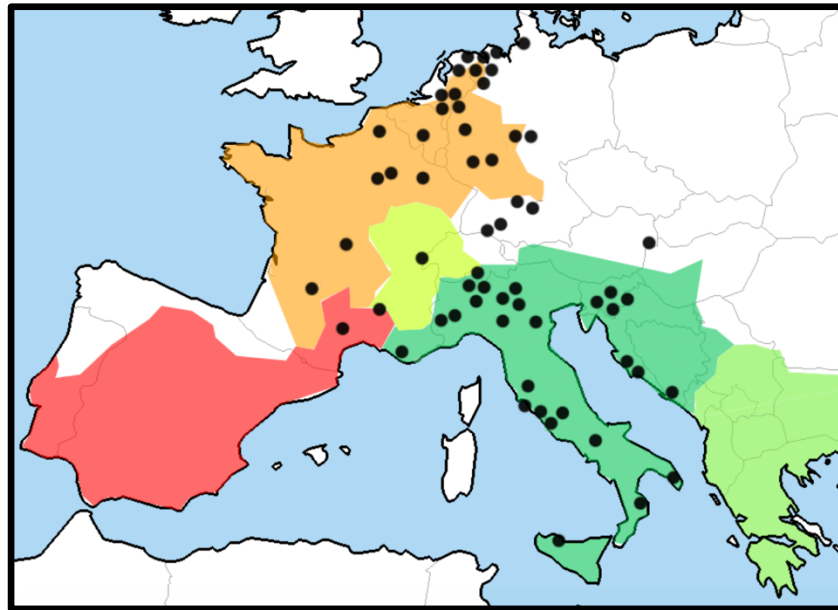


Fig. 2: The geographic spread of hoards containing Imperial coins of Anastasius I and Justin I originating in Constantinople and found in Western locations: Western kingdoms highlighted, and modern-day political boundaries retained for reference.

The sample contains 18 Byzantine hoards “augmented” with coinage of ‘barbarian’ origin.¹³¹ The abundance of *solidi* in these hoards suggests that it was the preferred format for long-distance gold transfers and exchanges from East to West. The Western kingdoms may have used part of the gold from the East to mint their own *tremisses*. Considering the diversity of known pseudo-Imperial coins, this indicates a substantial and frequent output of fractions for which Eastern gold may have been a source.¹³²

	<i>Solidi</i>	<i>Tremis.</i>
Anastasius I	259	74
Justin I	57	10
	316	84

Table 1. Summary of the results from an analysis of gold *solidi* and *tremisses* in Western hoards and site finds.

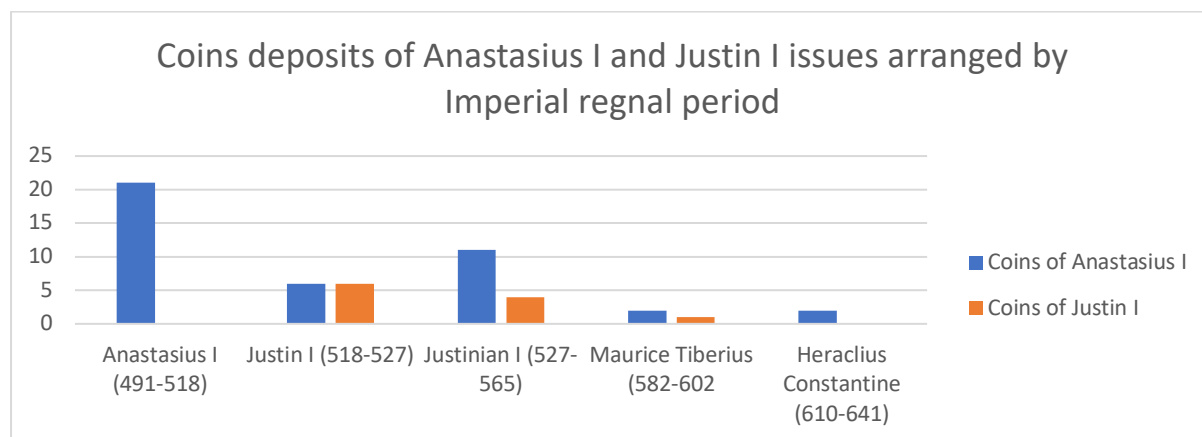
Inferring a *terminus ante quem* for hoard deposition from the most recent coins found in the hoards is preferred given the lack of other data, and must be approached with caution.¹³³

¹³¹ *Ibid.*: 252

¹³² Tomasini’s (1964) catalogue of ‘barbarian’ *tremisses* records 133 different examples minted in the name of Anastasius I, and 100 in the name of Justin I.

¹³³ Bland et. al. 2020: 4

From the sample, coin deposits within the reign of Anastasius I (491-518 AD) are far more frequent than during the reign of Justin I (518-527 AD). The coins of both emperors generally stop appearing in Western hoards after the reign of Justinian I (527-565 AD). This suggests that Imperial coinage issued by Anastasius I and Justin I was either accumulated in the West over this time, or still in circulation in the Western kingdoms up to approximately 565 AD.



Graph 1. Frequency of Byzantine deposits containing the coins of Anastasius I and Justin I in the Western kingdoms according to the era of the reigning emperor (arranged by deposition date).

To be considered a person of means required an estate of a minimum of 50 *solidi*.¹³⁴ This figure helps us comprehend actual values of the coins hoarded. Beyond the physical finds, contemporary literary accounts indicate that hoarding was a common practice amongst the elite. Cassiodorus, writing from the court of Theoderic in Italy, encouraged the southern Gallo-Roman elite to uncover their “long-hidden treasures” without fear of a return to ‘barbarian’ rule after the Ostrogothic king claimed the area in 510 AD.¹³⁵ Another letter permits the recovery of burial hoards – “the talent hidden in the earth” – to be rightfully claimed by the state.¹³⁶ It is difficult to determine the scale of this operation, but worth noting when considering hoarding patterns.

The Eastern empire continued to play a significant role in the events that unfolded in the West. The Western kingdoms were acquired by military might, and in part maintained by

¹³⁴ Heath & Yoon 2001: 70

¹³⁵ *Variae* III.17

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* IV.34

Imperial gold. While the data is far from complete, a preliminary analysis of Byzantine coin hoards indicates that:

1. Byzantine coinage flowed from Eastern mints towards the West, maintaining patterns observed in earlier centuries;
2. The majority of these coins were *solidi*;
3. Hoards containing coins minted by Anastasius I and Justin I all but cease after the reign of Justinian I in 526 AD;
4. Byzantine Imperial coinage is found alongside ‘barbarian’ coinage in at least 25% of hoards in the sample, suggesting compatibility in the Western economy.

While there were instances where barbarian kings ignored or deliberately rebuffed Byzantine rule, it is unlikely they would refuse to accept Byzantine coin. The relationship between East and West was evidently interdependent in the early 6th Century: accession to the throne may have been enabled through force of arms, but could it be maintained by those means alone? Evidence of a legal nature suggests this may not have been sufficient.¹³⁷ R Mathieson has noted the absence of Imperial honours by the reign of Justinian I (527-565 AD) whose “reconquest” of the West clearly shows Byzantine foreign policy towards the Western kingdoms had changed after the reigns of Anastasius I and Justin I.¹³⁸ The pursuit of Imperial endorsement by the Western kings suggests that until 527 AD there was a tangible benefit from these titles: legitimacy. The Western kings and their court officials were complicit in reinforcing elements of Imperial identity through symbolic gestures and roles. In this way, maintaining the production, circulation and consumption of pseudo-Imperial coinage was crucial in legitimising the Western kingdoms through traditionally Imperial prerogatives.

¹³⁷ See Eisenberg 2019

¹³⁸ Mathisen 2012: 106-7

Chapter 4 – Minting Victory

The rulers of the Western kingdoms were prolific minters, issuing coinage in gold, silver and copper at various times. These coins have been found in abundance in the archaeological record for the region corresponding to the kingdoms of the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Franks and Burgundians. The pseudo-Imperial *tremisses* minted in the barbarian kingdoms are important to the economic history of the period for they were a focus of local ‘barbarian’ production. It may be debated whether the act of minting coinage in the name of the Eastern emperor was voluntary, but it is clear that it was practiced for the obvious economic and political benefits which were recognised by the Western rulers.¹³⁹

The substantial quantities of coin finds have made it possible to make observations on metrology and trends in coin production.¹⁴⁰ Dating pseudo-Imperial coinage remains speculative, with only the name of the emperor indicating a regnal period. Attribution to specific mints and kingdoms is made difficult by the lack of information in literary sources or contained on the coins themselves.¹⁴¹ Surprisingly, the study of the •T• coins has received little attention in recent years.¹⁴² These coins themselves form a small component of the known barbaric *tremisses*: only 5% of the 233 coins attributed to Anastasius I and Justin I in Tomasini’s catalogue. Yet they serve as an ideal case study, being amongst the few examples of coins with such a conspicuous, and consistently applied, administrative mark; they effectively form a series of their own.

1. The barbarian *tremisses*

The kings of the West minted their own supply of Imperial *tremisses*, a fraction derived from the *solidus*, of a roughly uniform weight which followed the same standard used in the Byzantine East.¹⁴³ The continued usage of the emperor’s portrait reflects the Imperial “monopoly” on gold coinage.¹⁴⁴ The coinage of the Western kings included a variety of denominations in copper, silver, and gold, but the production of *tremisses* vastly outweighs the larger *solidus*.

¹³⁹ Arnold 2018: 85

¹⁴⁰ Kurt 2020: 68-9; Metcalf

¹⁴¹ MEC 1: 34

¹⁴² To my knowledge, the last major work on the topic was by Lafaurie (1970) which was later cited by Crinon (1996, 2003), Grierson (MEC 1: 115) and continues to appear in numerous auction listings.

¹⁴³ The *tremisses* produced in the West demonstrate a modal weight of 1.46-1.5g quite close to the theoretical Roman standard of 1.516g (Kurt 2020: 70); similar findings in Metcalf *et al.* 1992: 72.

¹⁴⁴ Kurt 2020: 49



Fig. 3: An example of a pseudo-Imperial *tremis* attributed to the Visigoths of the Victory type.

Source: Fitzwilliam Museum

The *tremisses* were the most numerous coin denomination issued by the Western kingdoms. They are dominated by one type: the Victory with Palm and Wreath (VPW) (Fig. 3). This type is distinct from that on *tremisses* issued from the Eastern Empire and the Ostrogothic kingdom which depict a Victory with Globus Cruciger (VGC) (Fig. 4). The Ostrogoths under Theoderic and his successors produced numerous issues of *tremisses*, from their mints in Rome, Ravenna and Mediolanum (Milan), identical to the contemporary Constantinopolitan issues using the VGC type (Fig. 5). That Theoderic would wish to distinguish the *tremisses* from the majority of issues of the Western kingdoms suggests an alignment between the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy and the Eastern Empire that other kingdoms were, perhaps, not privy to.



Fig. 4: An example of a Byzantine *tremis* issued from Constantinople during the reign of Anastasius I.

Source: ANS DOC 10a.



Fig. 5: An example of an Ostrogothic *tremis* issued in the name of Anastasius I, but minted in Rome by Theoderic. Note the similarities to Fig. 4. Source: Artemide XLVII, Lot 365

It is generally accepted that the first pseudo-Imperial VPW coins were issued c. 510 AD as an initiative of Theoderic the Ostrogoth, following military victories against the Franco-Burgundian alliance after the Battle of Vouillé of 507 AD.¹⁴⁵ Actual coins, or perhaps dies, were then sent out as prototypes to other mints.¹⁴⁶ Reviving the VPW issue may have been prompted by the alleged debasement of gold coinage of the Visigothic king Alaric II.¹⁴⁷ A return to a familiar reverse type was likely chosen due to its association with reliable coinage. Similar Victory types are ubiquitous on Imperial silver and copper coinage of the 3rd Century.¹⁴⁸ It is recognisable in scenes such as the *profectio bellica* – or, ‘the marching out to war’ – on a Roman bronze of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (Fig. 6).¹⁴⁹ The VPW type last appeared on gold coins issued by emperor Arcadius (383-408 AD) and the usurper Iohannes (423-425 AD).¹⁵⁰ This prompted Tomasini to question the accuracy of the term “imitation” when describing the ‘barbarian’ coinage as the “consistent reverse implies a conscious policy to separate them from the actual Byzantine tremissis”.¹⁵¹



Fig. 6. The *profectio bellica* scene on a bronze coin of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD). Source: Augustus Coins

Victoria as a coin type is evident in Ostrogothic bronze and silver issues, amongst other Roman Classical symbols.¹⁵² Victoria also appears on the Sennigalia Medallion (Fig. 7) whose issue date is still disputed.¹⁵³ Tomasini believed that the revival of the VPW was possible only in a Western context “uncompromised” by the usage of pagan symbolism, and

¹⁴⁵ Grierson & Blackburn offer a date of 509 AD (1986 MEC I: 35, 48, 114), while Tomasini suggests a date of 510 (Tomasini 1964: 56). See also Kurt 2020: 51-2.

¹⁴⁶ Tomasini 1964: 96, 161 - proposes that the first VPW issues were minted at Rome and sent as prototypes to mints at Narbonne and Arles.

¹⁴⁷ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 46

¹⁴⁸ See Galwey 1962

¹⁴⁹ López Sanchez 2017: 157

¹⁵⁰ Tomasini 1964: 2-4

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*:1

¹⁵² Baldi 2014: 53-9; Rovelli 2018: 72

¹⁵³ Metlich 2004: 15-6

with access to older dies or designs.¹⁵⁴ As king of Italy, Theoderic is the authority most befitting the reinstatement of the VPW, but even for Tomasini this attribution was still inconclusive.



Fig. 7. An electrotype of the Sennigallia Medallion, presented to Theoderic and minted at Rome, celebrating him as a victorious king with clear allusions to Imperial Rome in its symbolism: the ubiquitous Victory. *Source: SMB Digital*

The Ostrogothic origin of the VPW coins is widely accepted, but it does not wholly account for the widespread acceptance of the VPW across the Western kingdoms. For instance, it is perplexing that Gundobad's Burgundian mint would produce a coin type celebrating his own defeat. Nevertheless, understanding the VPW *tremis* is integral to understanding the economic history of the Western kingdoms and the societies that produced them. The issues of VPW *tremisses* marked with •T• provide us with an opportunity to further explore the potential links between the barbarian kings and the VPW *tremisses*, and better understand their role in the economy.

2. Case Study: the •T• coins

2.1 Attribution to the Merovingian Franks

Recognising the significance of the •T• mark in establishing the provenance of the coins, M. Ch. Lenormant presented his hypotheses on the barbarian *tremisses*. He believed the coins to be uniquely Merovingian-minted royal coinage. He used the term *marque chlodovienne* to define intentional stylistic departures from other pseudo-Imperial coinage by the Merovingian monarch Clovis I (481-511 AD) and his successors.¹⁵⁵ Lenormant attributed the

¹⁵⁴ Tomasini 1964: 11

¹⁵⁵ Lenormant 1848: 195

•T• coins to Theoderic I (511-534 AD), or Thierry I, son of Clovis I. His attribution was abandoned by his contemporaries, but in the absence of any alternatives this theory persisted.¹⁵⁶ This line of enquiry was resumed in Lafaurie's extensive work on the subject almost a century later and by Crinon sometime after.¹⁵⁷ The attribution remains uncertain.¹⁵⁸

Lafaurie's contributions to this argument are presented in *Observations sur des monnaies d'or attribuables à Thierry Ier, fils de Clovis* (1968) and in his work on the relevant hoards.¹⁵⁹ He observed from his corpus of 12 •T• coins (and other related examples) that the coins could not be produced by the same die-cutter or at the same workshop i.e. Toulouse.¹⁶⁰ Lafaurie acknowledged the concurrent rule of Theoderic and Thierry I as a point of contention; he ruled out the Ostrogothic mints stating they only issued coins of the Byzantine VGC type.¹⁶¹ This is incorrect, and examples of Ostrogothic coins representing the VPW type issued in the name of Anastasius I have been recorded (Fig. 8). Furthermore, I have identified a VPW coin minted in the name of Justin I with an obverse type characteristic of Mediolanum (Milan), a known Ostrogothic mint at the time (Fig. 9).

Contradictions in Lafaurie's catalogue of the Alise-Sainte-Reine hoard cast doubt on the theory.¹⁶² One coin attributed to Thierry I (Lafaurie 1983 92) has a pectoral cross, and shares a (modified) obverse die with a coin he attributes to the Visigoths (Lafaurie 1983 46). His link from the •T• *tremisses* to a *solidus* attributed to Thierry I is also unclear.¹⁶³

While I generally disagree with his Merovingian attribution to Thierry I, Lafaurie successfully argued that the •T• mark could not indicate a specific mint: significant variations between dies is too great to originate from a single source. This point will be examined further in the thesis. For the most part, the attribution to Thierry I must be abandoned.

¹⁵⁶ See Engel & Serrure 1891

¹⁵⁷ Lafaurie 1970: 33-4; Crinon 2003: 201-3

¹⁵⁸ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 115

¹⁵⁹ Lafaurie 1968; Alise-Sainte-Reine, see Lafaurie 1983; Gourdon, see Lafaurie 1958

¹⁶⁰ Lafaurie 1983: 33

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² See Lafaurie 1983

¹⁶³ Lafaurie 1970: 34



Fig. 8: Perhaps one of the original VPW *tremisses* in the name of Anastasius I, minted in Rome under Theoderic. Source: British Museum



Fig. 9: A VPW coin with an obverse suggesting the Ostrogothic mint of Mediolanum (Milan) by the star/cross above the head of the emperor. Source: *VCoins*.

2.2 The Visigothic attribution

Tomasini argued that the Italian mints of Theoderic provided the prototypes for the VPW coins minted by the Visigoths, at the time under his regency.¹⁶⁴ Tomasini provided a schema of style groups which determined coins that were minted by the Visigoths supported loosely by the Franco-Iberian provenances of the coins themselves. He attributed the •T• coins to the Visigoths based on features such as the pectoral cross, and stylistic similarities to other coins produced at Narbonne (Fig. 4). His methodology came under criticism from Lafaurie due to the heavy reliance on style alone (a valid criticism). Yet there is still much to be gained from Tomasini's work, as it also provides a corpus and analysis of the weights and provenances for a sample of over 600 coins. Tomasini identified 11 examples of •T• coins minted during the reign of Emperor Anastasius and his successor Justin I.¹⁶⁵ However, no direct link between the issues appears in his schema.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Tomasini 1964: 153

¹⁶⁵ It should be noted that 2 of the 11 coins do not have the •T• recorded in the catalogue, which I have corrected.

¹⁶⁶ Tomasini 1964: 288



Fig. 10: A well preserved example of a VPW coin unequivocally attributable to the Visigoths; note the pectoral cross on the obverse, and the •T• mark ending the reverse legend. Source: Jesus Vico S.A.

Where a similar reverse appears on the coinage attributed to the Franks, Tomasini argued that they were typically issued from mints previously operated by the Visigoths and Burgundians i.e. Narbonne and Lugdunum (Lyon). He narrows down the issue of the •T• coins to either Visigothic Narbonne or Ostrogothic Arles (Provence had been annexed by Theoderic in 508 AD), simply stating that the mark “might be meaningful”.¹⁶⁷ Variations in the pseudo-Imperial VPW coins, such as monograms and other administrative marks, like the •T•, are certainly meaningful. Control marks were used to distinguish issues and their production centres. It was also common practice amongst the Eastern and Western rulers to incorporate personal monograms onto the reverse of coinage as a projection of power.

The dual nature of these marks requires further consideration. The use of monograms as a symbol of identity was an established practice that found an outlet in material culture. Monograms are found on the coinage issued in the Eastern Empire and in the West. Garipzanov observes that the study of monograms on coinage is particularly useful as: 1) the earliest known Imperial monograms appear in the numismatic evidence; 2) mass production of coins allows one to trace the development of the practice in the context of Imperial/kingly rulership; and 3) coins are the only medium where monograms were practiced in both Byzantine and Latin Western contexts.¹⁶⁸

Monograms served as protective symbols and signs of individual and religious identity.¹⁶⁹ This was later adopted by the aristocracy and appear on manuscripts, ivory plaques and silverware throughout the 4th Century. It developed into a “graphic [sign] of social status and

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: 92

¹⁶⁸ Garipzanov 2017: 326

¹⁶⁹ For further evidence from catacombs and signet rings see Garipzanov 2018

noble identity” and was eventually appropriated by the ruling elite.¹⁷⁰ By the 6th Century, monograms were more often used as control marks for coins and silverware and more closely associated with kings and lower authorities in the West.¹⁷¹ Yet the personal nature of the mark, and its relevance in public displays, continued.

Imperial monograms appear on the smallest copper fractions – or *minimi* – of Anastasius I (Fig. 11) who reformed the coinage.¹⁷² A monogram appears on an issue of *minimi* of his successor Justin I, but with more frequency in the copper issues of the later emperors Justinian I and Justin II (565-578 AD). That they appear on the lower denominations, the *minimi* used for day-to-day transactions, attests to the recognition of the symbol in the public sphere.



Fig. 11: A small bronze *minimi* issued by Anastasius I showing his monogram on the reverse. *Source: WildWinds*

The monograms of the Burgundian kings Gundobad and Gundomar appear on the reverse of some *solidi* and VPW *tremisses* issued from Lugdunum. *Tremisses* attributed to Gundobad’s son and successor, Sigismund, carry the letters S and I with the usual reverse inscription. The monogram of Theoderic appears on silver and copper issues from Rome, Ravenna and Milan.¹⁷³ The “Sirmium” group of silver coins minted in Pannonia also frequently displays Theoderic’s monogram on the reverse.¹⁷⁴ On the *solidi* of Theoderic, the reverse legend occasionally ended with a personal monogram or a Θ.¹⁷⁵ On one *tremis*, the reverse legend is abbreviated to a letter T instead.¹⁷⁶ Later examples of *solidi* of his successor, Athalaric, end the reverse legend with the letter A, suggesting this was an established practice contemporary with the •T• coinage.

¹⁷⁰ Garipzanov 2017: 325

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*: 13

¹⁷² OCRE contains 19 documented *nummi*

¹⁷³ Metlich 2004: 36-7

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*: 43-4; Demo 2017: 167; Gennari 2016: 20-8

¹⁷⁵ Baldi 2017: 69

¹⁷⁶ Metlich 13a

2.3 Revisiting the Ostrogothic link

Arguments supporting Visigothic or Frankish origin for the •T• coins have so far been inconclusive. I suggest the arguments are flawed by a tendency to overlook the ongoing influence of Theoderic in the minting of VPW coins. This is in part due to the almost obsessive search for a Frankish “royal coinage” conducted by Lenormant, Lafaurie and others. Recent catalogues of the coins of Theoderic and the Ostrogothic rulers of Italy only briefly discuss the •T• mark. Metlich’s *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy* and Baldi’s extensive curatorial work on the British Museum collection of Ostrogothic coinage, both important studies, were unable to decide the question of attribution. But there is evidence, which we will shortly explore, to help resolve the matter.

Coins of the VPW type were issued by Theoderic from Rome prior to minting coins with contemporary Byzantine types.¹⁷⁷ In addition, there is a possible Ostrogothic VPW emission from Mediolanum during the reign of Justin I to consider. These coins would seem to overturn the argument set out by Lafaurie, which excluded the possibility of Ostrogothic attribution on the grounds that Theoderic only issued coins of the VGC type. Tomasini suggested a possible Ostrogothic link with coins he believed to minted in Ostrogothic Arles or Massilia, or struck from dies from Rome or Ravenna.¹⁷⁸ This theory is further substantiated by previously unpublished coins of this stylistic group with an obverse die link to the •T• coins (Fig. 12). Letter forms on these coins suggest an Italian provenance.¹⁷⁹



Fig. 12: A VPW tremis with an obverse type attributed to Ostrogothic Arles or Massilia by Tomasini. Letter forms support an Italian provenance for the coins or dies. Source: Roma XI

A link between the Ostrogothic king and the •T• mark is further suggested by the inclusion of the mark on an Ostrogothic *solidus* minted in Rome in the name of Justin I (518-527) (Fig.

¹⁷⁷ Metlich 2004 10a, 10b.

¹⁷⁸ Specifically Group 2 and 4a, Tomasini 1964: 160-1

¹⁷⁹ Kornbluth 2008: 304

6). Metlich believe that the mark had been included on the reverse of the coin as a commemorative gesture by Theoderic's nephew and successor, Athalaric (526-534 AD).¹⁸⁰ He also suggested that the •T• mark was only employed sporadically as it violated the 497 agreement with Anastasius I which conferred authority of Italy to Theoderic.¹⁸¹ Yet the details of such an agreement elude us.¹⁸² The theory of Metlich is further challenged by the relative freedom with which the Western kings minted coins with their own marks through the reigns of Anastasius and Justin I, as discussed above.



Fig. 13: A *solidus* in the name of Justin I minted at Rome during the reign of either Theoderic or, his successor, Athalaric. Source: Metlich 2014

Theoderic had access to the long-standing institutions and infrastructure that had produced Imperial coinage for centuries. Letters on coins had been traditionally deployed as control mechanisms to enhance coin production, rather than disrupt it. If we consider the striking of coins to be a well-informed economic practice, the •T• mark arguably served as both a symbol of Theoderic's authority and as a means of auditing mint output. Understanding this mark (and others like it) aids our understanding of fiscal administration and the stewardship of Imperial territories, ideas and symbols undertaken by the Western kings.

Four weights issued by Theoderic are known (see Appendix III).¹⁸³ A complete study has yet to be undertaken but I would argue that they offer important evidence for financial activities within the Ostrogothic kingdom under Theoderic. I also wish to claim that one weight is

¹⁸⁰ Metlich 2004: 22-23

¹⁸¹ Metlich 2004: 23

¹⁸² Arnold 2018: 84-5

¹⁸³ Metlich 2004: 23; Buckton 1994: 78; Entwistle 2008: 40; Carli 1754: 89; Muratorio 1739: 577-82.

significant for our investigation of the •T• coins. Although generally overlooked, this weight (now in the British Museum), clearly issued during the reign of Theoderic (Fig. 14), bears an identical mark as the •T• coins and the *solidus* from Rome discussed above.



Fig. 14: Weight from the court of Theoderic showing the •T• symbol. Source: BM

Weights are created to enforce established standards of measurement, which varied subtly at different times and in different regions. Analysis based on earlier Imperial Roman weights, or on Constantinopolitan examples, does not necessarily reflect contemporary practice in the context of the Western kingdoms.¹⁸⁴ Similarly, applying a “theoretical” standard based on modern interpretation requires some caution.¹⁸⁵ What follows is an examination of one specific weight, the possible context of its usage, and a brief discussion of its relevance to the study of the •T• coins.

Measuring weights fall into two categories, and are marked corresponding to their purpose: coin weights, measured in *solidi*, and commercial weights, measured in pounds, *librae*, or ounces, *unciae* (refer to Table 1). Both serve the purpose of ensuring fairness in commercial exchanges.¹⁸⁶ Evidence from literary sources and surviving examples of Romano-Byzantine weights also attest to officials who issued weights to control these exchanges, such as the praetorian prefect, the *praefectus urbi* in Rome and the *eparch* in Constantinople.¹⁸⁷ The Count of the Sacred Largesse (*comes sacrarum largitionum*) was responsible for administering taxes and mints, and also issued weights accordingly.¹⁸⁸ The examples of weights issued under the authority of Theoderic name the *praefectus urbi*, Catulinus. The *praefectus urbi* was the head of the Senate and this indicates that the weights were issued by

¹⁸⁴ Bendall 1996: 6–7; Entwistle 2008: 39–40; a range between 324g for a Byzantine *libra* from the 4th – 6th Century has been suggested.

¹⁸⁵ Entwistle 2016: 287

¹⁸⁶ Bendall 1996: 7, 52–55; Entwistle 2008: 38

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*: 40

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*: 13

official order, as opposed to private weights used in commercial transactions by merchants.¹⁸⁹

lb.		ozs.	Com. Symbol	<i>Solidi</i>	Coin Symbol	<i>Siliquae</i> (ct.)
1	<i>Libra</i>	12	A	72	-	-
¼	<i>Quadrans</i>	3	-III	18	SOL XVIII	-
1/12	<i>Uncia</i>	1	-I	6	SOL C	-
-	<i>Semuncia</i>	1/2	XII	3	SOL III	-
-	-	-	-	1	SOL I	24
-	-	-	-	⅓ (<i>tremis.</i>)	-	8

Table 2. Commercial and coin weight standards in the Late Antique West (after Bendall 1996).

The four weights issued from the court of Theoderic are easily attributed by the inscription D–N THEODERICI (‘Of our Lord, Theoderic’) on one face. All are inscribed with a variation of CATV|LINVS|VC.ET|INL.PFV (‘Catulinus, the renowned and illustrious man, Praefectus Urbi’) around the edges. Weight **No. 2** shows a •T• within a wreath and trefoils in each corner. The inscriptions and motif are shared with the two larger weights of Theoderic (**No. 3 & 4**), and some Byzantine weights found across the European continent demonstrate a similar “crown within wreath” motif.¹⁹⁰

The •T• weight has been classified as “commercial” as it weighs 22.45g, approximately one *uncia*.¹⁹¹ A comparable example from the MAH, Geneva, weighs 23.4g and explicitly shows both the commercial symbol -I and the coin weight symbol C suggesting a dual purpose (Fig. 9). Buckton suggests that the •T• weight should be turned clockwise in order for the symbol for the *uncia* to be read.¹⁹² This leaves the wreath opening to the right which cannot be correct.¹⁹³



Fig. 15: An uncia Byzantine weight (23.4g) with commercial and coin weight symbols. *Source: MAH, Geneva*

¹⁸⁹ Hodgkin

¹⁹⁰ Entwistle 2008: 42

¹⁹¹ Metlich 2004: 23

¹⁹² Buckton 1994: 86

¹⁹³ Metlich 2004: 23

It has been observed that physical weights are typically attuned to ‘provincial’ or ‘local’ measurements.¹⁹⁴ Both examples above are significantly lighter than the 27g theoretical weight of an ounce. The weight of the •T• *uncia* yields a total pound (*libra*) of 270g; well below the theoretical standard *libra* of 327.45g. Analysis of the remaining three weights coincides with trends observed in a study of Byzantine weights in the Athens Numismatic Museum: “the lighter the weight, the lighter the pound of which it is a fraction”.¹⁹⁵ Based on the modal weight of the •T• coins of 1.46-1.5g, one measures out approximately 15 *tremisses* to the *uncia*. The significance of this number of *tremisses* is not apparent in the available contemporary sources.

Despite the fact that the •T• mark is evident on both the *uncia* weight and on the *tremisses*, there has been no attempt to reconcile the two.¹⁹⁶ As the weights refer to Theoderic and Catullinus, the *Praefectus Urbi* of Rome, we can assume an official function. There is also a case to consider further the fiscal administration of the Ostrogothic provinces where the •T• coins were likely minted: Visigothic Spain and southern Gaul (Provence) annexed in 510 AD.

The weights explicitly refer to Catullinus, the *Praefectus Urbi* of Rome, but the link to his office is unclear. Several letters in Cassiodorus’ *Variae* provide further insight into the role of *Praefectus Urbi*. One facet of the role was regulating market activity. He was often accompanied by the *Praefectus Annonae* tasked with preparing the *annonae publicae* of Rome: a distribution of foodstuffs for public consumption.¹⁹⁷ But there is no mention of coinage in the relevant passages. We know from a 4th Century account in Ammianus Marcellinus that the *Praefectus Urbi* Praetextatus “established standard weights in every quarter of the city” to counter widespread tampering.¹⁹⁸ However, it seems the jurisdiction of the *Praefectus Urbi* was traditionally only within 100 miles of the city of Rome and would not have directly involved provincial administration.¹⁹⁹ Matters of coinage were more likely

¹⁹⁴ Bendall 1996: 7; Entwistle 2008: 39; This phenomenon is observed in an earlier weight of Baniyas which specifically states that it weighs “a third of the local litra”, see Kushnir-Stein 1995: 49.

¹⁹⁵ Analysis of the weights results in three different “pounds”: 270g, 286g and 310g; Bendall 1996: 7

¹⁹⁶ Metlich only went so far as to establish the link between the weight and a *solidus* of Athalaric, both marked with •T•; Metlich 2004: 22-3.

¹⁹⁷ *Variae* VI.18

¹⁹⁸ *Amm. Marc.* XXVII, 8-9

¹⁹⁹ *Variae* VI.4; Sinnigen 1959: 99

the responsibility of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, responsible for the mints and foreign trade of luxury goods.²⁰⁰

Economic links between Ostrogothic Italy and its provinces, specifically Spain, are attested in the letters from Theoderic's court, such that "under our rule Rome should receive its ancient tribute more happily".²⁰¹ It was of paramount importance that the gold coinage produced from public mints was of the highest standard. Evidence from contemporary law codes indicates coin forgery and weight tampering were dealt with harshly by Theoderic, incurring the death penalty. This was not always a sufficient deterrent. A letter from the court of Theoderic to Ampelius, a Roman *senator*, and Liuvirit, a Gothic *comes*, instructs them to travel across Spain to correct embezzlement by public minters, and the use of inappropriate weights by tax collectors.²⁰² He sends with them weights issued from the royal court, perhaps the same examples discussed above.

It is in such a context that Visigothic Spanish coins and Ostrogothic Italian weights may coincide. The coins were minted at one or more provincial mints, and it is possible that they were checked or exchanged using these weights which are most certainly Italian in origin. The relative scarcity of the •T• coins suggests limited issues, strengthening the case for its use as a control mark for 'political' transactions that warranted the scrutiny of the royal court and Senate. There is little doubt that the mark on the weight is that of Theoderic, the Ostrogothic king of Italy. The same •T• mark appears on coinage issued during his reign, likely from territories under his command. Therefore, at least the •T• series of pseudo-Imperial tremisses can be attributed to Theoderic as the issuing authority.

2.4 Minting – "capital theory" vs. multiple mints

A widely acknowledged problem in the study of the barbarian *tremisses* is the scarcity of data on the location and organisation of the mints; the majority of pseudo-Imperial coinage is considered anonymous.²⁰³ There are some exceptions. Ostrogothic coins produced in Italy during the early 6th Century indicates that the mints of Rome, Ravenna and Milan produced coin without interruption, even during the disruption that followed the deposition of Romulus

²⁰⁰ *Variae* VI.7; Bjornlie 2019: 254

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* V.35.1

²⁰² *Ibid.* V.39.2

²⁰³ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 5

Augustulus in 476 AD.²⁰⁴ The coinage of the Ostrogoths from Rome is only distinguishable from the Byzantine Imperial mint in Constantinople by the higher relief and greater care taken with the die-cutting.²⁰⁵ In terms of weight, the pseudo-Imperial *tremisses* were generally on par with Imperial coinage in the first quarter of the 6th Century.²⁰⁶ The production of good quality coinage was of paramount importance in the Western kingdoms, enforced by harsh punishments for forgery and tampering with coinage written into contemporary law codes.²⁰⁷ Therefore, the Western mints must have deployed a mechanism to ensure quality was maintained.

It offered no benefit to rupture the legitimacy of Imperial, and therefore ‘barbarian’, authority in the West by breaking down trust in the traditional “coin of the realm”. Later in the 6th Century the situation changed and barbarian rulers broke with the practice of using the Imperial obverse. Theodebert I (534-548 AD) issued pseudo-Imperial *solidi* in his own name, allegedly aggravating the Eastern court of Justinian I (527 – 565 AD).²⁰⁸ Around 580 AD the Visigothic king Leovigild ceased using the Imperial types entirely, and included both the name of the king and mint location on the reformed *tremisses*.²⁰⁹ There remains a significant gap in our knowledge of the early 6th Century regarding how and where pseudo-Imperial coinage was produced. This has prompted two theoretical approaches: capital theory, that assumes minting was centralised around the royal court, and the alternative view of ‘multiple mints’ which continues to develop.

i. Capital Theory

This theory states that the major mints producing pseudo-Imperial *tremisses* were located at the royal court. This was proposed by Reinhart and further developed by Tomasini and used to establish the provenance for the 660 *tremisses* from his 1964 catalogue.²¹⁰ The evidence in favour of the argument for centralised minting is the consistent high-quality output of the coins: pseudo-Imperial *tremisses* in the name of Anastasius I and attributed to Narbonne (the Visigothic capital at the time) weigh between 1.41–1.45g, in line with Imperial coinage.²¹¹

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*: 34; Metlich 2004; Kent 1971

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ Kurt 2020: 274

²⁰⁷ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 98

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*: 116; Lopéz Sánchez 2019: 101; Blackburn 2005: 661-2

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*: 49; Cuello 2017

²¹⁰ Tomasini 1964: 154

²¹¹ Kurt 2020: 74

This theory accounts for the consistent quality of coinage, and supports the evidence for tight control of Western monarchs over minting shown by the harsh penalties for forgery written into their law codes.²¹²

However, it does not account for the diversity of coin styles which is a feature of the pseudo-Imperial *tremisses*: of the 660 coins Tomasini identified only 10 die matches.²¹³ Despite the useful stylistic groupings presented by Tomasini, Bartlett et al. (2017) observe significant inconsistencies when pairing groups to regions – enough to warrant some revision.²¹⁴ For coins produced in the name of Anastasius I and Justin I only the mint of Narbonne (to 531 AD) is suggested, as it was the location of Amalaric's capital before moving to Barcelona under his successor, Theudis. Tomasini saw another drawback to this model: it does not adequately account for the 21 attestable Visigothic mints named on the reformed coinage of Leovigild (572–586 AD).²¹⁵ In addition, both Reinhart and Tomasini admitted to the possibility of coinage issued from former capitals, prompting the need for an alternative approach: multiple mints.²¹⁶

ii. Conceptualising multiple mints

The argument for multiple mint sites is based on the sheer variety of coin styles over a relatively short period. The passing on of the craft from workshop to workshop may account for the stylistic relationship between examples of coins, as could copying directly from (potentially worn) coins to re-create dies.²¹⁷ Lafaurie used this point to argue against the •T• mark as an allusion to a Tolosa (Toulouse) mint.²¹⁸ Letters in the field or at the end of reverse inscriptions have been interpreted as rulers monograms, mint locations, and other control marks.²¹⁹ Recent scholarship has highlighted the large number of verifiable mints attested by the Visigothic coinage of Leovigild and his successors: the coinage attests to close to a hundred mints operating at different times until the Umayyad conquest of Spain in the early 8th century.²²⁰ Furthermore, a number of the mints in operation in the Late Roman Empire

²¹² Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 98

²¹³ Tomasini 1964: 205-77

²¹⁴ Bartlett et. al. 2017: 154-5

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*: 155

²¹⁶ Tomasini 1964: 155-6

²¹⁷ Bartlett et. al. 2017: 156

²¹⁸ Lafaurie 1968: 38

²¹⁹ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 115

²²⁰ Bartlett et. al. 2017: 155; Pliego 2006: 47-50

were used to strike Leovigild's coins.²²¹ In neighbouring Ostrogothic Italy, the mints of Rome, Ravenna and Milan continued to mint through the 6th century, as did the mint of Sirmium in neighbouring Pannonia. Imperial mints could feasibly have provided the necessary infrastructure for the large-scale minting indicated by the vast amount of issues of pseudo-Imperial *tremisses* from Spain and southern Gaul.

These two minting theories can be tested against the selected corpus of •T• coins. The •T• coins are peculiar in that they all share the same mark, which can be identified as an allusion to Ostrogothic king Theoderic. As the coins demonstrate clear typological features linking them to the Visigoths, primarily the pectoral cross (a feature seen in subsequent issues where there is no question of attribution), they should be dated no earlier than Theoderic's regency of the Visigothic kingdom which began in 511 AD – also taken to be the year the VPW coinage was inaugurated – until his death in 526 AD.

By following the “capital theory”, Tomasini attributed many VPW coins to the Visigothic court of Narbonne (post-507 AD) - including •T• - coins. Fluctuations in style were accounted for by Frankish and Burgundian occupation of the Narbonne mint. While some of the coins could have feasibly originated from the court mint of Narbonne in Visigothic Septimania (which is attested to in the coins of Leovigild), this does not discount the possibility of alternate mints sites operating in the same region, or beyond the Pyrenees into the Iberian Peninsula.

Sellwood demonstrated that a mint does not require a significant investment of time and capital to establish.²²² Evidence from the Roman Empire attests to travelling mints which accompanied the legions in the field.²²³ This enabled a ready supply of coinage to be produced on site, sometimes from captured or confiscated gold and silver, and available to be distributed directly to the soldiers or to supporters of the Romans. By the late 5th and early 6th Century, payments to soldiers were paid both in cash and in kind. A letter from the court of Theoderic to a warband of Gepid mercenaries on their way to Gaul clearly states that while

²²¹ Tomasini 1964: 155

²²² Sellwood 1962: 58

²²³ Woytek 2012: 87 [6]

soldiers should be well remunerated, payment in cash was an exception.²²⁴ However, this was different for military-aged Goths who received a yearly donative.²²⁵ Another letter attests to guards being paid in *solidi* which in this particular instance were discovered to be underweight.²²⁶ Similar abuses in Spain were enough to prompt Theoderic to send court representatives to punish tax collectors using false weights and mint officials making “private gains” from royal coinage.²²⁷

Evidence from Visigothic coins issued after the reforms of Leovigild indicate mints at several identifiable geographic locations. These mints needn’t have operated concurrently, but stating the location was an important control method. Critical to mint operation were expert craftsmen, in this period believed to have been sourced from goldsmiths.²²⁸ When new Roman and Byzantine mints were established, staff such as die-cutters, men trained to correctly produce flans and workmen to strike the coin (evidence suggests they worked in teams of up to three) could be sent from existing mints, and this might have also happened in the Western successor kingdoms.²²⁹ The social architecture for Imperial fiscal administration certainly persisted in the Ostrogothic kingdom. Official roles associated with the control and production of coinage are attested in contemporary literary sources, such as the *Variae*: this extended to provincial administration.²³⁰ Taxation in Italy, Gaul and Spain was controlled centrally from Theoderic’s court at Ravenna, where proceeds were received directly.²³¹

Minting ‘data’ may not have been completely absent from barbarian *tremisses* in this period, and some theories have been put forward. Attempts to see the names of mints in ‘extra letters’ in the reverse inscriptions are not verifiable by any contemporary sources. Of the 21 mints proposed for the coinage of Leovigild, almost half could feasibly have been in operation under the auspices of a Visigothic monarch in prior decades.²³² It has been proposed that minting in the later Visigothic kingdom was maintained by a network of elites,

²²⁴ *Variae* V.11

²²⁵ *Procopius Wars* V.12.47-8; Heather 1995: 161

²²⁶ *Variae* I.10

²²⁷ *Ibid.* V.39

²²⁸ Kurt 2020: 128-9

²²⁹ Woytek 2012: 109-10

²³⁰ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 98-9

²³¹ Heather 1995: 160

²³² For example, until the 560s, the region of Gallaecia (where three mints are attested) was still part of the Suevic kingdom, and the mint of Reccopolis could only have operated after the founding of the city in 578 AD. See Kurt 2020: 304

likely bishops, controlled from the royal centre.²³³ This may have had a precedent during the Ostrogothic period.

Multiple mints operated in the neighbouring Western kingdoms. The Ostrogoths maintained the Italian mints of Rome, Ravenna and Milan, as well as Sirmium in Dalmatia; major Roman mints in Ostia, Ticinum (Pavia), Aquilaea, and Siscia were within the Ostrogothic territory but are as yet unattested. The Burgundians maintained the mint at Lugdunum (Lyons) where they also held court. The Franks may have made use of Tolosa (Toulouse) to mint coins after expelling the Visigoths from their capital in 507 AD.²³⁴ On this basis we might compile a list of possible mints that issued •T• coins from a combination of a) mints of the Roman Empire (prior to the 470s)²³⁵, b) mints of Leovigild (earliest known issues), and c) mints of other contemporary barbarian monarchs such as Theudebert, d. 548 AD, for Massilia (Marseille) and Ostrogothic Provence²³⁶:

<i>Gallia Narbonensis</i>	<i>Tarraconensis</i>	<i>Lusitania</i>	<i>Baetica</i>
Narbo (Narbonne)	Barcino (Barcelona)	Emerita (Merida)	Corduba (Cordoba)
Arelate (Arles)	Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza)		Italica
Nemausus (Nîmes)	Tarracona		
Massilia (Marseille)			

Table 3. The possible mints that issued •T• coins

Attribution of the •T• coins to the Visigoths relies primarily on the feature of the pectoral cross on the obverse type. Attribution on this basis alone is compromised by examples of coins without this feature. The link to Theoderic's court allows us to expand the mint selection to include mints in Ostrogothic Provence annexed in 510 AD i.e. Massilia and Arelate. This explains the phenomenon of coins without the pectoral cross, and further rules out Frankish or Burgundian provenance. The inclusion of Nemasus (Nîmes) is highly speculative, as it is not mentioned in any contemporary sources but may have shared a similar fate to Lugdunum.²³⁷ This alternative model spans a network of mints covering the Western kingdoms and accounts for the stylistic diversity of the •T• coinage.

²³³ Osland 2011: 77-9

²³⁴ Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 44

²³⁵ See OCRE

²³⁶ Lopez-Sanchez 2018: 104

²³⁷ Kraay 1955: 86

i. Hoards and find spots:

A study of the known sites and coin hoards containing •T• coins (Appendix IV) has been conducted to address two major points: do the coin finds correlate with the proposed mint locations, and to what degree are the •T• coins compatible with contemporary coinage? There are four documented hoards that contain coins with the •T• mark. These were deposited over a period of approximately 30 years: the earliest in 524 AD, the latest in 555 AD. A summary of the four hoards is provided below:

		Dep.	Sol.	Trem.	•T• coins	% pseudo-Imp.
1.	Gourdon	c. 524	36	66	1	98.5%
2.	Roujan	c.530	5	24	4	83%
3.	Alesia	c.540	11 ?	79 ?	4	90.7% ?
4.	Calle Cuna	c. 555	54	23	1	95.7%

Table 4. Summary of hoards containing the •T• coins

A statistical analysis of the hoards is hampered by the limited documented finds. Two hoards in the study of the •T• were first published by J Lafaurie in the 20th Century: the Gourdon hoard (deposited c.524) and the Alise-Sainte-Riene hoard (deposited c.540).²³⁸ Only the latter had a confirmed •T• coin. Since then, two more hoards containing •T• coins have been discovered. The Roujan hoard (deposited c.530) contains four coins.²³⁹ It is in very close proximity to Narbonne – one of the proposed Visigothic mints of the period – and two known single-coin find spots.²⁴⁰ The absence of contemporary documented finds from Spain has been noted.²⁴¹ Therefore, of significance to this study is the discovery of a coin bearing the •T• mark in a hoard from Seville, Spain, which was previously unrecorded.

²³⁸ Lafaurie 1958 & 1983 respectively

²³⁹ Dhenin & Landes 1994

²⁴⁰ Lafaurie 1968: 35

²⁴¹ Tomasini 1964: xx



Fig. 16: Map showing the approximate location of hoards and single find-spots of •T• tremisses across the European continent.

1. Gourdon Hoard (c.524 AD), 1845

The Gourdon hoard was discovered in 1845 and is dated to c. 524 AD. The hoard is believed to have been deposited in anticipation of a Frankish attack on the Gourdon monastery (perhaps the owners of the coins). It allegedly contained 104 coins now dispersed after a public auction (their current whereabouts are unknown).²⁴² Lafaurie partially reconstructed the hoard from documented accounts, but a full, reliable inventory of the hoard is not available.²⁴³ He attributed most of the coins to the Burgundians with the later coins produced under Frankish occupation. Tomasini recorded two coins from this hoard with the •T• mark. The inclusion of the coins as part of the Gourdon hoard was contested by Lafaurie who originally provided Tomaini with this information, but alleged that it had been published without confirmation.²⁴⁴ They are still included for the purpose of this study (though with caution). The coin allegedly from Gourdon, Tomasini 172 [6b.], is peculiar in that the •T• mark is placed earlier in the inscription i.e. AICVS•T•ΘNVA[?].²⁴⁵ The two letters •T• and Θ

²⁴² Lafaurie 1958: 64; three coins kept at the British Museum are attributed to this hoard: B.12497, B.12498, B.12499.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Lafaurie 1983: 109

²⁴⁵ The •T• and Θ have previously been recorded as “T” and “O” respectively in a number of sources: Tomasini 1964 for the Gourdon example; Pliego 2017 for the Cuna example (below).

(previously recorded as “T” and “O”) are both known allusions to Theoderic. It has a die matched example in Tomasini 171 [6c.], and a match also exists with a coin found in the Cuna hoard.

2. Roujan hoard (c. 530), Herault, 1994

The Roujan hoard was recovered from the necropolis of St. John, a Christianised pagan sanctuary. The hoard is composed of 4 *solidi* and 24 *tremisses*.²⁴⁶ It contains 4 coins with the •T• mark, which has been documented almost in full since its discovery.²⁴⁷ This hoard is currently being studied and re-catalogued; no additional information has been forthcoming.²⁴⁸ It contained coins minted in the name of the emperors Anastasius and Justin I. The heterogenous composition of the find further supports arguments that the coinage of the barbarian kingdoms was seen as compatible with that of the Eastern empire. The coins demonstrate a high level of consistency in weight, with the *tremisses* ranging from 1.45–1.48g and the Byzantine *solidus* of Justin I weighing 4.46g.²⁴⁹ The •T• coins have been attributed to the Frankish king Thierry Ier, following the work of Lafaurie. Of the four coins in this hoard, two contribute die-linked examples within the corpus of •T• coins; one corresponds to a coin of the Alesia hoard buried within a decade.



Fig. 17: The Roujan Hoard in its original bronze container. Musée archéologique H. Prades.

²⁴⁶ The majority of the coins are owned by the museum of Latte, but 3 *solidi* (one each Byzantine, Merovingian and Burgundian) have been sold privately.

²⁴⁷ Dhenin & Landes 1994;

²⁴⁸ Pliego 2016 ; the presence of a •T• coin in this hoard was first suggested by D. Yoon in private correspondence, and can be only just be made out in the original article.

²⁴⁹ Dhénin & Landes 1995-6: 11

3. Alesia Hoard (c. 540), Alise-Sainte-Reine, 1804:

This find contained large numbers of barbarian coins, but also Imperial coinage from Eastern mints. There were four examples of •T• tremisses. It is a heterogenous collection of coinage, buried during the reign of Theodebert on his return from his expeditions to Italy.²⁵⁰ This hoard is important as it contains •T• coins of different styles (specifically, with and without pectoral crosses on the obverse) which, as stated by Lafaurie, suggests origins in different mints. These coins are catalogued by him as emissions of Thierry I. The catalogue presents a confusing array of attributions and imitations which must be approached with caution.

4. Calle Cuna hoard (c. 555), Seville, 1972

This hoard was discovered in 1972 in Seville near the ancient banks of the Guadalquivir river. Its deposition has been dated to between c.552-c.555 AD during the war between the Visigothic warlords Agila and Athanagild and the Byzantine intervention in southern Spain. A peculiarity of this hoard is the breadth of its composition spanning several centuries. This hoard contains a single example of •T• coinage. The hoard is significant to this study as the provenance of the hoard is much deeper into Visigothic territory than any other hoard previously studied [6a.]. Further studies can provide die links to pseudo-Imperial hoards and find spots. As an example, the hoard contains a die match to two coins in Tomasini's catalogue, one allegedly found in the Gourdon hoard.²⁵¹ All three coins bear a resemblance to another unpublished example where a •T• and Θ are visible on the reverse inscription [5]. It is fair to assume that this practice is distinct enough to indicate production in the same workshop and the coins have been attributed to the same group in the attached catalogue.

We can summarize the results of this study of the four hoards containing •T• coins as follows:

- 1) The •T• coins represented in the sample of hoards consistent of approx. 6% of the total -which equates roughly to their frequency in Tomasini's corpus;
- 2) There are very few confirmed pseudo-Imperial solidi in the hoards, as opposed to solidi issued from Eastern mints from the same period;

²⁵⁰ Lafaurie 1983: 126

²⁵¹ Tomasini 1964 171 & 172

- 3) The majority of pseudo-imperial coins in the hoards (more than 90%) were tremisses.

Three find spots are in the vicinity of southern-Gaul, more specifically Visigothic Septimania, the western part of Gallia Narbonensis, of which Narbonne was the capital for the entire Iberian Peninsula. These find spots correlate with Tomasini's groupings. But the find-spot is no guarantee of where the coin was produced, and there is no doubt that coinage could travel far from the mints site.²⁵² A coin allegedly produced in Narbonne could feasibly turn up hundreds of kilometres away, and this may be illustrated by the example from the Cuna hoard [6 a.]. Of the confirmed site finds, six coins (from 5 different dies) come from the Septimania region under the rule of Visigoths [2 c., 2 d., 7 c., 9 ii., 12 and 13] and four (from 4 different dies) could feasibly have travelled north as a result of Frankish raids [7 b., 8 ii., 9 and 14]. The Gourdon find is speculative, but within the vicinity [6 b.]. In contrast, only one example has been confirmed from the Iberian Peninsula [6 a.]. This poses an interesting scenario as the two deposits were found approximately 1,500km apart. They either travelled far from their mint of origin in Narbonne, were produced at a different mint entirely, or both.

The mix of coins attributed to the Goths, Franks and Burgundians in the Roujan and Alesia hoard attest to a homogeneity in the value of the coins (perhaps due to their relatively consistent weight and the purity of the metal) that contrasts with the variety of styles: the execution of the coin design does not seem to affect the perceived value. The relative freedom with which the VPW tremis could travel across political and geographical boundaries has been previously noted.²⁵³ If the hoards are a snap-shot of available coinage, we can conclude that while gold was sent from the East in the form of solidi, the coinage that was produced from Western mints was typically the tremis.

²⁵² Kurt 2020: 64

²⁵³ Heath & Yoon 2001: 69

Chapter 5 – Coin Analysis & Findings

Previous studies of the •T• coinage, notably those of Lafaurie and Tomasini, were based on a sample of 10 coins or less. An expanded corpus of 31 coins provides an opportunity to refine typological and stylistic criteria, identify new die links and apply up to date statistical models in the first study of its kind. The results of this analysis can assist us in forming a clearer picture of fiscal administration and coin output in the West, a period of which relatively little is known in this regard. This contributes a quantifiable element to the case study of the pseudo-Imperial coinage produced during Theoderic's regency of Visigothic Spain. The Frankish attribution of this series of coins is demonstrably flawed, and the attribution to a single mint is debatable.

The •T• coins in the updated catalogue (see Appendix I) have been grouped according to specific characteristics for further analysis and comparison. These groupings roughly correspond to the work of Tomasini with some modification to account for: i) mint workers travelling from mints, ii) coin dies being sent out from Ostrogothic mints for production, iii) the coins themselves being sent from Ostrogothic mints for copying. The new groups and their equivalents in Tomasini's catalogue are:

•T• Group	Tomasini Group	No. of coins
1	A4a	2
2	A3	10
3	JI _{IC}	4
4	-	1
5	-	3
6	JI ₂	6
7	JI ₂	4
8	JI ₂	1

Table 5. Revised stylistic groupings of •T• coins with the equivalent Tomasini groups

Stylistic groups requires a set of objective criteria in order to be effective.²⁵⁴ Some criteria for these groupings include:

²⁵⁴ Kent 1971: 73

Obverse dies: the rendering of the Imperial bust, depiction of gown and drapery, inclusion of the pectoral cross, letter forms and position of breaks in the legend, usage of PP or PF abbreviations etc.

Reverse dies: inclusion of the •T• mark and its position in the legend, letter forms and position of breaks, rendering of the Victory figure.

In Tomasini's catalogue, the •T• coins only appear in two groups (A3 and JI2), unrelated in stylistic progression. Yet a closer analysis of the dies has so far revealed related coins in 4 of Tomasini's groups (A3, A4_A, JI_{IC}, JI₂).²⁵⁵ As yet, no extensive die study has been performed on Tomasini's corpus.²⁵⁶

Tomasini alluded to stylistic similarities with Ostrogothic types, but did not explore this link in great detail. This is perhaps due to his focus only on the VPW issues; the majority of Ostrogothic coins are of the VGC type. Coins minted in the name of Anastasius in Group I (Tomasini A4a) share similarities with letter forms on coins issued from Ravenna, as well as a seal ring of Alaric II purported to have an Italian provenance.²⁵⁷ These coins share dies with examples without the •T•, suggesting the marked coins were produced as part of a larger issue.²⁵⁸ Coins minted in the name of Justin I in Group VI have a distinctive representation of the Imperial gown, which follows closely examples issued from the Roman mint.²⁵⁹ This differs significantly from Group VII which shows a consistent break in the obverse legend across the group marked by a star or cross, evident in coinage from Mediolanum. However, these coins are all grouped together in Tomasini JI₂ which he tentatively attributes to Narbonne or Arles.

²⁵⁵ The original groups A3 and JI2 are unrelated in Tomasini's schema; see Tomasini 1964: 288. In addition, the •T• mark appears on coins from the A4a and JI1c groups (the latter misattributed to Justin I and with a die link to a coin from the Cuna 2016 Hoard).

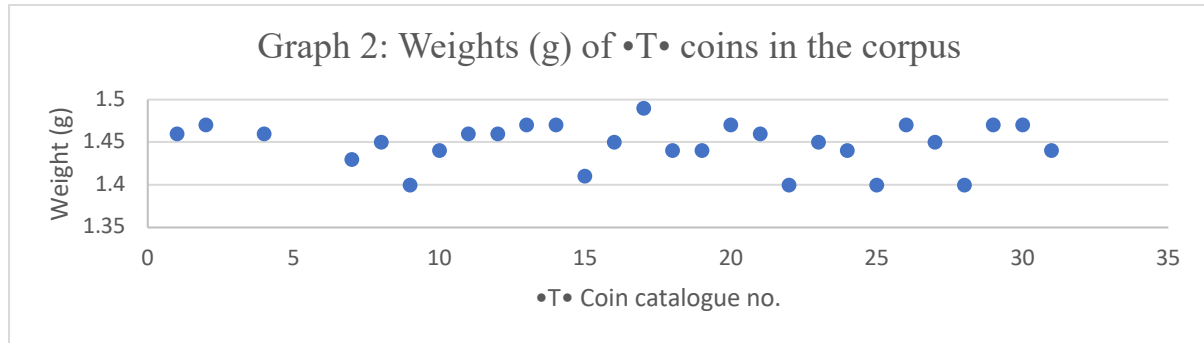
²⁵⁶ I note here that other die links have been observed throughout the course of my research which I plan to expand on in future works.

²⁵⁷ Kornbluth 2008: 34

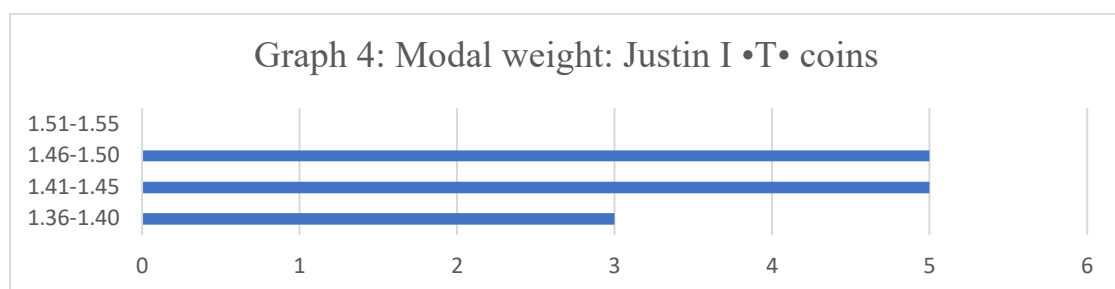
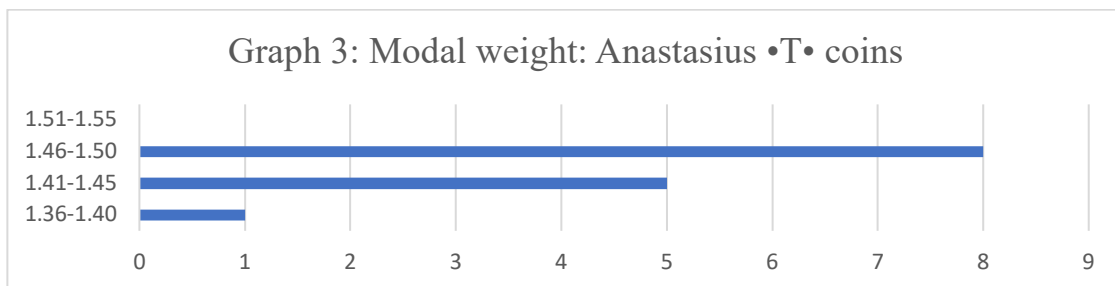
²⁵⁸ British Museum B.12518 and Tomasini 1964 99 & 100

²⁵⁹ Metlich 2004: 20

The coins have also been weighed and compared against a) the theoretical Imperial standard, and b) the observed weight standard of VPW coinage from the period. This analysis is limited only by the accuracy of the available data (Graph 2).



The average weight of the pieces is 1.45g, with a range from 1.40g to 1.49g.²⁶⁰ The modal range has been derived and compared against data from the most recent study undertaken by Kurt (2020), which indicates “the weight that laborers in the mints actually sought to achieve in practice”.²⁶¹ The results of this analysis are shown in Graphs 3 and 4 below:



²⁶⁰ Coin 1b. was originally listed as 1.27g which cannot be correct, and has been adjusted to 1.47g (assuming a typographical error); the coins from Roujan Hoard (Dhénin & Landes 1995-6) were not provided with exact weights and so an average from the range provided – 1.47g – has been used for coins 6 c., 8 ii., 11 and 12. This does not alter the accuracy of the modal weight analysis.

²⁶¹ Kurt 2020: 69

Compared to Kurt's analysis, based on a sample of Tomasini's corpus augmented by more recent finds, the •T• coins minted in the name of Anastasius I follow the general trend of an observed modal weight range of 1.46-1.50g, against the theoretical standard of 1.5g. For the coins minted in the name of Justin I, Kurt's analysis shows the modal weight drops to 1.41-1.45g, but the results from the •T• coin analysis seem to indicate a more balanced decline in the weight standard.

The consistency of coin weights from Kurt's analysis indicates that royal control was in effect during the reign of Theoderic, his nephew Amalaric, and his successor, former Ostrogothic general Theudis.²⁶² However, "state supervision" needn't imply centralised production. Against the theoretical Imperial standard, the VPW coins were generally lower. However, a practical metric is available with the •T• weight of 22.45g which could measure out approximately 15 *tremisses* of average weight.²⁶³ We know from the literary evidence that Theoderic had sent out court officials with weights to correct wayward mint officers in Spain, but not how many or where. Therefore, the mechanism for supervision needn't be static or confined by geographic location.

Where literary or epigraphic records of financial administration are unavailable, mint activity can be best understood through a die study i.e. identifying common dies for obverse and reverse types. The original sample of •T• coins has been expanded to include coins linked by obverse dies for a more complete estimation of output. The data from this sample is then used to calculate the number of dies required to mint the coinage. This method has been used extensively in numismatic study, but never applied to the 'barbarian' *tremisses*. The obverse and reverse dies per group (as above) used for this analysis is as follows:

Further statistical modelling was then applied to calculate potential volume of production based on the work of Esty. This method involves: a) calculating the percentage of die coverage within the sample of •T• coins²⁶⁴ and, b) producing an estimated total number of

²⁶² Kurt 2020: 74

²⁶³ That is, 15 *tremisses* at the high end of the weight range, 1.49g, and 16 at the lowest, 1.40g.

²⁶⁴ Esty 2006: 185

dies used to produce the total coinage.²⁶⁵ This method is to be approached with caution as it is based on an incomplete series of coins, and does not incorporate factors such as irregular die lifetimes and output. Some attempts have been made to simulate variations in die lifetimes in the production of Roman Republican *denarii*, but the same set of assumptions cannot be applied to the production of Visigothic *tremisses*.²⁶⁶

An analysis using the Esty model of the current catalogue of •T• coins has been conducted to ascertain both the obverse and reverse dies as follows:

	Coins (n)	Dies in sample (d)	No. of Singletons	Coverage estimate (%)	Total die estimate	Lower LOC	Upper LOC
OBV	34	13	9	74%	23.8	16.1	35.42
REV		18			30.6	19.76	47.92

Table 5: Estimating the total number of dies using the Esty method

A combination of the geographic spread of finds, and diversity of styles, suggests a sufficiently random sample which contributes favourably to this analysis. The coverage estimate indicates a 74% probability that the next coin discovered will be issued from a die in the sample.²⁶⁷ Applying de Callataÿ's guidelines for approximating die output, a figure of 10,000 coins per obverse die would yield somewhere in the vicinity of 238,000 of the •T• marked *tremisses* minted in the name of Anastasius I and Justin I.²⁶⁸ In the case of uncertainty, a range can also be used and the full results are in the table below:

²⁶⁵ De Callataÿ 2011: 13

²⁶⁶ Carter 1983: 197

²⁶⁷ This does not take into account coin dies that broke almost immediately. Esty 2011: 360-4

²⁶⁸ De Callataÿ 1995: 294

	Total die estimate	Avg. coins produced (10,000)	Lower estimate (5,000)	Upper estimate (15,000)
OBV	23.8	238,000.00	119,000.00	357,000.00

Table 6: Estimating the total number of coins produced (after de Callatay 1995)

As previously stated, the •T• coins form only 6% percent of Tomasini's corpus attributed to Visigothic mints in the sample for this study. If the estimated output of 238,000 *tremisses* accounts for 6% then the total output from Visigothic mints for the reigns of Anastasius I and Justin I is approx. 4 million *tremisses*. This is the equivalent of 1.3 million *solidi* or 18,518 lbs. of gold. A figure of 40,000 lbs. of gold has been cited as a figure for the Ostrogothic treasury during the reign of Athalaric.²⁶⁹ This comes from an account in Procopius narrating an episode where Amalsuntha, the Ostrogothic queen regent, was making preparations to flee Ravenna with "all her possessions, including four hundred *centenaria* of gold".²⁷⁰ This, of course, pales in comparison to the 23 million *solidi* (roughly 320,000 lbs. of gold) in the Byzantine treasury at the death of Anastasius I.

This investigation into the •T• coins has resulted in an expanded corpus, more than doubling the previously recorded examples. This has revealed a relatively consistent weight approaching the theoretical Imperial standard. This has also facilitated an attempt at a die study, which has revealed links to coins with and without the •T• mark. This indicates that in some instances the •T• coinage was part of a larger issues. This has made it possible to attempt to reconstruct Visigothic mint output throughout the reigns of Anastasius I and Justin I. This result has been applied to estimate the broader output of Visigothic coinage during the period. While speculative, we can begin to form a clearer idea of the scale of production of VPW *tremisses* in the Visigothic kingdom, and how that compared to accounts of the wealth of the Ostrogothic kingdom and the Byzantine treasury.

²⁶⁹ Metlich 2004: 73

²⁷⁰ *Wars* V.II.25-28

Chapter 7: Conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to reconsider the degree to which the rulers of the Western kingdoms leveraged existing Imperial institutions, traditions and symbols in the production of coinage to legitimise their authority. It has endeavoured to do this by using literary and numismatic evidence to explore economic and political links between the Western kingdoms and the Imperial (Byzantine) East. A case study of a specific issue of the Victory with Palm and Wreath (VPW) *tremisses* featuring a •T• mark has provided insights into the fiscal administration amongst the Western kingdoms. This study has proven that the •T• mark was an allusion to Theoderic, Ostrogothic king of Italy, and regent of Visigothic Spain after 511 AD. This casts serious doubt on previous attributions to the Frankish monarch, Thierry I.²⁷¹ The literary evidence from the *Variae* suggests that fiscal administration was centralised around Theoderic's court in Ravenna, while production of coinage was conducted at multiple sites in his kingdom and provinces. The mark, also found on weights issued from Theoderic's court, was possibly used to control issues of coinage from provincial mints in Visigothic Spain and Ostrogothic Provence.

Compiling a larger corpus than has previously been available has allowed me to explore mint activity and circulation using statistical analysis on the •T• coinage. A revised arrangement of the corpus, building on the previous stylistic groups of Tomasini, has revealed great diversity in the sample of 31 coins, and some unrecorded die links. This includes examples without the mark indicating that coins with •T• reverse dies were struck as part of larger issues. Analysis of hoards and site finds of the •T• coins, although sparse, support the notion that production took place in the South-West of Gaul. However, some coins suggest an Italian provenance, supporting Theoderic's involvement. This also supports the idea of multiple mint sites, likely making use of existing Imperial infrastructure.

The application of Esty's statistical modelling, the first attempt of its kind, has yielded an estimated 238,000 *tremisses* from the •T• series. This also provides us with an estimated 4 million *tremisses* (18,518 lbs. of gold) minted in Theoderic's provinces in Spain and south-western Gaul during his reign. While these figures are speculative, it does provide a base for comparison of output in the region. This accounts for roughly half the known Ostrogothic

²⁷¹ Lafaurie 1968: 33-4

treasury at the time of Theoderic's successor, Athalaric.²⁷² The accuracy of these estimates will only improve with the quality of data. Further studies on the issues of *solidi* could provide a fuller picture of output from the Western mints during this time.

The flow of Eastern *solidi* to the West demonstrates continued economic support of the West during this time. Production of pseudo-Imperial coinage from traditional Imperial centres continued mostly uninterrupted throughout the first half of the 6th century. Some component of the institutions and infrastructure that traditionally supported it was necessary for the political economy to function. The 'barbarian' kings that had inherited the Imperial West perceived the benefits of producing Roman coinage, the "coin of the realm", in establishing and sustaining their kingdoms. The Imperial mints in the West continued to produce gold coinage under the 'barbarian' kings using Roman symbols, inscriptions and employing the Imperial weight standard. This legitimised the coinage, and the right of the kings to rule. As Tomasini notes, the revival of the VPW coin type suggests a conscious policy to maintain traditional Imperial institutions.²⁷³ This suggests something more complex than "imitation". It suggests that the kings, court officials, and craftsmen producing this coinage, were complicit in reviving and maintaining concepts of Imperium in the kingdoms. This study prompts further reassessment of the expressions of Imperial power, and how they persisted in the West well after the overthrow of the "last" emperor.

²⁷² Metlich 2004: 73

²⁷³ Tomasini 1964: 1

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APPENDIX I: CATALOGUE OF •T• TREMISSES

Minted in the name of ANASTASIUS I

Group I (Ravenna?)

1. Obv. DNANASTAS VI2APPAVC w/out pectoral cross
Rev. VICTORIA+AVGVSTOR•T•; CONOB
 - a) Künker 288: Lot 967 1.46g
 - b) Roma XI: Lot 970 1.27g, 12mm

Group II

2. i. Obv. DNANASTAS VI2APPAVC
Rev. VICTORIA AVCVSTOR•T•; CONOB
 - a) Lafaurie 1968 1a = Reinhart p.54 no. 8
 - b) Tomasini 65²⁷⁴ 1.45g
 - c) Lafaurie 1968 1c = Sapène, p. 29²⁷⁵
 - d) Lafaurie 1968 1d = Claustres, p. 33²⁷⁶ (not pictured)
 - e) Cuello 2017 2²⁷⁷ 1.43g, 13.5mm
 - f) Tomasini 67 = Lafaurie 1968 1b²⁷⁸ 1.46g
 - g) Tomasini 68 = Matteu y Llopis 15 = Lafaurie 1968 2 1.40g
 - h) Crinon 1996 1²⁷⁹ 1.44g
- ii. Obv. DNANASTAS VI2APPAVC
Rev. VICTORIA AVCVSTOR•T•; CONOB
 - a) Jesus Vico S.A. 157: Lot 454 1.46g
 - b) Crinon 1996 2²⁸⁰ 1.46g

Group III (Mediolanum copy?)

3. Obv. CИИVAT[?] I [...] C
Rev. VICTORIA AVCVS•T•ΘRVA[?];CONOD

Áureo & Calicó 255: Lot 234 1.47g

²⁷⁴ Ex-HSA 16683; ANS 2014.44.44

²⁷⁵ Found at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Haute-Garonne, ar. Saint-Gaudens, c. Barbazan

²⁷⁶ Found at Caudiès-de-Fenouillèdes, Pyrénées-Orientales, ar. Perpignan, c. Saint-Paul

²⁷⁷ ACANS 07GV02

²⁷⁸ British Museum BM.1864,0428.8

²⁷⁹ Ex-Garrett coll.

²⁸⁰ Private collection

4. Obv. CNVNVATS I NAVS PP AVC
Rev. ICTIAIA Λ ICVS•T•ΘNVA [?];COHOD
- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| a) Pliego 2016 43 ²⁸¹ | 1.47g, 15.01mm |
| b) Tomasini 171 | 1.41g |
| c) Tomasini 172 ²⁸² | 1.45g |

Group IV

5. Obv. CNANASTA SIVSPPAVC
Rev. VICTOR[?] ΛAVCVS•T•RVA; CONO[?]
- CGB.FR 2018: Lot 218
- 1.49g, 14mm

Minted in the name of JUSTIN I

GROUP V

6. Obv. DIIIVSTIN VSPFAV•T•C
Rev. VICTORIA ACVSTORVAI•T•;COHOB
- | | |
|--|----------------|
| a) EVG 2019: Lot 533 | 1.44g |
| b) Lafaurie 1983 92 = Lafaurie 1968 3 ²⁸³ | 1.442g |
| c) Dhénin & Landes 9 ²⁸⁴ | 1.45-1.48g (?) |

GROUP VI

7. Obv. DN IVSTINVS PF AVC
i. Rev. VICTORIA ΛVCVSTOR•T•; CONOB
- Roma XI: Lot 971
- 1.46g, 15mm
- ii. Rev. VICTORIA ΛVCVSTORV•T•; CONOB
- | | |
|--|-------------|
| a) Tomasini 180 = Lafaurie 1968 4a = Lafaurie 1983 90 ²⁸⁵ | 1.40g, 14mm |
| b) Lafaurie 1968 4b = Reinhart, n° 28 ²⁸⁶ | 1.45g |

²⁸¹ Cuna, Seville Hoard

²⁸² Gourdon Hoard

²⁸³ Alesia Hoard

²⁸⁴ Roujan Hoard

²⁸⁵ Aleisa Hoard

²⁸⁶ Coll. Unger à Stuttgart

8. Obv. DN IVSTINVS PFAVC
 i. Rev. VICTORIA AVCVSTOR•T•; CONOB
 a) Tomasini 181 = Lafaurie 1968 5²⁸⁷ 1.445g
 b) Tomasini 187 = Lafaurie 1968 6²⁸⁸ 1.40g, 14mm
 ii. Rev. VICTORIA AVCVSTORV•T•
 a) Dhénin & Landes 8²⁸⁹ 1.45-1.48g (?)

GROUP VII (Mediolanum?)

9. Obv. DNIVSTIN*VSPRAVC
 Rev. VICTORIA AVCV2V•T•; CONOB
 Tomasini 182 & 190 = Lafaurie 1968 7 1.45g
 10. Obv. DNIV2TIN*VSPRAVC
 Rev. VICTORIA AVCV2V•T•; CONOB
 Tomasini 189²⁹⁰ 1.40g
 11. Obv. DNIVSTIN*V2PPAVC
 Rev. VICTORI AAVCV2O•T•; CONOB
 Dhénin & Landes 16²⁹¹ 1.45-1.48g (?)
 12. Obv. DNIVTIN PPAVC
 Rev. VITON ACVSTO•T•; [...] 1.45-1.48g (?)
 Dhénin & Landes 2²⁹²

GROUP VIII

13. Obv. DNIVSTIN + VSPPAVC
 Rev. VICTORI AVCV2O•T•; CONOB
 Lafaurie 1983 91 = Tomasini 190²⁹³ 1.44g

²⁸⁷ Alesia Hoard

²⁸⁸ British Museum B.12531

²⁸⁹ Roujan Hoard

²⁹⁰ Gourdon Hoard

²⁹¹ Roujan Hoard

²⁹² Roujan Hoard

²⁹³ Alesia Hoard

APPENDIX II: PLATES

ANASTASIUS I GROUP I

1. a.



b.



GROUP II

2. i. a.



b.



c.



d.

(No picture available)

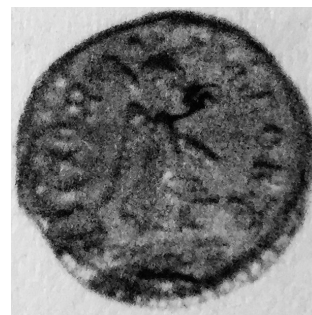
e.



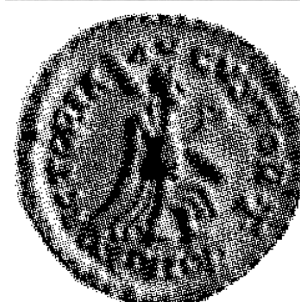
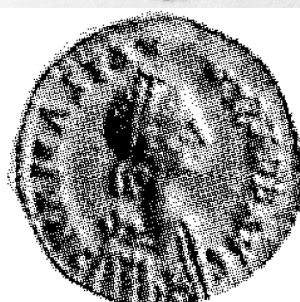
f.



g.



h.



ii. a.



b.



GROUP III

3.



4.

a.



b.



c.

**GROUP IV**

5.



JUSTIN I GROUP V

6.

a.



b.



c.



GROUP VI

7.

i.



ii. a.



b.



8. i. a.



b.



ii.

**GROUP VII**

9.



10.



11.



12.

**GROUP VIII**

13.



APPENDIX III – Byzantine coin hoards and single finds of Anastasius I (497-518 AD) – Justin I (518-527 AD) in the Western kingdoms

Name	State	Country	Anastasius		Justin I		Barbarian?	Deposition
			Solidi	Trem.	Solidi	Trem.		
Alise-Sainte-Reine	Alise-Saint-Reine	France	1				Y	550
Bad Kreuznach (S)	Bad Kreuznach	Germany	1					518
Bellignies 1807	Bellignies 1807	France	2					526
Benevento	Benevento	Italy	12		2	2		565
Braone	Braone	Italy	2				Y	510
Bresin	Bresin	Germany	?	?	?	?	?	518
Campo Moreno	Campo Moreno	Italy	?	?	?	?	?	530
Caseburg	Caseburg	Germany	1					518
Castellana Sicula	Castellana Sicula	Sicily	?	?	?	?	?	540
Crotone	Crotone	Italy	?	?	?	?	?	540
Dully	Dully	Switzerland	1				Y	536
Emmerich	Emmerich	Germany			1			527
Escharen	Escharen	Netherlands			1		Y	600
Fère-En-Tardenois	Fère-En-Tardenois	France		1				565
Finero (Burial)	Finero (Burial)	Italy					Y	565
Frickingen	Frickingen	Germany		1				565
Friesland (Burial)	Friesland	Netherlands					Y	565
Frise (?)	Frise	Netherlands	1					602
Froméreville (S)	Froméreville-lès-Vallons	France	1					518
Gavello - Surroundings	Gavello - Surroundings	Italy	1					518
Gernetto	Gernetto	Italy	136					510
Gourdon	Gourdon	France	14	63	20	5	Y	527
Holwerd (S)	Holwerd	Netherlands			1			527

Houdain	Houdain	France					Y	510
Hyères	Hyères	France	?	?	?	?	?	565
Kapril di Sebenico	Šibenik	Croatia	1					565
Köln	Köln	Germany	2		1		Y	c. 535
Ljubljana	Ljubljana	Slovenia		1				518
Maurik (S)	Maurik	Netherlands	1					518
Mezzocammino	Mezzocammino	Italy	?	?	?	?	?	518
Midlum	Midlum	Netherlands	2					538
Milan	Milan	Italy	4					500
Mokronog	Mokronog	Slovenia	1					518
Monte Roduni (Burial)	Monte Roduni	Italy					Y	565
Montebuono	Montebuono	Italy	?	?	?	?	?	540
Mt. Castro Dei Volsci	Mt. Castro Dei Volsci	Italy					Y	565
Mulsum-Dorum	Mulsum-Dorum	Germany	1					518
Munningen	Munningen	Germany					Y	565
Narona	Narona	Croatia			6			??
Nerviano	Nerviano	Italy	?	?	?	?	?	520
Padenghe	Padenghe	Italy		3	1			527
Padenghe Sul Garda	Padenghe Sul Garda	Italy		3				527
Pava	Pava	Italy	?	?	?	?	?	540
Pfullingen (S)	Pfullingen	Germany			1			527
Planina Pri Sevnici 2	Planina Pri Sevnici 2	Slovenia		1				518
Ravenstein	Ravenstein	Netherlands				1		527
Rivarolo Del Re	Rivarolo Del Re	Italy	1					518
Rome,1587	Rome	Italy						641
Roujan	Roujan	France			1		Y	527
Scharnegoutum	Friesland	Netherlands	1					602

Schretzheim	Schretzheim	Germany	1					565
Selters-Niederselters	Selters-Niederselters	Germany	1				Y	527
Trbinc	Trbinc	Slovenia	1					518
Trogir	Trogir	Croatia		1				518
Vedrin	Vedrin	Belgium	1					518
Velsen	Friesland	Netherlands			3			565
Viviers	Viviers	France	46		18			565
Wieuwerd	Friesland	Netherlands	1		1	2	Y	640
Zaschowitz	Moravia	Austria	1					565
Zeccone	Lombardia	Italy	20				Y	565
Total			259	74	57	10	18	

This sample has been compiled from Moser *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* (1935), J Lafaurie & C Morrison *La pénétration des monnaies byzantines en Gaule mérovingienne et visigotique du VI^e au VIII^e siècle* (1987), S Fischer & F López Sánchez “Subsidies for the Roman West? The flow of Constantinopolitan solidi to the Western Empire and *Barbaricum*” (2016) and *Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire* (2021). (S) indicates single finds.

APPENDIX IV: •T• Coin Hoards

		1. Gourdon		2. Roujan		3. Alesia		4. Cuna		Total
		Sol.	Trem.	Sol.	Trem.	Sol.	Trem.	Sol.	Trem.	
Honorius								39		39
Arcadius								2		2
Theodosius (II?)						?	?			?
Valentinian (III?)						?	?			?
Leo I		1				2				3
Zeno		1				?	?			1?
Anastasius I						1				1
	Ostrogothic						4			4
	Visigothic				1		6	1		8
	Frankish			1		6	11			18
	Burgundian	14	62	1			18			95
	•T•		1						1	2
Justin I				1						1
	Ostrogothic			1	1					2
	Visigothic				9		10	1	7	27
	Burgundian	20	5		1					26
	Frankish				8					8
	"Franco-Burgundian"						5			5
	•T•				4		4			8
Justinian										0
	Visigothic									0
	Frankish		1					11	15	27
	Burgundian						12			12
Theudebert I						2	7			9
Anonymous							9			9
Total		36	69	4	24	11	86	54	23	307

For original studies see: Gourdon (Lafaurie 1958); Roujan (Dhénin & Landes 1996); Alesia (Lafaurie 1983); Cuna (Pliego 2016).