

THE MEDITERRANEAN CONTEXT OF VISIGOTHIC COINAGE

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I. The Late Roman background

By the fourth century CE, the monetary circulation of the Mediterranean world was so dominated by the coins of the Roman Empire that objects that did not resemble Imperial issues would hardly have been considered coins. The Roman coinage after the reforms of Constantine the Great comprised denominations in gold, silver, and bronze.¹ As it was the gold series that was of primary importance in the development of the Visigothic coinage, as well as those of most other early medieval European states, it will be the primary focus of our discussion here. The gold solidus, introduced by Constantine in 309 at a weight of 72 to the Roman pound (about 4.5 grams), would remain unchanged in weight as the standard gold coin of the West well into the medieval period [Fig. 1]. Later in the fourth century, its half, the semissis, and its third, the tremissis, were added to the coinage.

Silver was less significant than gold or bronze in the minting and circulation of most of the fourth-century Empire but was minted regularly in the early fifth century, including in several European mints. Italian mints produced regular issues of silver coins termed by modern numismatists as *siliquae* and half *siliquae*, but silver was rare in the East.

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¹ Richard Abdy, "Tetrarchy and the House of Constantine," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. William Metcalf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 584–600.

The bronze denominations were complex and changing, and their relationship to the other coins and the monetary system remains largely obscure. What is clear is that in the fourth century there were different sizes of bronze coins issued simultaneously, and that the enormous quantities found in hoards as well as excavations indicate that the bronze coinage played a substantial monetary role. In the fifth century, the size of Imperial bronze coins decreased as the number of them to the solidus rose; accordingly, minting and circulation probably decreased. Their circulation in the West, especially outside of Italy, appears to have been far less consistent than it had been earlier, and they had little impact on the development of early medieval European coinage. In the second half of the fifth century, the bronze coinage throughout the Empire was gradually concentrated in the production and circulation of tiny coins, known to modern numismatists as *minimi*; their poor striking has resulted in difficulties in attribution and their frequent neglect in excavation reports.

II. The earliest Western imitations

The silver siliquae produced in Italian mints in the early fifth century formed the basis of the earliest series of imitations attributed to Western minters [Fig. 2]. Those signed by the Spanish usurper Maximus give a date and place for some of this imitation, while silver imitations in the name of Honorius are attributed mainly on the basis of find spot, fabric, die axis and stylistic considerations. Siliquae attributed to production by the Vandals in Carthage after their move there in 439 follow the prototype of coins they would have been familiar with when they first entered the Empire in 406, rather than those actually being minted contemporaneously [Fig. 3]. The Vandals never imitated gold issues, nor did they mint gold coins of their own to go with their later silver and bronze issues, which bore the names of Vandal kings and did not copy imagery from Roman coins.

The principal series of coins attributed to European successor states of the fifth and sixth centuries were gold imitations of Imperial prototypes, specifically of the solidus and tremissis denominations.² The choice of gold coinage may have resulted from the use of gold in tribute and federation payments to Germanic rulers before and after they established polities within

² Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage 1. The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th centuries)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Alan M. Stahl, "The Transformation of the West," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. Metcalf, 632–54.

the Empire. Both the gold solidus, weighing about 4.5 grams, and its one-third divisional tremissis would be the models for the new coinages. After the division of the Empire by the sons of Theodosius, Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West, the imagery on the coins of the mints of the two regions diverged, though there was some overlap, especially in the case of coins minted in one area in the name of an emperor of the other area. On the Eastern issues, a legend in the reverse exergue, under the horizontal line, identifies issues of Constantinople with CON for the initial letters of the mint name, followed by OB for *obryzus*, specially refined gold. In the West, COM, standing for *comes auri*, replaces CON in the formula.³

In the East, that is, for the most part, the mint of Constantinople, the obverse portrait changed around the end of the fourth century from profile (as it had been since the earliest days of the Empire), to a three-quarter facing bust, three quarter in the sense that the ear and diadem ties are visible only on the left side [Figs. 4 and 5]. The emperor is depicted in an elegant form of battle gear, with a jeweled helmet atop a diadem, holding a spear that goes beyond his head with his right and a shield depicting a horseman in his left hand. Somewhat later, the principal reverse type went from being an enthroned goddess (personifying Constantinople in this case) and holding a globe, sometimes with a crowning Victory atop, to a standing Victory holding a jeweled cross [Fig. 6].

The Italian mints were generally well behind Constantinople in the transition of types. The profile obverse remained for most of the fifth century. The reverse of Victory with a cross does appear on the coinage in the name of Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius II and wife of Constantius III, but the coinage of the male emperors maintained the image of a triumphant soldier, now holding a cross and trampling a serpentine figure while being crowned by Victory [Figs. 7 and 8]. The three-quarter bust replaced the obverse profile toward the end of the Western Empire, but military reverses remained dominant [Fig. 9].

Imitations of early fifth-century solidi with western European provenances are commonly attributed to the rulers of the Visigothic and Suevi settlers in Gaul and Iberia on the basis of find spots. They bear the usual Western obverse of an imperial bust facing right and feature a reverse legend of Victory of the Emperors around the image of an emperor standing on a submissive captive barbarian while holding a cross and being crowned by a diminutive Victory, an image that must have held an ironic significance for Germanic

³ Philip Grierson and Melinda Mays, *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1992), 53.

rulers who had gone from being defeated barbarians to heads of state with their own access to minting [Fig. 10]

The gold coinage of Eastern mints in the early fifth century comprised mainly solidus issues, accompanied by rare silver issues and plentiful copper ones. When tremisses were minted in the East, they bore a reverse of a frontal Victory bearing a wreath and *globus cruciger* in her outstretched hands at more-or-less equal height; her legs are crossed indicating movement toward the right [Fig. 11]. The tremisses of Italian mints of the early fifth century show this figure of Victory in profile moving toward the side, either left or right, bearing the wreath raised and the *globus cruciger* lowered [Fig. 12]. After the first quarter of the century, Western tremisses generally have as their reverse a cross within a wreath [Fig. 13].

The tremisses of Western mints bearing the cross within a wreath reverse served as the basis of what are considered the earliest tremissis issues of the European successor states. Some of these are totally anonymous imitations, but those that identify Latina Emerita can be identified with the Iberian city of Mérida, and hence with the Suevic rulers of the area in the fifth century [Fig. 14].⁴

In the course of the second half of the fifth century, rule in Italy passed from the hands of individuals recognized as colleagues by the Eastern emperors, to a couple of individuals who made their own claim to power, and finally to men recognized as kings of the Ostrogothic nation, ruling with more-or-less tacit acceptance by the Eastern emperors; their coinages often bore the names of those ruling in Constantinople. The coinage minted by Zeno in Constantinople is typical of Eastern issues of this period; with the gold solidus and tremissis of traditional types, no silver, and a bronze coinage mainly represented by tiny pieces with a simple monogram reverse [Fig. 15].

In the same period, the gold coinage of the West maintained the profile bust on the obverse and the military reverse on the solidus and the wreath reverse on the tremissis. Only at the beginning of the last quarter of the century was the three-quarter bust and Victory reverse of the solidus, which had been minted in the East for half a century, adopted in Italy [Fig. 16]. The wreathed-cross reverse remained on the tremissis [Fig. 17]. A group of tremisses in the name of the Eastern emperor Zeno are attributed to Odovacar,

⁴ Ruth Pliego, "La moneda de época sueva: Un destello fugaz en la historia monetaria de Gallaecia," in *In Tempore Sueborum. El tiempo de los Suevos en la Gallaecia (411-585). El primer reino medieval de Occidente*, ed. Jorge López Quiroga and Artemio Martínez Tejera (Ourense: Deputación Provincial de Ourense, 2018), 145–56.

who ruled in Italy in the late 470s; the cross reverse makes it evident that they were minted in Italy, which Zeno never effectively ruled [Fig. 18].

III. The sixth century: the rise of western polities

It is with the beginning of the sixth century that a clear distinction can be made between the minting of the Eastern Roman Empire and that of the Western Mediterranean successor states under Germanic kings. As new mints arose in the West, the minting of the East began to shrink to the mint of Constantinople, especially for coins in metals other than bronze.

In the late fifth and early sixth centuries, the Vandals issued a coinage entirely of silver and bronze denominations; gold coins from other mints probably circulated alongside their own issues from Carthage.⁵ The silver Vandal coinage is distinctive in bearing the name of the king on the obverse and a mark of denomination on the reverse [Fig.19]. On the other hand, the bronze coinage of the Vandals lacks the name of the king, or any other minting information, and bears the reverse designation of a denominational structure based on a follis of 42 nummi, rather than the 40 nummi system of Byzantium [Fig. 20]. The chronological priority of the specification of denomination between the Vandal and Byzantine bronzes is uncertain.

Numismatists date the beginning of Byzantine coinage to the reform of Anastasius of 498. In fact, this reform concerned almost entirely the bronze coinage, introducing a marked series of denominations [Fig. 21].⁶ The silver coinage of Anastasius survives in only a handful of examples, probably the result of the incorrect tariffing of its value in relationship to the gold. The gold coinage continued virtually unchanged from that of the fifth century [Figs. 22 and 23]. Of the three denominations, the solidus, its half the semissis, and its third the tremissis, the semissis appears to have had little circulation in the West and no effect on the development of European coinage.

While the coinage issues of the Vandals had little direct effect on the developing European coinages, that of the Ostrogoths was fundamental.⁷ Solidi in the name of Anastasius can be unequivocally attributed to Theoderic the Great on the basis of several divergences [Fig. 24]. The clearest basis of the identification is the appearance of the ligature of R and M appearing in the left field of the reverse, indicating minting in Rome, a city that Anastasius

⁵ Grierson and Blackburn, eds., *Medieval European Coinage* 1, 17–23.

⁶ Wolfgang Hahn and Michael Metlich, *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I-Justinian I, 491-565)* (Vienna: Institut für Numismatik, 2000).

⁷ Michael Metlich, *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy* (London: Spink, 2004).

never controlled. The final letter of the circular legend on the reverse of Constantinopolitan issues indicated the *officina* or workshop; the monogram or theta in that place on the coins of Theoderic stands for his name. On the obverse of Eastern coins, the letters PP, standing for Pater Patriae (or possibly Perpetuus), separate the name of the emperor from the abbreviated title Augustus; in Italy this had been rendered as PF, interpreted as Pius Felix (or possibly Perpetuus Felix). On the issues of Theoderic, COMOB appears in the exergue in the place of CONOB, as it had on Italian gold coins of the fifth century. Tremisses of Theoderic in the name of Anastasius lack the mint ligature in the reverse field and theta at the end of the reverse legend but can be distinguished from the Constantinopolitan issues by the PF of the obverse legend and the COM of that in the exergue [Fig. 25].

Gold coins of succeeding Ostrogothic kings omitted the mint signature in the field and royal initial in the reverse legend of the solidi but maintained the PF in the obverse legend and COM in the exergue of solidi and tremisses. The silver coinage of Athalaric had the name of the reigning Byzantine emperor, Justinian, on the obverse with the epithet Augustus, but spelled out his own name on the reverse followed by Rex [Fig. 26]. It was the bronze follis of Theodahad that made the boldest statement of self-identification on the part of a successor ruler; not only is his name and title of king spelled out in the obverse legend, but also the obverse image is of a long-haired, mustached man wearing a distinctive helmet [Fig. 27]. It is perhaps the only true portrait to appear on a circulating coin of the Early Middle Ages from either an Eastern or Western ruler.

The silver and bronze issues of the Ostrogoths, however, like those of the Vandals, had virtually no impact on the succeeding European coinages. It is the Ostrogothic gold solidus and tremissis that would be of major influence in the shaping of the coins of the Burgundians, Franks and Visigoths in the course of the sixth century. The Burgundian king Gundobad (474-516) adapted the solidus format of Theoderic by substituting his personal monogram for the mint mark of Rome on the reverse [Fig. 28]. There is moreover a series of solidi in the name of Anastasius that appear to derive from a combination of both Constantinopolitan and Ostrogothic models; they bear the PP on the obverse but the mint signature on the reverse appears as either COH or COM. Some have letters in the reverse fields that have not been explained [Fig. 29]. This so-called 'pseudo-imperial' series of solidi has been variously attributed to the Merovingian and Visigothic kingdoms of the sixth century; mainly because of the lack of specimens with well-documented find spots, either from hoards or single finds, the attribution of this series remains problematic.

The imagery on the Byzantine solidus evolved in the first half of the sixth century, but western issues inspired by it seldom responded directly to these alterations. The mint of Constantinople altered the reverse on the solidi in the name of Anastasius around 510, conceivably in response to the copying of his coins in the West. The jeweled cross held by Victory was replaced by an elongated thin cross with a loop at the top, reminiscent of the Chi-Rho monogram of Christ [Fig. 30]. Later, the entire reverse was changed, turning the figure to face forward, with a simple cross in the left hand and a *globus cruciger* in the right [Fig. 31]. In this process, the gender of the figure appears to have been made ambiguous; from a clearly feminine image that could only have been the pagan Victory, the figure became neuter and thus possibly a Christian angel.

The solidi minted in the West, by the Ostrogoths and the minters of the pseudo-imperial series, shows a resistance to these Byzantine changes. They adopted the name of the emperor Justinian but accompanied it with anachronistic reverse of the profile Victory with jeweled cross or, at best, that with the looped top [Fig. 32]. The gold coinage of the Merovingian king Theodebert (533-548) stands as an exception to that of the rest of the minters of the age. Not only did Theodebert sign his own name to the obverse of his solidi, but he copied the reverse configuration, and the correct mint signature, from those of his contemporary Justinian. In a passage in the *Gothic Wars*, Procopius recorded Justinian's indignation that a barbarian king was putting his own 'image' on his coins.⁸

Though the solidus was the base denomination of the Byzantine system of gold coinage and served as the prototype for many of the earliest issues of the European successor states, it was its one-third fraction, the tremissis, that was to dominate the coinage of the successor states in the West by the end of the sixth century. Tremisses of Byzantine mints continued virtually unchanged for most of the sixth century, unaffected by the changes in obverse bust or reverse Victory/Angel of the solidus [Fig. 33]. The emperor remained in profile and a clearly female figure of Victory remained with arms stretched to either side, facing forward, though sometimes apparently moving toward the right. The situation in Italy was more dynamic: the Victory in profile walking right reverse of the early fifth century gave way to a cross reverse for most of the remainder of the century, to be changed to the Constantinopolitan Victory moving forward during the Ostrogothic period and following Justinian's reconquest.

⁸ Martha Jenks, "Romanitas and Christianitas in the Coinage of Theodebert I," *Journal of Ancient Christianity* 4 (2000): 338-68.

Across the Alps, the tremissis of Anastasius with the reverse of Victory facing forward served as the prototype of a series of imitations, whose style and provenance indicate a minting in Western Europe, probably by Frankish rulers [Fig. 34]. This attribution is supported by the tremissis in the name of Theodebert, which fits stylistically into the series. The series includes a version characterized as the *boucle perdu* type, in which the diadem ties at the back of the portrait become a loop or buckle, which migrates into the legend and replaces the D of the beginning of Dominus Noster [Fig. 35]. The identification of this series as Frankish is confirmed by find spots and by stylistic ties to the so-called national coinage, characterized by a mint name on the obverse and a minter's name around a cross on the reverse [Fig. 36].

IV. The Visigothic coinage of Iberia

While the Victory walking forward tremissis can be tied at least in part to the coinage of Merovingian rulers, there is another reverse, apparently minted simultaneously and also circulating in Gaul, that leads to the Visigothic coinage of Iberia. Though modern numismatists attribute certain tremisses to the activity of a Byzantine mint in Spain, probably at Cartagena, following the Justinianic conquest of Vandal territories, this mint and series seem not to have had any direct connection to Visigothic coinage [Figs. 37 and 38].

Rather, the Visigothic series can be seen to derive from a distinctive reverse type minted in Gaul in the sixth century. This reverse features a Victory walking to the side, rather than forward, with only one wing visible behind her. This seems to derive from the early fifth-century coinage of the Italian mints, and from the ambiguity of the orientation of the ostensibly forward-facing Victory on Ostrogothic tremisses in the name of Byzantine emperors. The Gallic origin of the type can be seen in the tremissis bearing the monogram of the Burgundian king Gundobad, on which the Victory can be seen to be clearly walking right, with a wreath in one hand and what had been the top of her wing in prototypes looking like a palm branch behind her head [Fig. 39].

This type of Victory walking right imitative tremissis, or 'Victory with Palm and Wreath' as Wallace Tomasini has termed it, continued to develop through the sixth century, with a wide variety of styles and finds in Gaul and Iberia [Figs. 40 and 41].⁹ One group shows a distinct stylistic progression

⁹ Wallace J. Tomasini, *The Barbaric Tremissis in Spain and Southern France, Anastasius to Leovigild*, The American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs 152. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1964.

towards a linear rendering of types and blundering of legends [Fig. 42]. This series can be linked stylistically to a coin of the Visigothic king Liuvigild, which bears the legend *Leovigildus Rex Inclitus*, without a mint name [Fig. 43]. Within the same reign, the legends begin to identify mints, the obverse portrait is made facing, and the figure of Victory on the Reverse is replaced by an additional facing bust [Fig. 44].¹⁰ Though the facing bust itself has parallels with the obverse depictions on solidus issues of Byzantine emperors, though not their tremisses, there is no obvious prototype for the appearance of a bust on the reverse as well as the obverse.

Toward the end of the sixth century, the Byzantine coinage dropped the figure of Victory/Angel from the reverse of the gold coins, replacing it with a cross – on a flight of steps on the solidus and standing solo on the reverse, with no exergue separating it from the mint signature [Figs. 45 and 46]. Both the Visigothic and the Merovingian coinages moved toward a cross reverse in the course of the seventh century; by this period the solidus had almost disappeared from the West leaving the tremissis as the standard gold denomination. The Visigothic coinage returned to the profile obverse of its origins and of the contemporary Byzantine tremissis but adopted the cross on steps from the Byzantine solidus as its reverse, rather than the simple cross of the Byzantine tremissis [Fig. 47].

There is one final Visigothic coin type that relates to that of Byzantium, the facing head of Erwig's coinage. The facing obverse head, with emanating features atop and to the sides, has been identified as an image of Christ with a cross behind the head [Fig. 48].¹¹ If this is the case, it preceded and perhaps influenced a major change in the iconography of Byzantine coinage. The first issue of the coinage of the emperor Justinian II was of the usual type, with a facing portrait obverse and a cross on steps on the reverse [Fig. 49].¹² At a certain period in his reign, dated tentatively to 692, he issued a revolutionary new type, with Christ on the obverse, with a cross visible behind his head, and the emperor relegated to holding the cross on the reverse [Fig. 50].¹³ It is not clear whether Justinian was reacting to the image on the coins of Erwig,

¹⁰ Ruth Pliego, *La moneda visigoda*. 2 vols. (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Sevilla, 2009).

¹¹ Ruth Pliego, "El origen de la representación de Cristo en la moneda del rey visigodo Ervigio (680-687)," *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 42 (2013): 251–62.

¹² Alfred Bellinger and Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1968).

¹³ James D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1959).

or perhaps the imitation of the imagery of Byzantine coins by Islamic issuers in what is known as the Arab-Byzantine coinage series. What is evident is that the Visigothic coinage was part of a Mediterranean-wide development from its inception until its end.

IMAGES

These illustrations are of coins from the collection of the American Numismatic Society. I wish to express my thanks to David Yoon of the ANS for his help in securing the images and permissions for publication.



Fig. 1. Constantine I, gold solidus, Trier, 326-27,
ANS 1944.100.13273 [19.5 mm]



Fig. 2. Honorius, silver siliqua, Milan, 395-402,
ANS 1944.100.54948 [14.5 mm]



Fig. 3. Vandal copy of Italian siliqua, Carthage, mid-fifth century,
ANS 1992.41.53 [15 mm]



Fig. 4. Arcadius, gold solidus, Constantinople, 383-395,
ANS 1944.100.25690 [20.5 mm]



Fig. 5. Arcadius, gold solidus, Constantinople, 397-402,
ANS 1944.100.54789 [20 mm]



Fig. 6. Theodosius II, gold solidus, Constantinople, 420-422,
ANS 1977.158.978 [19.0 mm]



Fig. 7. Galla Placidia, gold solidus, Ravenna, 430-445,
ANS 1944.100.55011 [21 mm]



Fig. 8. Valentinian III, gold solidus, Ravenna, 430-445, ANS 1947.2.533 [21 mm]



Fig. 9. Anthemius, gold solidus, Rome, 467-472, ANS 1944.100.54892 [21.5 mm]



Fig. 10. Visigoths or Suevi?, gold solidus in the name of Libius Severus, ANS 0000.999.56739 [21 mm]



Fig. 11. Theodosius II, gold tremissis, Constantinople, 425-29, ANS 1977.158.981 [13 mm]



Fig. 12. Honorius, gold tremissis, Rome, 404-408, ANS 1944.100.54939 [13 mm]



Fig. 13. Valentinian III, gold tremissis, Milan, 430-455,
ANS 1944.100.54856 [14.5 mm]



Fig. 14. Suevi, gold tremissis, Mérida, 450-485, ANS 2019.31.1 [15.5 mm]



Fig. 15. Zeno, gold solidus, Constantinople, 476-491,
ANS 1968.131.478 [19.5 mm]



Fig. 16. Julius Nepos, gold solidus, Milan, 477-480, ANS 1944.100.54901 [21 mm]



Fig. 17. Julius Nepos, gold tremissis, Rome, 474-475, ANS 1944.100.54896 [12.5 mm]



Fig. 18. Odovacar in the name of Zeno, gold tremissis, Rome, 476-491, ANS 1944.100.20451 [13 mm]



Fig. 19. Gunthamund, silver siliqua of 100 nummi, Carthage, 484-496, ANS 1944.100.73743 [16 mm]



Fig. 20. Vandals, bronze 42 nummus, Carthage,
ANS 1944.100.73746 [27 mm]



Fig. 21. Anastasius, bronze 40 nummus, Constantinople, 498-518,
ANS 1997.31.1 [33 mm]



Fig. 22. Anastasius, gold solidus, Constantinople, 491-518,
ANS 1944.100.1883 [21 mm]



Fig. 23. Anastasius, gold tremissis, Constantinople, 491-518,
ANS 1968.131.514 [13 mm]



Fig. 24. Theoderic in the name of Anastasius, gold solidus, Rome, 492-518, ANS 1967.153.192 [20 mm]



Fig. 25. Theoderic in the name of Anastasius, gold tremissis, Rome 492-518, ANS 1944.100.61953 [13 mm]



Fig. 26. Athalaric, silver quarter siliqua, Rome, 527-534, ANS 1944.100.61966 [11.5 mm]



Fig. 27. Theodahad, bronze 40 nummi, Rome, 534-36, ANS 1944.100.61992 [24 mm]



Fig. 28. Gundobad, gold solidus, 474-516, ANS 2014.44.17 [20 mm]



Fig. 29. Pseudo-Imperial gold solidus in the name of Anastasius,
ANS 0000.999.56740 [20 mm]



Fig. 30. Anastasius, gold solidus, Constantinople, 498-518,
ANS 1947.2.103 [22 mm]



Fig. 31. Justin I, gold solidus, Constantinople, 519-527,
ANS 1980.109.248 [21 mm]



Fig. 32. Pseudo-Imperial gold solidus in the name of Justinian,
ANS 2014.44.19 [21 mm]



Fig. 33. Justinian I, gold tremissis, Constantinople, 527-565,
ANS 2014.44.3 [16 mm]



Fig. 34. Merovingian, gold tremissis, sixth century,
ANS 1944.100.74948 [15 mm]



Fig. 35. Merovingian, gold tremissis, sixth century, ANS 1944.74.3 [15 mm]



Fig. 36. Merovingian, Dorestad, Madelinus minter, seventh century,
ANS 1944.100.74951 [13 mm]



Fig. 37. Justinian I, gold tremissis, Carthago Nova, 552-565,
ANS 2014.44.4 [18 mm]



Fig. 38. Maurice Tiberius, gold tremissis, Carthago Nova, 582-602,
ANS 1956.25.23 [15 mm]



Fig. 39. Gundobad, gold tremissis, 474-516. ANS 2014.44.58 [13 mm]



Fig. 40. Visigothic, gold tremissis, late sixth century, ANS 2014.44.40 [15 mm]



Fig. 41. Visigothic, gold tremissis, late sixth century, ANS 2014.44.36 [12 mm]



Fig. 42. Visigothic, gold tremissis, late sixth century, ANS 2014.45.10 [16 mm]



Fig. 43. Leovigild, gold tremissis, 572-582, ANS 2015.48.4 [19 mm]



Fig. 44. Leovigild, gold tremissis, Toledo, 575-586, ANS 2015.48.11 [16 mm]



Fig. 45. Tiberius II Constantine, gold solidus, Ravenna, 579-582, ANS 1968.131.39 [21 mm]



Fig. 46. Tiberius II Constantine, gold tremissis, Constantinople, 579-582, ANS 1968.131.36 [17 mm]



Fig. 47. Recceswinth, gold tremissis, Toledo, 649-672, ANS 2015.48.358 [18.5 mm]



Fig. 48. Erwig, gold tremissis, Mérida, 680-687. ANS 2015.48.445 [19.5 mm]



Fig. 49. Justinian II, gold solidus, Constantinople, 687-692,
ANS 1986.177.1 [20 mm]



Fig. 50. Justinian II, gold solidus, Constantinople, 692-695, ANS 1944.100.14572
[20 mm]

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