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Jérémie Chameroy · Pierre-Marie Guihard (dir.)

**PRODUKTION UND RECYCELN VON MÜNZEN  
IN DER SPÄTANTIKE**

**PRODUIRE ET RECYCLER LA MONNAIE  
AU BAS-EMPIRE**

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## INTRODUCTION

L'idée de ces Rencontres remonte déjà à plusieurs années. Elle a vu le jour en Normandie lorsque, en mars 2011, nous avons organisé un premier colloque à l'Université de Caen Normandie autour du thème « Circulations monétaires et réseaux d'échanges en Normandie et dans le Nord-Ouest européen »<sup>1</sup>. Portés par le succès de cette manifestation, nous avons voulu initier des rencontres internationales de numismatique régulières qui, grâce au soutien de nos institutions respectives, le Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (RGZM) et le Centre de recherches archéologiques et historiques anciennes et médiévales (CRAHAM UMR 6273, Université de Caen Normandie), se tiendraient tous les trois ans et porteraient sur des sujets d'histoire monétaire de l'Antiquité au Haut Moyen Âge.

En mai 2014 à Mayence, nous avons ainsi invité des historiens, numismates et archéologues à réfléchir sur le thème « Produire et recycler la monnaie au Bas-Empire ». Le sujet volontairement large appelait à une analyse croisée des productions monétaires officielles et non officielles, alors que beaucoup d'études menées jusqu'ici privilégient une approche spécifique de ces productions. Dans la veine des travaux de J.-P. Callu<sup>2</sup>, nombre de recherches ont examiné le lien entre l'État et sa monnaie afin de définir les politiques monétaires des empereurs successifs, tandis que la monnaie produite localement au Bas-Empire a le plus souvent été considérée à part. Cette approche unilatérale est bien sensible dans les colloques, dont on citera parmi les plus notables celui tenu à Paris en janvier 1986 sur les « Rythmes de la production monétaire, de l'Antiquité à nos jours »<sup>3</sup>, celui organisé à Martigny en 2002 sur les « Faux – contrefaçons – imitations »<sup>4</sup> ou encore celui de Barcelone en 2010 sur la « Falsificació i manipulació de la moneda »<sup>5</sup>.

Pour notre part, nous avons voulu aborder le sujet d'une manière différente en nous intéressant à l'interaction de l'État et des particuliers au sein de la production monétaire ainsi qu'au degré d'adaptation du système monétaire romain face aux situations de crise. Nous sommes partis de l'hypothèse que l'État romain devait être en mesure, grâce à l'ouverture d'ateliers impériaux aux III<sup>e</sup> et IV<sup>e</sup> siècles dans les provinces, de réagir rapidement et efficacement aux besoins locaux de numéraire. Les réformes monétaires étaient censées, par décri, retrait, refonte et injection de nouvelles monnaies, renouveler le stock monétaire disponible dans l'Empire. Toutefois, la part élevée des monnaies non officielles parmi les trouvailles isolées soulève la question d'un certain « Laissez-faire » de l'État romain tardif face à la production de numéraire en dehors des ateliers impériaux. Ces monnaies irrégulières étaient-elles tolérées à certains niveaux de l'économie monétaire, pour des échanges locaux par exemple ? Comment auraient-elles pu échapper au contrôle de l'État ? Le recyclage de la vieille monnaie, compris ici comme sa récupération et sa réintroduction dans les circuits monétaires de l'Empire, pouvait-il parer aux déficits locaux de nouvelles monnaies officielles ? Devant la diversité des problématiques abordées, les communications présentées par les participants enrichissent la discussion par leurs réflexions, leurs synthèses et la nouvelle documentation qu'elles apportent autour de trois thèmes : la monnaie entre réformes de l'État et *usus publicus* ; l'usage et la longue circulation des espèces officielles et non officielles ; les ateliers et les officines en milieu urbain et rural.

Au seuil de ces actes, nous avons plaisir à remercier tous ceux qui nous ont soutenu depuis l'organisation et le déroulement du colloque jusqu'à la présente publication, notamment la directrice a. D. du département des Antiquités romaines du RGZM Madame Barbara Pferdehirt et le directeur du CRAHAM Monsieur Pierre Bauduin. Il nous est tout autant agréable de remercier Jean-Michel Carrié qui nous a fait l'honneur de présider le colloque et d'en rédiger les conclusions : l'éclairage d'un grand historien de l'économie a stimulé les débats et l'exigence scientifique dans la réalisation de ce volume. Les collègues qui ont accepté avec enthousiasme notre invitation à participer à ces deux journées. Les éditions du RGZM pour la préparation des actes

et Clive Bridger pour la traduction et la correction des textes anglais. Enfin, les rapporteurs scientifiques pour leur relecture patiente et critique des manuscrits : Mesdames Gabriela Bijovsky (Israel Antiquities Authority), Suzanne Frey-Kupper (University of Warwick), Cécile Morriçon (UMR 8167 Orient & Méditerranée) et Messieurs Simon Esmonde Cleary (University of Birmingham), Wolfgang Hahn (Universität Wien), Dominique Hollard (BnF, Département des monnaies, médailles et antiques), Antony Hostein (Université Paris I), Laurent Popovitch (Université de Bourgogne) et Karl Strobel (Universität Klagenfurt).

Mayence / Caen, janvier 2016

## Notes

- 1) Chameroy/Guihard 2012.
- 2) En particulier Callu 1969.
- 3) Depeyrot/Hackens/Moucharte 1987.
- 4) Auberson/Derschka/Frey-Kupper 2004.
- 5) Campo 2010.

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## OLD AND NEW COINS IN SOUTHERN *HISPANIA* IN THE 6<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AD

The purpose of this paper<sup>1</sup> is to analyse the behaviour of monetary circulation in Southern *Hispania* in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. During this time, there was a visible renewal of the monetary stock. This large quantitative increase contrasts with a shortage of information on coin circulation for the previous period, between the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and the arrival of Byzantine authority in the Iberian Peninsula.

We know in broad terms the characteristics of monetary circulation in Late Roman *Hispania*, especially regarding the bronze currency, thanks to various works of synthesis. However, these studies are mostly quantitative and do not bring us closer to a real understanding of the use and subsequent disappearance of these coins. This problem does not only stem from studies on monetary circulation in *Hispania*; only a few publications including Late Roman coin finds offer sufficient data on their archaeological context<sup>2</sup>.

The identification of these Late Roman contexts is complex for several reasons, although the ceramic context is essential for knowing when these coins disappeared<sup>3</sup>. Late Roman fine ware is important for dating purposes, because of its fast pace of replacement. Nevertheless, in many cases their chronologies still have very wide limits<sup>4</sup>, making it necessary to also consider the chronologies proposed for Hispanic sites<sup>5</sup>. There are several Late Roman sites in *Hispania*, which have been extensively studied and constitute valuable references for the time period. Unfortunately, coin evidence for these sites, although relevant, is still largely restricted to quantitative terms<sup>6</sup>.

The pattern of bronze currency in *Hispania* during the 6<sup>th</sup> century is a continuation of the situation recorded for the previous century, although adapted to new geopolitical and economic conditions in the region. The importance of gold coins, both Visigothic and Byzantine (including the ones attributed to *Spania*) coincides with a continuation in the use of earlier bronze issues. Although bronze coinage – *nummus* or its equivalents – was not new, it still played a prominent role. In sum, the situation was complex, considering the different origins and characteristics of the new coinage, which could be Vandal, Byzantine or »local Late Roman«, known also in some academic literature as »Visigothic bronzes«. This is one of the most attractive themes in Late Antiquity coinage in *Hispania*, although there is another aspect, which also deserves attention: the persistence of old coins and their renewal rate.

The different ways they could have been combined and their proportion in respect to others is difficult to discern, because the archaeological provenance of many of these coins is unknown, owing to treasure hunting and other uncontrolled practices. The poorly preserved Late Imperial bronze coinage does not hold the same value as other »selected« coinage on the numismatic market, and therefore may still be recorded in archaeological contexts. This is the most probable cause behind the striking absence of mixed coin finds at sites; at least this is what may be gauged from known research and publications. One could almost guess the existence of a »ghost« monetary circulation.

Although publications on coin finds and monetary circulation figure prominently among the academic literature in Spanish numismatics<sup>7</sup>, Late Antiquity is still not well represented<sup>8</sup>. Besides an initial effort led by Mateu i Llopis with his series *Hallazgos Monetarios*, the main references for Late Antiquity coinage in *Hispania* are the works of T. Marot, as well as the earlier contribution by M. Crusafont on local bronze coin-

age. All of these works responded to a rise in interest in the history and archaeology of the Late Antiquity period, marked by the influential Byzantine presence in Spain<sup>9</sup>.

These new bronze coins (Vandal, Byzantine and especially local Late Roman or »Visigothic bronzes«) have generated a great amount of discussion, encouraging the publication of this kind of modest coinage<sup>10</sup>. Their number is slowly increasing, particularly in territories that were not well-known before, such as Portugal. Although there is still a considerable lack of *nummi* in Portugal – finds are limited and isolated –, they bear great relevance, for they contribute to expanding the distribution area of Byzantine bronze coinage, particularly of the Justinian period, as far as the Atlantic coast in *Hispania*. For example, a *pentanummium* coined by Justinian I was found at the important site of *Olysipona*<sup>11</sup> (Lisbon) (fig. 1, 2); moreover, it was found associated with a Theodosius AE2 in a Late Roman fish-salting factory. Its archaeological context greatly increases the significance of the find.

Aside from this interesting Portuguese find there are also other examples, which are sometimes only known through vague references, but at least point at the continuity of coin usage in these territories, which maintained commercial contact with the Mediterranean, as demonstrated by the well-known cases of fine ware and transport vases recorded both in urban and rural contexts, which are also associated with Byzantine *exagia*<sup>12</sup>. To the known list of Portuguese coins we may now also add a *foliis* of Justinian I found in Nisa (Portalegre), a *decanummium* of Justinian I from Menoita (Guarda), a *pentanummium* – possibly also coined by Justinian I – found in the River Arade (Portimão) and a *decanummium* of Phocas from Ansião, to the south-west of Conimbriga (fig. 6)<sup>13</sup>.

As for Spain, important coin finds have also been recorded in key places, such as *Carthago Spartaria* (Cartagena, Murcia), *Eio* (Tolmo de Minateda, Hellín, Albacete), *Malaca* (Malaga) and more recently *Hispalis/Ispali* (Seville)<sup>14</sup>. They all provide valuable information for quantification and for archaeological contexts, allowing the comparison with other important sites, such as *Reccopolis* (Zorita de los Canes, Guadalajara)<sup>15</sup>, Benalúa (*Lucentum*, Alicante) or Illa Cullera (*Portus sucrone*, Cullera, Valencia), leading to the configuration of models of regional or even local monetary circulation. This is one of the most interesting outcomes from studies on these coin finds and the main justification for research on the subject.

The regionalisation of monetary circulation in the Iberian Peninsula and Balearic Islands is not a phenomenon characteristic of the Late Antiquity period. It responds to the accentuation of a constant in the monetary circulation of *Hispania*, the reasons for which exceed the strictly numismatic field. In order to understand this phenomenon, a distinction must be drawn between the Mediterranean area – or of Mediterranean influence – and the territories of inland Spain. This nomenclature has been applied many times imprecisely or even incorrectly, as will be shown in the case of Andalusia, where monetary uses are less intense, yet still complex<sup>16</sup>. Coastal territories and their hinterlands in *Hispania*, as well as the Balearic Islands, were open to the influence of the Mediterranean core. During the Late Antiquity period they maintained a particular monetary profile, which may be explained, among other reasons, by their strategic geographic locations and the survival of cities as political and religious centres, as well as consumption centres<sup>17</sup> (fig. 6). Many of these urban enclaves still used small value coins for daily transactions and as a complement to other economic activities.

Academic literature has experienced a renewal in the last years, especially as a result of an increase in archaeological data. The situation in the so-called Dark Ages and Late Antique numismatics in *Hispania* cannot be explained merely from a chronological point of view, but must also be explained from a regional perspective. In absolute terms, the lack of data on the use and circulation of bronze coinage in *Hispania* poses greater challenges to studies on the 7<sup>th</sup> century; information on the 5<sup>th</sup> and first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, although fragmented, is at least more abundant. On the other hand, the most »visible« period continues to be the 6<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the last third of the century.



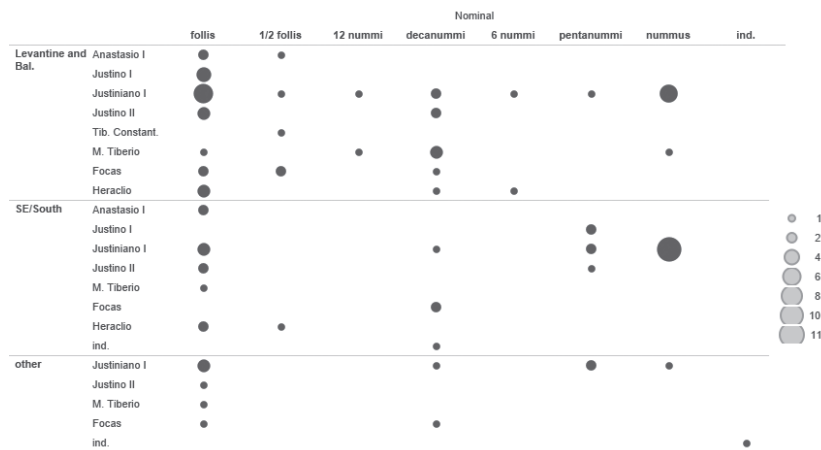


**Fig. 1** Main nominal (AE) in circulation during the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD: Byzantine and local coinages: **1** *follis* from Biniatzén (Menorca) (after Moll 2005, 27). – **2** *pentanummion* from Lisboa (after Fabião 2009, 25). – **3** *nummus* from Málaga (after Mora 2009, 2. MIBE 191). – **4** *nummus* from Illa Cullera (Valencia) (Museu de Prehistoria de Valencia 8145. DOC 311). – **5** *nummus* from La Régula (Palomares, Sevilla) (after Fernández-Flores/Pliego/Carvajal 2013, n. 42. Group A). – **6** *nummus* from Málaga (after Mora-Serrano 2009, pl. 1.7, Group E). – **7** *nummus* from Salteras NW (Sevilla) (after Fernández-Flores/Pliego/Carvajal 2013, n. 41, Group C). – **8** *nummus* from Illa Cullera (Valencia) (Museu de Prehistoria de Valencia 8141. Group D). – **9** *Nummus* from Carthage Spartaria (Cartagena) (Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 18211011). – Scale 1:1 n. 1-2; 2:1 n. 1-9.

From a methodological point of view, it is difficult to find an urban archaeological site with a precise stratigraphy for the entire coin sequence. Until recently, only the territories belonging to *Tarraconensis* show, hitherto, continuity in the use of bronze coinage between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, thanks not only to the recording of Late Antique contexts, but also to their association with the relatively frequent presence of rare AE issues of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and especially with imitations of Late Imperial coins. *Barcino* (Barcelona) is one of the urban sites where this monetary circulation model is best recorded<sup>18</sup>. Its uniqueness is largely due to its geographical location, positioned outside the circle comprising the current territories of Valencia – to the south of *Saguntum* –, Alicante, Murcia and the Balearic Islands. The lack, or rather the scant renewal of coinage in these territories during the 5<sup>th</sup> century, evidenced in well recorded stratigraphies, such as in Cullera<sup>19</sup>, appears to have experienced a slight recovery in the last quarter of the century and the first decades of the following one. This is due to the scarce presence of Vandal *nummi* recorded in coastal sites, such as *Portus Illicitanus*<sup>20</sup>, and particularly to the content of some treasures, such as the Mazarrón hoard, where this coinage, although in the minority, is still not associated with Byzantine coins, as will be the case further ahead in the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>21</sup>.

The Imperial arrival *Hispania* in 553/554 is identifiable as a point of inflection in the historical and archaeological record<sup>22</sup>, particularly in regards to numismatics, when compared to the scant and confusing data of the previous period. These changes in the numismatic record are best seen in some sites of the Spanish Levant, of which two are especially relevant for this study: Illa Cullera (Valencia) and Tolmo de Minateda (Hellín, Albacete). Differences between these two enclaves are significant, although there are also similarities, which are important for endorsing a Late Antique regional model of monetary circulation that could potentially be applied to other territories in *Hispania*, such as parts of Andalusia.

The finds at Illa Cullera were brought to light in the 1970s by Mateu i Llopis, their relevance being clearly established in the comprehensive study published by Marot and Llorens<sup>23</sup>. Today, these finds still constitute one of the best examples of monetary circulation during the mid 6<sup>th</sup> century AD along the coast of the Spanish Levant, characterized, among other factors, by the joint circulation of Late Imperial coinage, Vandalic



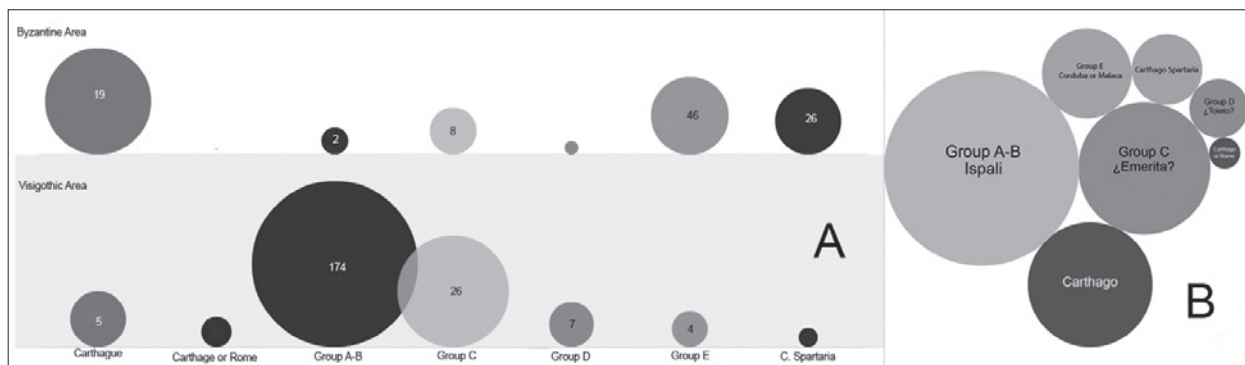
**Fig. 2** The distribution of Byzantine bronze coin finds in Spain: contrast between Levantine and Southern regions.

and Byzantine issues, and Hispanic *nummi* known as »Visigothic bronzes«. Despite recent questioning on the identification of the site as a hermitage dependent on the episcopal *civitas* of *Valentia*, founded by the bishop Justinian in memory of St. Vincent<sup>24</sup>, there is no doubt that a religious centre played an important role at this site, where the other archaeological finds, especially amphorae, portray a clear association between consumption and the Church<sup>25</sup>, which may also be reflecting an association between the market and bronze coinage.

This double relationship is complemented by another, equally important association. Illa Cullera is part of a larger archaeological site, identified with *Portus Sucronem* (Ravennate, 304.7). Its commercial vitality during Late Antiquity is known to us through other archaeological evidence, particularly pottery<sup>26</sup>. Hence, a new variable may be added to the association between the Church and consumption or market and small coinage: the presence or proximity to a port receiving merchandise of diverse nature and origin, where the exchange of small value coinage, *nummus*, is useful for small transactions in the private sphere.

The destruction of this possible hermitage or settlement of Illa Cullera during the reign of Leovigild provides a reliable archaeological scenario, together with the better contextualized finds from Benalúa (Alicante), or ancient *Lucentum*<sup>27</sup>, for bronze coin circulation across the Spanish Levant during the middle and the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, the site of Tolmo de Minateda shows evidence, with certain limitations, for its continuation. This site is fundamental for the study of the earliest Islamic presence in *Chora* de Tudmir and its repercussion on coinage, although it is also important for understanding the period immediately preceding it. The main reference for the presence of coinage in the city is found at the episcopal precinct built on the acropolis of ancient *Eio*. Although lacking a Byzantine phase of occupation – which would explain the absence of certain coinage –, it offers the best testimony for monetary circulation along the »frontier« in south-eastern *Hispania* during the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. The first observation that stands out is the abundance of coinage in contexts of the 7<sup>th</sup> – and also of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> (Islamic) centuries. 90 % of this pre-medieval coinage is Roman Imperial and Hispanic. The remainder is Byzantine, although in this case, local *nummi* from *Carthago Spartaria* as well as four late Visigothic tremisses<sup>28</sup>.

The presence or absence of bronze coinage in the above mentioned sites allows for the introduction of certain nuances into the Late Antique monetary model for southern coastal *Tarraconensis* and its hinterland. Firstly, there was a continuation in the use of Late Imperial bronzes combined with the early arrival of Vandalic coinage, later recorded together with the more evident Byzantine coinage, especially *nummi* and small value coins (fig. 2). Furthermore, the area of Murcia and southern Valencia is also characterized by the presence of Late Antique *nummi* of Hispanic origin, known as »Visigothic bronzes«, which in turn are associated with Byzantine coins, mainly *nummi*, issued by Justinian I and originating mostly from *Carthago*



**Fig. 3** **A** bubbles graphs with Late Roman Bronze Coinage – so-called Visigothic bronzes – from South Spain and its regional distribution. – **B** the weight of each mints in monetary circulation.

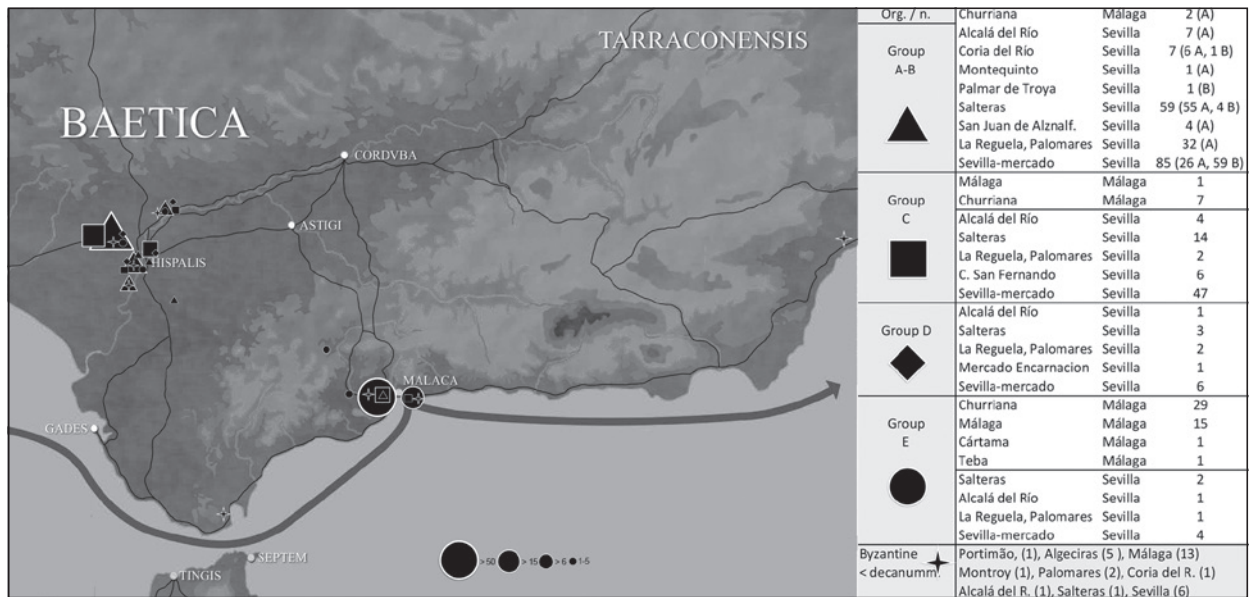
in Africa. The same scenario is found in the Balearic Islands – although with a poorer archaeological context – more specifically in Menorca, both in urban centres – *Pollentia* (Alcudia) – and at minor sites<sup>29</sup>. There is a striking absence of coinage, however, in the nearby and well connected city of *Eio* (Tolmo de Minateda), where the only recorded coins are local bronzes minted at *Carthago Spartaria*. It is also striking that this city, the current Cartagena, has not documented any Late Antique Hispanic *nummus*, considering its relevance for monetary circulation in Byzantine *Spania* (fig. 3A) and its vibrant port, which harboured ships from very diverse origins, either as a port of call or as a final destination<sup>30</sup>. Only a scant presence of foreign Byzantine bronzes has been recorded; this is undoubtedly an anomalous situation<sup>31</sup>. Therefore, prudence is necessary before suggesting any hypothesis concerning the existence of models for the monetary circulation of *nummi* in the regions of the southern Spanish Levant and the Balearic Islands on one hand and the Iberian south-east on the other.

### A MODEL OF MONETARY CIRCULATION FOR LATE ANTIQUE *BAETICA*?

The question that follows is whether it is possible to identify a similar monetary behaviour in southern *Hispania* as in the Spanish Levant – more specifically in the territories belonging to the ancient *prouvincia Baetica*, which largely coincide with present day Andalusia. This would also imply a study and comparison of the aspects considered above, which would lead to more specific conclusions than the already proven joint circulation of Late Imperial, Vandalic and southern Hispanic Late Roman coinage. In effect, one of the most salient characteristics of Late Antiquity in southern *Hispania* is the vitality of its urban centres<sup>32</sup>, although for the time being coin data for these *fortissimae civitates* are generally scant and limited.

The only major study of monetary circulation in urban settings of southern *Hispania* is that of *Baelo Claudia* (Bologna, Cadiz). It offers a quantitative analysis, meaning that it does not attend to the archaeological contexts of any of its 1,829 coins. However, we do know that this important city went into decline at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and, therefore, many of the coins dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century (53 % of the total) were lost or discarded before the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Even though the city survived until the 7<sup>th</sup> century, there is very little material of late context that was not destroyed or poorly recorded by the first excavations during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Recent excavation of the Late Roman burial grounds and other parts of the city<sup>33</sup> may potentially unearth new coins and stratigraphic references for interpreting Late Roman coin finds. Nevertheless, to date, there are no recorded Byzantine, Vandalic or late local issues, and it is unlikely for that these coins will appear in the future.



**Fig. 4** The configuration of models of regional Late monetary circulation in South Spain: *Malaga* and *Hispalis*.

*Baelo* is both a reference and an exception. Other southern cities of *Hispania* active during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries used bronze coins, although the proportion of non-local finds is much more modest. The case of *Baelo* could be explained by its isolation and the loss of significance of its port<sup>34</sup>, although the absence of coin finds in contexts later than the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century remains unexplained for other southern cities, such as *Corduba*, *Astigi*, *Eliberri*, *Assidonia*, *Carteia*, *Egabrum* or *Mentesa* (fig. 6). Archaeological knowledge of these cities varies, although it is sufficiently important in concrete cases<sup>35</sup>, so as to affirm that the absence of coinage during this period is due to circumstance. Reasons may range from lack of interest in the coinage of the period by specialists or excavators to the minimum use of metal detectors at archaeological sites<sup>36</sup>.

Nevertheless, absence of coinage cannot always be interpreted in the same way. It is particularly striking in the area of the Strait of Gibraltar, considering its strategic location and especially its early conquest by the Byzantine Empire – ca. 533<sup>37</sup>. Hence, it is to be assumed that Byzantine coins also arrived there. A reflection of this »lost« monetary circulation may possibly be gauged from coin finds in the area of Campo de Gibraltar, comprising *folles* and half-*folles* of Anastasius (one *folles*), Justinian I (three *folles*, one *decanum* and one *pentanum*), Justinian II (two *folles*), Maurice (one *solidus* and one *folles*), Heraclius (three *folles*, two half-*folles* and one *solidus*) and one *solidus* of Tiberius II from *Carteia*<sup>38</sup>.

Outstanding evidence has been recovered from the excavations at the city of *Iulia Traducta* (Algeciras). A large amount of bronze coins (1,152) – almost entirely belonging to the 4<sup>th</sup> century – has been recorded in a very late archaeological context, an industrial space, *cetaria*<sup>39</sup>, dedicated to fish-salting activities, which lasted into the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Here, the presence of new coinage is minimal and is reduced to 6 Byzantine *nummi*, minted in Carthage by Justinian I. Another significant factor is the abundance of heavier and larger nominals, such as the Theodosius AE 2<sup>40</sup>, traditionally assigned to the late monetary circulation in the interior of the Iberian Peninsula<sup>41</sup>. This contrasts with the use of smaller nominals or, at least, their manipulation in the form of cuts or other alterations<sup>42</sup>. In sum, these variations need to be corroborated with new data. Considering the anomalous absence of coinage in the Strait region, the direction for research on monetary circulation in southern *Hispania* possibly lies in the identification of important regional differences. As shown on the map of coin finds (fig. 4), the south-western region of Andalusia does not seem to follow

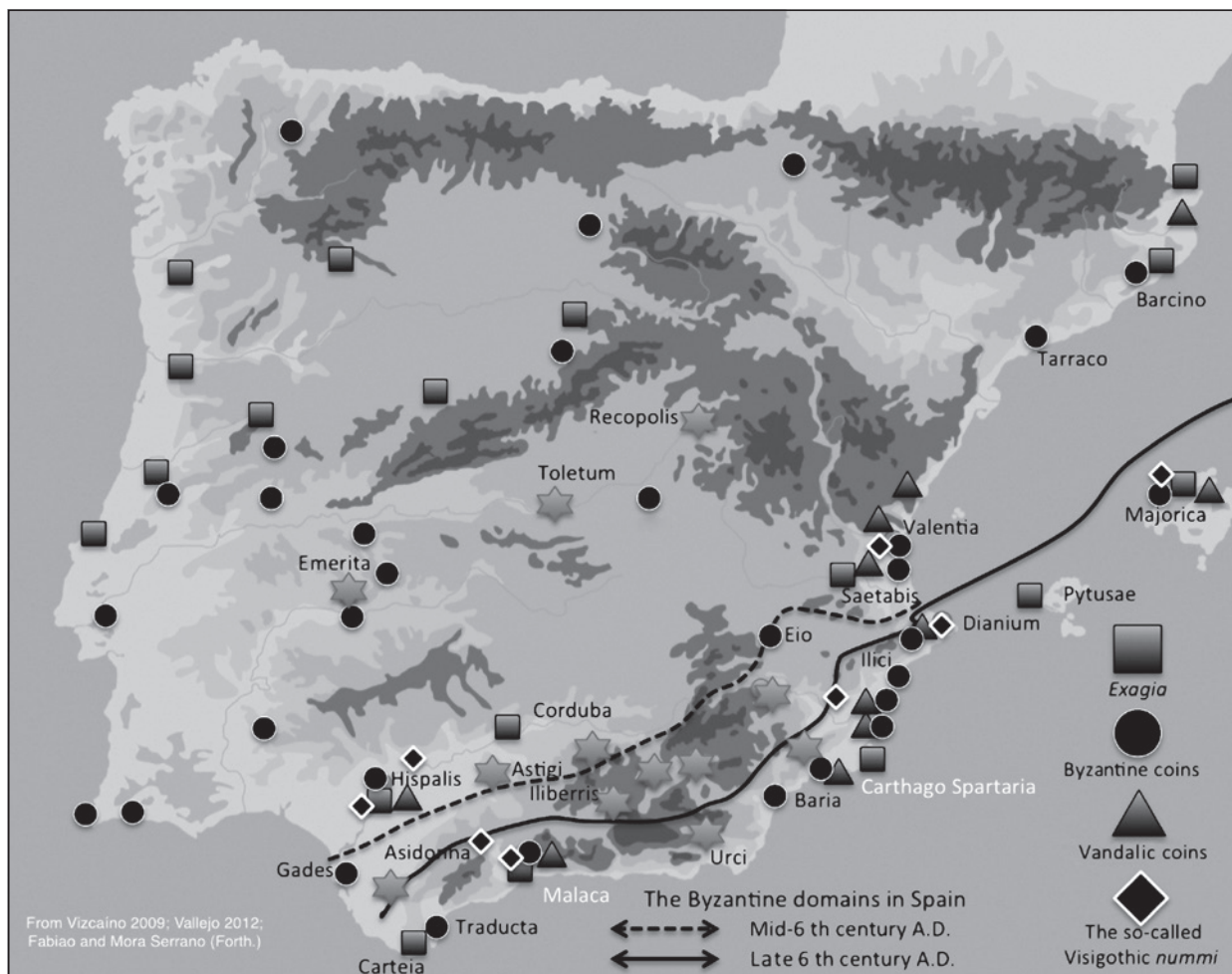




**Fig. 5** Byzantine and local *nummi* with a circular punch mark: **1** Martianus AE4 from Illa Cullera (Valencia) (Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia n. 8.127). – **2** Justinian I *nummus* from Illa Cullera (Valencia) (Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia n. 8.144. DOC 311var.). – **3** Justinian I *nummus* from Málaga (after Mora Serrano 2009, n. 4. MIBE 208var.). – **4** Late local *nummus* from Málaga (after Mora Serrano 2009, n. 9. Group C). – Scale 2:1.

the previously described model of monetary circulation: the combination of Byzantine, Vandalic and local *nummi*, together with Late Roman bronze coinage. In south-western Andalusia, there is no late Roman Hispanic *nummi*. The limit for this joint circulation seems to be in Malaga, with a thin and fragmented border probably reaching the Bay of Algeciras. On the other hand, to the east of Malaga, there is no evidence up to now for the circulation of local or foreign bronzes during the 6<sup>th</sup> century, with the important exception of ancient *Baria* (Villaricos-Montroy). Its incorporation during the Early Imperial period into the *prouincia Tarraconensis* explains some interesting, yet imprecise data, mainly collected during very early excavations. The sector of the Late Antique city which has returned the most evidence is located on the Cerro de Montroy. By combining ancient literary references with excavation data, it has been possible to identify an intense occupation (phases I-II) in a walled enclosure with remains of built-up structures, where coins appeared frequently associated with late pottery – ARS in styles E (i), (ii), LRC Hayes 3 – confirming a usage of space during the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>43</sup>. Unfortunately, only brief descriptions remain, without photographs or drawings, making it impossible to settle on correct identifications. Nevertheless, there is proof for the occurrence of late Roman, Vandalic or Byzantine coinage in the majority of the excavated houses (ranging from 1 to 5). Other coin finds include two hoards: one in house 1, comprising 23 coins; and the other in house 24, consisting of 50 coins<sup>44</sup>. Despite the lack of detail observed in the recorded data from *Baria*, it is still considered to be important, for it is one of the few sites – together with Cullera and possibly Málaga – with a confirmed presence of late coinage (Late Roman, Vandalic and Byzantine *nummi*) and small hoards in domestic spaces, which otherwise lack contexts or belong to the few cases of industrial or commercial archaeological contexts.

An antithesis to this poor or inaccurate situation is offered by late coin finds from *Malaca* (Malaga). Recent excavations have contributed significantly to an increase in knowledge on Byzantine monetary circulation in *Malaca*, the other main Byzantine settlement in *Spania*<sup>45</sup>. *Malaca's* coin finds evidence is based on the identification of reliable archaeological contexts and in the analysis of the available data. There are a few *folles*, although the assemblage is mostly composed of small coins, normally *nummi*. These coins range from the first issues of Justinian I to Phocas and, as expected, originate mostly from Carthage<sup>46</sup>. In quantitative terms, the significance of Byzantine coin finds in Malaga is undeniable, particularly *nummi*, the numbers of which keep on increasing<sup>47</sup>. To date, there are 26 known Byzantine coins in Malaga and its hinterland, making this assemblage the second largest in *Hispania* belonging to an urban context, behind Benalúa (Alicante). Among the coins recovered from *Malaca* and its hinterland, there are pieces that were previously unrecorded in the numismatic record of *Hispania*, a *nummus* with a reverse depicting the head of a horse – MIBE 191 – corresponding to the first issues by Justinian I from *Carthago* (ca. 534-539). Imitations of these Byzantine *nummi* were also found, specifically those belonging to the issues MIBE 208b and DOC 310 (fig. 5, 3), again, previously unrecorded in the region<sup>48</sup>. Also worthy of highlighting is the presence of



**Fig. 6** *Exagia* and new AE coinage circulating in the Iberian Peninsula during the 6<sup>th</sup> century, with the principal cities mentioned.

a *pentanummium* of Justin II and a *decanummium* of Phocas, poorly represented in *Hispania*'s numismatic record<sup>49</sup>.

Another significant aspect of *Malaca*'s coinage is that the bulk of circulating coins, alongside Byzantine currency, was issued in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. In other words, Byzantine coinage was not enough to meet the needs of small change in these cities, as also can be observed in other territories of the Empire. The percentage of old coins is ca. 85 %, while in other sites, such as Algeciras, Cullera, Benalúa and Tomo, it lies at 90, 76, 55, 97 % respectively. Roman Imperial coins are present in large quantities in many other places, but only at this site do they appear associated with Byzantine *nummi* and/or late local bronze coinage. These coins, which have often been manipulated and adapted to the metrology of the *nummus*, cannot be considered as residual; they constituted an essential component of monetary circulation. Another question altogether concerns its official and market values. In this sense, it is relevant to point to the presence of Byzantine *nummi* – and, for the case of Malaga, also Late Roman Hispanic *nummi* – bearing a kind of countermark made by a circular chisel<sup>50</sup>, which is also recorded among *nummi* from Cullera (fig. 5) and Benalúa, with possible parallels in other places along the Mediterranean<sup>51</sup>. As previously seen, monetary circulation for Byzantine Malaga shares similarities in some aspects with the Spanish Levant and Menorca, such as the joint circulation of Byzantine *nummi* and small local bronzes known as »Visigothic bronzes«. The geographic distribution and percentage of these *nummi* offers interesting conclusions (figs 3-4) on the attribution of

some of these issues or the probable distribution areas of others. The concentration of *nummi* attributed to *Corduba*<sup>52</sup> in the city of Malaga has already been emphasized for some years<sup>53</sup>. These coins measure ca. 10.5 mm and weigh 1.13 g<sup>54</sup>. They depict a male bust/head looking left on the obverse and an equilateral cross with bifurcated extremities and four globules distributed around the field on the reverse (fig. 1, 6). The absence of writing and the non-existence of these particular *nummi* in *Corduba* or its hinterland, in contrast to the majority concentrated in Malaga, point to the need of reconsidering not only its geographical attribution, but also its identification with »Visigothic« coinage.

When comparing other known *nummi* typologies – Crusafont A-E groups –, it becomes apparent that Group E, which is concentrated in Malaga, is differentiated from the rest by using an isolated cross as its principal motif, while group A depicts a cross over steps or between the letters S-P (fig. 1, 5). On the other hand, groups C and D use monograms. The nearest parallel, though not a direct one, is found among the bronzes attributed to Cartagena. Their material is different from the Malaga coins and they depict the letter Δ on the obverse and an equilateral cross inside a thick linear border on the reverse<sup>55</sup> (fig. 1, 9).

*Carthago Spartaria* was one of the main distribution ports for goods, therefore the attribution to this city of several issues of tremissis is far from surprising. More significant though is the minting of anonymous *nummi* in the city (4 *nummi*) (fig. 1, 9), found in small quantities in Eio (Tolmo de Minateda) and Menorca<sup>56</sup>. Malaga may have also reproduced in its geographical area the same economic, strategic and perhaps monetary model as Cartagena. Nothing is known on the gold coinage that may have been coined by this city, although Malaga and Cartagena appear as solid candidates for issuing these *tremisses*<sup>57</sup> and *nummi*, which would have reinforced their positions as capitals of Byzantine *Spania*<sup>58</sup>.

Other late Roman Hispanic *nummi* have been recorded in Malaga, attributed to *Emerita* – Crusafont group D – and to *Hispalis* – Crusafont groups A and B –, although in a much lesser amount than group E, considered here to be local. This tendency and proportions are repeated at various sites in *Malaca*'s hinterland, such as the present-day district of Churriana. Data on these coin finds were initially presented in a general and somewhat imprecise manner<sup>59</sup> and are currently being reviewed alongside preliminary data of the greatest interest, for they represent yet another case of joint circulation of Vandalic *nummi* (4 examples), Byzantine *nummi* (8 examples) and Late Roman Hispanic *nummi* (31 examples, two of which are attributed to *Hispalis*, Crusafont groups A-B, and 29 are considered to be Crusafont group E from *Corduba*) (fig. 4). Late Imperial coinage is also present, represented by the abundant and already old Falling Horseman reverse type<sup>60</sup>.

The only other city with important concentrations of Late Roman Hispanic *nummi* is Seville, although its characteristics are clearly different from Malaga. The publication of Crusafont's work in 1994 showed a great concentration of *nummi* in Seville and its hinterland, leading the author to attribute groups A and B to this city, based on the assumption that the letters SP, appearing on the obverse or reverse, alluded to the late antique place-name for the city: *Ispali*. This interpretation is the only proposal to have gained any relevant consensus<sup>61</sup>, although the determining factor in the attribution of coinage should depend on the actual concentration of finds<sup>62</sup>.

The recent publication of new finds for these types of coins from different sites around Seville has increased the available knowledge on coin finds outside the Byzantine domain in *Hispania*. Besides adding to what is known on the sites of Salteras and unpublished Palomares del Río, scant, yet valuable information is offered on coin finds in Seville<sup>63</sup>. Crusafont groups C (*Emerita?*) and D (*Toledo?*) are now better represented in Seville, although they still constitute a minority in respect to locally attributed *nummi* (groups A-B) (fig. 1, 7). A considerable number of Late Imperial coins recovered from the excavations at the Mercado de la Encarnación and other areas of the city await to be recorded and studied in connection to 6<sup>th</sup> century coinage<sup>64</sup>. Initial observations seem to reflect a very modest presence of Byzantine *nummi*, definitely much less than what is recorded for coastal sites subject to Byzantine hegemony.

The contrast with the model of monetary circulation observed in Malaga is evident, although there are also similarities. Despite differences in the presence of Byzantine coinage, both regions feature important percentages of locally produced Hispanic *nummi*, among an aged monetary mass in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Crusafont groups A and B are important in Seville, while the considerable concentration of Crusafont group E in Malaga supports its attribution to this city (fig. 4). On the other hand, the distribution of finds in Seville and Malaga show certain similarities. In both cases, but particularly in the first, local and foreign *nummi* circulate in the urban hinterlands. For Seville, this is as evident as it is significant. There are known sites – unexcavated and unsurveyed – in the surroundings of the city (Montequinto and San Juan de Aznalfarache) and in the Vega del Guadalquivir (Salteras and Palomares del Río), but also in further localities, such as Coria del Río and Alcalá del Río, ancient *Caura* and *Ilipa Magna* respectively, which provide evidence for a modest distribution of this coinage along the still important Guadalquivir (*Baetis*) river route<sup>65</sup>.

The distribution of Late Antique *nummi* in Malaga is less than in Seville, although there also have been finds in the city's hinterland, such as in Churriana, located about 9 km north-west of Malaga. The coins were found in a poorly defined Late Roman context, the existence of which is explained in terms of the fertility of its lands and its location on one of the branches of the *Malaca-Hispalis* road<sup>66</sup>. References to *nummi* finds of Crusafont group E type have also been recorded in Cártama and Teba, which may indicate the continuity of commercial activity along this ancient communication route connecting the coast and the interior of Andalusia, which is confirmed indirectly by the campaign Leovigild carried out against *Malaca* in 570<sup>67</sup>.

Although in lesser amounts, groups A-B are also recorded in Malaga and its hinterland, just as group E is found in Seville. Moreover, Malaga's territories also record finds of groups C and D, which are concentrated largely in Seville (figs 3-4). Another possible connection that would explain the distribution of these monetary finds is the existence of maritime routes. As seen in many places along the coast of the Spanish Levant, these late local Hispanic *nummi* appear associated with Byzantine coinage and bronze coins of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. The final port of call of this maritime route – passing by *Ispali* or *Malaca* – were the Balearic Islands, the existence of which, despite the lack of archaeological contexts, is clearly evidenced by coin finds on the islands<sup>68</sup>.

## CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have tried to deepen the study of monetary circulation of the 6<sup>th</sup> century into the south of the Iberian Peninsula. We defend the singularity of these territories, mostly coinciding with the ancient Roman province of *Baetica*. The connections with the area of the *Tarraconsensis* are evident, but also some differences can be emphasized (fig. 6). We have had, however, a significant lack of information for a large part of this territory. Only few cities have provided good information on this matter: *Baria* (Villaricos, Almería) and unpublished papers from *Iulia Traducta* (Algeciras, Cádiz), which are based on ancient findings, *Malaca* (Málaga) and *Hispalis / Ispali* (Seville).

These finds are very unequal in number and archaeological context, and correspond with territories under the Byzantine and Visigothic domain respectively. Nevertheless, political frontiers should not occupy a principal place in the analysis of monetary circulation in the region, but their influence should not be denied. For example, the presence of Byzantine bronze coins is significant in *Malaca* as well as in *Hispalis*, but in both cities, in addition to the use of old Roman Imperial coins, we have found late *nummi* of Hispanic origin. Their study has its epicentre in southern Spain and, therefore, the case studies of Malaga and Seville are so important. In our opinion this is a phenomenon motivated or encouraged by the presence of Byzantine influence in *Hispania*, but its justification is eminently civic, that is to say autonomous.



Therefore, we do not agree with its designation as »Visigothic bronze/copper coinage«, as the use and production of these *nummi* is extraneous to the monetary policy of *Regum Visigothorum*. However, in cities and territories under their control, near or well connected with the Byzantine domains, the self-production of modest bronze coin was allowed. Of the proposed identifications for these south Hispanic *nummi*, only those assigned to *Hispalis / Ispali* (Crusafont groups A and B) are the most reliable, while *Toledo* (Crusafont group B) and *Emerita* (Crusafont group C) should look for more southerly points. This possibility should be especially considered in the case of those attributed to *Corduba* (Group E).

Malaga has the largest number of finds of these *nummi*, and possibly this city was its production centre. The distribution of these *nummi* requires a local circulation, Groups A-B in Seville and Group E in Malaga. Another important coincidence unknown elsewhere is its distribution in the hinterlands of both cities (Salteras, Ilipa, ... Churriana), i. e. in rural and small towns, where the use of the Late Roman coinage remains, but where also the new currency or local *nummi* occur. Beyond political frontiers again, this coin flowed by land and sea routes, as shown in Illa Cullera, Alicante and Menorca, but in a proportion according to potential production sites. The findings from *Malaca* and *Hispalis* (figs 3-4) show common features: the city, but also singularities, such as the intensity of Byzantine influences. The aggressive policy of Leovigild from 570 possibly accentuated the differences between the Byzantine and Visigothic territories and especially could affect the distribution of post-Justinianian *nummi*.

## Notes

- 1) I would like to thank C. Morrisson and P. Bartlett for taking time to read my paper, and the support of Research Group HAR2012-32588.
- 2) Lockyear 2012, 195.
- 3) Reece 2011.
- 4) A good example is offered by amphoras of type Keay LXII: Bonifay 2004, type 49.10 fig. 75.
- 5) This has been proposed for ceramic materials from Cerro del Castillo (Lorca) (Blázquez 2002, 300-301), and more general contributions (Cau/Reynolds/Bonifay 2008).
- 6) Doménech Belda 2009.
- 7) Del Río/Ripollès 2012, 220.
- 8) Besides the British model of Portable Antiquities Scheme ([www.finds.org.uk](http://www.finds.org.uk)), we have the useful compilations in Mediterranean countries: Italy (Arslan 2005), Greece (Morrisson/Popović/Ivanišević 2006).
- 9) Vizcaíno Sánchez 2009; 2013. – Vallejo Girvés 2012; 2013.
- 10) Other basic reference tools include numismatic auction websites and collector forums, which feature isolated coins and even small assemblages. Cf. [www.subastasevilla.com](http://www.subastasevilla.com) [15.6.2013]. The problem with these sites is that there may exist double references for certain coins, particularly when dealing with groups that are still scarcely recorded. One solution is to use a unique ID identifier – permalink – for each coin auctioned. This interesting practice is only available for now in some public institutions (Gozalbes/Ripollès in print).
- 11) Fabião 2009, 25.
- 12) Fabião 2009, 38-40 contributes an important reflection on methodology, which can also be applied to the remainder of *Hispania*, considering these territories share the same variables.
- 13) Thanks to the studies of Carlos Fabião 2009, 27-28, who helpfully provided the new data included in this paper, presented in 2013 and still waiting to be published (Fabião in print).
- 14) Doménech Belda 2009, 717-719. – Gutiérrez Llorent/Doménech Belda 2006. – Mora Serrano 2009; 2012. – Fernández-Flores/Pliego-Vázquez/Carvajal-Mateos 2013, 277-278.
- 15) Olmo/Castro 2011.
- 16) Marot 1997, 168ff.; 2001-2002, 140ff. – Ripollès 2002, 214.
- 17) García Vargas 2011, 106-107.
- 18) The model was set out in the works of Marot 1997; 2000-2001 and recently expanded with new contributions (Berdúm 2012).
- 19) Hurtado et al. 2008, 130-132.
- 20) Abascal 1989, 18. 91. – Abascal/Arbeloa 1998, 149-150. – Marot 1997, 164.
- 21) Iniesta/Martínez 2000, 211-212 tab. 1.
- 22) This is more evident with the inclusion of coin in general surveys such as Vizcaíno Sánchez 2009, 687ff. – Vallejo Girvés 2012.
- 23) Although it should be noted that these coins do not come from a recent excavation: Hurtado et al. 2008, 131.
- 24) Caballero Zoreda 2006, 106-107.
- 25) Bernal 2010a, 23-24.
- 26) Roselló Mesquida/Pérez Ballester/Pascual Berlanga 2008.
- 27) Marot/Llorens/Sala Sellés 2000. – Lara Vives et al. 2007, 67.
- 28) Gutiérrez/Doménech 2006, 346-347.
- 29) Marot 1997, 188-190. – Moll 2005, 11-13. – Vallori/Mas Florit/Cau Ontiveros 2011, 161-162.

- 30) Ramallo 2000, 601. – Vallejo Girvés 2012, 170-171.
- 31) And for this reason the interesting monetary findings of *Eio* should be assessed with caution on this point.
- 32) A phenomenon that highlights the old Bética: Sánchez Ramos 2010, 243.
- 33) Sánchez Ramos 2010, 251 ff.
- 34) As compared to other nearby centres like Carteia and Traducta, because from a commercial point of view Baelo was inserted into the commercial circuits of the Strait until the 7<sup>th</sup> century: Bernal 2010b, 196 ff.
- 35) A recent overview (Sánchez Ramos 2010) is complemented by more specific studies (Ordóñez et al. 2013; Román Punzón 2005, 167-168).
- 36) Doyen 2011, i-ii. – Fernández-Flores 2003.
- 37) Vallejo Girvés 2012, 102. – Bernal 2009, 703. 708.
- 38) Bernal 2009, 709. – Vizcaino Sánchez 2009, 720-721.
- 39) Bernal 2010b, 204-205.
- 40) Arévalo González/Mora Serrano in print.
- 41) There is a high number of *Gloria Romanorum* coins, which originated from the east, possibly pointing to the maintenance of contacts with the Imperial *pars Orientalis* (López Sánchez 2012, 341).
- 42) Marot 1997, 160. 163. 168; 2000-2001, 150.
- 43) Marot 1997, 188 s.v. Villaricos/Las Herrerías. – Menasanch 2007, 139. 147. – Vizcaino Sánchez 2009, 700 tab. 108; 720.
- 44) Menasanch 2007, 149. 150 n. 21.
- 45) Navarro et al. 2000. – Vizcaino Sánchez 2009, 138. – Vallejo Girvés 2012, 169-172.
- 46) Morrisson 2003, 81-82; 2010-2011, 157.
- 47) This is a result of the identification of restored coins recovered from recent excavations and to the revision of finds deposited in the Museum of Malaga. Thanks must be given to the directors and scientific staff at the Museum.
- 48) Mora Serrano 2009, 429. I am grateful to C. Morrisson for this data.
- 49) As observed in the recent compilation of coin finds by Vizcaino Sánchez 2009, 690 tab. 104.
- 50) Mora Serrano 2009, pls. 1. 4. 9.
- 51) Mora Serrano 2012, 130.
- 52) Crusafont 1994, group E.
- 53) Mora Serrano 2001, 135-137; 2009, 425. 430; 2012, 127.
- 54) Mora Serrano 2012, 125-126 or 1.23 g, according to data provided by Fernández-Flores/Pliego-Vázquez/Carvajal-Mateos 2013, 292. But today we propose the possibility of several values in this group, thus explaining the disparity of weights. At present we are working on this.
- 55) Vizcaino Sánchez 2009, 709-711.
- 56) Domenech 2009, 712. – Moll 2005, 13.
- 57) Bartlett/Oddy/Morrisson 2011, 377-378.
- 58) This possible attribution has been raised by other authors (Vico/Cores/Cores 2006, 111-116; Vallejo Girvés 2012, 170-171 n. 8) and by us (Mora Serrano 2009, 425; 2012, 127). However, in recent publications this is questioned, maintaining its Visigoth attribution (Fernández-Flores/Pliego-Vázquez/Carvajal-Mateos 2013, 277).
- 59) Gozalbes Cravioto 2005.
- 60) Also recorded in other archaeological contexts in Malaga (Mora Serrano/Martínez Ruiz 2008, 196). The data from the Churriana finds were provided by Martín Ruiz/Carecido Rozada/García Carretero in print, with gratitude.
- 61) The attribution of group D to *Toletum* (Toledo) (fig. 1, 8), seems completely unfeasible, as demonstrated by studies on Late Roman monetary circulation, both in *Reccopolis* (Olmo/Castro 2011) and in Vega Baja de Toledo (García Lerga/Gómez Laguna/Rojas Rodríguez-Malo 2007).
- 62) Just like the readings of place-names in Crusafont groups C (*Emerita?*) and D (*Toleto?*) are not definite, the letters SP may also be interpreted differently, as in SP(es) in Deo (Mora Serrano 2012, 128). But we must remember the problematic inclusion of the letter ζL? – SPL – in some very few coins belonging to group A Crusafont. From the very first publications of these coins, they have been related to ecclesiastical power in Late Roman cities (Crusafont 1994, 64; Marot 1997, 177; 2001-2002, 146), an aspect which does not contradict any other presumable civic and urban character they may hold.
- 63) Fernández-Flores/Pliego-Vázquez/Carvajal-Mateos 2013, 284 tab. 11.
- 64) *Ibidem* 276 n. 6.
- 65) Mora Serrano 2012, 126-127.
- 66) Vizcaino Sánchez 2009, 287. – Vallejo Girvés 2012, 146 map 4.
- 67) Mora Serrano/Martínez Ruiz 2008, 194. – Vallejo Girvés 2012, 212-216.
- 68) Vizcaino Sánchez 2009, 720-721. – Mora Serrano 2012, 128.

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## Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

### Alte und neue Münzen in der südlichen *Hispania* im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.

Sowohl der archäologische Befund als auch bestimmte Literaturquellen zeigen, dass *Hispania* nicht von den mediterranen Handelsrouten abgeschnitten war, trotz der Ereignisse, die die Region im Laufe des 5. bzw. in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts betrafen. Ab der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts bringt die kaiserliche Präsenz auf der Iberischen Halbinsel, den Balearen und in einem Teil der ehemaligen *Tingitana* substantielle Änderungen im historischen bzw. archäologischen Bild der Region. Eine wichtige Konsequenz dieser Präsenz ist der signifikante Aufschwung der Handelstätigkeit, der sich in der Fundkeramik wie auch in anderen Fundgattungen widerspiegelt – z. B. in dem spürbaren Aufschwung in der Benutzung von Bronzemünzgeld, vor allem von Münzen geringen Wertes wie *nummi*, die meistens in städtischen Kontexten vorkommen.

Übersetzung: J. Chameroy

### Old and New Coins in Southern *Hispania* in the 6<sup>th</sup> Century AD

As evidenced in the archaeological record, also discernible in certain literary sources, *Hispania* was not cut off from the Mediterranean commercial routes, despite the events that affected the region during the 5<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Imperial presence in the Iberian Peninsula from the mid 6<sup>th</sup> century, as well as in the Balearic Islands and part of the ancient *Tingitana*, substantially transforms the historical and archaeological image of the region. An important effect of this presence is the significant commercial recovery, which is reflected in the pottery evidence, but also in other material records, such as the impulse perceived in the use of bronze coinage, especially for pieces of lesser value, the *nummi*, mostly found in urban settings.

### Monnaies anciennes et nouvelles dans l'Hispanie méridionale au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C.

Les trouvailles archéologiques comme certaines sources littéraires témoignent que l'*Hispania* n'était pas coupée des routes commerciales méditerranéennes, malgré les événements qui affectèrent la région au cours du V<sup>e</sup> et de la première moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. La présence impériale dans la péninsule Ibérique à partir du milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle ainsi que dans les îles Baléares et une partie de l'ancienne Tingitane, transforme de manière substantielle l'image historique et archéologique de la région. Une conséquence importante de cette présence est la reprise significative des activités commerciales, qui est reflétée par le témoignage de la céramique, mais également par d'autres traces mobilières, comme l'élan ressenti dans l'usage du numéraire de bronze, plus particulièrement de pièces de moindre valeur: les *nummi*, découverts le plus souvent dans des implantations urbaines.

Traduction: J. Chameroy

