

Željko Demo (Zagreb)
e-mail: zeljko.demo@zg.t-com.hr

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THE BEGINNINGS OF MINTING THE SILVER COINAGE OF THE “SIRMIUM GROUP”: QUARTER-SILIQUAE OF THE VICTORIA TYPE (I)

In memoriam Vedrana Delonga (1950-2023)

In 2024, it will be one hundred years since the publication of an article in which the Croatian archaeologist, numismatist, and museum curator Josip Brunšmid described and analyzed in detail a small group of previously unknown silver coins minted in the name of the Byzantine emperors Justinian and Justin II, while attributing the coinage to the Gepids and the mint in Sirmium. When not long afterwards, the minting in Sirmium was extended to include the Ostrogothic period, a historical framework between the years 504/5 and 568 was created – recently supplemented by an unrecognized Byzantine minting (567-568).¹ Until the mid 80s of the last century, the number of known examples of these coins was still very small, but the numerous easily noticeable differences and stylistic features of the silver coins from Sirmium prompted reflection and the desire to give the observed differences a clearer meaning, if possible united in just a few words – which is how the name “the Sirmium group” was coined and passed into usage over time. In the meantime, the development of digital technologies and their wide availability on the one hand, and the uncontrolled activity of metal detector “archaeologists” on the other hand, have introduced large quantities of silver coins of the “Sirmium group” to the market for ancient coins, so what were until recently numismatic curiosities have suddenly become an easily accessible source of interest and investigation for many. In the mid-1990s, the beginning of the new era of the “Sirmium group” was symbolically announced by the appearance of a specimen that was different from all previously known ones – due to the reverse legend, it was called the Victoria type and associated with 504/505, the year in which the previously Gepidic Sirmium was once again ruled by the Ostrogoths. The unique nature of that Ostrogothic variant of the Victoria type lasted until 2016, when four new, typologically related but nonetheless different variants appeared at numismatic auctions within a span of just three years. The stylistic and typological content of the three variants would suggest their creation and minting in a period at least a decade earlier than the only previously known Ostrogothic variants, and these, as considerably earlier, are now attributed to the Sirmium Gepids and their King Thrasaric (489-504/505). The fourth version is an imitation of the already well-known and currently most numerous Ostrogothic variant of the Victoria type minted in 504/505, with which it is either almost contemporaneous or only a few years earlier.

Key Words: Serbia, Syrmia; Pannonia Sirmiensis, Sirmium; silver coinage, quarter-siliquae; Gepids, Ostrogoths, Byzantium; Thrasaric, Theodoric, Anastasius.

The first quarter-siliqua of the “Sirmium group” with the reverse legend VICTAI + RIAAV *, meaning *Victoria Augusti/Augustorum*, was presented to the professional public in 1994,² and the legend itself was interpreted on that occasion – as it surrounded

¹ Demo 2022, 277-334.

² Although it was only published in 1994, I had known of this coin since 1983, when in March of that year I had the opportunity to hold it in my hands and look at it in detail, as it was part of the small group

the monogram of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric – as an allusion, “*although this is only one of the possibilities, to the successful conquest of Pannoniae Sirmiensis and its return within the borders of the Praefecturae Italiae in 504/5.*”³ Only three years after the publication of that coin, another example from the same die was presented at the March auction of the prestigious Anglo-American *Classical Numismatic Group*,⁴ which in 2007 was shown to be located and preserved in a private US numismatic collection in southern Maryland.⁵ At approximately the same time, i.e. from 2006 and 2007 onwards, quarter-siliquae from the same die began to appear, at first occasionally and then more and more frequently, in the sales catalogs of European auction houses. In the period from 2013 to 2017, their number increased to such an extent that, due to the number of examples recorded to the present, it was possible to consider this issue of Sirmian quarter-siliquae as one of the (most) frequent issues of silver coinage of the now generally very numerous “Sirmium group”. In addition to the numbers, which are certainly one of the indicators of the celebratory character of this issue, its political significance is probably even more meaningful. This is indicated equally by the monogram of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric on the reverse as well as the portrait depiction on the obverse encircled by the uninterrupted legend $\text{O N ANASTAISVS II AC}$ engraved retrogradely and towards the outside: the first as an indicator of the fiscal jurisdiction of the ruler in Ravenna, and the other as an indicator of the monetary authority as represented in the figure of the actual emperor in Constantinople.

Two full decades had to pass before the appearance of new variants of the “Sirmium group” of the *Victoria* type quarter-siliquae, and then in a span of only four years, as many as four appeared, each one of which is known by only one coin. Of those four coins, only one appeared in London in October 2016 at the auction house of *Roma Numismatics* (**Fig. 1:2**),⁶ while three, probably not by chance, appeared in Vienna at the

of Ostrogothic coins held in the numismatic collection of the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek that I was permitted to inspect on that occasion. It further turned out that the coin was not only an unexpected novelty and a big surprise to me, but also an important typological object of interest and an indispensable testimony for the existence of an until then completely unknown variant of the silver coinage of the Sirmium mint from the Ostrogothic period. The head of the Numismatic Collection of the Museum of Slavonia, the archaeologist *Hermina Lukić-Göricke*, who showed me the coin – I remember the meeting with pleasure and gratitude – also introduced me to the fact that the coin was a part of the so-called “old museum fundus”. This meant that it had been acquired for the collection either during the earliest period of activity of today’s Museum of Slavonia (1879-1893) or during the period of activity and work of *Vjekoslav Celestin* (1893-1936), a respected museum curator of the older generation, whose professional and research interests included dealing with numismatics. — About the numismatic collection of the Museum of Slavonia in the period from 1879 to 1914, *Lukić* 1987, 89-114 [Ger. 110]. About the museum and scientific work of Vjekoslav Celestin, and his contribution of Croatian archaeology and numismatics, see *Göricke-Lukić* 2012, 9-13.

³ *Demo* 1994, 65, 84 no. 69, 113 Pl. 6:69, 136-138, 194 no. 3/69, 299, 301, 308.

⁴ CNG 41/1997, no. 2368 (“OSTROGOTHS. Theodoric. 493-526 AD. AR Quarter Siliqua (0.85 gm). Sirmium mint. Diademed, draped and cuirassed bust of Anastasius right / Monogram of Theodoric. MIB 146; *Demo* 69 (same dies”).

⁵ *Smith* 2007, 16-17 no. 64.

⁶ *RomNum* 30e/2016, no 636 (= *N^oN* 54/2017, no. 646 = *N^oN* 94/2020, no. 764 = *Faltn* 2019, 153 no. 1b.3 = *Gennari* 2019, 95 Fig. 2/right, 164 no. 2b).

auction firm of *Rauch* in September 2014 (**Fig. 1:1**),⁷ and in November 2016 (**Fig. 1:5**),⁸ and later at the auction firm of *Numismatik Naumann* in October 2018 (**Fig. 1:3**).⁹ Due to the timing, sequence, and place of their appearance at auctions, it is permissible to speculate that the two “Viennese” specimens (**Fig. 1:1,3**) could have been part of some same collective or hoard find discovered in Sirmia/Srijem. That the “London” specimen (**Fig. 1:2**) could also have once been a part of the same find would be suggested by its reverse, minted with the same die used to mint the reverse of the first “Viennese” quarter-siliqua (**Fig. 1:1**).

Despite the small number of “new” variants, their content, stylistic, and typological similarities, along with differences and connections with the numerous examples of the long-known “Osijek” issue of the *Victoria* type quarter-siliqua, all exist, are noticeable, and of course comparable. (**Table 1**) On the obverse, this primarily refers to portrait depictions (in armour or a mantle) and legends with the name of the monetary authority (the Emperor Anastasius), while on the reverse, this would include the propaganda of the legend (*Victoria*), the mark of fiscal jurisdiction (King Theodoric’s monogram), and an addition similar to the exergue (C*V), which may even be connected with the fiscal mark, but it does not belong to it, and is not a part of the reverse legend. The cross placed above the head of the portrait on the obverse is represented on only one of the variants and is unrelated to any of the previously mentioned interpretations. Due to its rarity, it can be assumed that its appearance was a short-lived phenomenon, but was nonetheless significant due to the meaning that the cross represents and the interpretations that it offers as such.

Table 1

	Obvers legend/bust	Reverse legend/monogram/addition	Axis (h)	Faltin 2019	Gennari 2019		
	A) Cuirass (1)	a) (A)VC / C*V (1)					
1.	1.A ¹ D N ANA-STASIVS	1.a ¹ VICTO + RI AVC	1/c	C*V	9	1b.4/Q1b	2
2.	2.A ¹ D N ANAO + VSTASI	1.a ¹ VICTO + RI AVC	1/c	C*V	8	1b.3/Q1b	2b
	Cuirass (2)	b) AVCCC (2)					
3.	1.A ² D [n] ANASTASIVS P	1.b ² VICTOI + AVCCC	2/c	-	11	1b.2/Q1b	-
	B) Paludamentum (1)	c) AV/ * (3)					
4.	1.B ¹ D N ANASTASIVS II AC (right, outer, continuous)	1.c ³ VICTAI + RIA AV *	1/o	-	7	1b.1/Q1b	1
	C) Cuirass (1)	d) AV/*(4)					
5.	1.C ¹ D II ANASTASIVS P P AVC (continuous)	1.d ⁴ IVICTAI + PIA AV *	2/o	-	6	-	2c

Notes:

- Rauch* 95/2014, no. 842 (0,48g; -; -).*
- RomNum* 30e/2016, no. 636 (0,77g; 14mm; -) = N•N 54/2017, no. 646 (0,77g; 13mm; -) = N•N 94/2020, no. 764 (0,80g; 14mm; -).
- Faltin coll. (0,55g; 13mm; -) = N•N 70/2018, no. 849 (0,55g; 13mm; -)* = *WorthPoint* (0,72g; 13mm; -) = <https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/gepids-theodoric-monogram-454-552-ar-1973913306>.
- Faltin coll. (0,88g; 14mm; -) = *Pecunem* 25/2014, no. 342 (0,88g; 13mm; -).*
- Rauch* 102/2016, no. 696 (0,57g; -; -)* = N•N 54/2017, no. 651 (0,61g; 13mm; -) = *MoNS* 57/2017, no. 28959 (0,59g; 14mm; 6h) = *Triskeles* 31/2020, no. 379 (0,59g; 14mm; 6h).

⁷ *Rauch* 95/2014, no. 842 (= Faltin 2019, 153 no. 1b.4 = Gennari 2019, 95 Fig. 2/left, 164 no. 2).

⁸ *Rauch* 102/2016, no. 696 (= N•N 54/2017, no. 651 = MNS 57/2017, no. 28959 = Gennari 2019, 164, no. 2c).

⁹ N•N 70/2018, 849-5 (= Faltin 2019, 153 no. 1b.2, collection of D. Faltin).

Obverse - The bust of the emperor facing right, most often in armour [1-3,5], rarely in a cloak [4], surrounded by a legend with a beginning D N, D И, or O N (*dominus noster*), with the name of the Emperor Anastasius and with an addition [3,4,5], or without an addition in its final section [1,2]. The legend as a rule is engraved ordinarily, so it runs from left to right [1-3,5], often with a break [1,2,3], and rarely without a break [4,5]. In only one case does the unbroken legend flow retrogradely and with the letters turned outwards [4]. In two examples, the legend ends with the emperor's name [1,2], while in the other three examples one, three, or five letters were added as an ending: P meaning *pius* or *perpetuus* [3], P P A V C meaning *perpetuus augustus* or *pius perpetuus augustus* [5], and И A C meaning *maximus? augustus*¹⁰ or even *magnus augustus* if the grapheme И were a replacement for the letter M [4]. Among the substitutions of letters, the following can also be noted: the replacement of the letter D with the mark O [4], the unusual ligature A A in place of A N A [5], and the previously noted И¹¹ in place of the letter N (3,5) or even the letter M¹² [4]. The group of O † > above the head of the emperor [1] is the central part of the obverse legend in which it is presently possible merely to interpret the cross with equal arms and its Early Christian symbolism and significance.

Reverse - The reverse legend is composed of the words *Victoria* and *avggg/(a) vg/av* engraved from left to right, surrounding the monogram of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric. Where the legend is interrupted is a cross of equal arms, and at the end of the legend a six-pointed/★ [5] or seven-pointed/★ star [4]. Nonetheless, in one case it is not entirely clear if the star at the end of the legend exists or if it is missing [3], while in another case the twelve-pointed star/★ does not end the legend, as it is only the central part of the group C★V [1,2] placed below the monogram of Theodoric, so that it resembles an exergue whose meaning at present cannot be determined. As a rule, the word *Victoria* is either missing one of the letters, such as R [3], or in place of the letter T the Greek letter Γ or the grapheme 7 [4,5] were engraved, in place of the letter R the letter P [5], while in place of the letter O the letters A I were engraved [4,5]. In one example, in front of the beginning V, the letter I was engraved [5], whose meaning is not yet possible to establish. The ending of the reverse legend was represented in three forms: A V C C C / *augustorum* [3] is usual for the reverse of Anastasius' Early Byzantine gold coins (*solidi*, *semissis*), (A) V C / *augusti, augustorum* [1,2] is specific as it can be interpreted in various manners (as the ending letter of the word *Victoria*, as the first letter of the words *avgusti/augustorum*, or even as a letter that is used in both the first and second words of the legend), while A V / *augusti, augustorum* [4,5] can also be noted on the obverse of individual smaller denominations of the bronze coinage of Anastasius. The monograms of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric were represented by two types, and each of them by two variants. The types differ in the use of the letter C [1,2,3] or the letter O [4,5] in the lower part of Theodoric's monogram, while for

¹⁰ Demo 1994, 138.

¹¹ It was originally interpreted as the letter H (Demo 1994, 84 no. 69, 138), but later, thanks to better preserved examples from the same die, it could be read as the grapheme И.

¹² A classic example of the replacement of the letter N with the letter M is frequent on the bronze Ostrogothic coinage of the reign of Theodoric, where INVICTA also appears in the format IMVICTA (follises and half-follises of the she-wolf and twins group and the eagle group).

their variants, the first have a long horizontal central hasta [3] or even the lack of any central hasta [1,2],¹³ while for the others the central hasta was placed horizontally [4] or was slanted [5].

I

Most of the described variants of the quarter-silique of the *Victoria* type have already been published in the auction catalogs in which they were offered, and then subsequently in the rare numismatic literature that later dealt with them, first attributed to the mint in Sirmium, and by others classified among the coins of the “Sirmium group”.¹⁴ In line with their obverse legends, the minting of these quarter-silique was placed, with the rare exception,¹⁵ during the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, in which an obvious *differentia specifica* remained typologically unnoticed and hence not interpreted: the existence of quarter-silique with an interrupted and quarter-silique with an uninterrupted obverse legend. This other uninterrupted obverse legend characteristic for quarter-silique of the “Sirmium group” only have two variants here [4,5], while the remaining three obverse legends contain an interruption [1,2,3] atypical for almost all the presently known fundus of quarter-silique of the “Sirmium group”. Additionally, on one of the quarter-silique with an interrupted obverse legend, there is a cross above the head in the portrait depiction [1], such as can be noted on the bronze coinage of Anastasius minted in Constantinople (folles and half-folles),¹⁶ Antiochia (folles, half-folles, decanummi, pentanummi),¹⁷ and Nicomedia (folles).¹⁸ On the solidi from the mint

¹³ The absence of a horizontal hasta and the placement of the letter C in the lower part or under the monogram are characteristic of the so-called “restored” form of Theodoric’s monogram used on the quarter-silique of the Ostrogothic King Witigis (536-540), e.g. *Wroth* 1911 (= *BMCOstrog*), Pl. X:5-7; *Kraus* 1928, Taf. XI:4-6,8-9 (*Hildebads?*); *Hahn* 1973 (= *MIB* I), no. 59/Taf. 39; *Metlich* 2004, no. 64/Pl. VII. One later variant of such a monogram can be found on a quarter-silique from the British Museum (BM 12343), minted by Witigis according to some (*Hahn* 1973 (= *MIB* I), 87, no. 58/Taf. 39; *Metlich* 2004, 106, no. 65/Pl. VII; *Baldi* 2014, 42 no. 140.1), according to others by *Hildebad?* (*Kraus* 1928, 171 no. 9/Pl. XI), and according to a third group, by *Baduila/Totila* (*Wroth* 1911=*BMCOstrog*, 87 no. 19/Pl. XI:9; *Arslan* 1989, 40 no. 34/Pl. II).

¹⁴ After the first numismatic analysis and publication of a Sirmium quarter-silique of the *Victoria* type (*Demo* 1994, 65, 84 no. 69, 113 Pl. 6:69, 136-138, 194 no. 3/69, 299, 301, 308 [4]), there was not a word in the professional literature about this interesting feature in the following ten years. When the opportunity finally arose in 2004, the example simply had to be “ignored” in favor of the theory of the exclusively Gepidic origin of the “Sirmium group”, with the beginning of its minting no earlier than the reign of the Emperor Justinian, *Metlich* 2004, 43. Nevertheless, with the appearance of new versions of the “Sirmium group” quarter-silique of the *Victoria* type at numismatic auctions in Vienna and London, their existence became unavoidable and interesting enough to be more or less exhaustively researched and discussed, *Gennari* 2019, 92-96, 163-164 no. 1 [4], 2 [1], 2b [2], 2c [5]; *Faltin* 2019, 150, 152-153 no. 1b.1/Q1b [4], 1b.2/Q1b [3], 1b.3/Q1b [2], 1b.4/Q1b [1]. *Asolati* 2020, 253 no. 4 Fig. 10:4 [4], 257.

¹⁵ The catalogues of the Viennese auction house *Rauch* are the only ones that attributed two *Victoria* type quarter silique, one with an interrupted [1] and the other with an uninterrupted obverse legend [5], to the mint in Sirmium, the Gepids, and some unknown Gepidic ruler from the period between 540 and 560 (!).

¹⁶ *Hahn-Metlich* (= *MIBE*) 2013, no. 22.2, 27.2, 28a.2, 31.2.

¹⁷ *Hahn-Metlich* (= *MIBE*) 2013, no. no. 56, 57.1-2, 58.1-2, 59.1-2, 60, 61-63.

¹⁸ *Hahn-Metlich* (= *MIBE*) 2013, no. 42. – On the bronze coinage of the same three mints, a cross appears during the reign of Justin I (folles and half-folles): *Hahn-Metlich* (= *MIBE*) 2013, no. 11.1, 12.2, 19.1

in Constantinople, the cross placed on the frontal part of the helmet already appears on one of its earliest regular issues minted for Anastasius in 491,¹⁹ and subsequently on the much more frequent later regular issues whose minting is attributed to the period from 492 to 507 (**Fig. 2:1-2**),²⁰ which is truly too broad a chronological span. In addition, the reasons for the appearance of the cross are barely mentioned²¹ although considering numismatic examples from the 4th and 5th centuries, it seems acceptable to claim that the cross above the emperor's head (bronze coinage) or on the front of his helmet (gold coinage) appears as a component of the diadem, one of the insignia of imperial authority.²² For this reason, it is particularly interesting that, in addition to Early Byzantine (gold, bronze), early Ostrogothic coinage in the north of Italy was also affected by this phenomenon, where the cross on the frontal part of the diadem appears not only on gold coins, but also on silver coins: it is more frequent on tremisses,²³ and rarer on half-siliquae²⁴ usually attributed to the Ostrogothic mint in Milan and on the rare tremisses attributed to the mint in Pavia (*Ticinum*),²⁵ while a cross placed on the frontal part of the helmet can also be noted on the scarce solidi once attributed to Ostrogothic minting.²⁶ On coins created in Italy, the cross above the emperor's head also appears at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Anastasius, but there, or at least so it presently seems, unlike that on early Byzantine coins this was of a shorter duration and limited to a period not much longer than around the middle or second half of April 491 to 492/493. (**Fig. 2:3-5**)

Unlike the cross, whose appearance on the obverse of one of the quarter-siliquae of the *Victoria* type could be attributed equally to Early Byzantine or Ostrogothic influence, the central content of the reverse is unambiguous and clear as it includes monograms

(Constantinople); no. 35a.3, 38a.2, 39.2, 42a.2 (Nicomedia); no. 58.1-2, 61.1-2 (Antiochia). In Nicomedia, instead of a cross, sometimes a six-pointed star appears (*Hahn-Metlich* (= *MIBE*) 2013, no. 35a.4, 42a.3) or even *Manus dei* (*Hahn-Metlich* (= *MIBE*) 2013, no. 35c, 42c). For Justin I, the appearance of the cross above the emperor's head on the bronze coinage minted in Cyzicus has not been registered, cf. *Hahn-Metlich* (= *MIBE*) 2013, Pl. 8:48-49, 55, 9:50-57. During Justinian's reign, a cross above the emperor's head appears rarely and only on folles minted in Constantinople between 527 and 537, *Hahn-Metlich* (= *MIBE*) 2013, no. 87.1; *Berk* 204/2018, no. 323.

¹⁹ *Ratto* 1930/1974, no. 314 = *Bellinger* 1966 (= *DOC* I), no. 4c (no illustration).

²⁰ *Hahn-Metlich* (= *MIBE*) 2013, no. 4a.2.

²¹ *Hahn* 1973 (= *MIB* I), 34; *Hahn-Metlich* 2013 (= *MIBE*), 25 n. 123, 29.

²² *Lederer* 1934/1935; *Alföldi* 1935, 145-150; *Engemann* 1979, 144-149, Abb. 9-12; *Boytsov* 2009, 51-53, Taf. V:16-18, VI:19-21; *Forness* 2021, 163 n. 103-104.

²³ *Hahn* 1984, 239 no. 26-27, Taf. II (Mediolanum); *Metlich* 2004, no. 24.6, 25.1, 26.1 (Mediolanum)

²⁴ BM 1969.0517.2 = *Baldi* 2014, 21 no. 87.1 (Mediolanum); *Arslan* 2004, 433, 452 Tav. I:4/obverse, 461 (Mediolanum).

²⁵ For tremisses attributed to the mint in Pavia (Ticinum), see *Demo* 1994, 112 (Pl. 5:62-63), 133 no. 62-63.

²⁶ They were considered an Ostrogothic issue minted in Milan by *Fagerlie* 1967, 67 no. 677-678, 71 (Pl. XXII-677, XXXI:678), while the thesis was taken and incorporated into his typological-chronological scheme of Ostrogothic coinage by *Hahn* 1973 (= *MIB* I), no. 19¹⁻² (because of the lettering at the end of the reverse legend, he placed the minting in 499/500 and 500/501). Later, the same solidi from the Ostrogothic fundus were separated out first by *Hahn* (1984) and *Arslan* (1989, 62), and subsequently by *Metlich* (2004), and finally *Hahn-Metlich* 2013 (= *MIBE*), 25 n. 123. As the number of similar examples has increased in the meantime, this problem will again need to be placed on the table, and their typological and chronological position should be studied and investigated, to establish whether they were created and minted in Italy or outside it.

comparable only to some of the monograms of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric. However, these monograms are not entirely unambiguous, because it is clear that on the quarter-siliquae of the *Victoria* type two typological groups exist that in their lower part utilize: the letter C in the first group (further: C-type), and the letter O in the second group (further: O-type), with the note that the C-type monogram (**Fig. 3:1-2**) was used by the quarter-siliquae with the interrupted obverse legend [**1-2,3**], while the O-type monogram (**Fig. 3:3-4**) was used by quarter-siliquae with the uninterrupted obverse legend [**4,5**]. In contrast to the O-type monogram, which exists in numerous versions and is characteristic of all Theodoric's Italic silver coinage and even the quarter-siliquae of the "Sirmium group" in the Ostrogothic period, the monogram of the C-type is exceptional and is represented so far only on three quarter-siliquae of the *Victoria* type [**1-2,3**], and in a somewhat varied form it also appeared on the considerably later quarter-siliquae of the Ostrogothic King Witigis (536-539/540), with which the quarter-siliquae of the "Sirmium group" of the *Victoria* type do not correspond chronologically (**Fig. 3:5**). For the monogram of the O-type as the standard and longest-lived monogram of King Theodoric, it had earlier been proposed and also accepted it had its beginnings on the silver Ostrogothic coinage either in some undefined moment in 492²⁷ or even somewhat later after the liquidation of Odovacar in Ravenna on the 15th of March 493.²⁸ Hence it is possible that the monogram of the C-type preceded the monogram of the O-type and had already been used during the residence of the Ostrogoths in the Balkans, and together with Theodoric it arrived in Italy in 489, where at the latest at the beginning of the indiction on the 1st of September 492, it was replaced with the monogram of the O-type.²⁹ In such circumstances, the appearance of the monogram of the C-type on three half-siliquae of the "Sirmium group" of the *Victoria* type [**1-2,3**] would not only be an indication of its possible existence and use in the Balkans in the period before 488/489, but also a testimony to the return of the political presence and influence of the Ostrogoths in the region of Sarmatian Pannonia (*Pannonia Sirmiensis*), where these same Ostrogoths had resided prior to 456, and from that year onwards with the permission of the Emperor Marcian (450-457), and in the capacity of Eastern Roman foederati, they secured and controlled it until 473.³⁰

²⁷ Hahn 1973 (= MIB I), 86, Prägetabelle XI - Ostgoten/Silber.

²⁸ Metlich 2004, unnumbered table at the end of the book.

²⁹ That some other variants of Theodoric's monogram of the C-type were represented on the bronze coinage minted in Italy in the name of the Emperor Anastasius (both without an S in the upper part of the monogram!) that were created as coins in Rome or Ravenna was recently presented by Gennari & Cecchinato & Ortu 2020, 173-174, 187 no. 16 i 18, 192 no. 21 (Pl. XXV:21), 193 no. 25 (Tav. XXVI:25). The small number of these variants, in addition to speaking in favor of their earlier appearance, also point to a possible difference in the selection of monograms used for the *Monetae publicae*.

³⁰ For the Ostrogothic residence in Pannonia in the period from 456 to 473, see Alföldi 1926, 100-104; Mirković 1968, 119-124, 127-128 = Mirković 2018, 203-209, 211-212 (with earlier literature); Wolfram 1980², 321-335 = Wolfram 1988, 258-268; Schwarcz 1992, 52-53; Lotter 2003, 104-106; Gračanin 2006, 93-103; Gračanin-Škrljuga 2014; 171-178 (with earlier literature). – On the basis of the notes preserved in Jordanes (Get. 127, LII/268) on the one hand, and the documented archaeological material from the second half of the 5th century on the other, the actual area of residence of the Ostrogoths in Pannonia in the period from 456 to 473 was attempted to be geographically located by A. Kiss more than four decades ago (1979, 331-337; 1996, 87-90, with corrections). Kiss' projection of that historical situation was strongly opposed by the archaeologist V. Bierbrauer who, believing that it was not possible to use

An only slightly later influence of early numismatic specificities of Ostrogothic Italy is indicated by the mark C✳V, in appearance and position similar to an exergue, composed of two letters and a twelve-pointed star placed below Theodoric's monogram of the C-type. As a possible model, the mark CM could have been placed at first in the exergue of the half-siliquae minted in the name of the Emperor Zeno,³¹ and after that on the initial (M) and final (C) parts of the reverse legend of the quarter-siliquae minted in Italy in the name of the Emperor Anastasius.³² According to the interpretation of the mark CM, these silver coins were usually attributed either to the mint in Milan (= *Civitas Mediolanensis*),³³ or the mint in Rome (= *Caput Mundi*),³⁴ so following this model, C✳V should either be a mint mark or even a numerical mark for value (Greek: $\sigma/\mu = CV = 250$), as CM had also been considered.³⁵ That a CV mark without a star had its place and perhaps even its origin in the Early Byzantine numismatic fundus is shown by examples of a very rare commemorative issue of the so-called anonymous silver coinage (**Fig. 4:3**) attributed rightfully or not to a mint in the south of Italy (CY = Syracuse) and the reign of Justinian (536/537?).³⁶

The reverse legend of the quarter-siliquae of the *Victoria* type is composed of two words: *Victoria* and *avccc/(a)vc/av*, between which in the upper part is a Greek cross, and in the lower part a six-pointed/✳, seven-pointed/✳ or twelve-pointed star/✳: the twelve-pointed one as part of a mark similar to an exergue [1,2], the seven-pointed and six-pointed ones as a composite part of the reverse legend that surrounds the monogram of Theodoric [4,5]; in one example, the star is not visible or seemingly is not there at all [3]. Despite the evident simplicity of such a distinctive Ostrogothic conception of the reverse,

the existing archaeological material to determine the hypothesized locations, disputed this thesis and ultimately called it speculative (1994, 137-139; 2011, 361-380). In all this, the eventual content of the foederati contract was left without adequate research analysis and interpretation, but it is certain that for the Ostrogoths this specific contract with the Emperor Marcian proved to be (territorially?) too demanding and was abruptly terminated when they left Pannonia in 473. It is also evident that the void created by the departure of the Goths was "filled" by the Gepids, occupying the area of Sarmatian Pannonia (but not the other parts of Roman-era Pannonia). As has recently been hypothesized and claimed, since 473 the Gepids were present there as Eastern Roman and Early Byzantine allies (on this: *Kiss* 2015, 42-43).

³¹ *Kent* 1971, 74 n. 7, Pl. VIII:7 (Zeno/Milano); *Metlich* 2004, 41 Fig. 21 (half-siliqua, Theodoric?/Milano); *King* 1987, 209 no. 15A (Zeno/Milano) = *Kent* 1994 (= *RIC X*), no. 3664/Pl. 75 (Zeno/Rome) = *Metlich* 2004, 35 Fig. 20 (Odoacar/Rome); *Metlich* 2004, 41 no. 21 (half-siliqua, Theodoric?/Milano).

³² Quarter-siliquae: BM B.12303 = *Wroth* 1911 (= *BMC Ostrog*), no. 80 = *Kent* 1971, 71 no. 18, Pl. VIII:9 = *Hahn* 1973 (= *MIB I*), no. 43b (BM B.12303) = *Metlich* 2004, no. 48 (BM B.12303) = *Baldi* 2014, no. 91.1; SMB 18201433 = *Kraus* 1928, no. 56 = *Hahn* 1973 (= *MIB I*), no. 43a = *Metlich* 2004, no. 49.

³³ *Hahn* 1973 (= *MIB I*), 86; *Hahn* 1984, 236.

³⁴ *Wroth* 1911 (= *BMC Ostrog*), 58 n. 3; *Grierson-Mays* 1992, 186.

³⁵ *Kent* 1994 (= *RIC X*), 217-218, recognized in the letters CM the Greek numical marks for 240 nummi (= σ/μ), but he based his calculations on half-siliquae (*Metlich* 2004, 42 n. 120. Also on this, *Baldi* 2014, 4). – *Kent*, however, also thought that CM could merely be an abbreviation for COMOB, *Kent* 1994 (= *RIC X*), 217, and this possibility was supported as the "simplest" by *Metlich* 2004, 36, 42 n. 120.

³⁶ For this small group of anonymous silver coins (2 pieces) and the reasons for its attribution to Justinian (536/537?) and the mint in Syracuse, see *Bendall* 2002, 150 (type 10), 153, 159, Pl. XII:22. Unfortunately, in one very useful recent investigation of the issue of proto-Byzantine commemorative issues of mostly anonymous silver coins in what has recently sometimes been called the CV group was not considered, *Asolati* 2022, 1-8.

legends of these quarter-siliquae are still not unambiguous, as in addition to the omission of individual letters (R), the substitution of letters (AI for O), or even variations in the graphics (⊥ and Γ for T), they are characterized by the final words *Augustorum/Augusti* as represented by the abbreviations $\Lambda VCCC$ [3], $(\Lambda)VC$ [1-2], and ΛV [4,5]:

- The shortest abbreviation (ΛV) appears only on quarter-siliquae of the *Victoria* type with an uninterrupted obverse legend [4,5]; beyond the “Sirmium group” it can be noted on smaller denominations of the later bronze coinage of the Emperor Anastasius,³⁷ but not on the reverses of the regular issues of the Western Roman, Eastern Roman, and Early Byzantine silver coinage of the late 5th and early 6th centuries;

- The longest abbreviation ($\Lambda VCCC$) is so far the rarest [3], and hence, as well as the non-existence (?) of a star at the end of the reverse legend, but also because of the interrupted obverse legend, it is particularly interesting as the most suitable comparisons are to the half-siliquae with the mark SRM/SRW on the reverse, also attributed to the “Sirmium group”,³⁸

- The abbreviation $(\Lambda)VC$ [1-2] is distinctive but also controversial as it allows the reverse legend either to be read as VICTORI ΛVC or even as VICTORIA VC with the possibility that the letter Λ can even be interpreted as a grapheme common to both components of the reverse legend; the abbreviation is utilized only by quarter-siliquae of the “Sirmium group” of the *Victoria* type with an interrupted obverse legend. (Table 2)

Table 2

Quarter-siliquae of the <i>Victoria</i> type – characteristic details of the reverse									
No.	Ending rev. legend	Monogram		Missing letters			Substituted letters		Star (no. of points)
		C-type	O-type	R	(Λ)	$\Lambda I=O$	$\perp, \Gamma=T$	P=R	
1.	$(\Lambda)VC$	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	12
2.	$(\Lambda)VC$	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	12
3.	$\Lambda VCCC$	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	?
4.	ΛV	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	7
5.	ΛV	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	7

It is worth adding to this that the reverse legend *Victoria avccc/(a)vc/av* can also be interpreted as a literal replacement for the representation of Victoria – removed to free up space for the mark of the fiscal jurisdiction (Theodoric’s monogram) – which, combined with the reverse legend *Invicta Roma* on Ostrogothic silver coinage minted in Italy for the first and last time was found on short-lived issues minted in the name of Emperor Anastasius in Milan and Pavia in the early 90s of the 5th century.³⁹

³⁷ Hahn 1973 (= MIB I), no. 21 (515?) Hahn, Metlich 2013 (= MIBE), no. 21 (512-517).

³⁸ The reverse ending $\Lambda VCCC$ was common for Late Imperial solidi and semisses and was adopted and used even by the Visigothic tremisses minted in Gaul after 450 and more frequently during the reigns of King Euric (466-484) and his son and successor Alaric II (484-507). For examples, see Reinhart 1938, 129-133, Taf. 4:54-59, 5:79-98, 6:111-118.

³⁹ In that sense, an Ostrogothic quarter-siliqua is still unique with a depiction of Victoria according to a model characteristic for the Eastern Roman tremisses and with the reverse legend *Victoria Augustorum* (partly visible) minted in the name of Zeno in Milan (Demo 1994, 76 no. 2, 108 (Pl. 1:2), 125-126) or in Rome (Metlich 2004, 36, 98 no. 41, Pl. VI:41, unnumbered table at the end of the book) before and also probably some short period after the 11th of April 491, when in place of the deceased Zeno (474, 476-491) in Constantinople Anastasius was seated on the imperial throne (491-518). A depiction of

The above comparisons and similarities clearly show that the quarter-silique of the *Victoria* type can justifiably be classified on the basis of interrupted [1,2,3] and uninterrupted obverse legends [4,5], with which the use of one of the two monograms of Theodoric coincides on the reverse: the C-type with an interrupted [1-2,3] and the O-type with an uninterrupted obverse legend [4,5]. The quarter-silique with the interrupted obverse legend and the C-type monogram can hence be determined as chronologically earlier in relative terms, while the quarter-silique with the continuous obverse legend and the O-type monogram are defined as a chronologically later group. A correspondence with the datable numismatic content of early Ostrogothic coinage in Italy attributed to the period of 491-492/493 is also shown by the obverse legends DN ANAST- [3] also recorded on the silver coinage of Theodoric's mint in Ticinum, which started minting in the name of Emperor Anastasius shortly after his accession to the throne but ceased shortly after Odovacar's elimination on the 15th of March 493. In contrast, the legend DN ANA- [1,2], except for this Sirmium issue, appears in Italy a little later, on the obverses of the quarter-silique minted for Theodoric in Ravenna no earlier than the 1st of September 497. Therefore, its appearance on the *Victoria* type quarter-silique before that date should at this point be considered a local Sirmian phenomenon.

II

Examples of the later group of quarter-silique of the *Victoria* type with an interrupted obverse legend [4,5] are represented by two variants with different content and graphics of the obverse legends, features of the portrait depictions (mantle or armour), but also in the number of examples known so far. The first variant has been known for a long time and is documented by a considerable number of examples in various states of preservation [4], while the second, unlike the first, is relatively new, known only since 2016, in a very good state of preservation, but so far represented by only one example [5]. In the earlier of these two variants, Anastasius' bust is depicted in a mantle and the obverse legend is continuous, running from right to left (retrograde), with the letters engraved outwards, and the ending $\text{II } \Lambda \text{C}$ [4].

A cloaked bust and continuous legend engraved retrogradely with the letters facing outwards is a combination represented only on one of the first Roman issues of Theodoric's quarter-silique,⁴⁰ which also used the abbreviation ΛC for *Augustus* at the end of its obverse legend (Fig. 4:1). The same abbreviation, in fact, is also known from the rare early commemorative silver coin issues of Anastasius marked with the letter T on the reverse,⁴¹ but they are distinguished from the mentioned Ostrogothic quarter-

Victoria without any accompanying reverse legend is also found on rare examples of (very) early bronze Ostrogothic coins minted in Ravenna, *Hahn* 1988, 362-363 (Odovacar, 490-493), *Arslan* 1989, 38, 69-70 Tav. III:AE 2; *Metlich* 2004, 50 no. 81, Pl. IX (Theodoric, pentanummi).

⁴⁰ BM 1855, 0512.67 = *Wroth* 1911 (= *BMC Ostrog*), no. 74, Pl. 7:6 (Roma) = *Kent* 1971, 71 no. 19, 74, Pl. VIII:8 (Mediolanum) = *Metlich* 2004, no. 44a, Pl. VI:44a (Ravenna) = *Baldi* 2014, 23 no. 96.2 (Mediolanum or Ticinum).

⁴¹ On anonymous issues of silver commemorative coins, the initial letter of the name of the city placed in the central part of the reverse represents the city-celebrant (and the mint?): P or R for Rome/Roma, K or C for Constantinople/Constantinopolis, and T either for Antiochia/Theupolis (*Bendall* 2002, 149-155) or for Thessaloniki/Thessalonica which nonetheless seems more likely (*Asolati* 2022, 2-4).

siliquae by the use of an uninterrupted obverse legend that runs from left to right and with the letters facing inwards (**Fig. 4:2**).⁴² If the period of minting of this variant of the *Victoria* type quarter-siliqua was judged solely by the content and features of the obverse, then it would have occurred soon after the proclamation of Anastasius as emperor in Constantinople in April 491. On the contrary, Theodoric’s monogram on the reverse calls for the too early date of minting to be placed an entire decade later, in or after 502/503, the year when on TheodoCric’s O-type monograms of the Ravenna mint, which this quarter-siliqua apparently imitates, the grapheme \mathcal{Z} in its upper part was replaced by the letter S.⁴³ However, a more appropriate time for this issue occurred approximately one year later when, under circumstances whose reasons are mostly known but the causes are not entirely explained, an Ostrogothic attack on the Gepids in Syrmian Pannonia took place, ending with the capture of Sirmium, the flight of the Gepid King Thrasaric to Byzantium, and the Ostrogothic expansion to the historical borders of the Italian prefecture. This probably carefully planned, quickly executed, and above all successful action – although the conflict with Byzantium, which is looming in the background of this enterprise of Theodoric’s, will last several more years – must have required adequate promotion, hence the selection and return of the old-new reverse legend of the *Victoria* type with Theodoric’s monogram, but also with specific features that can easily be noted: the end of the reverse legend (ΔV), the letters replaced by different graphemes (Γ instead of T, the digraph ΛI instead of O), and the use of a seven-pointed star (\star) at the end of the legend, which was once thought to be connected with Illyria.⁴⁴ In addition, it is evident that the reverse die of that new Ostrogothic issue was not engraved by the same hand that engraved the obverse die (masters, tools, and their use), which is clearly indicated by the differences in the design of the obverse and reverse letters of the legend.

Later than the previous coinage was the second variant of the *Victoria* type with an uninterrupted obverse legend [5], whose reverse content almost completely mirrors the specific features of the first Ostrogothic Syrmian issue [4] but with several additions or substitutions: the letter I added to the beginning of the reverse legend, the replacement of

⁴² The grapheme \mathcal{H} before the final AC was a novelty that probably arrived as an influence from Byzantium. It was initially identified as H and interpreted as a substitute for the letter M with the meaning “*maximus*” (Demo 1994, 84 no. 69, 113 Pl. 6:69, 136-138), which here needs to be changed to “*meGas*” (*magnus*), as confirmed in the name “*meGas basileus*”, sporadic under Justinian and common in Byzantium from Emperor Heraclius onwards. In more detail, Schreiner 1971, 173-192; Zuckerman 2010, 865-869; Pazdernik 2017, 214-230; Cristini 2021, 325-328.

⁴³ This would also mean that the only so far known example from the same obverse die with the reverse legend IIIVIC \ddagger TA ROIIA and Theodoric’s monogram with the grapheme \mathcal{Z} in the upper part (N•N 49/2017, no. 756) was truly minted only slightly earlier than the many more numerous examples of the *Victoria* type, as was previously indicated by the evident difference in the wear of the impressions from their common obverse die (Gennari 2019, 94-95, 163 no. N1 and 1). The question of whether the dies of these variants were made by the same hand that had arrived from Ravenna will probably wait a long time for a satisfactory answer. Just like the question of whether the example with the *Invicta Roma* type reverse as a trial strike (?) was even in circulation due to Theodoric’s monogram with a star in the place of the letter O or had been withdrawn as an anomaly or even “bunkered” before it had left the mint.

⁴⁴ Lacam 1974, 170. The example that he suggested to confirm his thesis (p. 60 Pl. XX:3) was minted in the name of Honorius and had stylistic characteristics typical for the solidi of that period minted in Thessalonica in 403-408 = Kent 1994 (= RIC X), no. 43 dif.

the letter Γ with the grapheme 7 (instead of the letter T), the letter N with the grapheme I, the letter R with the letter P, and the seven-pointed star (✱) with a six-pointed star (✳). The content of the obverse, however, points to a somewhat later period because it is in agreement with the features of the quarter-siliquae of the "Sirmium group" of the *Invicta Roma* type minted after 504/505, among which are busts in four lines of armour with an uninterrupted legend from left to right, and the ending P P Λ VC, typical for (all) earlier issues of the "Sirmium group". The only distinct feature of the obverse legend of this variant is reflected in the unusual form of the ligature ΛΛ for ΛNA, which appears in an only slightly clearer form and is used on the Ravenna quarter-siliqua coins minted a few years later. Due to the style, as well as numerous details consciously made or even deliberately modified or distorted in relation to the Ostrogothic templates of the Sirmium mint that it imitates, it is possible to assume that this type of quarter siliqua belonged to the minting of some other sufficiently enterprising, perhaps even influential (political?) group, local or otherwise present in not particularly remote surroundings.

The specific features and differences of these two variants of the quarter-siliquae of the *Victoria* type and their stylistic, content, and chronological connection with the contemporary productions of the Italic mints are a reflection and confirmation of the historical and political events in the southeastern part of Pannonia during the late 5th and in the early 6th centuries. This area was ruled in the name of Byzantium to 473 by the Ostrogoths ruled by Thuidimer, and to 489 by the Gepid King Thraustila,⁴⁵ when their domination in this area was briefly endangered by Theodoric's Ostrogoths who defeated the Gepids and killed their king in a battle by the Ulca River.⁴⁶ The circumstances and reasons for that conflict have been interpreted differently, but it is certain that a victory of such importance allowed the Goths to fulfill their demands, both those that existed before the battle (lack of food and hunger) as well as those that they desired and could obtain after success on the battlefield. The fact that Thraustila was outlived and succeeded on the throne by his son Thrasaric leaves us convinced that this high-ranking loser was spared after the battle in the name of future better relations between the Ostrogoths and the Sarmian Gepids.⁴⁷ Such a resolution of the military conflict was of multiple importance

⁴⁵ Most researchers have assumed that the battle took place at the end of 488 or in the winter of 488/489, but it seems more likely that the conflict took place only in February 489, which was supported by Löwe 1961, 14 and Moorhead 1997, 21, taken over from them and further supported by Burns 1984, 185; Gračanin 2006, 107, Bratož 2014, 373; Gračanin - Škrljuga 2014, 180.

⁴⁶ The interpretation of these events and the location of the area where the two armies clashed is largely conditioned by the identification of the Roman-era river Ulcae (*Ulca fluvius*) with the present-day Vuka River, whose length, due to its very winding course, from its source under Krndija Mountain between Paučje and Milinac (west of Đakovo) to its mouth in the Danube in Vukovar, today measures 112 km. As the Vuka and its confluence with the Danube are quite far from Sirmium and in a northwestern direction, it seems a very likely assumption (Löwe 1961) that for the journey to Italy Theodoric chose the Podravina route (Drava River valley), which led from Sremska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*) to Vinkovci (*Cibalae*) and Osijek (*Mursa*), and further towards Ptuj (*Poetovione*) and Ljubljana (*Emona*). This more suitable travel route for Theodoric has recently been shown and illustrated well, see Fodorean 2017, 95-108. – For the Indo-European origin of the name Ulca and its meaning, see Šimunović 2013, 151, 153, 191, 197, 211 (with earlier literature).

⁴⁷ The existence of some peace agreement between Theodoric and the Gepids led by Thrasaric, although the sources do not mention such a thing (Pohl 1980, 290-291) was considered certain by Diculescu 1922, 110; Stein 1949, 55; Moorhead 1997, 21; Gračanin 2006, 107; Gračanin - Škrljuga 2014, 180.

to Theodoric: in the short term, because at that time the success of the Ostrogothic campaign against Odovacar’s Italy was still uncertain, and in the long term, because in the event of the overthrow of Odovacar, it would enable Theodoric to influence the internal political relations in the Gepid community in the strategically important Sirmium, which, it will soon become clear, were burdened by dynastic divisions whose protagonists (e.g. Mundus, son of King Giesmus?)⁴⁸ could easily seek and find help from their powerful neighbors (Byzantium). That Theodoric achieved his desires with this move, at least at first, is confirmed by the minting of the quarter-siliqua of the *Victoria* type with an interrupted legend on the obverse and a rare version of Theodoric’s monogram on the reverse [1-3], which, judging by the small number of types and known examples, began shortly after Odovacar’s elimination (15 March 493) but was also short-lived. The cessation of minting these early Syrmian quarter-siliquae occurred before the end of 497 and continued all the way to the Ostrogothic military intervention in *Pannonia Sirmiensis* in 504. The success of that campaign was promptly celebrated with a new issue of the *Victoria* type with Theodoric’s O-type monogram with Ravenna features [4], which was accepted and imitated by the only known early “unofficial” issue of the “Sirmium group” minted before September 1, 507 [5]. A common characteristic of all versions of the *Victoria* type can be considered the beaded border, which was taken over and used by all regular editions of quarter-siliquae of the “Sirmium group” of the early Ostrogothic period beginning in 504 and ending on the 1st of September 507.

All this, as well as the noticeable differences in the design of the bust and the lettering, allow the examples known to date of quarter-siliquae of the “Sirmium group” of the *Victoria* type to be typologically determined and attributed to two (as yet) chronologically unrelated periods.

1. The period from 492/493 or before 15 March 493 to no later than the end of 497 is that of a small number of quarter-siliquae with an interrupted obverse legend and Theodoric’s C-type monogram on the reverse. A typological difference is displayed by the endings of their reverse legends:
 - a) The (Λ)VC ending [1-2] together with Theodoric’s monogram is an indication of dependence on the Ostrogothic template and the suzerainty relationship of Thrasaric’s Syrmian Gepids at the beginning of this period;
 - b) The ΛVCCC ending [3] belongs to the end of that short-lived suzerainty period and coincides with the period of cooler relations between Theodoric and Anastasius, which began in 494 with the failure of Faustus’ mission and ended in 497 with the success of Festus’ mission in Constantinople, crowned by the conclusion of peace and the return of the Western Roman imperial insignia from Constantinople to Ravenna;⁴⁹ the only example known to date of this variant of the quarter-siliqua is certainly both typologically and chronologically, at least to some extent, concordant with the appearance and beginnings of minting of the early Gepidic half-siliquae of the SRM/SRW group, typologically independent of the Ostrogothic template.

⁴⁸ For Mundo/Mundus, his origin and life story, in most detail: *Pohl* 1980, 290-296; *Croke* 1982, 125-135; *Krautschick* 1989, 119, 138-139 (n. 37 and 41), 142; *Sarantis* 2009, 19-21; *Kiss* 2015, 48-54.

⁴⁹ For more details about these missions, *Moorhead* 1997, 37-39; *Arnold* 2014, 69-71.

2. Quarter-siliquae with an uninterrupted obverse legend, Theodoric’s O-type monogram on the reverse, and the reverse ending AV belong to the time of the Ostrogothic conquest of Sirmium in 504 and the period not much later than this. The typological difference is shown by the depictions of the emperor’s bust on the obverse, as well as the legend surrounding it:
 - a) A cloaked bust with the obverse legend engraved retrogradely and outwards and the ending II ΛC [4] are characteristic for the celebratory issue minted in 504 on the occasion of the Ostrogothic success in the conflict with the Gepids, their entry into Sirmium, and the flight of the Gepid King Thrasaric to Byzantium;⁵⁰
 - b) An armoured bust with the obverse legend engraved from left to right and with the ending P P ΛVC [5] is an “unofficial” issue designed according to the obverse model of the first regular Ostrogothic Sirmium quarter-siliquae minted after the celebratory issue from 504 [4].

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⁵⁰ That Thrasaric fled to Byzantium in the face of the superior Ostrogothic army, and not to his comrades in the Tisza River valley and Transylvania, as was previously assumed (*Mirković* 1971, 50; *Bóna* 1976, 70), was shown by a fragment of a marble tombstone discovered in 2006, and published three years later, but already then unfortunately lost. It had been found during archaeological excavations in Istanbul in and around the Vefa Church-Mosque (Vefa kilise camii mosque). The second, third, and fourth rows of the tombstone mention Thrasaric King of the Gepids and son of Thraustila with the title *comes domesticorum* (“...Θρά[σαριχ] / [κόμ]ι(ης) δομ(εστίκων) ρῆξ Γηπ[αίδων] / [υἱὸς ?] Θραυστίλα...»), *Çetinkaya* 2009, 226-228; *Çetinkaya* 2019, 459-461, 464-465. For information about the disappearance of the tombstone, see *Kiss* 2015, 46 n. 34.

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Fig. 1 – Quarter-siliquae of the Victoria type minted in the name of the emperor Anastasius in Pannonia Secunda (Sirmiensis) in the period from 492/493 to ca. 495/496 [1-3], and in 504/505 [4] and shortly after that [5]; scale ca. 2x1. **1** – A variant with the cross above the head of the emperor on the obverse and with the monogram of Theodoric of the C-type and an (A)VC ending of the reverse legend (RomNum 30e/2016, no. 638). **2** – A variant with Theodoric's monogram of the C-type and an (A)VC ending of the reverse legend (Rauch 95/2014, no. 842). **3** – A variant with Theodoric's monogram of the C-type and AVCCC as the ending of the reverse legend (N•N 70/2018, no. 849). **4** – A variant with the bust of the emperor in a mantle and with Theodoric's monogram of the O-type and an AV ending of the legend on the reverse; festive issue (Pecunem 25/2014, no. 342). **5** – A variant with the bust of the emperor in armour and with Theodoric's monogram of the O-type and an AV ending of the legend on the reverse, unofficial issue (Rauch 102/2016, no. 696).



Fig. 2 – Early Byzantine and Ostrogothic minting in gold and silver with a cross placed on the frontal part of the helmet or above the head of the emperor on the obverse; 2x1. 1-2 – Solidi of the emperor Anastasius with a cross on the helmet minted in Constantinople (Ratto 1930/1974 no. 314 = Bellinger 1966 (= DOC I), no. 4c; RomNum XXIII/2022, no. 1160). 3-4 – Tremisses of King Theodoric with a cross above the head minted in Pavia/Ticinum (BnF Ms. 33.305; ZMBiH 1069 = Demo 1994, 112 no. 62/Pl. 5). 5 – A quarter-siliqua of King Theodoric with a cross above the head minted in Milan/Mediolanum (http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/byz//Imitative/BMC_theodoric_073.jpg).



Fig. 3 – Monograms of King Theodoric on the reverses of quarter-siliquae of the Victoria type; scale ca. 2:1. **1-2** – Variants of the monograms of the C-type without [1-2] and with a horizontal [3] central hasta. **3-4** – Variants of the monograms of the O-type with a horizontal [4] and obliquely placed [5] central hasta. **5** – A quarter-siliqua of King Witigis with the so-called “restored” monogram of Theodoric on the reverse (NAC 93/2016, no. 1206 = Künker 121/2007, no. 122, ex coll. G. W. de Wit).



Fig. 4 – Examples of Ostrogothic and Early Byzantine silver coins with an AC ending of the obverse legend minted in the name of the emperor Anastasius and an anonymous silver coin from the reign of Justinian (536/537) with the letters CV on the reverse; ca. 2x1. **1** – A quarter-siliqua of King Theodoric minted in Rome in 491/492 (Peus 426/2020, no. 358 = Peus 313/1985, no. 763). **2** – A commemorative issue from the mint in Thessalonica (GM 212/2013, no. 3095). **3** – An anonymous commemorative issue of a silver coin supposedly minted in Syracuse (Tolstoj 1913, no. 618).