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ȘCOALA DOCTORALĂ DE ISTORIE, CIVILIZAȚIE, CULTURĂ

***BETWEEN RELIGIOUS FERVOUR AND
PRAGMATISM!***

***THE COIN FINDS WITHIN FUNERARY CONTEXT –
COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES BETWEEN THE
PROVINCES OF DACIA AND PANNONIA***

Summary of the PhD thesis

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KEYWORDS: coinage, Charon, written sources, iconography, funerary rituals, superstition, group and individual mentalities, necropolis, funerary context, graves, general and specific patterns, comparative study

The study analyses the coin findings in funerary context in order to highlight the collective mentality and particular about using currency funeral ceremonies. The phenomenon has been studied in two provinces of the Danube, Dacia and Pannonia, a period that coincides with the classical Roman civilization stage (after the establishment of provinces by the end of the third century AD.). This paper proposes an interdisciplinary analysis of all the sources at our disposal. Corroborating sources critical literary, epigraphic, iconographic, archaeological and numismatic possible a broad understanding of the phenomena which coordinates attitude and behaviour of the individual faced with death. The thesis is composed of a number of three main chapters, each reflecting a different aspect of the issues addressed.

INTRODUCTION. It reveals the goals, objectives and a brief look at the research stage. Comprehensive and multidisciplinary approach to the topic Funeral monetary deposits was achieved by correlating Charon's myth reflected in literary sources with records of numismatics.

METHODOLOGY. It presents the boundaries in time and space of this study. Semantic analysis and iconography of the "myth of Charon" was performed on the chronological sequence bounded by dating springs and grouping them in a certain historical period: 1. pre-classical and classical period (VI-V century BC.); 2. Hellenistic period (late fourth century - second century BC.); 3. century BC.; 4. century AD.; 5. second century AD.; 6. IV-VI centuries AD. In this way it was possible to follow the development of collective thinking while highlighting the mutation in tackling an ancient literary topos.

In this paper, the provinces of Dacia and Pannonia are treated as geo-cultural entities. The bulk of the material analysed in this paper is datable between I-III centuries AD. Consideration of this paper is limited to defining general and particular phenomena of monetary finds funeral in "classical" period of its existence. Numismatic and archaeological material originating from cemeteries dating from the late Roman period reflects a difference than during antecedent.

CHAPTER I. *ROMAN FUNERARY ANTHROPOLOGY. FUNERARY RITUALS IN THE LIGHT OF WRITTEN AND ICONOGRAOPHC SOURCES*

This part of the present work summarizes funeral rites practiced in the Roman world and the reasons for their religious and superstitions related to the period. In terms of the course of events can make a distinction between rituals preceding the funeral, the funeral procession - pump practices deposition body in the tomb and funerary practices post. The key moments of transition and incorporation into another world and cult of the dead in the Roman world, were revealed by semantic and iconographic analysis of ancient sources.

CHAPTER II. *WRITTEN AND ICONOGRAOPHC SOURCES ON THE CHARON'S MYTH, FOCUSING ON THE ANTIQUITY'S TRADITION ON THE FERRYMAN FEE*

This chapter deepens issue work toward an analysis of individual and collective mentalities. Literary sources written (49 ancient authors), numerous classical antiquity epoch, is the most important sources for the study of the subject of the girl. We considered of major importance to take into account different sources status determined by the personality of the writer, literary genre of opera, but also the environment which was intended perceptibility and receptor sensitivity.

Literary sources are supplemented by personal testimonies offered by so-era funerary inscriptions preserved Greek, Hellenistic and Roman of that. The collective memory has retained the image of Charon, as amended shades of the early 5th century BC until late antiquity. The subject is observable constants defining (impatience and figure frightening Charon, identifying his death, a coin small fee) and variable elements depending on the era, writer's personality and message literary reached (overcrowded boat, exemptions taxes, "bribery" and avarice boater, sometimes his benevolence).

CHAPTER III. *COIN OFFER WITHIN FUNERARY ENVIRONMENT*

A. *DACIA*

The object of the analysis is the 441 graves and 765 coins collected in the catalog. The database contained 372 graves were having coins in inventory, total 552 coins. The difference between the number of graves and the number of coins in the database is because in many cases were discovered two or more coins deposited in a single grave.

In this chapter the following aspects were analysed: currency association with other inventory; inventory status of primary or secondary inventory (burnt or unburned) currency; often finds in tombs; ethno-cultural aspects related to currency rate; distribution currencies after the rite; Coins deliberately cut; distribution centuries coins and issuers; metal distribution and denominations in the tombs; currency position in graves according to the rite practiced; Funeral monetary deposits; Coins - amulets; age and sex of the deceased buried with coins; monetary and message types; private funerary contexts. Consistent with the objectives of the paper results can be summarized as follows:

Percentage graves with coins. To establish the percentage graves with coins only 17 could be considered for statistical analysis and comparative rest because cemeteries were poorly researched or published. In these cemeteries were discovered in 3713 that 347 tombs had the composition one or more currencies, which represents 9.3% of all graves in these cemeteries from being a general index for spreading funeral monetary deposits in Dacia.

Ethno-cultural issues. Starting from the premise population diversity in Roman Dacia representative of the 17 cemeteries were grouped into various ethno-cultural groups:

1. Urban Communities and quasi urban. In terms of social distinction may be drawn between cemeteries that were used primarily by elements of civil, such as *Apulum I* (necropolis *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*), *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, *Romula* and cemeteries related settlements formed near the legionary and auxiliary camps such as *Apulum II* (*municipium Septimium Apulense*), *Porolissum*, *Sucidava* and *Tibiscum*.

2. Rural communities. Depending on the premises socio-cultural ethno percentage funeral monetary deposits show substantial differences between the various rural sites in Dacia. The highest percentage on monetary deposits it has necropolis burial "Boundary Creek" from Sighisoara (73.6%), followed by Ighiu (50%), Cașolț (33%), Cinciș (29.4%), Morești (20%), *Alburnus Maior* (7.9%), Obreja (1.6%), Sopor de Câmpie (1.1%) and Locusteni (0.3%).

The decisive factors that influence the modus vivendi of a rural community is the location of the settlement, crafts of the people, economic guidance and ethno-cultural

composition of the community. From this point of view, the *villa rustica* from Cinciș may fall within the rural open influences, which are in permanent contact with an urban center. Discussed other rural settlements can be classified among ethno-cultural communities closed. Based on the rite and ritual, these necropolises may be grouped as follow:

| | |
|---|-------|
| A. Celto-Illyrian community, Sighișoara | 73,6% |
| B. Norico-Pannonian communities, Cașolț și Ighiu | 41,7% |
| C. Thracian-Illyrian communities, <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | 7,9% |
| D. Dacian-Carpic communities, Obreja, Soporu de Câmpie, Locusteni | 1% |

Halved coins were discovered in seven tombs from Dacia. Apart from a tomb at Apulum, all three cemeteries where they were discovered Thus coins (Cașolț, Ighiu, Sighișoara) may be related to ethnic groups with traditions during Latène originating in Noricum-Pannonian territories. The only analogy of Pannonia come from two barrow cemeteries belonging to indigenous populations. The phenomenon mutilation ritual currency has been explained in several ways and placed alongside mutilation or deliberate destruction of other objects (broken dishes ritual, weapons and personal items destroyed deliberately), rendering them useless in this world as a result can be seen as a sacrifice.

Associated inventory. If we analyse the composition of inventory by offering monetary graves we find that the coin was most commonly associated with vessels (or fragments) ceramic. In descending order follows ornaments, lamps, accessories, clothing, spare cosmetics, tools and everyday objects, unguentarium, glass vases, amulets, turibulum, different categories (such as shell, figurine terracotta dice game) weapons and bronze vessels of animal offerings. This hierarchy of categories of inventory varies by necropolis rite practiced and chronological horizon.

Distribution centuries coins and issuers in the case of Dacia looks like this: of the 765 coins catalogued, 580 could be determined accurately. Among them are 53 pieces of silver, 47 are provincial bronze coins and the rest imperial bronze coins. Most coins were issued during sec. II AD. But we have a few coins "relics" from 2-1 centuries BC: a tetradrachm Dacian three Republican issues, two of which used as amulets, pendants, a bronze coin from Corcyra and a denarius by M. Antonius.

If we exclude from analysis of coins minted in Constantinian Dynasty that are present only in two cemeteries in Dacia, too, the number of Emperor Antoninus Pius (98),

followed by Hadrian (79), Trajan (44), Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (36) (Fig. 17D). Elevated parts touching and kings minted Septimius Severus (35) Alexander Severus (34) Geta and Caracalla (20).

Monetary metal distribution in the tombs reveals interesting aspects of habit. In most graves (89%) of the Dacian necropolis were discovered only bronze coins. Regarding common denominations can be ascertained that the graves of all the coins inserted in the catalogue, 89% are bronze, silver and 8% 3% without information. Dacia submission silver coins to the reign of Septimius Severus is an accidental phenomenon, the preferred metal is bronze and is frequently nominal ace. In the absence of small bronze denominations (from the reign of Septimius Severus to Severus Alexander), "mite" has been replaced with a silver (often subaeratã) or a provincial bronze programs. After opening the provincial mints from Viminacium and Dacia bronze coins are again predominant in the tombs of Dacia.

Regarding the currency position cremation graves can be seen that in Dacia, most coins coming from layer to layer or funeral, which indicates that the currency is offering primary, placed on the pyre along with the body. The frequency of finding positions where graves show that 60% of the coin comes to the head, in 19% of the chest, in the region of 15% of the tank / arms / hands, and at the bottom of the body 6%.

Habit changes since sec. IV. AD. In the necropolis of *Sucidava*, multiplying monetary finds in a single grave is a phenomenon parallel with the changing currency position in the tombs. Place discovery becomes more varied monetary parts from sec. IV AD. And if we group them among the 4 major parts of the body shows that in 36% of the head portion is preferred; 30% goes to the chest area; Hand basin and 23% and 11% lower parts of the body.

Another aspect that should be mentioned is the link between number and position of coins in graves. When several coins were found in one grave, they were lodged in different areas of the body and less in your mouth.

Coins - amulets. Coins with one or three holes were found in the graves of Dacia. These coins were worn by the deceased during his lifetime and yet reached the grave personal items. As a result, they have a different function of coins deposited in a funeral ritual. Three holes arranged triangular coins could be sewn into clothing or worn as part of a necklace, as suggested Dacia 2 pieces found in the graves of young children.

Most coin-amulets are from tombs of children: 5 cases out of 7. The fact that such coins, amulets were found mostly in graves everything can be explained in terms of age: the Roman world, young children were even buried and in the centuries when the incineration rite was predominant. This reality is reflected in the chart graves of children with monetary offerings: 85% inhumation and 15% cremation!

Regarding the age of the deceased buried with monetary offering it appears that most are children of different ages. This result correlates with statistics on sex with dead buried monetary offering reflects a particular situation. Besides the fact that most tombs belong monetary inventory children in 80% of them are female. A prevalence of the fair sex related funerary practice is even more evident in the adult graves. In this case represents 7% of total men and women 93%! The hypothesis that women (and children otherwise) subject to diseases and the forces of nature are those that have a greater need to have a handy viaticum seems to be a plausible one.

Analysis of monetary and sent message can be relevant for monetary finds in funerary context. The symbols used on the coins are present in different areas of daily life, so their significance can be "ported" from one context to another. Thus, the image depicted on coins can acquire a personal meaning through the filter every individual who receives. This filter is determined by cultural baggage, spiritual and even emotional state of one who holds today.

A possible choice based on their monetary coins can be calculated by analysing the types of cemeteries money from Dacia and Pannonia. Imperial coin types are defined by representing the reverse of coins, sometimes reinforced by the message on the front, as if consecratio type coins.

Coin types were grouped according to three categories of ancient spheres of human life: civil, military and religious. To obtain conclusive results were included in the analysis only coin types that appear on bronze coins from settlements and cemeteries Apulum. The comparison between the two graphs show that coins bearing a religious message of sacrifice and tied the underworld have a higher percentage of the necropolis, 31% versus settlement, 9%. Percentage content types monetary civilian and military is almost equal in both samples (21% and 17% in cemeteries; 22% and 15% alignment). This result can be considered a convincing argument for the hypothesis that there was a necropolis of positive selection *Apulum* types of monetary eschatological message.

B. PANNONIA

Funeral monetary analysis finds in Pannonia is based on archaeological numismatic material and information gathered in the catalogue database. The catalogue comprises all the coins discovered in the graves of Pannonia, even those that are not known about the circumstances (rite, context and other inventory) discovery. Instead the database was introduced only those graves which were unable to determine the archaeological context. 719 were included in the catalogue coins coming from 545 graves or cemeteries in the territory studied. In Database 531 graves were collected with 628 coins in inventory.

As was done for the Province of Dacia following aspects were analysed:

Graves with coins Pannonia percentage was calculated for a sample of 20 cemeteries systematically researched and published. Pannonia studied in cemeteries were discovered 2473 graves. Of these, 436 were in the composition one or more coins, which is a percentage of 17.6%. Note that this general index is almost double that achieved for Pannonia to Dacia.

Consider an offering graves and the cemetery without offering money for each part there may be some difference, but none of the cemeteries have extremely high percentages. Therefore, we cannot speak of a custom practiced sine qua non for any of the settlements studied. Current state of research in any of the cemeteries in Pannonia percentage does not exceed 33% of the graves with monetary inventory. The highest percentage in terms of monetary deposits in graves presents Homokgödör necropolis from *Arrabona* (33%), followed by those of cemeteries *Brigetio* - Járóka (29.5%) and *Savaria* - Southern Necropolis (29.4%). Results can be seen close to the cemeteries of *Aquincum* - "Bécsi út" I-II. (25.8%) and *Carnuntum* - Gräberstraße (25%), followed matrix (21.7%), *Brigetio* - Sörházkert (21.5%), Macvanska Mitrovica (21.3%) and *Brigetio* - Gerh (19, 5%). A percentage below 16% is attributed cemeteries graves with coins from *Savaria* - Northern Necropolis (15.9%), *Carnuntum* - Zivilstadt (15.5%) and *Arrabona* - Nádorváros (14.3%) and *Intercisa* (13.1 %), followed by Gerulata I-II (9.2%), Novo Mesto 7.2%, and 7.1% Kékesd. The fewest coins were discovered in necropolis in Solymár Magyarszerdahely 3.7% and 2.9%.

Ethno-cultural issues.

1. urban and near-urban communities. Just as was demonstrated in the case of Dacia, statistical analysis and comparative monetary offering filing show that the habit was

spread almost on the same level in cemeteries cosmopolitan centers of Pannonia. It is no coincidence that the highest percentages are reached settlements which have a long development (some even from the first century AD.), Are located at strategic points along the way limes north of Pannonia, or near roads trade valued.

2. rural communities. In Pannonia, as in the case of Dacia, the percentage of deposits monetary necropolis significant differences depending on location and geo-physical composition of rural settlement ethno-cultural belonging. Location settlement against major arteries of communication is the most important factor in the intensity and spiritual influence of Roman culture. Besides this aspect crafts of the people, economic guidance and ethno-cultural composition define the degree of openness and permeability of a rural community. The highest percentage of monetary deposits in graves we find the Macvanska Mitrovica (29.5%), followed by Novo Mesto (7.2%), Kékesd (7.1%), Solymár (3.7%), Magyarszerdahely (2.9%).

Of the 52 reported by the barrow cemeteries in Hungary Transdanubian 13 graves were discovered with monetary offering. They are: Ivancic, Zalalövő, Katafa, Zalaegerszeg, Sölytör, Becsehely, Nagyrécse, Nagykanizsa, Patkós, Mezőcsilas, Inota, Tengőd, Orci. In terms of the spread of this custom among the indigenous population of Pannonia is significant geographical distribution of tumuli with monetary inventory. Most (8) focuses on Vas and Zala counties territory, located in south-western Hungary, close to the province Noricum area. Instead of barrow graves in the eastern province of offering monetary lacking.

Associated inventory. Not surprisingly, in the case of Pannonia currency is most commonly associated with inventory ceramic (or fragments of pottery vessels). Unlike Dacia, Pannonia after ceramic oil lamps are the most common, followed by ornaments, tools and everyday objects, unguentarium, spare cosmetics, clothing, glass bottles, food offerings, amulets, turibulum, different categories (spare game, cult etc.), weapons and bronze vessels. Dominance combination of inventory: currency - ceramic - lamp highlights of this nature typically Mediterranean and is closely linked to chronology and spreading habit branch Pannonia territory.

Distribution centuries coins and issuers. For Pannonia, of the 719 coins catalogued, 600 could be determined accurately. Of these 524 are imperial bronze coins, 66 pieces are silver and 10 are bronze provincial coins. Dacia, as with most coins were issued during the second century AD., But we have a few Celtic coins "relics" since the first century BC: silver coin silver, a legionary denarius of Marcus Antonius 6 coins issued by the Emperor Augustus, 5 of

which are clearly copies of bronze. The latter parts of the cemeteries come from *Aquincum*, *Carnuntum* and dies. They are 24 pieces issued by the Constantinian dynasty, one issued by Jovian 2 Valentinian I and Valens, and one piece Valentinian II. It should be noted that the necropolis from late *Intercisa*, *Sopiane* etc., used exclusively during the fourth century AD. have not been studied, because we believe that monetary deposits funeral habit changes significantly after the fourth century AD. So these exceed chronological cemeteries and objectives of the present study.

Clearly some of the coins that reach the graves are from money supply in circulation. However, there are cases that prove that in some cases some programs were chosen (perhaps stored) for personal reasons and intentionally used in burial rituals.

In our opinion, the preponderance of coins Antonins emperors (Hadrian and Antoninus Pius in particular) into the graves of Pannonia cannot be explained only by chronology cemeteries and long circulation broadcasts of these kings. It seems that the message sent on monetary issues these kings - mainly represented by the personifications of abstract concepts *Salus*, *Felicitas*, *Pax*, *Providentia*, etc. - Matched most feelings and piety those in mourning. Thus, they were most frequently used in funeral ceremonies.

Monetary metal distribution in the tombs. Of all bronze coins contained in the catalogue, 80% is rated bronze, 10% silver and 10% did not provide information on metal. This preponderance of bronze denominations is natural. It can be explained by the symbolic value of offering monetary graves, underlined by literary sources. Thus, among the bronze coins of low value prevailed: I dupondius the site and represents 86% of the bronze pieces found in the cemeteries of Pannonia! Sestertius reach 11% of bronze coins from cemeteries, and 2% are provincial coins.

In Pannonia, depositing a coin tradition of symbolic value is kept at least until the time of Aurelian, silver and bronze coins and provincial rarely replace "mite" traditional. The explanation stems from the fact that imperial bronze coins were still available, and their message was more appropriate to perform this function.

Funerary deposits. For the period studied in Pannonia we have three warehouses funeral, all from the cemetery to *Brigetio*. One of them was discovered in a stone sarcophagus belonging to a young woman. The funerary inventory consists of various everyday objects, cosmetics and symbolic objects. The coins were discovered at the foot probably they were put in a bag. Monetary assembly consists of: 1 as Faustina I, one sestertius Trebonianus Gallus,

one antoninianus Gallienus 1 antoninianus Claudius II, Aurelian 18 antoninieni from 1 ace or dupondius unidentifiable. Of the three bronze coins one is dated second century AD., This being an old pieces remaining in circulation. The presence of bronze coins along antoninieni suggests a different meaning to bronze and silver denominations. Bronze coins could still be considered as "oblation" to the beyond traditional payment. Silverware undoubtedly had some value both in the here and in the shadows. These could be interpreted as marsupium - pocket money for expenses beyond.

In Pannonia position currency in graves looks like this: 48% of the money comes from the pool / arms / hands in 18% of the feet, in 17% of the head, 12% of the chest, and 5% oil lamps found on the disc. This preponderance of coins discovered in the hands and Pannonia basin is one specific because Dacia see the most common are to the head. This is significant because it shows that the studied cemeteries in Pannonia, the coin was placed in the hands frequently! In 14 cases, the currency was found in his right hand only 9 cases in the mouth!

Multiple currencies in a single grave. During the principality predominance habit of submitting a single piece in the tomb is highlighted by statistical data analysis percentage. The graph of the number of coins discovered in a single tomb shows that 91% of the tombs had a single currency offering 7% of the graves had 2 coins in inventory 1% of graves 3 pieces and only 1% of the graves were in comprising more than 3 coins.

As highlighted in the case of Dacia there is a link between the number and position of coins in graves. More coins found in one grave were frequently made in different areas of the body.

Coins - amulets. For the period studied, the cemeteries of Pannonia were discovered 14 coins with one, two or three holes. Undoubtedly, these pieces were worn by the deceased during his lifetime and yet reached the grave personal items. As a result, they have a different function of coins deposited in a funeral ritual.

Statistical analysis of coin-amulet seems to not offer conclusions regarding the rite of burial. In Pannonia, perforated coins arise both in graves and in the cremation. Regarding the age of the deceased buried coin-amulet, children are often endowed with such apotropaic parts. Of the four cases in which recorded are children aged three and one dead adult.

Sex and age of the deceased. By age correlate data related to the dead buried by offering monetary sex can observe a particular situation. As noted above most tombs belong

monetary inventory children, and they in proportion of 71% are female! On the graves of adults can find that is exactly where the percentage of children (29% male, 71% female). Thus, the conclusions seem to be confirmed for Dacia and Pannonia. Although deaths puerperal women's higher mortality influence, yet equal percentages for children and adults seem to denote a preferred practice for the fairer sex.

Monetary and message types. A deliberate choice of coins based on their monetary analysis can be supported by money from the cemeteries types of Pannonia. In our view, monetary grouping types of light receptor is the most effective method and offers the possibility to approach the mentality of ancient man.

Statistics types monetary wearing religious overtones shows that the graves of Pannonia representation of Salus the altar (30 pieces) occurs most frequently, followed by coin types that could not be identified with certainty, but that is the outline of a god or goddess. Abstract concepts expressing an attitude, a desire, a wish, both in terms of the issuer and the user's currency, are among the most popular representations appearing on coins from graves. The number of pieces of image and / or legend is Fortuna's third place (12 parts), followed by Felicitas (11 pieces) and type of currency with a scene of sacrifice at the altar (9 pieces). Depictions of Spes Libertas, Pietas and the goddesses Minerva, Juno graves are present each with 7 pieces.

The supreme god Jupiter, sometimes represented by the bundle of lightning occurs with 6 songs in the tombs, followed by the type *Providentia* and represent the province in "mourning" and the apotheosis category / *consecratio* / *Aeternitas*. These types are commonly associated with the legend *DIVVS*, *DIVA*, *Aeternitas*, *CONSECRATIO* by sending a message that the eschatological is obvious.

A symbol of the journey in the afterlife could be attributed to monetary type that plays a galley (3 pieces). Also includes 3 shows the goddess Roma, represented by the Capitoline she-wolf. Abstract personification of the concept Pax appears 2 times in tombs, as well as *Diana*, *Ceres*, *Laetitia*. Rare pieces (one copy) in graves may be considered following deities or concepts related to the religious sphere of life: *Fecunditas*, *Tranquillitas*, pontifical tools (for sacrifice), *Hercules*, *Luna*, temple / altar represented independently of other elements, *Venus*, *Isis*, *Amalthea Artemis* with attributes of *Hecate* (month and 6-ray star).

The method used for site *Apulum* (*Dacia*) was applied to the necropolis of *Brigetio* (*Pannonia*). They were analysed representations that appear only bronze coins. The

comparison between the two graphs show that coins bearing a religious message of sacrifice and tied the underworld have a higher percentage in the necropolis - 24% versus 17% settlement. If we add to this benevolent religious message currencies (28% in cemeteries 18% in settlement), the difference is even clearer.

Through analysis of private funerary contexts and some graves with inscriptions we can say that the custom offering deposit money into the graves of Pannonia does not depend on wealth or social deceased. Coins, usually of little value (with very few exceptions!) Were offered to people with different professions, age and social status. Among them are individuals dealing worship of the gods (possibly a priest at *Carnuntum*), entertainment (possibly musician *Intercisa*), but also people whose occupation was linked to the wider practice of life (doctors at *Savaria* and *Aquincum*, cavalryman in *Aquincum*), leader of the indigenous community of Inota (*Várpalota*). It seems that it is a deeply personal superstition that is not determined any level of education (in hexameter epitaph *CASSIA* the girl from *Aquincum*; graves with stylus or ink containers) nor the occupation of the deceased. The only factors favouring graves frequency coins appear to be gender (women more often than men) and age (in children more often than adults).

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence of literary and iconographic sources on Charon's myth and the ferryman fee for crossing in the underworld

A. The literary works in which Charon is evoked in an allegoric style, where he is a synonym to imminent death; to the ritual of crossing and incorporation into the afterlife. In the poetic style this crossing fee, paid with a coin of low value, became a method to express a philosophical and moral concept: the worthless act to save material fortune and the equality in death. Here we can include the series of epigrams from *Anthologia Palatina*; the dramas by Aeschylus and Euripides; the works of Hellenistic poets and those from the golden and silver eras of Latin literature. In the few late literary sources Charon appears with classical features.

B. The ferryman, as an instrument of irony and humour, is present in the works of some ancient authors: Aristophanes, Juvenal, Lukillios, Petronius and Lucian of Samosata. Their intention is to present a mirror of the society they live in and to this aim they ridicule not only Charon but, especially, the custom regarding the passage moment and the placing of a coin on the body. Certainly, their irony would not hit the target without an audience aware of this practice.

C. This category includes those who mention the myth of Charon without a poetic, philosophic or moral purpose. We can enumerate here the historians Diodorus of Sicily, Flavius Josephus, the geographer Strabo and the clairvoyant Artemidoros of Daldis. Whatever the style: anecdotal, description of an ancient *topos*, a 'scientific' or occult explanation, these sources speak 'openly' and authentically on a character with a well-defined appearance and duty in the group mentality. Significant on this line is the testimony of Apuleius in his *Apologia* combined with the fictional story of Amor and Psyche in which the greedy Charon becomes the 'locker' itself for Hades gates. The *Scholia Vetustiora* is the latest source that mentions the placing of a coin in the mouth of the dead as a practicing custom in Athens in the 4th century.

Those who consider that the variety of coin finds in graves (the placement, the ritual style of the offering – burnt/not burnt, denomination, etc.) does not show a common

acceptance of this belief – the ferryman myth – are only partially correct. The reality proves that there can be different explanations for the presence of coins inside the grave (linked to local customs, personal superstitions, fashion, etc.), but these are exceptions and must be studied case by case. The role played by the coin offering in the classical antiquity cannot be understood without taking into account the impact of the Charon's myth upon the ancient society.

Coin in funerary context. General and specific patterns of monetary offerings in graves in the provinces of Dacia and Pannonia

The meaning of coin in graves

The coin location in the grave, discovered in a number of complex parts, metal and nominal factors are used by statistical and comparative analysis provides the opportunity to highlight the general and particular aspects of using currency in funeral rituals practiced in Roman Dacia and Pannonia.

It can be seen that both the Dacia and Pannonia most coins discovered in the tomb are rated bronze. Dacia bronze coin percentage is 89% and 94% in Pannonia. Ace and dupondius the denominations are prevalent in both provinces (73% Dacia, Pannonia 86%). This result is not by chance; he proofs literary sources on the symbolic value of the currency used as a toll to the beyond. Nominal high bronze sestertius appears in graves in a much smaller proportion. Its frequency is higher only in the necropolis of Sighisoara, where the percentage reaches 30% of all coins. This deviation from the rule can be an expression of particular faiths, especially considering the fact that in Sighisoara were frequently discovered multiple currencies in a single grave.

The amount of coins in one tomb is another element that can determine the function currency and beliefs related to the use of funeral ceremonies. Dacia, a single piece of money was discovered in graves with 85% of numismatic evidence. If we exclude from statistical cemeteries that were used after the abandonment of Dacia, the percentage graves with a single currency stands at 92%. In Pannonia, this percentage is 92%, but it should be noted that this percentage includes the graves of the century IV AD. This result confirms a general rule in practice habit that occurs as a leit motive literary sources over the centuries.

A single currency, most commonly bronze discovered in graves could be seen as a symbolic part of the estate of the deceased (*pars pro toto*), as suggested by some literary sources. The same piece may act toll. Deviation from this rule, deposit more coins in tombs, it is a rare phenomenon in the Roman Classical both Dacia and Pannonia. Two or more coins in graves may represent private beliefs about the world beyond. It thus shows belief in the existence of several "tax collectors" in the kingdom of death, whose benevolence and protection can be obtained by paying a fee, or a monetary offering a symbolic iconographic representation.

Towards the end of the third century AD. it can be seen an increase coins in a grave in both the Dacia and Pannonia. In Dacia, more than three pieces were discovered in necropolis in Sighisoara, *Romula*, *Dierna* and especially *Sucidava*. In the necropolis of *Sucidava* which has a guide horizon dated to the fourth century AD., Depositing four or more coins was a custom practiced frequently in the late Roman era. The same trend can be seen in the cemeteries of Pannonia at Brigetio and Intercisa, whose existence continues to the fourth century AD. These coins are made regularly in the basin, near hands or his legs, sometimes in all three areas of the body. When we have more than four coins in the grave, none was discovered in the mouth. This observation is an indication that they do not relate to the usual fee of way, symbolic value, usually practiced in classical antiquity. It won't endowment deceased with a marsupium with pocket money for spending beyond.

In classical Roman times, using a single piece is a general feature in both the Dacia and Pannonia. The difference is that in Dacia it was found most frequently (85% of cases without necropolis *Sucidava*) in the head and in the Pannonia basin area. Currency discoveries in the head as toll currency interpretation is obvious. In other cases, (pelvis, hands, etc.) equivalence with the toll currency, known as the myth of Charon, it is not impossible, but in some cases there are other explanations. Iconography of tracks as diverse use and location suggests that the coins could be regarded as a *pars pro toto*, a symbol of equality before death or symbolic offerings by the deceased is entrusted the protection of the gods. These functions do not exclude one another, they could be embodied in one piece, because of the unique characteristics of the object: a medium of exchange pervasive in society carrying value and carrying ideas and beliefs.

Both in Pannonia and Dacia, the currencies of most of the tombs were discovered in the mouth of the deceased belong to children. This usually stems from the fact that children

pars pro toto money is because they do not accumulate wealth. They are pure beings, which have ensured safe passage and incorporation.

All children are those most frequently are endowed with coin-amulets. This applies both to Pannonia and Dacia. Coins of one, two or three holes were worn by the deceased still life. Currency specific qualities, manifesting itself in the perfect shape of the circle, making representations message brilliance and metal replacement part in one magical protective. While it is not known the sunny side of the coin (obverse or reverse), in some cases, through the spiritual message it is readable representations or legend on the reverse. Among gods and personifications of abstract perforated protective appearing on coins or framed in Dacia and Pannonia can remember: *Providentia, Pax, Minerva, Aequitas, Hercules, Luna, Victoria*.

Chronology of funerary coin offerings for the studied graves

A clear delimitation of the chronological graves' horizons was not achieved for any of the studied cemeteries.

The preponderance coins of the Antonins coins can partly be explained by the increased popularity of the custom of Mid-Century AD II. This observation coincides with the increasing ridicule the custom in literary sources attesting spiritually fertile environment for the increasing growth of popular superstition.

Content changes of habit become apparent at the end of the second century, especially in the fourth century AD., When besides the toll symbolic (*pars pro toto* is the earthly riches) they tend to provide more money deceased either spending the afterlife or offering to the spirits of the underworld.

Patterns of coin circulation reflected by the funerary coin offerings

Both in the case of Dacia and of Pannonia, it demonstrated that the vast majority of coins are from mass graves money in circulation. Phenomena of money circulation can be captured and analyse samples from graves. For example, the gradual disappearance from circulation coins of the late Bronze II AD. and the devaluation of silver. Since the late second century AD. "Mite" is provided by the programs required more frequently present in

circulation: silver coins subaerate, broadcasts and provincial bronze coin type and P M S PROVINCE Dacia COL VIM.

Pragmatism emphasized the spiritual underlining the symbolic value of monetary inventory may be surprised by depositing coins blunt or those who are not accepted into service, such as provincial bronze coins.

The spreading of the funerary coin offering custom – vogue

Comparison of the two provinces in the overall percentage of how often the monetary finds in funerary contexts is significant for several terms. In Dacia, 9.7% of the graves had spare money in inventory, and Pannonia 18%. This result shows that in Pannonia the custom was practiced almost twice as frequently compared to Dacia. The phenomenon can be explained in terms of geophysical location of the Pannonia province, which lies close to the Mediterranean coast and Italy, pathway by which the custom is imported and outlying provinces.

Regarding the popularity habit in the same province, a general observation would be that the habit is known and practiced primarily by population urban agglomerations. Currency presence in rural cemeteries belonging to different ethnic and cultural communities offer the opportunity to establish general and specific features in practice this typically Mediterranean among indigenous populations. There are mainly two elements that had a deep impact on the spreading of this custom of monetary offering in grave within the rural background:

1. The vicinity of urban and military centers, the distance to the main routes.
2. The community origins and their geographic area of provenance.

In conclusion, we can say that both provinces to adopt the custom of offering money can be considered a sign of acculturation among ethnically diverse populations.

Another relevant issue for the popularity habit is linked to sex and age of the deceased buried by offering money. Statistical analysis showed that habit deposit currency is more commonly practiced in the grave where the deceased female and children. This applies both to Pannonia and Dacia. The phenomenon can be explained by the growing need of

vulnerable beings to be protected from evil spirits of the underworld and to be able to pay the required fee for incorporation into the beyond.

Statistical analysis of the types of monetary coins deposited into the graves of Dacia and Pannonia has demonstrated a positive selection of religious representations. Funeral ceremonies in the context they were regarded by the "reader" in a personal way, carrying a message consistent with the feelings and wishes of relatives (*Salus, Aeternitas, Felicitas, Spes, Fortuna, Libertas, Providentia*, etc.). Alongside this phenomenon was found negative selection monetary types of military and civilian representations that were less suitable to express ideas and beliefs revolves around the crossroads. For both provinces were chosen two representative archaeological sites (*Apulum* and *Brigetio*) that the large sample of the material made it possible monetary statistical comparison depictions on coins lost chance in the settlement area representations on the coins used in ceremonies. The results confirmed the existence of positive and negative selection.

Force symbolic images on coins from the necropolis was highlighted by analysing cases. Coins worn as pendants, decorative purposes or apotropaic, the symbolic power of the picture is clear. These images can be gods and goddesses, personifications, and symbolic objects with religious overtones. In Dacia, the reverse amulets coins with the images of *Hercules*, the *Moon (Dierna)*, and Pannonia goddess *Victoria (Carnuntum)*, *Minerva (Savaria)*, *Pax (Aquincum)*, double door altar legend *Providentia (Brigetio)*.

Invoking the maternal feminine figures, for example *Pietas* with three children represented a dupondius issued by Antoninus Pius (Draşcov funerary complex, *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*) is also possible in other cases. The call to saving or protecting characters can be supported by the presence in the graves of monetary rare types. On the reverse of a coin provincial placed a child in his right hand, moon and stars symbolize the *Hecate* - Greek goddess of the crossroads, witchcraft, sometimes equated with *Persephone (Intercisa)*. A silver medal issued at *Perinthos* in Thrace appears *Herakles (Brigetio)* - the demigod who overcame hell and won immortality. There are coins from tombs that make reference to acts of piety and sacrifice, to travel or rebirth.

In conclusion, we can say that there was NO generalized dogmatism and superstition in the funeral rites. The literary sources, and especially the archaeological ones show that customs and beliefs stand side by side. Hundreds of funerary contexts in which they were discovered coins, even if they have common elements, not fitting the templates. Death is

a time lived in private life, the way of separation passed away is influenced by the habits of the community in which the individual is integrated, but certainly not conducted by customs and imposed universally accepted dogma.