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INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « V. PÂRVAN »

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DID CHARON READ HIS OBOL? THE MESSAGE OF COIN OFFERING IN ROMAN GRAVES FROM PANNONIA*

CRISTIAN GĂZDAC**

*'The day which we fear as our last
is but the birthday of eternity'*
Lucius Annaeus Seneca

Keywords: coin offering, eschatological message, Charon, the fee for the afterlife, funerary habit.

Abstract: The presence of monetary offering in Roman graves is a well-known fact and most frequently it has been associated with the myth of Charon – the ferryman to the underworld. This work goes beyond the simple presentation of new coin offerings. Following the study of the message on the coin reverse, the comparative analysis, and the place of coin within the archaeological, funerary and historic contents, the author demonstrates the existence of an individual behaviour connected to the meaning of Charon's myth. Therefore, this study shows cases when the coin is placed in the grave as an automatic fact in order to follow the tradition, but also situations of a deep respect for the Styx crossing through the eschatological message the coin could bear on reverse. At the same time, this second aspect also reveals the fact that the message on the coin reverse could have been easily given a different interpretation that was intended officially by the issuing authority. The Pannonian necropolises from Carnuntum (Petronell-Carnuntum, Austria), Aquincum (Budapest, Hungary) and Matrica (Százhalombatta-Dunafüred, Hungary) were taken into account for this study as they were well documented and published. The main conclusion of this study is the fact that the reverse of the coin placed in the grave does not count only as a simple respect for a long term tradition on the Charon's obol but also a deliberate selection of those coin that could express a certain idea/perspective on the world across the Styx.

Cuvinte-cheie: ofrandă monetară, mesaj eschatologic, Charon, taxa pentru lumea de dincolo, comportament funerar.
Rezumat: Prezența ofrandei monetare în mormintele romane este un fapt binecunoscut și adesea asociat cu mitul lui Charon, lunrășul către lumea de dincolo de râul Styx. Studiul de față merge dincolo de prezentarea unor noi ofrande monetare. Prin analiza mesajului de pe reversul monedei din mormânt, a analizei comparative, și a plasării monedei în cadrul contextului arheologic, funerar și istoric, se demonstrează existența unui comportament individual legat de înțelegerea mitului lui Charon. Astfel, sunt prezentate cazuri în care prezența monedei în mormânt apare ca un automatism de respectare a unei tradiții împreună cu situații care relevă existența unei concepții profunde legate de trecerea Styx-ului, prin mesajul eschatologic pe care moneda îl poartă pe revers. Acest alt doilea aspect indică, totodată și faptul că mesajul monedei în concepția individuală a căpătat o cu totul altă interpretare decât intenția oficială a autorității monetare emitente. Pentru acest studiu s-a analizat evidența numismatică din necropolele din Pannonia de la Carnuntum (Petronell-Carnuntum, Austria), Aquincum (Budapest, Ungaria) și Matrica (Százhalombatta-Dunafüred, Ungaria), necropole bine documentate și publicate. Analiza mesajului eschatologic la reversul monedei depuse în mormânt indică nu numai o respectare a unei tradiții legate de obolul lui Charon ci chiar o selecție deliberată a monedei pentru a exprima o anumită idee/viziune legată de viața de dincolo de Styx.

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** Institute of Archaeology and History of Art, Cluj-Napoca; cgazdac2000@yahoo.co.uk

When the time to pass in the afterlife came, were, those who mourned at the grave, careful to fulfil, from the bottom of heart, the requirements asked by gods or just simply regarded the moment as an automatic duty?

An element that can help in this approach is the coin placed in grave. Why are the coins so important for this work?

From the moment of its appearance, the coin was an object of a certain value – a value certified by various denominations – which conferred the object a certain ‘respect’ within all the levels of society. Not only this world was ‘conquered’ by the coinage, the gods in the celestial or chthonian worlds were immediately well-aware of the value of coinage (sic!). Regarding the topic of this study, as soon as the coin earned its place in the human communities, the custom of paying the ferryman – Charon (Χάρων) – in order to cross the dead over the river Styx became a well-known tradition in the ancient world, which was prolonged also in the Christian times.¹

Apart from its value as a currency and part of the crossing ritual in the afterlife, the coin could also be the bearer of a certain message that one could send if he would like to express his sentiments/beliefs towards the gods or wishes to the person who just passed away.

In a previous work, based on a comparison between the single coin finds from the settlement and those found in graves of the adjacent necropolis, a trend on selecting mainly coins of low value/denomination as well as some preference for religious-benevolent monetary types to be placed in graves have been demonstrated for the site of Brigetio (Pannonia Superior, today Szöny, Hungary).² A pattern that was also confirmed – using the same comparative method – in the case of the site Apulum (Dacia, today Alba Iulia, Romania).³

A further analysis on other necropolises is an excellent opportunity to see how the funeral behaviour follows general patterns and may also unveil particular features.

For this study graveyards of three more sites – Carnuntum (Pannonia Superior, today Petronell-Carnuntum, Austria), Aquincum (Pannonia Inferior, today Budapest, Hungary) and Matrica (Pannonia Inferior, today, Százhalombatta-Dunafüred, Hungary) – were taken into account, as the numismatic evidence was published in detail (see maps).

The numismatic evidence from the graves from Carnuntum is provided by the necropolis and graves’ road located approximately 500 m south of the city wall of the so-called ‘Zivilstadt’ (see map 2).⁴ From 1984 to 1986, 194 graves were researched within the necropolis, and 18 graves on the graves’ road.⁵

Regarding Aquincum, the seven graveyards were researched in the years 1978 (graveyard VII), 1979, 1980, 1985 (graveyard VI),⁶ 1980, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1991 and 1995 (graveyards I-V).⁷ These graveyards are located, from north to south, on the western limit of the *canabae legionis II Adiutricis* (see map 3). It must be mention here that for various reasons not all the graveyards have been well documented. In the case of graveyards I, II, the fact that they have been excavated at the beginning or mid-20th century has led to the absence or scarcity of information on the numismatic evidence from these graves.⁸ The graveyard IV contains only Late Roman graves.⁹ As it will be explained below, the coins from the 4th century AD were not taken into account for this study. Still, a number of 300 graves were available for research.

The graveyard from Matrica (Százhalombatta-Dunafüred) is located south of the auxiliary fort (see map 4). Between 1971 and 1975, 213 graves have been excavated.¹⁰

For the aim of this study, only the coins from 1st century AD up to the reign of Probus (AD 276-282) were analysed. This criterion was chosen following three main aspects: a) at the moment, no coins

¹ Alföldy-Găzdac 2009, p. 51, 70.

² Alföldy-Găzdac, Găzdac 2009, p. 170-172.

³ Alföldy-Găzdac, Găzdac 2009, p. 170.

⁴ Jilek 1999, p. 20.

⁵ Katalog 1999, p. 131-192.

⁶ Topál 1993, 3.

⁷ Topál 2003, 3.

⁸ Topál 2003, 64-110 – graveyard I; 55-63 – graveyard II.

⁹ Topál 2003, 29-35.

¹⁰ Topál 1981, 4-5.

issued before the reign of Augustus (27 BC – AD 14) have been found in these under study graves; b) the imagery of the reverses on coinage went more and more stereotypic after mid-3rd century AD to reach a very low number of reverse design in the 4th century AD¹¹ - therefore a strong limitation of options for an eventually selection of coin types to be placed in grave; c) the gradual implementation of Christianity in the funerary rituals and inventory has also influenced the meaning placing coins in graves.¹²

On the basis of this criterion 102 coins were taken into account coming from graveyards of the three sites mentioned above (see catalogue). The number of coins issued in the 1st-3rd centuries AD, found in the graves under research is larger, but some of the coins – due to the poor state of preservation – either do not provide any information on their design or the description does not allow any certain interpretation (e.g. ‘standing figure’) (see tables).

The coins were catalogued based on eschatological and non-eschatological message. Within these two main categories they were displayed, firstly, by the reverse concept and, secondly, by issuers in a chronological order (see catalogue). Each piece is presented by issuer, denomination, description of reverse, mint, year/period of issue, reference, findspot (site, graveyard, grave no.) and bibliography (see catalogue).

At the same time, for a better understanding of coin finds by sites and graves, the material is also organised by site, graveyard, grave, issuer, reference, year/period of issue, category of reverse type and bibliography (see the tables).

The large majority of graves contained only one coin, 115 graves out 122 (94.2%), 6 graves have 2 coins and one (grave no. 146) from Carnuntum held 4 coins (see tables).

One can easily notice that for these graves of the 1st-3rd centuries AD the placing of more than 1 coin in grave was a very rare practice. This aspect may be regarded as a general phenomenon not only for these three sites, but also at other sites from Pannonia,¹³ as well as for other regions of the Roman Empire.¹⁴

In the case of the six graves with two coins (see the tables: Carnuntum – graveyard south of the ‘Zivilstadt’, graves nos. 26, 35, 80A; Aquincum – graveyard VI, grave no. 112; Matrica – graveyard south of the auxiliary fort, graves nos. 27, 198) the hypothetic explanation may be the mixture of the remains from two corpses, especially in the case of cremation graves.¹⁵ Another explanation to take into consideration is the avarice of those involved in the passing of the soul in the underworld (Charon – the ferryman, Aecus – the bearer of the sceptre and the keys of Pluto/Dis Pater, and Pluto/Dis Pater himself) who could require more than one coin as Apuleius suggests: ‘*Ergo et inter mortuos avaritia vivit nec Charon ille Ditis exactor tantus deus quicquam gratuito facit: set moriens pauper viaticum debet quaerere, et aes si forte pree manu non fuerit, nemo eum exspirare patietur. Huic squalido seni dabis nauli nomine de stipibus quas feres alteram, sic tamen ut ipse sua manu de tuo sumat ore.*

’ (Hereby you may see that avarice reigneth even amongst the dead; neither Charon nor Pluto will do anything for nought; for if it be a poor man that is near to die, and lacketh money in his hand, none will allow him to give up the ghost. Wherefore deliver to the foul old man one of the halfpence which than bearest for thy passage but make him receive it with his own hand out of thy mouth).¹⁶

Thus, some persons just may have placed two coins to be certain on a safety passage in the underworld.

The grave with four coins (1 *denarius*, 1 *antoninianus*, 1 *sestertius*, 1 Greek provincial coin) (see tables: Carnuntum – graveyard south of the ‘Zivilstadt’, grave no. 146) is one of special interest. The coin with presumably less value and a possible eschatological message on reverse – the Greek provincial coin (see catalogue no. 95) – was in one of the hands placed on the chest. The other three coins were placed near the left leg.¹⁷ These ones may be regarded as being placed there for various reasons: safety entrance in the afterlife, expenses in the underworld¹⁸, as well as a possible eschatological message (on *denarius* reverse: IOVIS

¹¹ For the scarcity of reverse types on coins starting with the mid-3rd century AD, see the RIC vol. V-X.

¹² Gorecki 1975, p. 179-467.

¹³ Alföldy-Găzdac, Găzdac 2009, p. 162.

¹⁴ Gorini 1999, 76-77.

¹⁵ Alföldy-Găzdac, Găzdac 2009, p. 163.

¹⁶ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses (Asinus aureus)*, 6, 18 (Apuleius, *The Golden Ass, Being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius*, with an English translation by W. Adlington (1566), Revised by S. Gaselee, London-New York, 1924).

¹⁷ Katalog 1999, p. 171.

¹⁸ Gorecki 1975, p. 250-257.

CVSTOS – Jupiter the Custodian; Jupiter sacrificing at the altar). The last reason may be supported by the finding of a *turribulum* – a recipient for libations – placed right next to these three coins.¹⁹

Another aspect revealed by the coins found in this grave is the period of how long a coin could remain in circulation. Amongst these four coins, placed at the same time in grave, the earliest one is the *denarius* minted during the reign of Vespasian, AD 76, while the latest one is a *sestertius* struck at Viminacium (Moesia Superior, today Kostolac, Serbia) for Trajan Decius in AD 249-250 (see the catalogue, no. 101; tables: Carnuntum – graveyard south of the ‘Zivilstadt’, grave no. 146). This characteristic has been noticed in the case of other Roman necropolises, as well.²⁰

Another aspect that guides us towards the understanding of Roman believes in the way the things may have occurred in the underworld are the value of coins placed in grave (the denominations) at certain moments.

The ancient literary sources give quite a clear picture that for crossing the Styx River the tax for the ferryman, Charon, should be no more than an *obol* – meaning a coin of very low value ‘...and the *obol* (ὅβολός) that pays the passage of the departed’.²¹

The study of denominations from the 102 identifiable coins found in graves show that those who were placing coins in graves were well aware of what Charon needed. The division of these coins by denominations shows the following undisputable results: 80 *asses* (78.4%), 8 *sestertii* (7.8%), 4 AE Greek provincial coins (3.9%), 4 *denarii* (3.9%), 3 *antoniniani* (2.9%) and 3 *dupondii* (2.9%). Considering that in the case of the 3 *antoniniani* and 4 of the *sestertii* at the time when they were placed in graves in the mid- and second half of the 3rd century AD – when, following the strong and fast devaluation of the Roman silver coinage, these denominations were easily regarded as ones of low value – then we have a very convincing picture on Roman believes about how much you pay to Charon. This custom of a low value coin for Charon may have been in a benefit of both believers in this old custom, and those who just want to fulfil a tradition/duty.

Moving towards the analyse of the coins’ reverse type in order to establish if there was a deliberate selection of coin types to be placed in graves and to what extent, we must agree that the coinage was bearing a message through its design. The coins were minted by the authority – in the Roman imperial times mainly represented by the imperial house and some local authorities that issued provincial coins with permission granted by the emperor – with a message that in most cases was linked to the image that the authority wanted to spread officially amongst the citizens. It has been clearly demonstrated that the imperial imagery penetrated into private contexts through coins.²² If the issuer (the authority) was trying to send a deliberately designed message to the receptor (the coin user) it is in the human nature that the later one could have understood this message and regard the imagery also according to his own perceptions on different aspects of private life. The personal perception of coin message has been already pointed out regarding the distribution of coins with representations of imperial power in the time of crises.²³ On the same line, also the coin offerings in the sanctuaries seem to have undergone, at some extent, a deliberate selection of coins’ reverse types.²⁴

Regarding the interpretation of coin message within eschatological context and not only, Cl. Perassi has suggested the presence of certain coin types in funerary contexts due to the message connected to various aspects of the funerary ritual and how the persons could regard the picture on coin as a symbol for a wish in the afterlife.²⁵ An aspect of special interest is provided by the approach of this scholar on the level of alphabetization of the coin user. Combining literary and epigraphic sources Cl. Perassi demonstrates that for a person who wanted to use the coin as an offering item in Roman times a basic level of reading could have been useful but not compulsory.²⁶ In some cases of coin offerings, it was

¹⁹ Katalog 1999, p. 171, no. 146.

²⁰ Alföldy-Găzdac, Găzdac 2009, p. 164.

²¹ *Anthologia Palatina* 7, 67.

²² Howgego 1995, p. 74.

²³ Manders 2007, p. 281-284.

²⁴ Kaczynski, Nütze 2009, p. 93-107.

²⁵ Perassi 1999, p. 57-68.

²⁶ Perassi 1999, p. 48-52.

obvious that the person who placed the coin in grave has combined the legend on coin with the image depicted on reverse. On the other hand, coins were also selected only for those representations that were regarded as symbols for certain values and aspects on the afterlife.²⁷

Returning to the coin finds in graves from Carnuntum, Aquincum and Matrica the analyses of imagery on the reverse of these coins reveals important aspects for the topic of this study.

Following the method of Cl. Perassi – to combine the coin types (design, symbols, legend) with literary and epigraphic sources – one can come closer to various beliefs of communities' members in Roman times in eschatological moments by looking at the coin finds in graves.

Amongst the 102 coins with identifiable obverse and reverse, there are 42 coins with a direct eschatological interpretation (catalogue 1-42).²⁸ The imagery of these coins are referring directly to the moment of passing into the afterlife by legend (AETERNITAS, DIVA);²⁹ eschatological symbols: crescent with stars, capricorn, peacock;³⁰ goddess linked to eschatological ritual (Juno, Diana); personifications of benevolent wishes/attitudes (*Fortuna, Providentia, Spes, Pietas*).³¹

Four coins, catalogue nos. 6-9, depict Aequitas on reverse, and three of them (nos. 6-8) have the legend AEQVITAS AVGVST(I). These types, within a funerary context, may bring to our attention the old concept about the equality of people in the last journey. A nice coincidence is that at the moment when these coins were minted Lucian of Samosata was mentioning, in a satiric style, the wrecking of being rich as nothing worth more than one obol when Charon awaits for you: '*Why do you punish yourselves, counting interest, and piling talents on talents, when you must come here shortly with no more than a penny? (obol)*'³² ... we shall retain our wealth even down here, but they will bring with them no more than one obol, and even that won't go beyond the ferryman.³³ Few decades earlier Juvenal was even offering an anecdotic example of this aspect. A rich man died in a chariot accident, and his soul did not take place in Charon's boat as 'he has no copper (*triens*) in his mouth to tender for his fare, and no hope of a passage over the murky flood, poor wretch'.³⁴

A special remark must be mentioned regarding the presence of coins with reverse topic about *Salus*. Two main aspects should be pointed out in this case. The presence of *Salus* in funerary context must be regarded not as the physical health but as a benevolent wish for salvation.³⁵ The other aspect is regarding the relatively large number of coins (16) depicting *Salus* (with or without legend) (see catalogue nos. 27-42). At the first sight, one may consider this aspect as a proof for a real preoccupation regarding the salvation of the soul. Still, the analyses of the single coin finds from Carnuntum³⁶ and other sites,³⁷ where the numismatic evidence allows a fair general overview, indicate that the monetary types with *Salus* were ones of the largest production series in the 2nd century AD, especially during the reign of Hadrian (types described in the RIC II, Hadrian, at nos. 669, 678-9). Therefore, most likely, that the coins with *Salus* message found in the graves under study may have been, very well, intended to be placed for an eschatological reason/benevolent wish but it is difficult to say which one of them, and which one was just a 'normal' offering in grave with no co-lateral meaning.

The observations can go even further in details regarding the coin finds in graves and their possible eschatological meaning.

²⁷ Perassi 1999, p. 57-68.

²⁸ For the eschatological symbols, see Perassi 1999, p. 57-64.

²⁹ Perassi 1999, p. 57-58.

³⁰ Perassi 1999, p. 58, 60.

³¹ Perassi 1999, p. 58-59, 64.

³² Lucian, *Dialogi mortuorum*, 1, 3. (Lucian with an English translation by M. D. MacLeod, vol. VII, London-Cambridge, MA, 1961).

³³ Lucian, *Dialogi mortuorum*, 21, 4 (Lucian with an English translation by M. D. MacLeod, vol. VII, London-Cambridge, MA, 1961).

³⁴ Juvenal, *Satirae*, 3, 264-267: ... haec inter pueros varie properantur, at ille/ iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret/ porthmea nec sperat caenosi gurgitis alnum/ infelix nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem (Juvenal and Persius with an English translation by G. G. Ramsay, London-New-York, 1928.)

³⁵ Perassi 1999, p. 66.

³⁶ Numismata Carnuntina 2007, CD-Katalog_Kaiser.

³⁷ For example, towns from Roman Dacia: Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Găzdac, Cociş 2004, p. 84-113; Apulum, Găzdac, Suciu, Alfoldy-Găzdac 2009, p. 167-221; Porolissum, Găzdac, Gudea 2006, p. 117-158.

There is a series of coins of which by their design and number in graves – in comparison with the multitude of monetary types issued in the same time – an eschatological message may be attributed (catalogue nos. 43-70).

This category includes coin types referring to benevolent wishes, which have epithets connected to the afterlife: *Felicitas* that can be seen as *perpetua* (catalogue nos. 43-44)³⁸, and also it turns out on coins with the reverse legend: AETERNITAS (catalogue no. 1); *Pax* may have been regarded as *aeterna*³⁹ (catalogue nos. 45-47); *Securitas* was also known as *perpetua*⁴⁰ (catalogue no. 48). The supporting evidence is provided by funerary inscriptions, e.g. *D(is) M(anibus)/ Perpetuae/ Securitati/ M(arco) Matutinio Maxim[o]/ negotiatori sagario,/ civi Mediomatico/ p(oni) c(uraverunt) M(arcus) Matutinius/ Marcus frater/ et C(aius) Sanctinius Sanc...*⁴¹, (To the Departed Spirits and the Everlasting Freedom from Care. For Marcus Matutinius Maximus, cloak merchant, citizen of the Mediomatici. Marcus Matutinius Marcus, his brother, and Caius Sanctinius Sanc(tus) had the tomb erected).⁴²

Another representation that may have been easily interpreted by persons as having eschatological meaning is that of the altar.

There are six coins (catalogue nos. 49-54) on which somebody attention would be drawn by the role of the altar on the coin: a big altar on the reverse combined with the legend PROVIDENT(ia) (catalogue no. 49); lighted altar with Jupiter sacrificing over it and the legend IOVIS CVSTOS (Jupiter the Guardian) (catalogue no. 50); a quite a rare coin type with the emperor sacrificing on a central altar joined by attendants playing harp and pipes (catalogue no. 51); other divinities and a veiled emperor also making sacrifices over altar (catalogue nos. 51-54).

In the same category of coin types with a possible eschatological interpretation can be considered those coins that depict on reverse a galley (catalogue nos. 55-56). Although, the official imagery for this coin type is referring to the emperor (Hadrian) journeys, the presence of such coins in graves – small denomination only – of a relatively rare issued type can easily lead to a possible interpretation of the galley as the boat of Charon and the journey into the afterlife.

Close to the meaning of the coins above one may consider the coin catalogue no. 57, depicting on reverse the she-wolf suckling twins. One aspect, which may allow an eschatological interpretation, is the boat in the exergue of this coin. At the same time, Cl. Perassi considers that the representation of the she-wolf suckling twins may also represent the symbol of eternity and rebirth.⁴³

At the end of this category are those coins which I consider that they could have been selected, by those who placed them in graves, for an eschatological meaning other than of the Charon's obol or simple coins thrown in graves to fulfil an old custom.

The arguments were the rarity of the coin types, the design of reverse, which somehow you do not expect to find these types in graves without thinking at the funerary ritual/attitude of mourning.



Dacia



Britannia

One coin, catalogue no. 58, depicts the emperor, Commodus, veiled, ploughing right with two oxen and the legend: COLL(onia) L(ucia) AN(toniniana) COM(modiana) P M TR P XV IMP VIII COS VI S-C. The coin represents the emperor, as priest, in a sacred act of founding a new city. The representation of a veiled person may also be regarded as to show piety and the mourning of the dead.



³⁸ Perassi 1999, p. 59.

³⁹ Perassi 1999, p. 59.

⁴⁰ Perassi 1999, p. 61.

⁴¹ ILS 7579.

⁴² Meijer, Nijf 1992, p. 106.

⁴³ Perassi 1999, p. 59.

Three other coins (catalogue nos. 59-61) are known in the RIC as the ‘province’ series. All three coins depict the provinces Dacia (2) and Britannia seated with the head propped on hand. Even in the coin catalogue, the RIC, this position it is called as the attitude of mourning. Thus, one could have easily placed these coins in graves also to express his piety and sorrows towards the person who just passed away.

Hypothetically, the coin catalogue no. 62, may also be seen, in those times, as a piece with funeral meaning. Aegyptos is reclining left, resting his arm on basket of fruit – a picture that can easily be taken as the scene of the funerary banquet. If we would know that the dead or the one who placed this coin in grave had knowledge on the Egyptian mythology and religion (*sic!*), then the presence of the ibis – the bird which carried the dead - on the reverse would be another evidence for a possible eschatological feature.

A series of eight coins (catalogue nos. 63-70) may also be taken into account for this study. The message on the reverses refers to the generosity of the emperor: *Liberalitas Augusti, Munificentia Augusti, Annona Augusti, Abundantia Augusti*. These coins may be a result of what H. Nibley would call as the private *sparsiones* (throwing things as donative).⁴⁴ These *sparsiones* occurred at celebrations marking ‘rite de passage’ in a family,⁴⁵ and death was one of them. As they were donative to the attendants and offerings in graves the chosen iconography refers to: *Liberalitas, Munificentia* and prosperity.⁴⁶

For the remaining coins in the catalogue (nos. 71-102) it is difficult, at the moment, to assume an eschatological connection between the message of coin and the funerary context in which it was found. The coin types are various in categories and design, but there is no certainty that some of them were not regarded by the one who placed them in graves with another symbolic contents that it just cannot be decoded now.

Still, except for one *denarius* (catalogue no. 71), these coins suggest, again, that the Romans were very fond to give only small denominations to Charon. Moreover, this practice closely followed the devaluation of Roman monetary currency. If in the 2nd century AD graves the *as* is overwhelming any other denominations found in the graves under study, in the 3rd century AD more *dupondii* and *sestertii* (mainly from the local mint of Viminacium open between AD 239 and AD 255⁴⁷) (catalogue nos. 97-102), and civic coins (catalogue nos. 93-96) turned up in graves. On the same line, the coins of Probus, discussed here, are both *antoniniani*, as the bronze coin production was strongly reduced due to the dramatic devaluation of the silver coinage in the second half of the 3rd century AD.

At the end of this study the results coming from the analyse of coins found in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD graves from Carnuntum, Aquincum and Matrica may indicate some aspects regarding human behaviour within funerary environment.

A first aspect, easily noticeable, is the massive presence of coins of low value. This is a consequence of the convergent action of the two main parts involved in the ritual of coin offering in graves: those who believed in the meaning of tradition – thus, they knew that Charon needs only one *obol* –, and those who may have lost the knowledge on this ritual and just wanted to follow an inherited tradition – ‘happy’ to give only a low value coin.

Organizing and studying the coins found in graves based on eschatological message – certain or possible/hypothetic level –, these items suggest in some cases a selection of coin types that could have been regarded by individuals as subjects appropriate to the various aspects of the funerary rites and rituals. This conclusion is issued following an overall analysis of these coin types discovered in graves from sites of Pannonia. Still, whether each of these coins was placed in grave by the individual for the reason we thought it was, it is a delicate matter, as it is always the matter when comes to judge individual human behaviour.



⁴⁴ Nibley 1945, p. 516.

⁴⁵ Nibley 1945, p. 516.

⁴⁶ Nibley 1945, p. 518.

⁴⁷ Martin, p. 21.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

TABLES: The distribution of coins in the graves from Carnuntum, Aquincum, Matrica

Map 1. The central-north part of Roman Pannonia until AD 214 with the studied sites underlined.

Map 2. The Roman site of Carnuntum with the two analyzed graveyards (based on Katalog 1999, folded map).

Map 3. The Roman site of Aquincum with the mentioned graveyards (based on Topál 2003, p. 118).

Map 4. The Roman site of Matrica (based on Topál 1981, fig.1).

Catalogue of coins found in graves from necropolises of Carnuntum (Pannonia Superior), Aquincum (Pannonia Inferior), Matrica (Pannonia Inferior)⁴⁸

REVERSES WITH ESCHATOLOGICAL MESSAGE:

AETERNITAS

1. Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I

As – hybrid, barbarous

AETERNITAS S-C

Felicitas standing left, holding capricorn and long winged caduceus.

Rome, post AD 141.

cf. RIC III, 817 (for the design of reverse belonging to Antoninus Pius).

Aquincum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 131.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 38; KATALOG 1999, 167, no. 131.6; Taf. 59.



2. Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I

As

AETERNITAS S-C

Providentia standing left, holding globe and sceptre.

Rome, post AD 141.

RIC III, 1163a.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 131.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 18, no. 23.6; pl. 20.



3. Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I

As

AVGVSTA

S-C in exergue

Ceres, veiled, draped, seated left on throne, holding two- corn ears and long torch.

Rome, post AD 141.

RIC III, 1170.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 14.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 14.



4. Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I

As

AVGVSTA S-C

Vesta standing left with palladium and torch.

Rome, post AD 141.

RIC III, 1178.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 140.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 57, no. 140.11; pl. 79.



5. Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I

As

S C in exergue.

Crescent with seven stars.

Rome, post AD 141.

RIC III, 1199.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 40.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 40.



⁴⁸ The pictures of coin types in the catalogue are for illustrative purpose only and they are not photos of the coins found in graves discussed in the present study. Source: <http://wildwinds.com/coins>.

AEQVITAS**6. Vespasian**

As

AEQVITAS AVGVSTI

S C in exergue.

Aequitas standing left, holding scales and sceptre.

Rome, AD 71.

RIC II.1, 287.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 2.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 2.

**7. Nerva**

As

AEQVITAS AVGVST S-C

Aequitas standing left with scales and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 97.

RIC II, 94.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VII, grave 13.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 74, no. 13.2; pl. 95.

**8. Nerva**

As

AEQVITAS AVGVST S-C

Aequitas standing left with scales and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 96/97.

RIC II, 51/77.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 26.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 61, no. 12; KATALOG 1999, 137, no. 26.5; Taf. 25.

9. Antoninus Pius

As

COS IIII S-C

Aequitas standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 148-149.

RIC III, 858.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 198.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 198.

**DIANA****10. Marcus Aurelius: Faustina II**

As

DIANA LVCIFERA S-C

Diana standing right holding lighted torch.

Rome, AD 161-175.

RIC III, 1632-33.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 141.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 141.

**FORTVNA/PROVIDENTIA/SPES****11. Vespasian**

As

S-C

Spes standing left, holding flower and lifting up dress.

Rome, AD 76.

RIC II.1, 894.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 68.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 68.



12. Domitian

As

FORTVNAE AVGVSTI S-C

Fortuna standing left, holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 86.

RIC II.1, 487.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard V, grave 6.

Reference: TOPÁL 2003, 7, no. 6.11; pl. 4, 121.



13. Domitian

As

FORTVNAE AVGVSTI S-C

Fortuna standing left, holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 86.

RIC II.1, 487.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 202.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 202.

14. Nerva

As

FORTVNA AVGVST S-C

Fortuna standing left holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 97.

RIC II, 83.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 204.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 204.



15. Hadrian

As

FORTVNAE REDVCI

S C in exergue

Hadrian standing right clasping hand with Fortuna holding rudder.

Rome, AD 134-138.

RIC II, 814.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard V, grave 35.

Reference: TOPÁL 2003, 18, no. 28.12; pl. 16, 129.



16. Hadrian

As

PROVIDENTIA AVG S-C

Providentia standing, head left, with wand and sceptre, globe before.

Rome, AD 134-138.

RIC II, 823.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 7.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 7.



17. Antoninus Pius

As

FORTVNA AVG S-C

COS II in exergue

Fortuna standing left, holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 139.

RIC III, 558.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 41.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 41.



18. Antoninus Pius

As

TR POT XX COS IIII S-C

Providentia/Fortuna standing left pointing at a globe and holding sceptre.

Rome, AD 156-157.

RIC III, 972.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 27.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 27.



IVNO

19. Hadrian: Sabina

As

IVNONI REGINAE S-C

Juno, veiled, standing left, holding patera and sceptre.

Rome, AD 128-137.

RIC II, 1038.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 182.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 182.



20. Antoninus Pius: Faustina II

As

IVNO S-C

Juno, veiled, standing left, holding patera and sceptre.

Rome, AD 145-161.

RIC III, 1398.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 15.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 36; KATALOG 1999, 135, no. 15.4; Taf. 23.



21. Lucius Verus/M.Aurelius: Lucilla

As

IVNO REGINA S-C

Juno standing left holding patera and sceptre, peacock at feet.

Rome, AD 161-181.

RIC III, 1752.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 110.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 43; KATALOG 1999, 161, no. 110.1; Taf. 54.



22. Lucius Verus/M.Aurelius: Lucilla

As

IVNO REGINA S-C

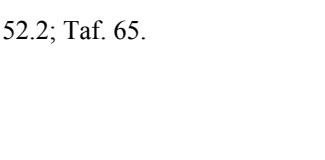
Juno standing left holding patera and sceptre, peacock at feet.

Rome, AD 161-181.

RIC III, 1752.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 152.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 42; KATALOG 1999, 172, no. 152.2; Taf. 65.



23. Lucius Verus/M.Aurelius: Lucilla

As

IVNO REGINA S-C

Juno standing left holding patera and scepter, peacock at feet.

Rome, AD 161-181.

RIC III, 1752.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 153.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 44; KATALOG 1999, 173, no. 153.6; Taf. 65.

PIETAS**24. Trajan**

As

TR POT COS II S-C

Pietas, veiled, standing left, right hand raised above lighted altar left, left hand on breast.

Rome, AD 98-99

RIC II, 392

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 109

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 109.

**25. Hadrian**

Dupondius

PIETAS AVGSTI S-C

Pietas standing right, dropping incense into lighted altar.

Rome, AD 119-122

RIC II, 601b

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 14

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 17; KATALOG 1999, 132, no. 14.13; Taf. 22.

**26. Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I**

As

PIETAS AVG S-C

Pietas standing left, holding incense box and dropping incense on tall thin altar.

Rome, post AD 141.

RIC III, 1192a

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 9.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 33; KATALOG 1999, 132, no. 9.2; Taf. 19.

**SALUS = benevolent wish regarding the salvation****27. Trajan**

Denarius

COS VI P P S PQ R.

Felicitas standing left, holding caduceus and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 114-117.

RIC II, 301.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 74.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 36, no. 74.6; pl. 51.

**28. Hadrian**

As

COS III S-C

Salus standing, head right, feeding snake held in arms from patera.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 669c.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 35.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 18; KATALOG 1999, 140, no. 35.6; Taf. 28.

**29. Hadrian**

As

COS III S-C

Salus standing, head right, feeding snake held in arms from patera.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 669c.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 189.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 19; KATALOG 1999, 187, no. 189.4; Taf. 82.



30. HadrianAs – ‘*limesfalsum*’

COS III S-C

Salus standing, head right, feeding snake held in arms from patera.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 669c.

Carnuntum, ‘Zivilstadt’, southern graveyard, grave 25.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 20; KATALOG 1999, 137, no. 25.4; Taf. 25.

31. Hadrian

As

COS III S-C

Salus standing, head right, feeding snake held in arms from patera.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 669c.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 81.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 81.

32. Hadrian

As

COS III S-C

Salus standing, head right, feeding snake held in arms from patera.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 669c.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 101.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 101.

33. Hadrian

As

COS III S-C

Salus standing, head right, feeding snake held in arms from patera.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 669c.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 175.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 175.

**34. Hadrian**

As

SALVS AVGVSTI S-C

COS III in exergue

Salus standing left holding patera, feeding serpent arising from altar.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 678.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 79.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 38, no. 79.13; pl. 54.

35. Hadrian

As

SALVS AVGVSTI S-C

COS III in exergue

Salus standing left holding patera, feeding serpent arising from altar.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 678.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 170.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 64, no. 170.9; pl. 85.

36. Hadrian

As

SALVS AVGVSTI S-C

COS III in exergue

Salus standing left holding patera, feeding serpent arising from altar.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 678.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 26.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 22; KATALOG 1999, 137, no. 26.4; Taf. 25.

37. Hadrian

As

SALVS AVGVSTI S-C

COS III in exergue

Salus standing left holding patera, feeding serpent arising from altar.

Rome, AD 125-128

RIC II, 678

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 8

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 8.

38. Hadrian

As

SALVS AVGVSTI S-C

COS III in exergue

Salus standing left holding patera, feeding serpent arising from altar.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 678.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 38.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 38.

39. Hadrian

As

SALVS AVGVSTI S-C

COS III in exergue

Salus standing left holding patera, feeding serpent arising from altar.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 678.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 196

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 196.

40. Hadrian

As

COS III S-C

Salus standing right holding patera, feeding serpent in arms.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 679.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 125.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 52, no. 125.2; pl. 73.



41. Antoninus Pius

As

SALVS AVG S-C

Salus standing left, feeding serpent coiled around altar.

Rome, AD 140-144.

RIC III, 688b.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 4.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 4.



42. Antoninus Pius

As

SALVS AVG COS IIII S-C

Salus standing feeding snake arising from altar.

Rome, AD 151-152.

RIC III, 900.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 112.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 49, no. 112.15; pl. 69.

**REVERSES WITH POSSIBLE ESCHATOLOGICAL MESSAGE****Felicitas = seen as *perpetua*?****43. Hadrian**

As

FELICITAS AVG S-C

Hadrian standing right, clasping hands with Felicitas holding caduceus.

Rome, AD 134-138.

RIC III, 805.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 54.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 54.

**44. Antoninus Pius**

As

FELICITAS AVG S-C

Felicitas standing left with caduceus and branch.

Rome, AD 140-144.

RIC III, 679.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 28.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 24; KATALOG 1999, 138, no. 146.3; Taf. 8, 26.

**Pax = seen as *aeterna*?****45. Hadrian**

As

P M TR P COS III S-C

Pax standing left, holding branch and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 119-122.

RIC II, 616a.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 31.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 22, no. 31.6; pl. 26.

**46. Hadrian**

As

P M TR P COS III S-C

Pax standing left, holding branch and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 119-122.

RIC II, 616a.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 65.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 65.

**47. Hadrian**

As

P M TR P COS III S-C

Pax standing left, holding branch and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 119-122.

RIC II, 616a.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 76.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 76.

Securitas = seen as *perpetua*?**48. Antoninus Pius**

As

SECVRITAS PVBLICA S-C

Securitas standing left, holding long sceptre and leaning on column.

Rome, AD 145-161.

RIC II, 828.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 23.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 28; KATALOG 1999, 136, no. 23.3; Taf. 24.

**The altar = the libations during the funerary ritual****49. Tiberius: Divus Augustus**

As

S-C either side of

Large altar with closed doors, PROVIDENT exergue.

Rome, AD 22-30.

RIC I², 80.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 95.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 43, no. 95.2; pl. 61.

**50. Vespasian**

Denarius

IOVIS CVSTOS

Jupiter standing facing, sacrificing from patera over flaming altar and holding scepter.

Rome, AD 76.

RIC II.1, 849.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 146.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 61, no. 7; KATALOG 1999, 158, no. 146.3; Taf. 64.

**51. Domitian**

As

COS XIII LVD SAEC FEC

S C in exergue

Domitian standing left sacrificing from patera over altar, with hexastyle temple in background, two attendants playing harp and pan pipes to left.

Rome, AD 88.

RIC II.1, 623.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 10.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 12, no. 10.10; pl. 8.

**52. Hadrian**

As

Woman standing left at altar.

Rome, AD 117-138.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard III, grave 25.

Reference: TOPÁL 2003, 48, no. 25.1; pl. 56.

53. Antoninus Pius

As

COS IIII S-C

VOTA in exergue

Antoninus standing left, veiled, sacrificing from patera over tripod altar left.

Rome, AD 147-148.

RIC III, 852a.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 77.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 29; KATALOG 1999, 151, no. 77.2; Taf. 42.



54. Antoninus Pius

As

TR POT XXIIII COS IIII S-C

Genius standing left sacrificing over altar from patera and holding sceptre.

Rome, AD 160-161.

RIC III, 1052.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 98.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 31; KATALOG 1999, 158, no. 98.8; Taf. 51.

**The galley = the boat of the ferryman/ the travel in the afterlife****55. Hadrian**

As

COS III

S C in exergue

Galley with rowers and pilot right.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 673.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 22.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 18, no. 22.9; pl. 19.

**56. Hadrian**

As

COS III

S C in exergue

Galley with rowers and pilot right.

Rome, AD 125-128.

RIC II, 673.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 4/84.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 21; KATALOG 1999, 189, no. 4/84.1; Taf. 85.

She-wolf with twins = symbol for eternity and rebirth, fertility and life.**57. Antoninus Pius**

As

IMPERATOR II S-C

She-wolf suckling twins, **boat** in exergue.

Rome, AD 143-144.

RIC III, 734.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 22.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 25; KATALOG 1999, 136, no. 22.1; Taf. 24.

**The veiled emperor ploughing****58. Commodus**

As

COLL L AN COM P M TR P XV IMP VIII S-C

COS VI in exergue

Commodus, veiled, ploughing right with two oxen.

Rome, AD 190.

RIC III, 570.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 133.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 133.

**The provinces' types = model for the mourning attitude****59. Trajan**

Sestertius

SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI

S C in exergue

Dacia, in attitude of mourning, seated left on pile of arms;

trophy before.



Rome, AD 103-111.

RIC II, 564.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 113.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 50, no. 113.5; pl. 70.

60. Trajan

Sestertius

SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI

S C in exergue

Dacia, in attitude of mourning, seated left on pile of arms; trophy before.

Rome, AD 103-111.

RIC II, 561.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 35.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 15; KATALOG 1999, 140, no. 35.5; Taf. 28.



61. Antoninus Pius

As

BRITANNIA COS IIII

S C in exergue

Britannia wearing cloak and breeches, seated left on rock, head

proped on right hand, left hand resting on rock: in front round shield with central spike; behind transverse vexillum.

Rome, AD 154-155.

RIC III, 934.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 154.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 154.



Hypothetic? (position at the funerary banquet)

62. Hadrian

As

AEGYPTOS

S C in exergue

Aegyptos reclining left, holding sistrum, left arm resting on basket of fruit; ibis to left on low column.

Rome, AD 154-155.

RIC II, 839.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 77.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 77.



Reverses presumably selected for private *sparsiones* (generosity during funerary ritual)

Abundantia

63. Trajan Decius

Antoninianus

ABVNDANTIA AVG

Abundance standing right, spilling forth contents of a cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 249.

RIC IV.3, 10b.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 26.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 65, no. 59; KATALOG 1999, 171, no. 146.4; Taf. 64.



Annona

64. Hadrian

As

ANNONA AVG S-C

Modius with poppies and corn-ears.

Rome, AD 134-138.

RIC II, 798.



Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 148.
Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 148.

65. Antoninus Pius

Sestertius

TR POT XV COS IIII S-C

ANNONA AVG in exergue

Annona seated left, holding corn-ears in right hand over modius
and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 151-152.

RIC III, 891.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 198.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 198.



Liberalitas

66. Hadrian

As

LIBERALITAS AVG P P COS III S-C

Liberalitas standing right, emptying cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 132-134

RIC II, 729

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 85.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 85.



67. Antoninus Pius

As

LIBERALITAS IIII

SC in exergue

Emperor enthroned left, on platform; in front of him stands

Liberalitas and before the platform is a citizen holding out fold of toga into which

Liberalitas is going to drop coins.

Rome, AD 145-161

RIC III, 819

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 181.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 67, no. 181.13: pl. 88.



68. Marcus Aurelius

As

LIBERAL AVG TR P XIX IMP II COS III S-C

Liberalitas standing left holding abacus and cornucopiae.

Rome, AD 164-165

RIC III, 894

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 39.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 39.



Munificentia

69. Antoninus Pius

As

MVNIFICENTIA AVG

COS IIII S C in exergue

Elephant standing right.

Rome, AD 148-149.

RIC III, 862a.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 27.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 30; KATALOG 1999, 138, no. 27.3; Taf. 26.



70. Antoninus Pius

As

MVNIFICENTIA AVG

COS IIII S C in exergue
 Elephant standing right.
 Rome, AD 148-149.
 RIC III, 862a.
 Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 211.
 Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 211.

COINS PLACED IN GRAVES AS LOW VALUE COINS WITHOUT KNOWN ESCHATOLOGICAL MESSAGE

CIVILIAN TYPES

Concordia

71. Severus Alexander: Orbiana

Denarius
 CONCORDIA AVGG
 Concordia seated left on throne, holding patera and double cornucopiae.
 Rome, AD 226.
 RIC IV.2, 319.
 Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 174B.
 Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 64, no. 56; KATALOG 1999, 182, no. 174B.7; Taf. 77.



Constantia

72. Claudius I

As
 CONSTANTIAE AVGSTI S-C
 Constantia, helmeted and in military dress, standing left, right hand raised, left holding spear.
 Rome, AD 41-50.
 RIC I², 95.
 Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 27.
 Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 27.



Circus Maximus

73. Caracalla

Sestertius
 P M TR P XVI IMP II
 COS IIIII P P S C in exergue
 Circus Maximus, showing obelisk, *spina*, chariots.
 Rome, AD 213.
 RIC IV.1, 500.
 Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 11.
 Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 12, no. 11.7; pl. 9.



Emperor/Rider on horse.

74. Trajan

As
 SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI
 S C in exergue
 Trajan on horse prancing right brandishing javelin at a Dacian.
 Rome, AD 103-111
 RIC II, 540
 Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 212.
 Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 212.



75. Hadrian

As
 COS III P P
 SC in exergue
 Hadrian on horseback prancing right, holding spear.



Rome, AD 132-134

RIC II, 717

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 163.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 62, no. 163.5.

76. Probus

Antoninianus

VIRTVS PROBI AVG

Probus on horseback left riding down enemy.

Siscia, AD 276-282

RIC V.2, 815

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 112.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 112.



Laetitia

77. Marcus Aurelius: Faustina II

Sestertius

LAETITIA S-C

Laetitia standing left holding wreath and scepter.

Rome, AD 161-175.

RIC III, 1654.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 42.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 64, no. 46; KATALOG 1999, 138, no. 42.9; Taf. 32.



78. Gordian III

As

LAETITIA AVG N S-C

Laetitia standing left, holding wreath and anchor.

Rome, AD 240.

RIC IV.3, 300B.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 133.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 65, no. 57; KATALOG 1999, 167, no. 133.2; Taf. 59.



Moneyer

79. Augustus

As

C CASSIVS CELER IIIVIR AAAFF around large S C.

Rome, 16 BC.

RIC I², 376.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VII, grave 9.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 73, no. 9.2; pl. 94.



Venus

80. Antoninus Pius: Faustina II

As

AVGVSTI PII FIL

Venus standing left holding Victory and leaning on shield set on a helmet.

Rome, AD 145-161.

RIC III, 1389a.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 73.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 35; KATALOG 1999, 150, no. 73.7; Taf. 42.



MILITARY TYPES

Concordia

81. Nerva

As

CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM S-C

Clasped hands.

Rome, AD 97

RIC II, 79



Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 53.
Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 53.

82. Probus

Antoninianus
CONCORDIA MILIT
Emperor standing right clasping hands with Concordia.
Siscia, AD 276-282
RIC V.2, 663
Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 152.
Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 152.



Emperor

83. Hadrian

As
S-C
Hadrian, in military dress, standing right, holding spear and parazonium, left foot on crocodile.
Rome, AD 134-138
RIC II, 830
Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 26.
Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 26.



Mars/Romulus advancing, carrying spear, trophy or Victory

84. Antoninus Pius

As
TR POT COS III S-C
Romulus in military dress advancing right holding transverse spear and trophy.
Rome, AD 140-144
RIC III, 698
Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard V, grave 50.
Reference: TOPÁL 2003, 24, no. 50.4; pl. 24.



85. Marcus Aurelius

As
TR P XVIII IMP II COS III S-C
Mars advancing right, holding Victory in right hand and trophy.
Rome, AD 163-164
RIC III, 856
Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 200.
Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 200.



Minerva with spear and shield

86. Claudius I

As
S-C across field
Minerva standing right, brandishing spear and holding shield on left arm.
Rome, AD 41-50
RIC I², 100
Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 131.
Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 55, no. 131.9; pl. 76-77.



87. Antoninus Pius

As
S-C
Minerva standing right, brandishing spear and holding shield on left arm.



Rome, AD 145-161

RIC III, 826

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 50.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 27; KATALOG 1999, 144, no. 50.5; Taf. 34.

88. Antoninus Pius: Marcus Aurelius

As

TR POT VI COS II S-C

Minerva standing left holding Victory and spear, shield on ground to right.

Rome, AD 151-152

RIC III, 1305b

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 11A/84.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 34; KATALOG 1999, 144, no. 11A/84; Taf. 86.



Victory

89. Domitian

As

S-C

Victory advancing left, bearing shield marked S PQ R.

Rome, AD 85

RIC II.1, 388

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 170.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 61, no. 8; KATALOG 1999, 178, no. 170.6; Taf. 71.



90. Antoninus Pius

Denarius

AVG PIVS P M TR P COS

Victory advancing right holding wreath and palm.

Rome, AD 139

RIC III, 36

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 19.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 19.



91. Lucius Verus

As

TR P VI IMP III COS II S-C

Victory standing left, crowning trophy of captured Parthian arms.

Rome, AD 165-166

RIC III, 1448

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 21.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 40; KATALOG 1999, 136, no. 21.3; Taf. 24.



Trophy

92. Trajan

As

SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS

S C in exergue

Two trophies.

Rome, AD 114-117

RIC II, 681/682

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 80a.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 16; KATALOG 1999, 153, no. 80a.4; Taf. 45.



PROVINCIAL ISSUES

93. Septimius Severus

AE provincial

MVNICI STOBIENSIV

Victory advancing left.

Stobi, Macedonia.



cf. JOSIFOVSKI, 29.

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 187.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 187.

94. Macrinus: Diadumenian

AE provincial

CYNNΑΔΕΩΝ

Amaltheia standing right holding infant Zeus in left hand and sceptre in right hand; goat before.

Synnada, Phrygia.

BMC Phrygia, 53.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard III, grave 3.

Reference: TOPÁL 2003, 37, no. 3.5; pl. 38, 148.



95. Gordian III

AE provincial

ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ

Zeus seated left, holding patera and scepter, eagle at foot left.

Thrace, Hadrianopolis.

GROSE, 4520; MOUSHMOV, 2714.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 146.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 61, no. 2; KATALOG 1999, 171, no. 146.5; Taf. 64.



96. Koinon Macedonia

AE provincial

KOINON ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΠ

Rider galloping right.

Macedonia, 3rd century AD

GROOSE, II, 3731; SNG Cop, 1355

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 127.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 54, no. 127.23; pl. 75.

P M S COL VIM



97. Gordian III

Dupondius

P M S COL VIM

AN I in exergue

Province Moesia standing between bull and lion.

Viminacium, AD 239-240.

Martin, 1.02.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard III, grave 34.

Reference: TOPÁL 2003, 53, no. 34.5; pl. 64, 168.



98. Gordian III

As

P M S COL VIM

Province Moesia standing.

Viminacium, AD 239-244.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 14.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 14, no. 14.27; pl. 12.



99. Gordian III

Dupondius

P M S COL VIM

AN IIII in exergue

Province Moesia standing between bull and lion.

Viminacium, AD 242-243.

Martin, 1.37

Matrica, southern graveyard, grave 49.

Reference: TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 49.

100. Philip I

Sestertius

P M S COL VIM

AN VII in exergue

Province Moesia standing between bull and lion.

Viminacium, AD 245-246.

Martin, 2.14.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard VI, grave 112.

Reference: TOPÁL 1993, 49, no. 112.16; pl. 69.

**101. Trajan Decius**

Sestertius

P M S COL VIM

AN XI in exergue

Province Moesia standing between bull and lion.

Viminacium, AD 249-250.

Martin, 3.01.

Carnuntum, 'Zivilstadt', southern graveyard, grave 146.

Reference: SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 65, no. 60; KATALOG 1999, 171, no. 146.2; Taf. 64.

**102. Trajan Decius: Herennia Etruscilla**

Sestertius

P M S COL VIM

AN XII in exergue

Province Moesia standing between bull and lion.

Viminacium, AD 250.

Martin, 3.37.

Aquincum, western cemetery, graveyard III, grave 5.

Reference: TOPÁL 2003, 38, no. 5.7; pl. 9, 149.



TABLES: The distribution of coins in the graves from *Carnuntum, Aquincum, Matrica*

CARNVNTVM

GRAVEYARD SOUTH OF 'ZIVILSTADT'				Religious		Military	Emperor	Others	Unknown	Bibliography
	Issuer	Denom.	Reference	Dating						
grave 9	Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I	As	RIC III, 1192a	post AD 141	PIETAS AVG S-C Pietas standing left, holding incense box and dropping incense on tall thin altar.					SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no 33; KATALOG 1999, 132, no. 9.2; Taf. 19
grave 14	Hadrian	Dp	RIC II, 601b	119-122	PIETAS AVG VSTI ...S-C Pietas standing right, dropping incense into lighted altar.					SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 17; KATALOG 1999, 132, no. 14.13; Taf. 22.
grave 15	Antoninus Pius: Faustina II	As	RIC III, 1398	145-161	IVNO S-C Juno, veiled, standing left, holding patera and sceptre.					SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no 36; KATALOG 1999, 135, no. 15.4; Taf. 23.
grave 21	Lucius Verus	As	RIC III, 1448	165-166	TRP VI IMP III COS II S-C Victory standing left, crowning trophy of captured Parthian arms.					SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no 40; KATALOG 1999, 136, no. 21.3; Taf. 24.
grave 22	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 734	143-144				IMPERATOR II S-C Wolf suckling twins, boat in exergue.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no 25; KATALOG 1999, 136, no. 22.1; Taf. 24.

grave 23	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 828	145-161	SECVRITAS PVBLICA S-C Securitas standing left, holding long sceptre and leaning on column.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 28; KATALOG 1999, 136, no. 23.3; Taf. 24.
grave 25	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 669c	125-128	COS III S-C Salus standing, head right, feeding snake held in arms from patera.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 20; KATALOG 1999, 137, no. 25.4; Taf. 25.
	Nerva	As	RIC II, 51/77	96/97	AEQVITAS AVGVST S-C aequitas standing left with scales and cornucopiae.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 61, no. 12; KATALOG 1999, 137, no. 26.5; Taf. 25.
grave 26	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 678	125-128	SALVS AVGVSTI S-C COS III exergue Salus standing left holding patera, feeding serpent arising from altar.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 22; KATALOG 1999, 137, no. 26.4; Taf. 25.
grave 27	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 862a	148-149		MVNIFICENT IA AVG COS III S C in exergue Elephant standing right.	SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 30; KATALOG 1999, 138, no. 27.3; Taf. 26.
grave 28	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 679	140-144	FELICITAS AVG S-C Felicitas standing left with caduceus and branch.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 24; KATALOG 1999, 138, no. 146.3; Taf. 8, 26.

				SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no 35; KATALOG 1999, 140, no. 35.5; Taf. 28.
Trajan grave 35	As	RIC II, 561	103-111	S C in exergue Dacia, in attitude of mourning, seated left on pile of arms; trophy before.		
Hadrian	As	RIC II, 669c	125-128	COS III S-C Salus standing, head right, feeding snake held in arms from patera.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no 18; KATALOG 1999, 140, no. 35.6; Taf. 28.
M. Aurelius: Faustina II grave 42	S	RIC III, 1654	161-175	LAETITIA S-C Laetitia standing left holding wreath and scepter.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 64, no 46; KATALOG 1999, 138, no. 42.9; Taf. 32.
Antoninus Pius grave 50	As	RIC III, 826	145-161	S-C Minerva standing right, brandishing spear and holding shield on left arm.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no 27; KATALOG 1999, 144, no. 50.5; Taf. 34.
Caligula: Caius and Germanicus grave 72	As		37-41			-
Antoninus Pius/Faustin a II grave 73	As	RIC III, 1389a	145-161	AVGVSTI PII FIL Venus standing left holding Victory and leaning on shield set on a helmet.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 35; KATALOG 1999, 150, no. 73.7; Taf. 42.

grave 77	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 852a	147-148		COS III S-C VOTA in exergue Antoninus standing left, veiled, sacrificing from patera over tripod altar left.	SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 29; CATALOG 1999, 151, no. 77.2; Taf. 42.
	Augustus	As	-	27 BC-AD 14			-
grave 80a	Trajan	As	RIC II, 681/682	114-117		SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS S C in exergue Two trophies.	SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 16; CATALOG 1999, 153, no. 80a.4; Taf. 45.
grave 98	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 1052	160-161	TR POT XXXIII COS III S-C Genius standing left sacrificing over altar from patera and holding sceptre.	IVNO REGINA S-C Juno standing left holding patera and scepter, peacock at feet.	SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 31; CATALOG 1999, 158, no. 98.8; Taf. 51.
grave 110	Lucius Verus: Lucilla	As	RIC III, 1752				SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 43; CATALOG 1999, 161, no. 110.1; Taf. 54.
grave 131	Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I	As	for rv: RIC III, 817		AETERNITAS S-C Felicitas standing left, holding capricorn and long winged caduceus.	LAEITIA AVG N S-C Laetitia standing left,	SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 38 CATALOG 1999, 167, no. 131.6; Taf. 59.
grave 133	Gordian III	As	RIC IV,3, 300B	240			SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 65, no. 57; CATALOG 1999,

				holding wreath and anchor.				167, no. 133.2; Taf. 59.
Vespasian	D	RIC II.1, 849	76	IOVIS CVSTOS Jupiter standing facing, sacrificing from patera over flaming altar and holding scepter.			SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 61, no. 7; KATALOG 1999, 158, no. 146.3; Taf. 64.	
Gordian III	AE prov.	GROSE, 4520 MOUSHMO V, 2714, Thrace, Hadrianopolis	238-244	AΠΙΑΝΟΝΙΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Zeus seated left, holding patera and sceptre, eagle at foot left.			SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 61, no. 2; KATALOG 1999, 171, no. 146.5; Taf. 64.	
grave 146	Trajan Decius	An	RIC IV.3, 10b	249	ABVNΔANTIA AVG Abundance standing right, spilling forth contents of a cornucopiae.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 65, no. 59; KATALOG 1999, 171, no. 146.4; Taf. 64.	
Trajan Decius	S	MARTIN, 3.01	249-250			P M S COL VIM AN XI in exergue Moesia standing between bull and lion.	SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 65, no. 60; KATALOG 1999, 171, no. 146.2; Taf. 64.	
grave 152	Lucius Verus Lucilla	As	RIC III, 1752	161-167	IVNO REGINA S-C Juno standing left holding patera and scepter, peacock at feet.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 42; KATALOG 1999, 172, no. 152.2; Taf. 65.	
grave 153	Lucius Verus Lucilla	As	RIC III, 1752	161-167	IVNO REGINA S-C Juno standing left holding patera and scepter, peacock at feet.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 44; KATALOG 1999, 173, no. 153.6; Taf. 65.	

grave 170	Domitian	As	RIC II.1, 388	85	S-C Victory advancing left, bearing shield marked S P Q R.	SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 61, no. 8; KATALOG 1999, 178, no. 170.6; Taf. 71.
grave 171	Domitian	As	-	81-96	Female figure standing left.	
grave 174B	Severus Alexander: Orbiana	D	RIC IV.2, 319	226	CONCORDIA AVGG, Concordia seated left on throne, holding patera and double cornucopiae.	SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 64, no. 56; KATALOG 1999, 182, no. 174B.7; Taf. 77.
grave 189	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 669c	125-128	COS III S-C Salus standing, head right, feeding snake held in arms from patera.	SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 19; KATALOG 1999, 187, no. 189.4; Taf. 82.

GRAVES' STREET				Religious	Military	Emperor	Others	Unknown	Bibliography
Issuer	Denom.	Reference	Dating						
grave 4/84	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 673c	125-128			COS III S C in exergue Galley with rowers and pilot right.		SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 62, no. 21; KATALOG 1999, 189, no. 4/84.1; Taf. 85.
grave 11A/84	Antoninus Pius: M. Aurelius	As	RIC III, 1305b	151-152	TR POT VI COS II S-C Minerva standing left holding Victory and spear, shield on ground to right.				SCHMIDT-DICK 1999, 63, no. 34 KATALOG 1999, 144, no. 11A/84; Taf. 86.
grave 11C/84	-	As							

AQVINCVM, Western cemetery, Bécsi road
nr. 1

GRAVEYARD VI						Emperor	Others	Unknown	Bibliography
	Issuer	Denom.	Reference	Dating	Religious	Military			
grave 7	-	AE				COS XIII LVD SAEC FEC SC in exergue		-	
grave 10	Domitian	As	RIC II.1, 623	88		Domitian standing left sacrificing from patera over altar, with hexastyle temple in background, two attendants playing harp and pan pipes to left.			TOPÁL 1993, 12, no. 10.10; pl. 8.
grave 11	Caracalla	S	RIC IV.1, 500	213			P M TR P XVI IMP II COS III PP SC in exergue		TOPÁL 1993, 12, no. 11.7; pl. 9.
grave 13	-	As	-				Circus Maximus, showing obelisk, spina, chariots.		
grave 14	Gordian III	As	-						TOPÁL 1993, 14, no. 14.27; pl. 12.
grave 17	Hadrian	As	-	117- 138	Standing figure?				
grave 18	-	As	-						
grave 21	Vespasian	As	-		Female standing left				

grave 22	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 673	125-128		COS III S-C in exergue Galley with towers and pilot right.	TOPÁL 1993, 18, no. 22.9; pl. 19.
grave 23	Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I	As	RIC III, 1163a	post AD 141	AETERNITAS S-C Providentia standing left, holding globe and sceptre.		TOPÁL 1993, 18, no. 23.6; pl. 20.
grave 24	Antoninus Pius	As	-		Woman seated left holding patera.		
grave 28	-	AE	-			-	
grave 29	Hadrian	As	-		Standing figure		
grave 31	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 616a	119-122	PM TR P COS III S-C Pax standing left, holding branch and cornucopiae.		TOPÁL 1993, 22, no. 31.6; pl. 26.
grave 37	Domitian	As	-			-	
grave 38	-	As	-			-	
grave 62	-	As			Figure standing		
grave 67	-	As			Woman standing		
grave 74	Trajan	D	RIC II, 301	114-117	COS VI P P S PQR Felicitas standing left, holding caduceus and cornucopiae.		TOPÁL 1993, 36, no. 74.6; pl. 51.
grave 75	-	As	-		Victoria		
grave 79	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 678	125-128	SALVS AVGVS STI S-C COS III in exergue Salus standing left holding patera, feeding serpent arising from altar.		TOPÁL 1993, 38, no. 79.13; pl. 54.

grave 95	Tiberius; Divus Augustus	As	RIC I, 80	22-30	S-C either side of large altar with closed doors, PROVIDENT exergue.		TOPÁL 1993, 43, no. 95.2; pl. 61.
grave 98	Hadrianus	As	-	117- 138		-	
grave 106	-	As				-	TOPÁL 1993, 49, no. 112.15; pl. 69.
	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 900	151- 152	SALVS AVG COS III S-C Salus standing feeding snake arising from altar.		
grave 112	Philip I	S	MARTIN, 2.14	245- 246			TOPÁL 1993, 49, no. 112.16; pl. 69.
grave 113	Trajan	S	RIC II, 564	103- 111		P M S COL VIM AN VII in exergue Province Moesia standing between bull and lion.	
grave 125	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 679	125- 128		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI S C in exergue Dacia, in attitude of mourning, seated left on pile of arms; trophy before.	TOPÁL 1993, 50, no. 113.5; pl. 70.
grave 127	Severus Alexander	AE prov.	GROSE, II, 3731; SNG Cop, 1355	3rd c.		KOINON MAKEAONQN NEOKOP Ridder galloping right.	TOPÁL 1993, 54, no. 127.23; pl. 75.

grave 131	Claudius I	As	RIC I, 100	41-50	S-C across field Minerva standing right, brandishing spear and holding shield on left arm.		TOPÁL 1993, 55, no. 131; pl. 76-77.
grave 134	Hadrian	As	-			-	TOPÁL 1993, 57, no. 140; pl. 79.
grave 140	Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I	As	RIC III, 1178	post AD 141	AVGVSTA S-C Vesta standing left with palladium and torch.		TOPÁL 1993, 57, no. 140; pl. 79.
grave 163	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 717			COS III PP S C in exergue Hadrian on horseback prancing right, holding spear.	TOPÁL 1993, 62, no. 163.5.
grave 170	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 678	125- 128	SAI VS AVGVSTI S-CCOS III exergue Salus standing left holding patera, feeding serpent arising from altar.		TOPÁL 1993, 64, no. 170; pl. 85.
grave 181	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 819	145- 161		LIBERALITAS III S C in exergue Emperor enthroned left, on platform; in front of him stands Liberalitas and before the platform is a citizen holding out fold of toga into which Liberalitas is going to drop coins.	TOPÁL 1993, 67, no. 181; pl. 88.

GRAVEYARD VII

GRAVEYARD VII				
grave	Denom.	S/Dp	Reference	Dating
grave 3	-			Standing figure
grave 9	Augustus	As	RIC I, 376	16 BC

GRAVEYARD V				
grave	Denom.	Reference	Dating	Description
grave 6	Domitian	As	RIC II,1, 487	86 Fortuna standing left, holding rudder and cornucopiae.
grave 16	Germanicus	As	-	post AD 42
grave 28	Lucilla	As	-	Standing figure
grave 35	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 814	134-138 FORTVNAE REDVCI S C in exergue Hadrian standing right clasping hand with Fortuna holding rudder.
grave 47	-	AE	-	
grave 50	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 698	140-144 Romulus in military dress advancing right holding transverse spear and trophy.
grave 62	Gordian III - Valerian I	An	-	239-259 Standing figure

AQVINCVM, Western cemetery, BECSI ROAD nr. 2

AQVINCVM, Western cemetery, BECSI ROAD nr. 2				
grave	Denom.	Reference	Dating	Description
grave 6	Domitian	As	RIC II,1, 487	FORTVNAE AVGVSTI S-C Fortuna standing left, holding rudder and cornucopiae.
grave 16	Germanicus	As	-	
grave 28	Lucilla	As	-	Standing figure
grave 35	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 814	134-138 FORTVNAE REDVCI S C in exergue Hadrian standing right clasping hand with Fortuna holding rudder.
grave 47	-	AE	-	
grave 50	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 698	140-144 Romulus in military dress advancing right holding transverse spear and trophy.
grave 62	Gordian III - Valerian I	An	-	239-259 Standing figure

TOPÁL
1993, 73, no.
92; pl. 94.

TOPÁL
1993, 74, no.
132; pl. 95.

TOPÁL
1993, 24, no.
504; pl. 24.

TOPÁL
2003, 28, no.
62; pl. 30, 138

GRAVEYARD III

grave 3	Macrinus: Diadumenian	AE prov.	BMC Phrygia, 53 Phrygia, Symnada	217-218		CYNNAEΩΝ Amaltheia standing right holding infant Zeus in left hand and sceptre in right hand; goat before.
grave 4	Antoninus Pius	Dp	-		Woman seated left.	TOPÁL 2003, 38, no. 4.4, pl. 38
grave 5	Trajan Decius: Herennia Etruscilla	S	MARTIN, 3.37	250		TOPÁL 2003, 38, no. 5.7; pl. 9, 149.
grave 6	Gordian III	As			Figure standing holding globe	TOPÁL 2003, 39, no. 6.7, pl. 40, 150
grave 16	Julio- Claudian dynasty	As	-	1st half 1st c. AD		TOPÁL 2003, 44, no. 16.12, pl. 48
grave 25	Hadrian	As		117-138	Woman standing left at altar.	TOPÁL 2003, 48, no. 25.1; pl. 56.
grave 34	Gordian III	Dp	MARTIN, 1.02	238-239	PM S COL VIM AN I in exergue Province Moesia standing between bull and lion.	TOPÁL 2003, 53, no. 34.5; pl. 64, 168.

MATRICA

	Issuer	Denom.	Reference	Dating	Religious	Military	Emperor	Others	Bibliography
SOUTHERN GRAVEYARD									
grave 2	Vespasian	As	RIC II.1, 287	71	AEQVITAS AVGVSTI S-C	Aequitas standing left, holding scales and sceptre.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 2.

grave 4	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 688b	140-144	SALVS AVG S-C Salus standing left, feeding serpent coiled around altar.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 4.
grave 7	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 823	134-138	PROVIDENTIA AVG .S-C Providentia standing, head left, with wand and sceptre, globe before.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 7.
grave 8	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 678	125-128	SALVS AVGSTI S-C COS III in exergue Salus standing left feeding out of patera snake coiling up from altar and holding sceptre in left hand.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 8.
grave 14	Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I	As	RIC III, 1170	post AD 141	AVGVSTA .S-C in exergue Ceres, veiled, draped, seated left on throne, holding two- corn ea and long torch.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 14.
grave 19	Antoninus Pius	D	RIC III, 36	139	AVG PIVS PM TR PCOS II, Victory advancing right holding wreath and palm.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 19.
grave 26	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 830	134-138		S-C Hadrian, in military dress, standing right, holding spear and parazonium, left foot on crocodile.		TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 26.
grave 27	Claudius I	As	RIC I, 95	41-50			CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI S-C Constantia, helmeted and in military dress, standing left, right hand raised, left holding spear.	TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 27.

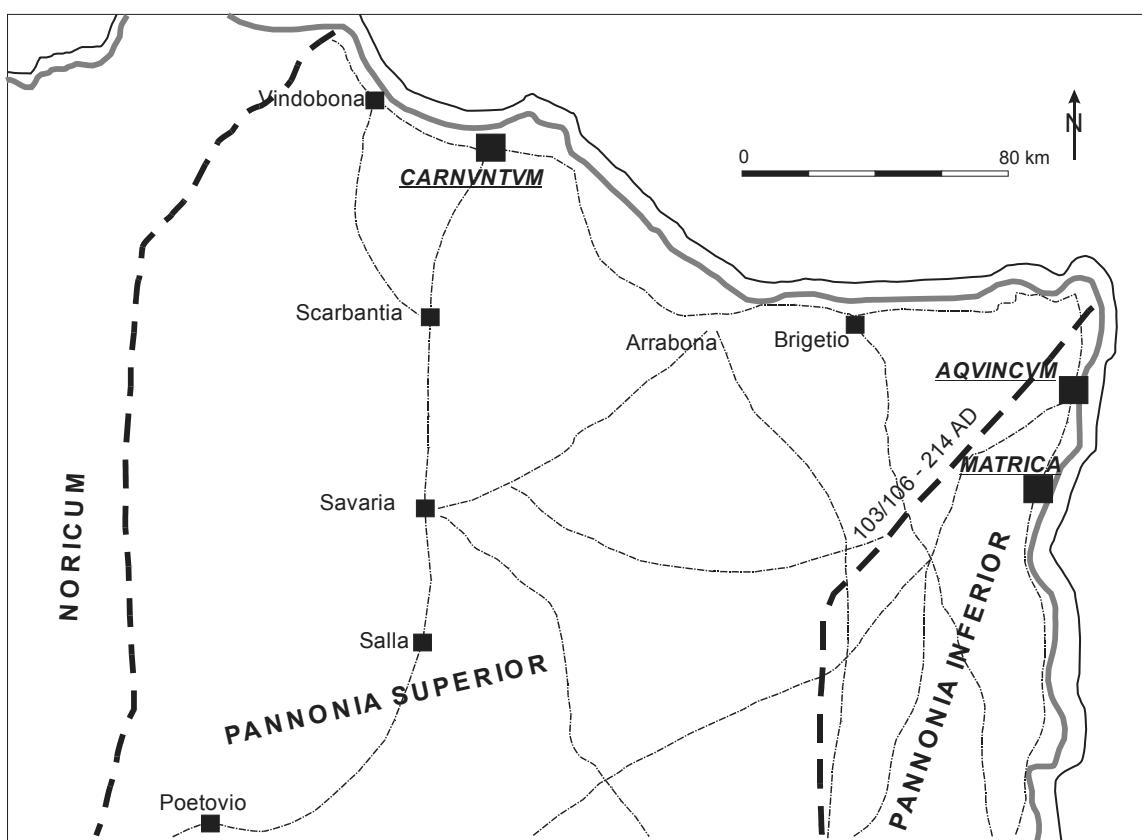
	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 972	156-157	TR POT XX COS III S-C Providentia/Fortuna standing left pointing at a globe and holding sceptre.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 27.
grave 38	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 678	125-128	SALVS AVG VSTI S-C COS III in exergue Salus standing left feeding out of patera snake coiling up from altar and holding sceptre in left hand.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 38.
grave 39	Marcus Aurelius	As	RIC III, 894	164-165	LIBERAL AVG TRP XIX IMP II COS III S-C Liberalitas standing left holding abacus and cornucopiae.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 39.
grave 40	Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina I	As	RIC III, 1199	post AD 141	S C in exergue. Crescent with seven stars.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 40.
grave 41	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 558	139	FORTVNA AVG S-C COS II in exergueFortuna standing left.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 41.
grave 49	Gordian III	Dp	MARTIN, 1,37	242-243			PM SCOL VIM AN III in exergue Moesia standing between bull and lion.	TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 49.
grave 53	Nerva	As	RIC II, 79	97		CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM S-C Clasped hands.		TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 53.
grave 54	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 805	134-138	FELICITAS AVG S-C Hadrian standing right, clasping hands with Felicitas holding caduceus			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 54.

grave 65	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 616	119-122	PM TR P COS III S-C Pax standing left holding branch and cornucopiae.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 65.
grave 68	Vespasian	As	RIC II, 1, 894	76	S-C Spes standing left, holding flower and lifting up dress.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 68.
grave 76	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 616	119-122	PM TR P COS III S-C Pax standing left holding branch and cornucopiae.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 76.
grave 77	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 839	134-138			AEGYPTOS S C in exergue Aegyptos reclining left, holding sistrum, left arm resting on basket of fruit ibis to left on low column.	AEGYPTOS S C in exergue Aegyptos reclining left, holding sistrum, left arm resting on basket of fruit ibis to left on low column.
grave 81	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 669	125-128	COS III S-C Salus standing right feeding out of patera snake held in right hand.			TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 81.
grave 85	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 729	132-134	LIBERALITAS AVG P PCOS III S-C Liberalitas standing right, emptying cornucopiae.			TOPÁL 1981, 95, no. 85.
grave 101	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 669	125-128	COS III S-C Salus standing right feeding out of patera snake held in right hand.			TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 101.
grave 109	Trajan	As	RIC II, 392	98-99	TR POT COS II S-C Pietas, veiled, standing left, right hand raised above lighted altar left, left hand on breast.			TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 109.
grave 112	Probus	An	RIC V, 2, 815 Siscia	276-282			VIRTVS PROBI AVG Probus on horseback left riding down enemy.	TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 112.

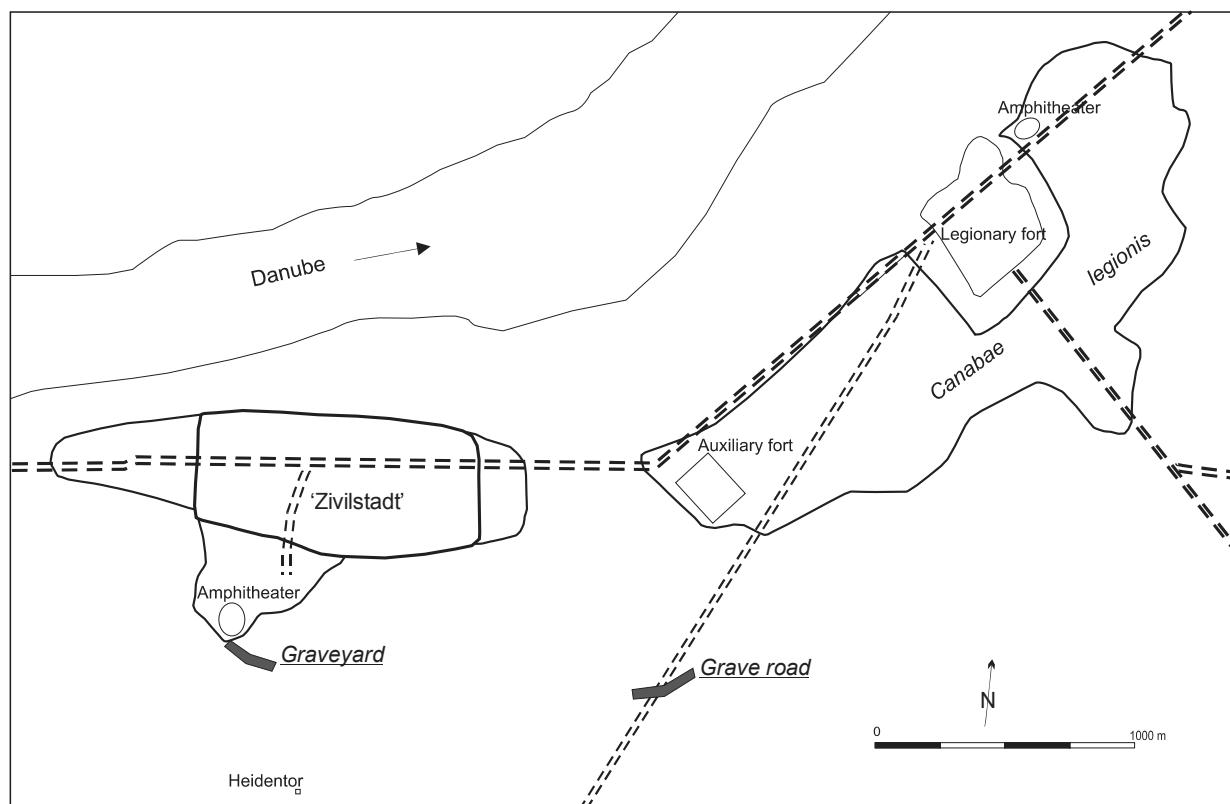
grave 133	Commodus	As	RIC III, 570	190		COLL AN COM PM TR P XV IMP VIII SC COS VI in exergue Commodus, veiled, ploughing right with a yoke of two oxen.	TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 133.
grave 141	Marcus Aurelius: Faustina II	As	RIC III, 1632- 33	161-175	DIANA LVCFERA S-C Diana standing right holding lighted torch.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 141.
grave 148	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 798	134-138	ANNONA AVG S-C Modius with poppies and corn-ears.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 148.
grave 152	Probus	An	RIC V 2, 663 Siscia	276-282	CONCORDIA MILIT Emperor standing right clasping hands with Concordia.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 152.
grave 154	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 934	154-155		BRITANNIA COS III S C in exergue Britannia wearing cloak and breeches, seated left on rock, head propped on right hand, left hand resting on rock: in front round shield with central spike; behind transverse vexillum.	TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 154.
grave 175	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 669c	125-128	COS III S-C Salus standing right feeding out of patera snake held in right hand.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 175.
grave 182	Hadrian. Sabina	As	RIC II, 1038	128-137	IVNONI REGINAE S-C Juno, veiled, standing left, holding patera and sceptre.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 182.

grave 187	Septimius Severus	AE prov. Stobi	cf JOSIFOVSKI, 29	193-211	MVNICI STOBIENSIV Victory advancing left.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 187.
grave 196	Hadrian	As	RIC II, 678	125-128	SALVS AVGSTI S-C COS III in exergue Salus standing left feeding out of patera snake coiling up from altar and holding sceptre in left hand.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 196.
	Antoninus Pius	Dp	RIC III, 858	148-149	COS IIII S-C Aequitas standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 198.
grave 198	Antoninus Pius	S	RIC III, 891	151-152	TR POT XV COS IIII S-C ANNONA AVG in exergue Annona seated left, holding corn-ears in right hand over modius and cornucopiae.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 198.
grave 200	Marcus Aurelius	As	RIC III, 856	163-164	TR P XVIII IMP II COS III S-C Mars advancing right, holding Victory in right hand and trophy.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 200.
grave 202	Domitian	As	RIC II, 1, 487	86	FORTVNAE AVGSTI S-C Fortuna standing left, holding rudder and cornucopiae.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 202.
grave 204	Nerva	As	RIC II, 83	97	FORTVNAE AVGSTI S-C Fortuna standing left holding rudder and cornucopiae.		TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 204.

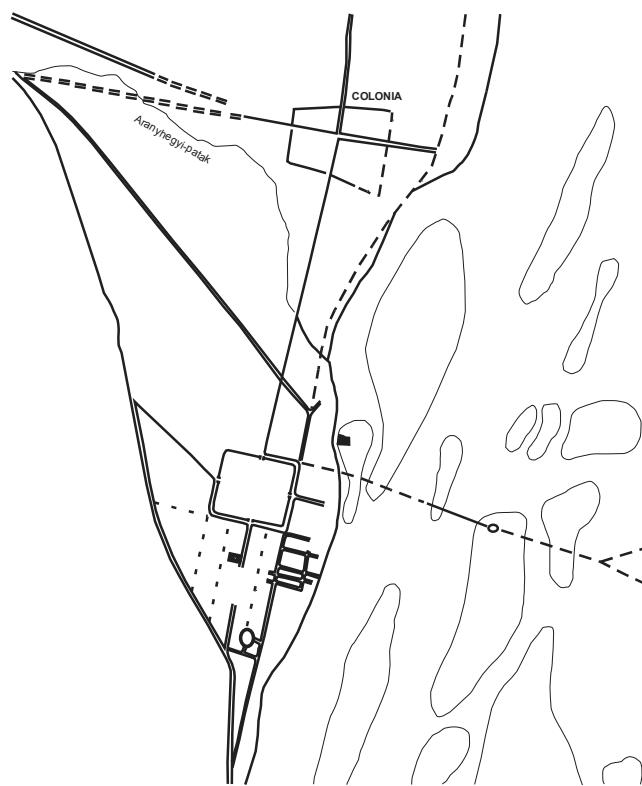
grave 211	Antoninus Pius	As	RIC III, 862a	148-149		MVNIFICENTIA AVG COS III SC in exergue Elephant standing right.	TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 211.
grave 212	Trajan	As	RIC II, 540	103-111		SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC in exergue Trajan on horse prancing right brandishing javelin at a Dacian.	TOPÁL 1981, 96, no. 212.



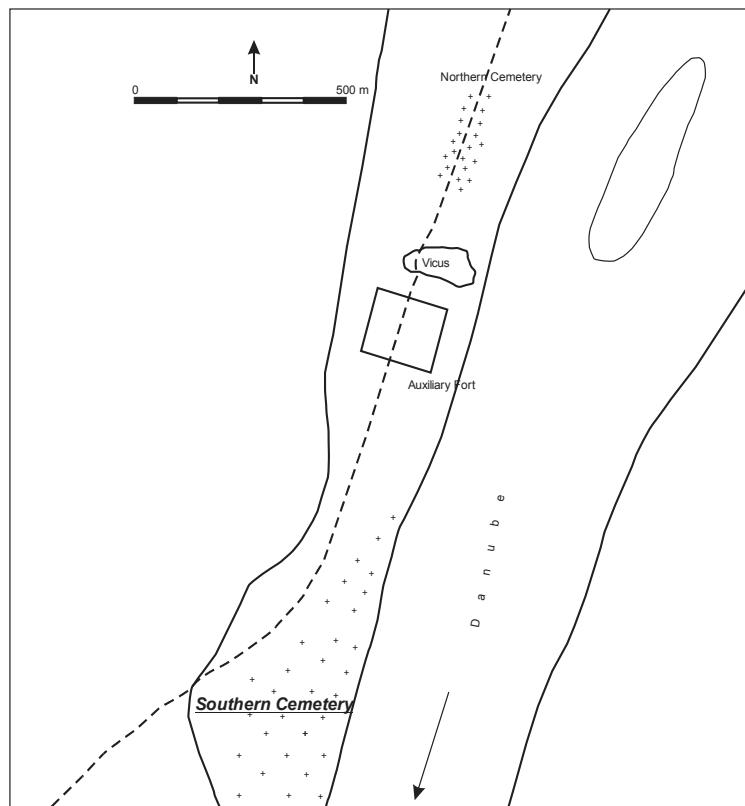
Map 1. The central-north part of Roman Pannonia until AD 214 with the studied sites underlined.



Map 2. The Roman site of Carnuntum with the two analyzed graveyards (based on Katalog 1999, folded map).



Map 3. The Roman site of Aquincum with the mentioned graveyards
(based on Topál 2003, p. 118).



Map 4. The Roman site of Matrica (based on Topál 1981, fig.1).

ABRÉVIATIONS

- ActaArchCarp – Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Cracovia
ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ArchRozhledy – Archeologické rozhledy, Praga
ACMIT – Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti
ActaMN (AMN) – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj
ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
AD – Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον. Μελέτες. Athina : Tameio Archaiologikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon.
AÉ – Année Épigraphique, Paris
AEM – Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien
AEMTh – Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη
AIA – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași
AION Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Napoli
AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj
AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston
AJPH – American Journal of Philology, Baltimore
AMNG I.1 – B. Pick, *Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands I.1. Die Antiken Münzen von Daciene und Moesien*, Berlin, 1898.
AMNG I.2 – B. Pick, K. Regling, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands I.2. Die antiken Münzen von Daciene und Moesien*, Berlin, 1910.
Analı – Analı. Spisania za istorija, clasičeska kultura i iskustvoznanja, Sofia
AncWestEast – Ancient West & East, Leiden
AnnBolland – Annalecta Bollandiana, Bruxelles
ANRW – Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung, Berlin – New York, 1972–1998
Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
ArchWarszawa – Archeologia. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa
ArchAnz – Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
ArchBulgarica – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
ArchÉrt – Archaeologai Értesítő, Budapest
ArchKorr – Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
Arkheologiya (Kyiv) – Arkheologiya. Natsional’na akademiya nauk Ukrainsi. Institut Arkheologii, Kyiv.
ArhPregled – Arheološki Pregled, Belgrad
ArheologijaSofia – Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija i Muzej, Sofia
ASGE – Arheologicheskij sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, Leningrad.
AÚSNitra – Archeologický ústav SAV, Nitra
Balcanica – Balcanica. Annuaire de l’Institut des Études Balkaniques, Bucarest
BAR Int. Ser. – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford.
BBKL – Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon, 20 vols., Herzberg, 1975–2002
BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes, Paris
BCMI – Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti
BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
BHAUT – Biblioteca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara

- BMC – H. Mattingly, *Coins of Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London, 6 vol., 1923–1962
 BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti
 BNSR – Buletinul Societăţii Numismatice Române, Bucureşti
 BNF – Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
 Broughton, *Magistrates* – T. Robert S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, I-II, New York, 1952; *Supplement*, New York, 1960
 BSNR – Buletinul Societăţii Numismatice Române, Bucureşti
 BS – *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 12 vol., Roma, 1961–1970
 BS Acad. – Buletin Ştiinţific al Academiei Republicii Populare Române. Seria Ştiinţe istorice, filologice şi economico-juridice, Bucureşti
 BullÉp (BÉ) – Bulletin Épigraphique, Paris
 ByzZ – Byzantinische Zeitschrift, München
 CAB – Cercetări Arheologice în Bucureşti, Muzeul Municipiului Bucureşti, Bucureşti
 CArch – Cahiers Archéologiques, Paris
 CCG – Cahiers du Centre Gustav-Glotz, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris
 Cercetări Arheologice – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României, Bucureşti
 CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
 CIMRM – J. M. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, 2. vol., 1956–1960.
 CIRB – V. V. Struve et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani*, Leningrad, 1965
 CJ – The Clasical Journal, Athens
 CN – Cercetări numismaticice, Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României, Bucureşti
 CIAnt – Classical Antiquity, Berkeley, California
 CRAI – Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris
 CRR (Grueber) – H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, 3 vol., London, 1910
 Dacia – Dacia. Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie, Bucureşti
 Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Bucureşti
 DACL – *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, 15 vols., Paris, 1899
 DECA – *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Christianisme Ancien*, Paris, 1990
 DHA – Dialogues d'Histoire ancienne, Université de Franche-Comté, Paris
 DNP – Der neue Pauli, Stuttgart
 DID – *Din Istoria Dobrogei*, Bucureşti, 1965–1971
 DissPann – Dissertationes Pannonicae. Ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestensis provenientes, Budapest
 DIVR – D.M. Pippidi (ed.), *Dicționar de istorie veche a României (Paleolitic – sec. X)*, Bucureşti, 1976
 DHGE – *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 29 vols, Paris, 1912–2008
 Dolgozatok – Régészeti Dolgozatok Dissertationes Archaeologicae, Budapest
 EDR – *Ephemeris Dacoromana*. Annuario della Scuola Romena di Roma
 Epigr.-Travaux – *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VIIe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza, 9-15 septembre 1977)*, recueillis et publiés par D. M. Pippidi et Em. Popescu, Bucureşti, 1977
 EphemNap (EN) – Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
 FHDR I – II – *Fontes ad historiam Dacoromaniae pertinentes*, I-II, Bucureşti, 1964–1970
 File de Istorie – File de Istorie, Muzeul Judeţean Bistriţa Năsăud, Bistriţa
 EAIVR – Enciclopedia Arheologiei şi Istoriei Vechi a României (ed. C. Preda), Bucureşti, 1994
 ED – Ephemeris Daco-Romana, Annuario della Scuola Romena di Roma, Bucureşti–Roma
 ÉPRO – Études préliminaires aux religion orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden
 FHG – C. Müller (ed.), *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, 6 vol., Paris, 1855–1878
 File de Istorie – File de Istorie, Muzeul Judeţean Bistriţa Năsăud, Bistriţa
 FÖ – Fundberichte aus Österreich, Wien.
 GGM – C. Müller (ed.), *Geographi Graeci minores*, Paris, 1882
 GRBS – Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Duke.
 IDR – *Inscripţiile Daciei romane*, 1977–2001
 IDRE – C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, Bucureşti, 1996–2000

- IGB – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 5 vol., Sofia, 1958–2001.
- IG VII – W. Dittenberger (éd.), *Inscriptiones Graecae VII : Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae*, Berlin 1892.
- IGR – *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, Paris
- IGUR – *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, Rom
- IK – *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bonn
- ILB – B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Sofia, 1989
- ILD – C. C. Ptolescu, *Inscripții Latine din Dacia*, București, 2010
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916)
- INHA – Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris
- ISM – *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor*, București, I (1983), II (1987), III (1999), V (1980)
- ISTA – Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité, Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Arheologičeskija Institut, Sofia
- IzvestijaŠumen – Izvestija na Narodniya Muzej, Šumen
- JAMÉ – A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeums von Nyíregyháza, Nyíregyháza
- JGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
- JÖAI (ÖJh) – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Wien
- JHS – Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- KSIIMK – Kraskie Soobščenija Instituta Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva – St. Petersburg
- KSIAU – Kraskie Soobščenja Instituta Arheologii Ukrayny, Kyiv
- LEC – *Les Études Classiques*, Bruxelles
- LGPN – *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford
- MAN – Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institut, London
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetari Arheologice, București
- MitrArd – *Mitropolia Ardealului*, Sibiu
- MRR – E. Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine vulgarement appelées monnaies consulaires*, 2 vols., Paris, 1885–1886.
- Mühlhäuser Beiträge – Mühlhäuser Beiträge, Mühlhausen
- NK – Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
- ODB – *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., New York–Oxford, 1991
- OPEL – *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Wien
- OrChrPer – *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Roma
- QS – Quaderni di storia, Roma
- QTNAC – Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità classiche, Lugano
- PamArch – Památky Archeologické, Praha
- Pest Megyei múzeumi füzetek, Szentendre
- Peuce – Peuce, Tulcea
- PME – H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, 5 vol., Louvain, 1976–1993.
- PIR – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I-III*, ed. II, Berlin-Leipzig.
- RB – Revista Bistriței, Bistrița Năsăud
- RA – Revue archéologique, Paris
- RE – Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893 sqq.
- REG – Revue des Études Grecques, Paris
- REL – Revue des Études Latines, Paris
- RevBistriței – Revista Bistriței, Bistrița
- RIB – Roman Inscriptions of Britain, London
- RIR – Revista istorică română, București
- RIU – Römische Inschriften Ungarns, Budapest
- RMD – M.M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, 5 vol., London, 1978–2006.
- RN – Revue Numismatique, Paris
- RPAN – Revista de preistorie și antichități naționale, București
- RRC (Crawford) – M. H. Crawford, *The Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vol., Cambridge, 1974
- Amsterdam 1979–2005, Boston 2006–

- SAI – Studii și Articole de Istorie, București
Sargetia – Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie), București
SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, București
SCŞ Cluj – Studii și cercetări științifice, Cluj
SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923–1971, Alphen aan den Rijn 1979–1980, Amsterdam 1979–2005, Boston 2006–.
SNR – Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, Lausanne
SP – Studii de Preistorie București
Specimina Nova – Specimina Nova. Dissertationes ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Ianno Pannonio nominatae, Pécs
SNGCop – *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*, Copenhagen 1944–2000.
SNR – Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, Lausanne
Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
StCl – Studii Clasice, București
StComPitești – Studii și Comunicări, Pitești
StComSibiu – Studii și Comunicări, Sibiu
StTeol – Studii Teologice, București
Studien und Forschungen – Studien und Forschungen, Offenbach am Main
TAM – Tituli Asiae Minoris, Wien
TD – Thraco-Dacica, Institutul de Tracologie, București
TGF – A. Nauck (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, editio secunda, Teubner, Leipzig, 1926
TIB – *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*; Wien, 1976; 1991, 2008
TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*
TLG – *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*
TRE – *Theologische Realencyklopädie*, Berlin-New York, 1977–2002
Tyragetaia – Tyragetaia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva
VigChr – Vigiliae Christianae, Leiden
Xenia – Xenia. Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen, Konstanz am Bodensee
Zeitschrift des Vereins für das Museum schlesischer Altertümer, Breslau
Zamosius (*Analecta*) – Stephanus Zamosius, *Analecta lapidum vetustorum et nonnularum in Dacia antiquitatum*, Patavii, 1593 (Istvan Szamosközy (Stephanus Zamosius), *Analecta lapidum vetustorum et nonnularum in Dacia antiquitatum*, Patavii, 1593. Inscriptiones Romanae in lapidibus antiquis Albae Iuliae et circa locorum 1598. Classé pour la publication par M. Balázs, I. Monok. Préface par M. Bărbulescu, A. Kovács, Szeged, 1992)
ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn
WiadArch – Wiadomości Archeologiczne, Warszawa
WN – Wiadomości Numizmatyczne, Warszawa