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## Germanicus on the Upper-Rhine. Earlier Tiberian contexts from Germania Superior

Stéphane Martin

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*Contrairement à la version publiée, les tableaux et les figures se trouvent à la suite du texte / contrary to the published version, tables and figures are to be found after the text.*

**Addendum (Décembre/December 2018)**: cette contribution rédigée en 2016, a été révisée jusqu'en mai 2017. Les tombes d'Ath/Ghislenghien mentionnées à la p. 260 ont été par la suite publiées dans la *Revue du Nord* / this paper has been written in 2016 and revised down to May 2017. The tombs from Ath/Ghislenghien cited at p. 260 have since then been published in the *Revue du Nord* : V. Danese/F. Hanut/N. Garnier, Les deux sépultures augusto-tibériennes d'Ath/Ghislenghien (province de Hainaut ; Belgique) : deux ensembles d'exception au cœur du territoire nervien. *Revue du Nord* 99/423, 2017, 77–119.

**[p. 253]** Summary: The identification of archaeological material dating to the years A. D. 10–20 is crucial, both to ascertain the date of the Kalkriese battlefield, and to gain a better understanding of the campaigns of Germanicus on the right bank of the Rhine between A. D. 14 and 16. During his time as field commander Germanicus never campaigned on the Upper Rhine. However, a number of assemblages from the region, some known for a long time, give precious insights into the material culture of the decade under study. Building on these data, this contribution, focusing on sigillata and coins, will try to show that it is possible to distinguish between finds from the first and the second decade A. D., and to outline the characteristics of a possible *Germanicus-Horizont*.

Zusammenfassung: Die zeitliche Fixierung römischer Funde und Befunde in Germanien in die Jahre 10–20 n. Chr. ist von entscheidender Bedeutung sowohl für die zeitliche Einordnung des Schlachtfelds von Kalkriese als auch und für ein besseres Verständnis der Feldzüge des Germanicus 14–16 n. Chr. Während seiner Zeit als Kommandant in Germanien führte Germanicus keine Feldzüge am Oberrhein durch. Doch eine Reihe von Funden aus dieser Region, von denen einige bereits seit langem bekannt sind, geben wertvolle Einblicke in die materielle Kultur des zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrzehnts. Vor allem anhand der Sigillata und

Münzen ist es möglich, Fundmaterial des ersten und zweiten Jahrzehnts zu unterscheiden und damit Merkmale eines möglichen Germanicus-Horizonts zu umreißen.

Keywords: Upper Rhine, *Germania superior*, Italian sigillata, coins, countermarks, Mainz/*Mogontiacum*, Windisch/*Vindonissa*, Strasbourg/*Argentorate*

Schlagworte: Oberrhein, *Germania superior*, italische Sigillata, Münzen, Gegenstempel, Mainz/*Mogontiacum*, Windisch/*Vindonissa*, Strasbourg/*Argentorate*

## 1. Introduction

The identification of a post-Haltern horizon in the archaeological record, and its links with the campaigns of Germanicus on the right bank of the Rhine, have been a hot topic in recent years. However, the research has been hampered by the context in which it has taken place: the interpretation of the finds from Kalkriese. Discussion has revolved almost entirely around this site and the only dated artefacts found, namely the coins. There is no denying that interesting results have been reached, but this exclusive focus on Kalkriese has been detrimental to the debate. First, because it has given too much weight to literary sources. Indeed, it is entirely legitimate to try and connect historical texts, in this case mainly Tacitus, with archaeological data. But most of the time it is a difficult, and sometimes dangerous, operation to merge the archaeological evidence with textual records, with literary sources often being given precedence over material facts – one need only to think about the debate on the location of Alésia. Due attention must be given to the archaeological data and before trying to interpret those in the light of the ancient texts it is worth trying to establish a relative chronology and, if possible, absolute dating, on the sole basis of archaeological material.

This brings us to a second point, also linked to the importance of Kalkriese in the discussion. Since virtually no ceramics in substantial number have been found on the site, the debate has concentrated on coins. This has led to a much better understanding of coin supply and coin circulation in the Rhine area. But classes of artefacts found on other sites, including those central for the dating of Haltern and Waldgirmes, have been neglected. Among these artefacts, Italian sigillata (or Arretine ware) is without doubt the most important. It is one of the most thoroughly researched pottery type in the Roman world (see the *Conspectus* for the standard overview of this ware); and it is also one of the most useful for dating purposes. Its chronology rests heavily, but not exclusively, on military camps from the Rhine region, which relative chronology is well established; dendro-[p. 254]chronological dates on a small number of sites provide some important points of reference (Petrisberg, Oberaden, Anreppen, Velsen 1). It goes without saying that much is to be gained from a joint discussion of coins and sigillata (see Martin 2009 for earlier remarks on the subject).

In the following pages, I will therefore start from a review of assemblages combining coins and Arretine ware that are traditionally dated to after A. D. 9,<sup>1</sup> trying to ascertain the dating on the basis of the archaeological data alone. From there, I will work towards possible links with the

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<sup>1</sup> All dates in the text are A. D.

activities of Germanicus. As the reader will see, it is indeed possible to define a horizon contemporary to the campaigns of Germanicus, although it is probably better not to define it as a *Germanicus-Horizont stricto sensu*. The focus will be on the Upper Rhine, since several instances of post-Haltern contexts have been long identified there (moreover, various contributions in this volume cover the Lower Rhine area). The question of why an archaeological horizon corresponding to the time of Germanicus' command at the Rhine is better attested in a region where he did not operate directly will also be addressed.

It must be said from the beginning that the number of vessels and coins coming from the various complexes discussed in this paper is generally small. Some numismatists and most ceramologists will probably object to the possibility of establishing fine chronological differences based on such quantities. The conclusions reached in this paper are thus in need of confirmation from more abundant archaeological finds. However, it seemed necessary to exploit the available material, however scarce it may seem. First, because richer complexes may never come to light and we have to make do with our data. Second, because a sample need not be large to be statistically representative, and *vice versa*. True, an analysis based on a substantial number of finds can reduce the margin of error, but a large ensemble ripe with residual material will prove less useful than a small but coherent complex. Finally, because it helps feeding the debate, whether the opinions expressed here hold true or not in the end.

## 2. Can we identify a post-Haltern horizon?

In the discussion on the dating of Kalkriese and the related subject of the end of Haltern and similar sites, remarkably little use has been made of Arretine ware. This is all the more regrettable since scholars working on Italian sigillata have identified a post-Haltern horizon for decades. Most of its characteristics were already defined by E. Ettliger in her book on the finds from Neuss/*Novaesium* (Ettliger 1983, 102–105). It consists of a matrix of Haltern Service II (Ha. 2/Consp. 18 and Ha. 8/Consp. 22) along with late forms (Ha. 3/Consp. 19, Ha. 11/Consp. 31, Ha. 12/Consp. 33, Ha. 14 and 15/Consp. 26), with a high proportion of stamps from Pisa. Ettliger noted that although most forms are present in Haltern, they are not as common as in later contexts and they do not bear the same stamps.

To my knowledge, Ettliger was the first to give a synthetic view of this material and to present it explicitly as »*nach-Haltern-Horizont*« However, she could do so because it had already been identified as early as the 1950's. Finds from Upper Germany, published by R. Fellmann and herself, were instrumental in this process. To illustrate this horizon, three assemblages are generally referred to: the *Depotfund* from Windisch/*Vindonissa* (Ettliger/Fellmann 1955; Ettliger 1956 – Fig. 1; Tab. 1–2)<sup>2</sup>, the Sigillata-Depot from Mainz (von Pfeffer 1961–1962 – Fig. 2; Tab. 1–2), and the camp from Friedberg (Schönberger/Simon 1976<sup>3</sup> – Fig. 3; Tab. 1–2). To these can be added the lower fill of pit (*Grube*) 4 from the 1928 excavation in the *Bäumleingasse 20* in Basel (E. Vogt in Fellmann 1955, 99–102<sup>4</sup> – Fig. 4; Tab. 1–2). As can be seen in Tab. 1–2, the four ensembles have a number of common traits. Two of them represent

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<sup>2</sup> Both are reprinted in and cited from Ettliger 1977, 79–88.

<sup>3</sup> Only the finds from the better documented 1963 excavation are discussed in the present paper.

<sup>4</sup> The upper fill is described by Vogt (in Fellmann 1955, 101) as »*zweifellos eine nicht einheitlich Nivellierschicht*« (his emphasis), and its contents are not included here.

a single deposition (Mainz-*Sigillata-Depot* and Windisch-*Depotfund*); the occupation in Friedberg was short, as evidenced by the several connections between sherds from different pits. The *Grube 4* from Basel is later and more mixed, but the Arretine vessels appear to form a relatively coherent complex (5 out of 11 vessels are complete and one only misses the stamp; the four stamps all come from the Pisan workshops of Ateius and his associate Euhodus).

[p. 255 = fig. 1] [p. 256] The post-Halter date of these complexes can be deduced from several arguments, the presence of South Gaulish sigillata being a major one. The presence of Consp. 36.2–4 in Mainz, Windisch and Basel is also a good marker, since only Consp. 36.1/Ha. 6 is attested in Haltern and only in very small numbers (von Schnurbein 1982, 58). This form is not present in Friedberg, where we find a *unicum* whose best parallel seems to be Consp. 33 (Fig. 3 no. 60); the numerous grooves and mouldings likely point to a late Augustan or Tiberian date (*Conspectus*, 150). *Vindonissa-Depotfund*, with no Service I, more late forms (including, again, a Consp. 36), as well as *in planta pedis* stamps, rare on the Rhine and completely absent from Haltern, is likely to be slightly later than Mainz and Friedberg. The presence of several stamps from Xanthus is also telling, since this potter is extremely rare in Haltern (von Schnurbein 1982; Rudnick 2006). The *Grube 4* from Basel is clearly the latest, with four Drag. 29 bowls and a Drag. 24/25 cup: Vogt, who conducted the ex-[p. 257]cavation and studied the material in Fellmann's book, thought that the pit was closed between A. D. 25 and 30. Still, it is interesting to note that he thought most of the sigillata was to be dated to 15/20 (Fellmann 1955, 103). Indeed, the Arretine ware from the lower fill of the pit does remind of the *Depotfund* from Windisch, with a lot of late forms seldom or not attested in Haltern. It may well be that these two complexes illustrate the last types of Italian sigillata exported to the Rhineland.

But it is the presence of Lugdunum coins in Friedberg and Mainz minted between 9/10 and 14 (known as Lugdunum II) in what appears to be the two earliest assemblages that give a secure post-Halter *terminus post quem*.<sup>5</sup> With minor adjustments, this dating was already current in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> The post-Halter dating proposed in the original publication of these four ensembles seems therefore entirely tenable to this day. Recent data from *Vindonissa* also support the chronology put forward by the various authors cited so far. The XIII<sup>th</sup> legion installed its camp on the site at the very beginning of the reign of Tiberius, already in 14 according to A. Hagendorn (2003, 61–170 and 464–465). In the various excavations, [p. 258 = fig. 4] [p. 259] it is often possible to differentiate between the *Vorlagerzeit* and the first camp (so-called *schräges Lager*). In 2010, S. Benguerel showed that in some areas it was even possible to differentiate between the *schräges Lager* and a provisional camp lying immediately underneath, corresponding to the arrival of the Legion (Benguerel/Engeler-Ohnemus 2010, 177–181). When present, South Gaulish ware is rare in *Vorlagerzeit* levels and is imported in great quantities only after A. D. 14/15; at the same time, it is clear that imports of Italian sigillata rapidly stall and stop, as demonstrated by the scarcity of *in planta pedis* stamps and the absence

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<sup>5</sup> Friedberg: RIC I<sup>2</sup> Aug. no. 236a or 244; Mainz: RIC I<sup>2</sup> Aug. no. 238a or 245. – Although the precise date is unclear, both coins were minted after Tiberius had received his 5<sup>th</sup> imperial salutation in the summer of 9, just before the Teutoburg battle: Kienast 1996, 78; Hurlet 1997, 151.

<sup>6</sup> See e. g. both editions of H. Cohen's catalogues, the standard reference work well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Cohen 1859, 123–124, Tiberius no. 39–46; Cohen 1880, 192–193, Tiberius no. 27–44.

of post-Augustan types known in Italy or in Noricum.<sup>7</sup> In the recent publications on Windisch, the most useful complex for our discussion is probably *Bauphase* 1 from the *Feuerwehrmagazin* excavations (Meyer-Freuler 1998, 15–24 and 170–185). It comprises a number of structures clearly covered by the *schräges Lager* and the stratigraphy is unambiguous (Meyer-Freuler 1998, 16 Abb. 7; 25 Abb. 12 and Faltblatt 1). As in Mainz and Friedberg, the sigillata appears to be entirely Italian except for a South Gaulish Drag. 17a from the occupation layers (Fig. 5; Tab. 1–2). Furthermore, from the levelling layers preceding the installation of the legionary camp in Vindonissa come three coins, including a Lugdunum II as (RIC I<sup>2</sup>, Aug. no. 245). Of the three dates once proposed for the foundation of the legionary camp, the earliest, A. D. 9/10, can thus be ruled out. Before the publication by A. Hagendorn, most scholars thought that the XIII<sup>th</sup> legion arrived in Windisch in 16/17 only, thus after Germanicus left the region. However the absence so far of Moneyers' coins and early Tiberian countermarks in the *Vorlagerzeit* makes 14 a more plausible date for the establishment of the first legionary camp (see below for a more detailed discussion on the coin supply of this period).

These five ensembles illustrate a transitional horizon, from Arretine vessels (Haltern Service II, late forms and a lot of stamps from Ateius and his slaves and associates) to South Gaulish ware. Indeed, we often find Haltern and post-Haltern Italian sigillata mixed with some early South Gaulish sigillata. This transitional nature is very apparent when we compare, for instance, the studies by X. Deru and Fr. Hanut who both defined several chronological horizons for Northern Gaul. Deru lumps together [p. 260] Haltern and post-Haltern into his horizon III, taking the arrival of South Gaulish sigillata as the turning point (Deru 1996, 167–169). Hanut, on his side, starts his horizon 4 with the end of Haltern and puts post-Haltern along with early South Gaulish material (Hanut 2000, 72–73; 2004, 187–189). The latter situation is indeed frequently encountered in the archaeological record.

However, I would agree with Deru for taking the appearance of South Gaulish ware as a cutting point. Indeed, since Ettlinger described it in 1983, new publications attest to the reality of post-Haltern contexts *without* South Gaulish sigillata. Some of the clearest evidence is from the fortlets from Zurzach, not far from *Vindonissa* (Hänggi u. a. 1994; – see here Fig. 7; Tab. 1–2). A seriation of the pits' contents has shown the existence of a distinct horizon without a single piece of South Gaulish sigillata, but only with Italian products and fine ware called »*graue Schälchen*« in the publication. The attested types are mostly from Service II with late forms as Consp. 19, Consp. 31 and late Consp. 22 or Consp. 23 with decoration. This horizon is very clearly post-Haltern and has been dated accordingly by K. Roth-Rubi (in Hänggi u. a. 1994, 102–107). Recently, I have found the same horizon in the earliest stratified finds from Strasbourg (Martin 2013; – see here Fig. 6; Tab. 1–2): on a total of 17 rims from Italian sigillata, there is only one, maybe two early forms of Gaulish ware (Consp. 7 and 14), a majority of Service II (Consp. 18 and 22) and no less than four late forms (Consp. 31 and Consp. 36.3). Just as in Friedberg and Mainz-*Sigillata-Depot*, coins confirm a post-Haltern dating, with either Lugdunum II coins or early Tiberian countermarks (Werz 2009, type 211 in Zurzach, type 113, 195–196 or 210–211 in Strasbourg).

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<sup>7</sup> See e. g. Marabini Moevs 2006 for Cosa and various works of E. Schindler-Kaudelka for the Magdalensberg.

I have presented so far only material from military sites, but unequivocal or possible post-Haltern assemblages are also known in towns and cemeteries. In the funerary sphere, two sites illustrate rather lavishly the late Arretine horizon, before the arrival of South Gaulish sigillata, although in both cases, numismatic evidence (or lack of it) impedes a firm post-Haltern dating. In the first case, a single grave has been excavated at Nospelt-Kröckelberg, in Luxembourg in 1969 (Thill 1969; Reinert 1993). It is exceptionally rich with no less than 49 vessels of Italian sigillata with 25 stamps, all from Ateius and Xanthus. The two coins are from the Lugdunum I series (RIC I<sup>2</sup> Aug. no. 230), common in Haltern. Given the number of vessels, the absence of South Gaulish ware is likely to be chronologically meaningful. Even when taking into account the funerary nature of the assemblage, Hanut's *terminus ante quem* around 25/30 seems a bit late (Hanut 2000; 2004; Danese/Hanut 2015). It is probably better to stick to Thill's original opinion: »... Grab I in die frühtiberische Regierungszeit fällt, wohl gegen Ende des zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrzehnts « (Thill 1969, 190). This is precisely the *terminus ante quem* adopted by the same Hanut for a recent find in Ghislenghien (Danese/Hanut 2015). A rescue excavation uncovered two aristocratic tombs with a large number of offerings, including several vessels in Italian sigillata, mostly Service II (Consp. 18 and 22) with late and post-Haltern forms (Consp. 19, 20, 33, maybe 31). Without any South Gaulish sigillata, the proposed dating is 5–20. A fuller publication is awaited.

[p. 261] For two urban examples, both in France, see e. g. Reims »Médiathèque/Cathédrale«, période 2, état 2A (dated 1–15/20) (Deru 2014, with online catalogue) and Besançon »Parking de la Mairie«, phase 4 (dated 1–15) and phase 5<sup>8</sup> (dated 15–20) (Guilhot/Goy 1992). In both cases, we find, along earlier pieces, Augustan coins dated 10–14 (in Besançon, a Lugdunum II semis in both phases 4 and 5, as well as a Nemausus III dupondius [RPC no. 525] in phase 5, and in Reims a Lugdunum II as [RIC I<sup>2</sup> Aug. no. 245]). It is worth noting a difference between Reims and Besançon: late Italian sigillata reached the second site, closer to the Rhine (see Guilhot/Goy 1992, 279 Abb. 184 no. 201–203; 284 no. 245). On the contrary, as evidenced by the recent study by Deru and his team, this was not the case in Reims, an important administrative town, but situated in the civilian zone: although there is a total of 91 Arretine vessels, late forms are only represented by two Consp. 33 and there are no Consp. 31 nor Consp. 36 (Deru 2014). This may confirm a previous suggestion that the supply of these late forms was primarily connected to the military (Martin 2009, 153). This also acts as a useful reminder of the need to take into account geographical and contextual differences, particularly when expanding the comparison outside the military zone.

### **3. Can we pinpoint the years corresponding to Germanicus' campaigns?**

Based on this evidence from several sites at the Upper Rhine, which can be supplemented by other from the Lower Rhine (see in particular B. Rudnick in this volume), I think we can positively say that there is a distinguishable post-Haltern horizon in the archaeological record, which can be dated between A. D. 10 and 20. The next step is then to try to pinpoint the years corresponding to Germanicus' campaigns (14–16). So far, coins have been mentioned primarily

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<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, in the publication, the ceramics from phase 5 are lumped and discussed together with those of phase 6.

because they can provide fixed *termini post quos*: although the evidence from the sigillata is clear enough to show the existence of a post-Haltern horizon, only coins (or dendrochronology when available) allow calendar dating. But numismatic evidence is also key in any attempt to subdivide this post-Haltern horizon, a task that cannot be done, in the present state of data, with the sole help of Italian sigillata.

[p. 262] In recent years, D. Wigg-Wolf has definitively shown that the massive arrival of Moneyers' coins minted in Rome, particularly the 4<sup>th</sup> series (RIC I<sup>2</sup> Aug. no. 426–442), can be dated after A. D. 14 (Wigg-Wolf 2007). We have traces of this Moneyers' horizon in the hoards, for instance with the *Münzgrube* from Xanten (Hanel 1995, 299; Kat. A 65–72, A 94–110, A 390 and A 392) or with a purse from a grave in *Petinesca*, on the way from *Vindonissa* to Avenches (Bacher 2006, *Grab* 125, p. 75 and 154–155). The grave is dated between 15 and 25 – the *terminus post quem* is based on the presence of a coin from Tiberius, RIC I<sup>2</sup> Tib. no. 72, which dating has recently been confirmed by Barrandon u. a. 2010; the *terminus ante quem* is estimated on the basis of the other finds. Moneyers' coins are often countermarked: the subject has been amply treated by U. Werz (most notably in Werz 2009; see also his contribution in this volume). His work has confirmed what had already been shown by C. M. Kraay (1955; 1956), namely that there is a distinct early Tiberian horizon in [p. 263] countermarks, with one type for the Lower Rhine (Werz 2009, type 61; – see Fig. 8) and four types for the Upper Rhine (Werz 2009, types 113, 193.13–21, 195–195, 210–211; – see Fig. 8).

However, the problem of the years between 9 and 14 remains to be solved. This is the question of a potential Lugdunum II horizon, for which doubts have been expressed (see e. g. Wolters 2007, 153–155). Again, Wigg-Wolf has raised excellent arguments in favour of its existence, including a hoard from Mainz comprising 9 Lugdunum I, 5 Lugdunum II and no early Tiberian countermarks (Wigg-Wolf 2007, 129–132). In addition, in the course of my dissertation project, I have found, much to my surprise, that Lugdunum II coins are already attested in several archaeological contexts with a *terminus ante quem* as early as A. D. 15/20, in Upper Germany (Windisch, Zurzach) but also in the civilian part of Gaul.<sup>9</sup> However, one of Reinhard Wolters' [p. 264-265 = Table 2] [p. 266] arguments is that Lugdunum II circulated mainly in Upper Germany, so that its absence in Lower Germany must be interpreted in terms of distribution areas rather than chronological differences. But the seeming discrepancy is easily accounted for and does have a chronological significance. In the years corresponding to the Haltern horizon, there was almost no campaigning in Upper Germany<sup>10</sup>, hence there was no need to supply the area with Lugdunum I coins. Besides, stratified finds from mid- and late-Augustan periods in Windisch, as well as the few coins from Marktbreit, clearly show that Lugdunum I were indeed the coins supplied to the military posts in the region, just as in Lower Germany (Windisch: Flück 2008, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> *Holzbauphasen*; Meyer-Freuler 1998, *Bauphase* 1; Marktbreit: Pietsch u. a. 1991). Since the number of Lugdunum I was therefore much lower on the Upper Rhine, it is no surprise that the Lugdunum II issues stand out so much more. For there are fewer

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<sup>9</sup> See Martin 2015, 230–235 for further details and a tentative explanation.

<sup>10</sup> The planned war against Marbod in A. D. 6 was short lived and doesn't seem to have left much traces in the material ( see e. g. the dearth of finds in Marktbreit: Pietsch u. a. 1991). Furthermore, it is probable that C. Sentius Saturninus was based in Mainz, as he had to cross the territory of the Chatti (Vell. 2, 109.5); therefore much of Upper Germany wouldn't have been involved in the operations.

Lugdunum II in Lower Germany, but they are by no means rare: for instance, Chantraine (1982) published 179 pieces for Neuss. Moreover, since Lower Germany had already been supplied with thousands of Lugdunum I coins, the coin pool was probably much bigger than in Upper Germany and needed less input.

Furthermore, we can show that the situation on the Lower Rhine mirrors that on the Upper Rhine and that both regions can be studied together when trying to define a post-Haltern horizon. The excavations on the Kops Plateau in Nijmegen have yielded five small bronze hoards, probably purses, containing 5 to 11 coins each, which have been discussed by J. van Heesch (2005). They illustrate very well the different phases of coin circulation on Augustan military sites. With Nemausus I coins, hoards III and IV represent the Oberaden horizon; hoard V is typical of the Haltern horizon, with a majority of Lugdunum I asses. Finally, hoards VI and VII, 9 coins each, are post-Haltern and contain a number of Lugdunum II coins. While Lugdunum I are in a majority in hoard VI (5 Lugdunum I vs. 3 Lugdunum II, and one Moneyers' coin, thus paralleling closely the Mainz hoard cited by Wigg-Wolf), hoard VII is almost entirely made up of Lugdunum II and there is only one Lugdunum I. The lack of early Tiberian countermarks is striking and meaningful: with 142 occurrences of the CAESAR monogram [type 61] catalogued on the Kops Plateau by Werz (2009), it is the second most common countermark on the site just after AVG (type 54, 152 ex.), much ahead of the early Augustan wheel countermark (type 25, 78 ex.) and the late Augustan types square TIB (type 193, 76 ex.) and VAR (type 227, 77 ex.) – the latter three all being present in the hoards studied by van Heesch. Therefore, there are good arguments to date hoards VI and VII *before* the CAESAR countermark, mostly attested on Moneyers' coins, came into circulation. Moreover, the absence of the otherwise common Moneyers' and *Divus Augustus Pater* issues makes it difficult to push the hoards much into Tiberius' reign.

Although its existence can be proven from the hoard evidence, it has to be said that clear examples of the Lugdunum II horizon (prior to the arrival and countermarking of Moneyers' coins in 14 or shortly after) are difficult to find in the archaeological record. To be more precise, so far we lack complexes with a fair number of coins: only assemblages with one Lugdunum II coin and Italian sigillata are known. See e. g. the pit 52 from Zurzach, with one Lugdunum II coin (RIC I<sup>2</sup> Aug. no. 246) alongside a Consp. 18, a Consp. 22 and a Consp. 31 (see Fig. 7, no. 52.1, 52.2 and 52.29 for the sigillata).

[p. 267] The most interesting case also comes from *Vindonissa*, from a 1954 excavation by Fellmann (Fellmann 1954; Hagendorn 2003, 167; Benguerel/Engeler-Ohnemus 2010, 182–183). Fellmann found a large clay pit (*Schlammgrube*) that was probably connected to nearby kilns. These kilns lie under the *schräges Lager* and probably belong to the provisional camp of the XIII<sup>th</sup> legion, thus to be dated around 14. From the plan published by Fellmann (1954, 11 Abb. 4), there seems to be no trace of the early barracks above the *Schlammgrube* itself. The pit had two fills; its contents have been recently studied anew by S. Benguerel and H. W. Doppler (in Benguerel/Engeler-Ohnemus 2010, 182–183). One Lugdunum I and three Lugdunum II coins (including one RIC I<sup>2</sup> Aug. no. 245) were found in the bottom fill, along with a Consp. 22 with a XANTHI stamp in the lower fill (close to OCK 1920.20) (Fellmann 1954, 50 Abb. 18 Nr. 1). The upper fill is still dominated by Lugdunum II coins, but there also are three countermarked Moneyers' coins and a Tiberian issue in the name of *Divus Augustus*

*Pater*, already minted very early in his reign (from 15/16 onwards and not 22/23 as stated by Doppler, following the traditional RIC dating: Barrandon u. a. 2010).

The presentation of the ceramics by Fellmann is much too brief and the stratigraphical evidence is not as clear as one could wish. Furthermore, the exact locations of the coins in the pit are not mentioned in his paper. However, the depths are known and there is a clear distinction between the lower (from -270 to -250 cm) and the upper fills (from -180 to -140 cm). Benguerel attributes the lower fill to the period just prior to or contemporaneous with the arrival of the legion, whereas the upper fill seems to be contemporary to the *schräges Lager*. This reasoning is coherent both with the evidence from *Vindonissa* (most notably the *Bauphase 1* from the *Feuerwehrmagazin*) and with the data from other sites presented here.

In view of this evidence, it is clear (as it had been demonstrated before) that Lugdunum II and Moneyers' coins, particularly countermarked Moneyers' coins from the 4<sup>th</sup> series, were the main types circulating during Germanicus' time, along with Lugdunum I coinage already in use. Moneyer's coins and the early Tiberian countermarks commented on above appear in or shortly after A. D. 14: their presence is thus a good hint at possible Germanicus' contexts. The presence of early Tiberian coins, the ones dated to 15/16, including early *Divus Augustus Pater* issues, could be taken as an indicator that we are after the campaigns. However, we have to admit that so far, it is difficult to precisely pinpoint the years corresponding to Germanicus' campaigns. For this, we would need archaeological finds with a lot of ceramics and a lot of coins, but so far these are still wanting.

#### **4. Can we assign some contexts to Germanicus' campaigns?**

Textual evidence, both literary and epigraphic, for connecting the Germanicus' campaigns with the Upper Rhine, is scarce. We have three mentions of the *exercitus superior* in Tacitus' *Annals*; we know it comprised the II<sup>nd</sup>, the XIII<sup>th</sup>, the XIV<sup>th</sup> and the XVI<sup>th</sup> legions, we know they participated in the campaigns, but the text does not mention where they were garrisoned (Tac. Ann. 1, 31.1–2; 1, 36.1; 1, 37.3; 1, 40.1). From epigraphical evidence, we know that in Tiberian times, the XIV<sup>th</sup> and XVI<sup>th</sup> legions were in Mainz, and it was probably already the case in the years 14–16 (numerous inscriptions; see e. g. CIL XIII, 6091 = CSIR Deutschland II 5 Nr. 1; CIL XIII, 6884 = CSIR Deutschland II 5 Nr. 61). The II<sup>nd</sup> legion was stationed in Strasbourg (CIL XIII, 5975 to 5978, 12137; Année Épigr. 1998, 983) and the XIII<sup>th</sup> in *Vindonissa* (CIL XIII, 5206; Tab. Vindon. no. 5–7). The camps were established in 14 or little after, as made clear by recent research (Hagendorn 2003; Martin 2013). However, we cannot exclude that until 16/17, these two legions had their winter camps in Strasbourg and Windisch and were stationed in Mainz during the summer campaigns, for we have one inscription for each of them in Mainz (CIL XIII, 6941 = CSIR Deutschland II 5 Nr. 62; CIL XIII, 7234 = CSIR Deutschland II 5 Nr. 79). But the dating of these monuments rests mainly on historical assumptions: a date in the late Augustan period, prior to the transfer of the II<sup>nd</sup> and the XIII<sup>th</sup> legions to more southern regions, is entirely possible.

This short survey makes clear that if we want to try and ascribe some contexts to Germanicus' campaigns, we will have to rest on archaeological rather than on textual records. It is interesting to observe where the post-Haltern horizon is present in Upper Germany. As I said, on most of the sites, the post-Haltern Italian sigillata is mixed with South Gaulish products. But even taking this into account, it is not present everywhere. On a sample of about 15 sites which I was able

to check, it is very clear that there are two clusters of sites: in the south, around *Vindonissa*, with the fortlets of Zurzach and Eschenz-Werd (Brem u. a. 1987), and in the north around Mainz, with Wiesbaden (Schönberger/Simon 1976, 236–242), Frankfurt-Höchst (Kubon 2011) and Friedberg. In between, there is a lack of sites except for Strasbourg and possibly Speyer (*Lager B*: Bernhard 1986, 113)<sup>11</sup>. As far as I know, there is no such horizon in Worms (Grünewald 1990; Grünewald/Hahn [p. 268] 2006). In Oedenburg (Reddé 2009) and Kaiseraugst (Deschler-Erb u. a. 1991; Vogel Müller/Müller 1994; Fischer 2008), the camps are Tiberian but slightly later; the situation seems to be the same in Konstanz (Mayer-Reppert 2003).

On the basis of this overview, it would seem that most of the military activity of this period is to be found in and around Mainz. This is not surprising, given that most of the campaigning took place in the North and that the river Wetter was a well-known route in this direction. The evidence in and around Windisch could point to the fact that Rome was also trying to secure this region (as evidenced by the Augustan occupation in *Vindonissa*), but it could also be the result of better research, for more data is needed for Alsace and Rhineland-Palatinate. Even if such is the case, the archaeological data are consistent with the meagre textual evidence. Indeed, once the unrest following Augustus' death was dealt with, there is no reason why Germanicus should have directed much of his attention to the Upper Rhine, where no fighting took place. In the years 14–16, he might only have tried to secure the Rhine by establishing two winter camps at *Vindonissa* and Strasbourg, while using the two legions for his summer campaigns. It is only later in Tiberius' reign, when these campaigns were over, that more forts were founded on the Upper Rhine, for instance in Oedenburg, Kaiseraugst and Konstanz, and that the region really became part of the *limes*.

### **5. Why is the post-Haltern horizon more visible on the Upper Rhine?**

There is one final question to be addressed. If Upper Germany was largely unconcerned by the Germanicus' campaigns, why is it there, and particularly in southern Upper Germany, that we find the clearest occurrences of the post-Haltern horizon that we defined earlier? This has obviously to do with the speed of penetration of Roman material culture into the Gallic provinces. M. Roth-Zehner has shown that in Alsace, the Augustan period is virtually indistinguishable from the late La Tène, because imported fine ware did not arrive in the region before Tiberius, with South Gaulish products (Roth-Zehner 2010). This can be connected to the military occupation of the region. Although not everything is military-related, it is a well-known fact that the Roman army was instrumental in spreading Roman culture and material culture. Recent research on the military occupation of the Upper Rhine, synthesised in two articles by M. Reddé (2005; 2015), has confirmed that there was no Augustan military occupation in the region, between Mainz in the north, and Dangstetten and *Vindonissa* in the south (the occupation in Dangstetten being very short and settlement at *Vindonissa* being relatively modest before the arrival of the XIII<sup>th</sup> legion).

The settlement of legionary troops in the early Tiberian period therefore represents an important break with the previous period. It can be seen in the finds from civilian settlements around

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<sup>11</sup> I was not able to go back to the publications cited in this paper.

*Vindonissa*: in the region, many *vici* are contemporary with the arrival of the XIII<sup>th</sup> legion, like Baden (Schucany 1996; Koller/Doswald 1996), *Petinesca* (Zwahlen 1995; 2002; Bacher 2006) or Oberwinterthur (numerous volumes in the *Vitudurum* collection, part of the *Zürcher Denkmalpflege Monographien* series). Because there was no previous occupation on these sites, or only very light, the material from the post-Halter period is not mixed with earlier finds. It is therefore much easier to identify than at sites on the Lower Rhine, which have been occupied for a longer period and have also been excavated for a longer time, sometimes before the advent of modern archaeological techniques.

## 6. Conclusion

To conclude, we can say that paradoxically, it is because the Upper Rhine was seldom involved in the military campaigns of the late Augustan and early Tiberian periods that a “*Germanicus-horizont*” is better visible there. More precisely, a post-Halter horizon, corresponding partly to the years when Germanicus was fighting in *Germania*, has long been identified in the finds of the Upper Rhine. However, although the situation on the Lower Rhine was only hinted at in this paper, it must be said again that this archaeological horizon is to be found both at the Upper and the Lower Rhine.

This horizon is characterised by the dominance of Italian sigillata (save the incidental South Gaulish vessel), and a high proportion of late forms such as Consp. 19, 31, 33 and 36. The numismatic finds comprise Lugdunum II and Moneyers’ coins from Rome, very often countermarked. Most of the sites where this archaeological horizon has been found are either military camps or linked in some way with the Roman army. For this reason, there are good reasons to connect them to Germanicus’ campaigns in the years 13–16.

But even if we do not accept this last conclusion, it must be stressed that the dating of this horizon between A. D. 10 and 20 appears well established. The presence of Lugdunum II coins in several ensembles discussed here provide a post-Halter *terminus post quem*, since they are dated by the [p. 268] 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> imperial salutations of Tiberius. In *Vindonissa*, this is combined with a *terminus ante quem* in or shortly after 14, thanks to the stratigraphy of the first phases of the XIII<sup>th</sup> legion’s camp. From the end of the second decade A. D., Arretine products make way for South Gaulish ware, which comes to dominate in the archaeological record from the beginning of the third decade A. D. This *terminus ante quem* is less precise but relatively sound, as the commonly accepted chronology of South Gaulish sigillata appears to hold true when confronted with dendrochronology (see e. g. Delor-Ahü/Roms 2007).

Despite years and sometimes decades of research, this horizon has not been found in Haltern, Waldgirmes or Kalkriese, even though traces of post-Varus occupation were found in Waldgirmes (Becker/Rasbach 2015) and possibly in Haltern (but see von Schnurbein 2013 for a negative review of the evidence). For these last two sites, we therefore face the following alternative. Either these occupations were abandoned immediately after the Teutoburg battle, so that the material culture is the same and cannot be distinguished from the previous occupation: in which case they cannot be attributed to Germanicus, since we have seen that sigillata and coins changed rapidly in the last years of Augustus’ principate. Or these traces can indeed be linked to Germanicus: in that case, and for the exact same reason, we can rule out a large scale reoccupation and should rather speak of an occasional visit. This would indeed be coherent with both the stratigraphical evidence from Waldgirmes, limited to a small portion of

the town, and with Germanicus' visit to the battle field of the *clades Variana* reported by Tacitus (Tac. Ann. 1, 60–62). Furthermore, if the post-Haltern horizon has left traces on sites such as Mainz (Baatz 1962), Frankfurt-Höchst (Kubon 2011) or Neuss (Ettliger 1983), it would certainly also have left its mark in Haltern and Waldgirmes. A continuous occupation down to the time of Germanicus therefore appears most unlikely in Haltern and Waldgirmes. Similarly, the dating of Kalkriese in A. D. 15 rather than 9 appears highly unlikely. In the present state of data, the *Germanicus-Horizont* on these three sites is rather a *Phantasma* than a *Phantom*.<sup>12</sup>

## Abbreviations

Année Épigr.

Année Épigraphique

CIL

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

Consp./*Conspectus*

Elisabeth Ettliger/Bettina Hedinger/Bettina Hoffmann, *Conspectus formarum terrae sigillatae italico modo confectae*. Mat. Röm.-Germ. Keramik 10 (Bonn 1990).

CSIR

Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani

Names

Brian R. Hartley/Brenda M. Dickinson, *Names on Terra Sigillata. An Index of Makers' Stamps & Signatures on Gallo-Roman Terra Sigillata (Samian Ware)*. Bull. Inst. Class. Stud. Suppl. 102 (London 2008).

OCK

A. Oxé/H. Comfort/P. Kenrick, *Corpus vasorum Arretinorum. A catalogue of the signatures, shapes and chronology of Italian Sigillata*. Antiquitas. Reihe 3, Abhandlungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, zur klassischen und provinzial-römischen Archäologie und zur Geschichte des Altertums (41) (Bonn 2000).

RPC

Andrew M. Burnett/Michel Amandry/Pere Paul Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage 1. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius: 44 BC–AD 69* (London/Paris 1992).

RRC

Michael H. Crawford, *Roman Republican coinage* (Cambridge 1974).

Scheers

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Tab. Vindon.

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Zwahlen 2002

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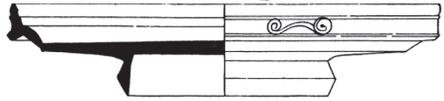
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ΧΑΗΤΗ



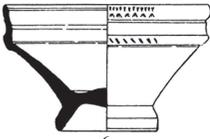
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ΧΑΗΤΗ



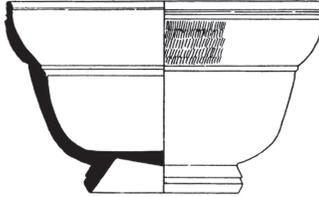
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ΧΑΗ



6

ΧΑΗΤΗ

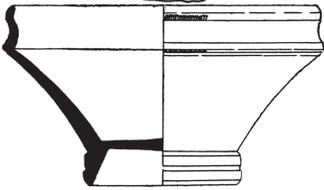


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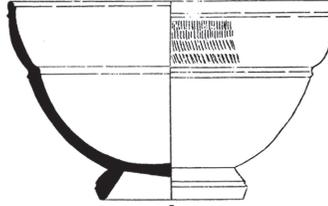
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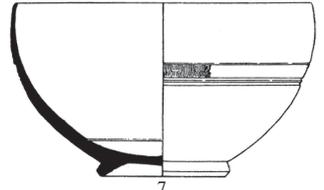
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ΧΑΗΤΗ

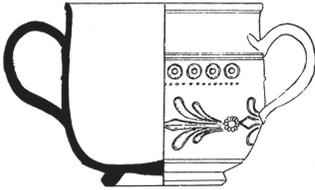


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ΑΑΕ



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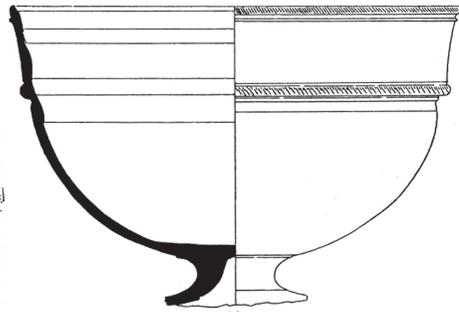


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ΧΑΗΤΗ



ΧΑΗΤΗ



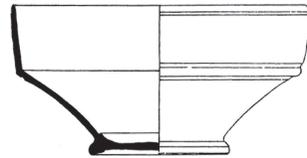
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SCOTIVS·FE·  
AETINV·

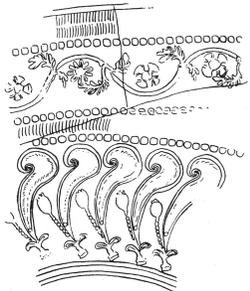


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ΑΑΕ

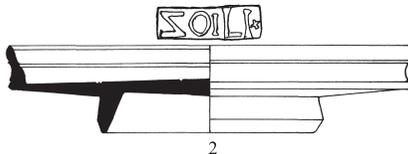
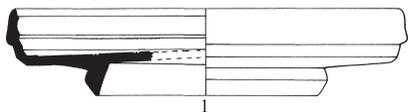


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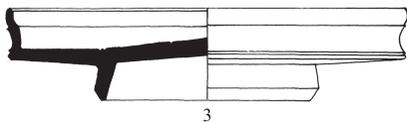


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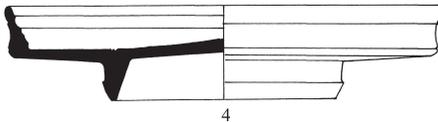
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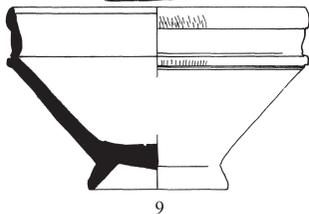
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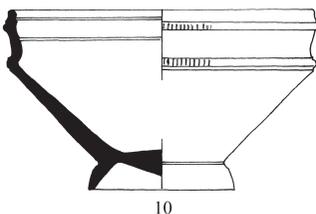
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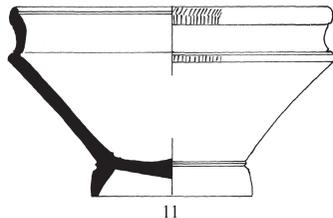
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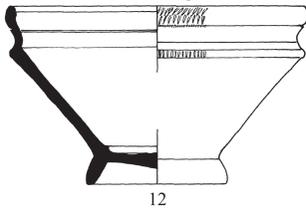
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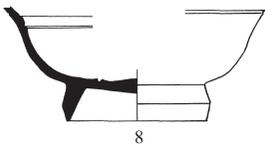
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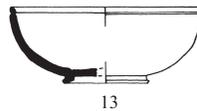
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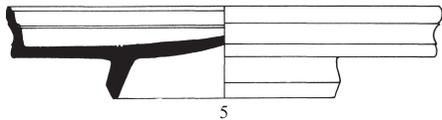
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ENAEI

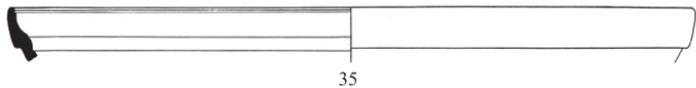


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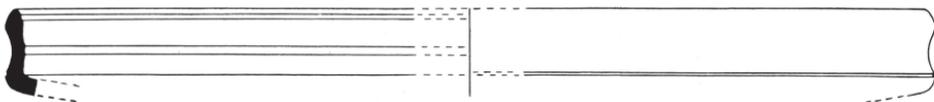
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35



36



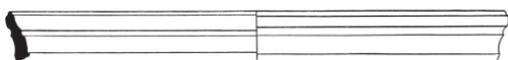
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39



38

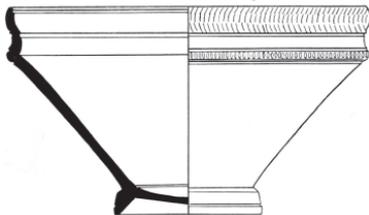


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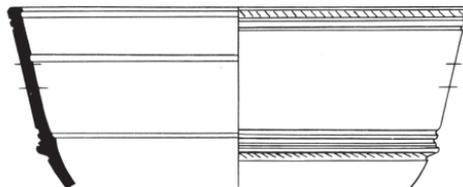


48

~~RASSI~~



45



60



46



47



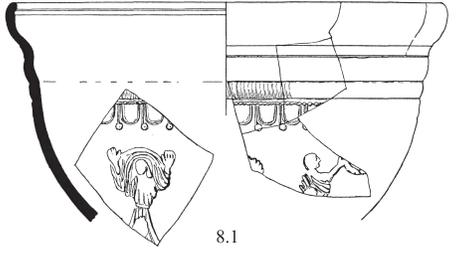
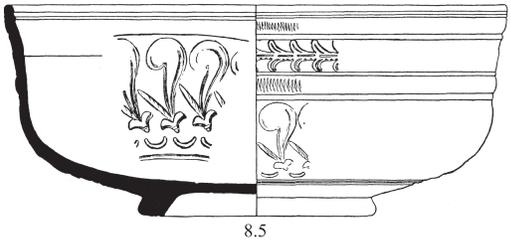
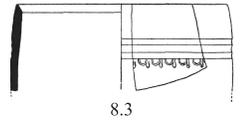
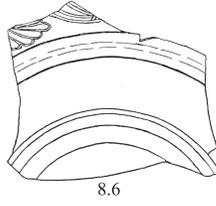
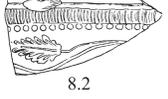
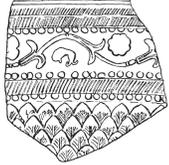
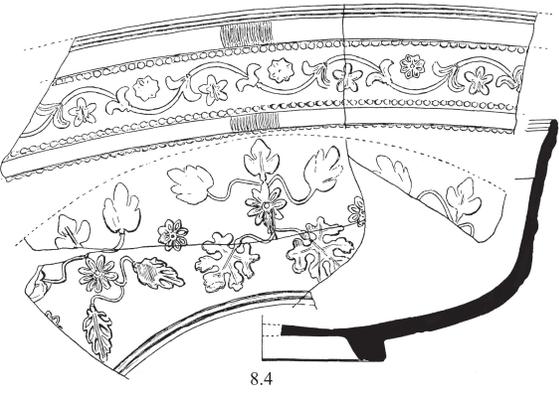
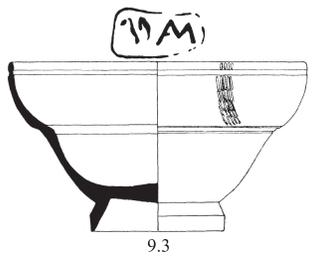
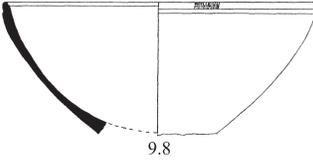
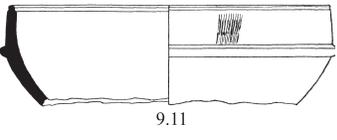
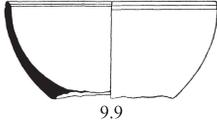
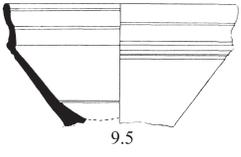
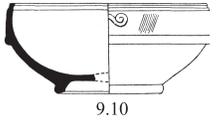
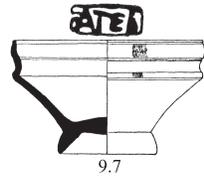
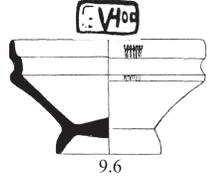
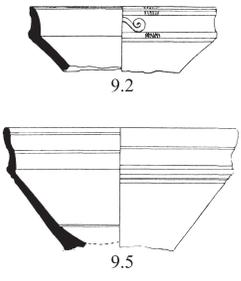
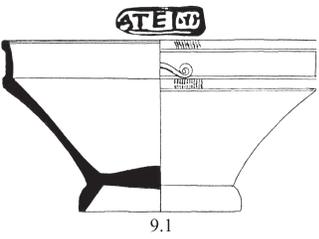
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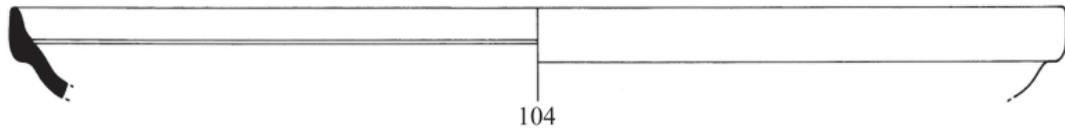


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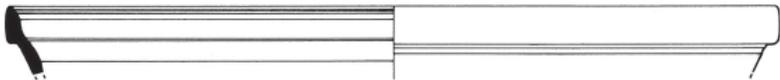
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Vessels 0 5 cm





104



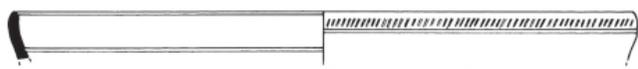
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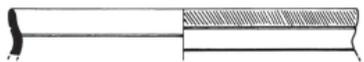
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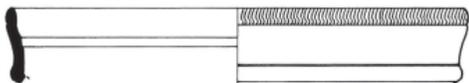
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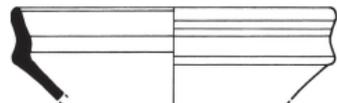
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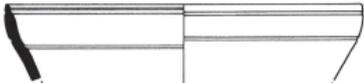
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70



83



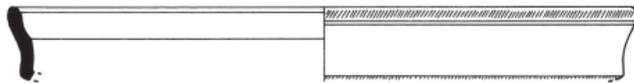
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9



23



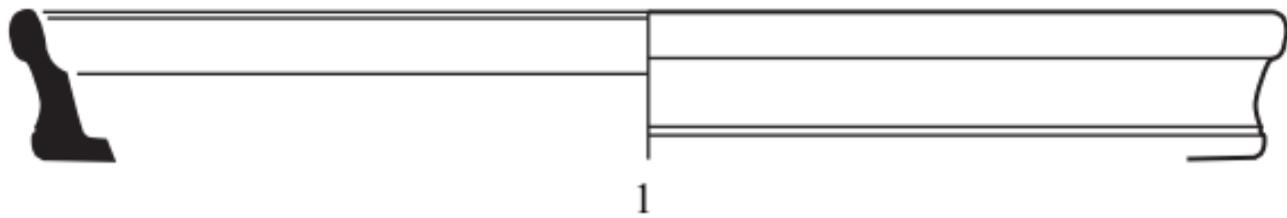
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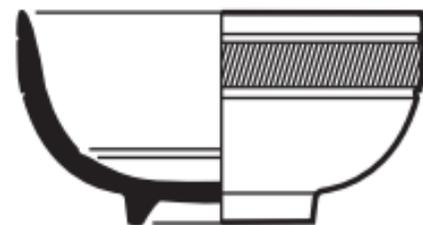
Stamps



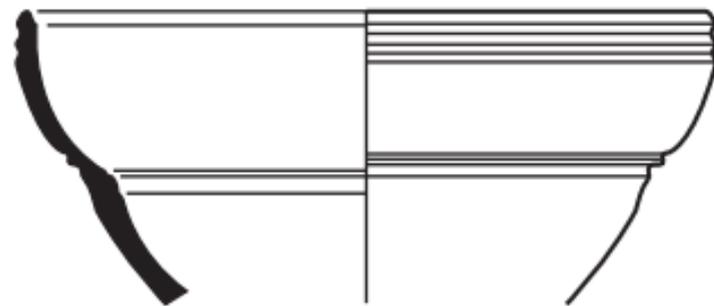
Vessels



1



2



3



11



12



28



37



38



44

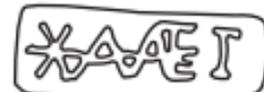
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45



52



59

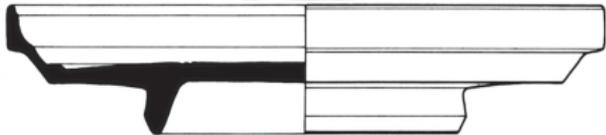


61

Stamps 0 1 cm

Vessels 0 5 cm

XAYRI

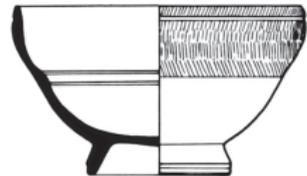


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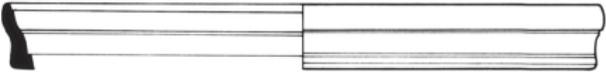


52.2

ATFI



84.1



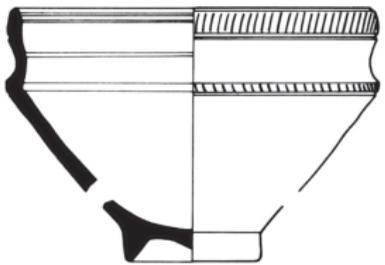
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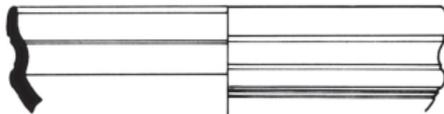
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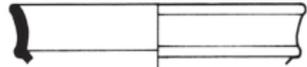
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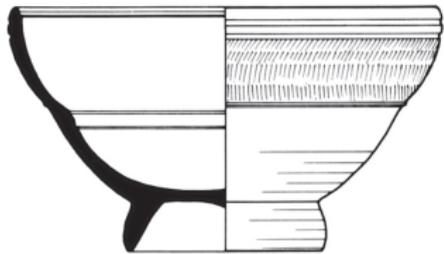


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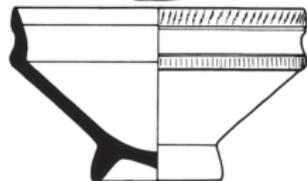
126.10

WATI

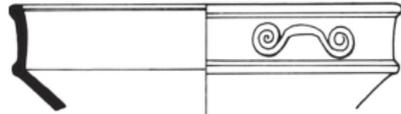


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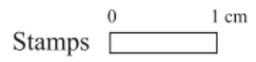
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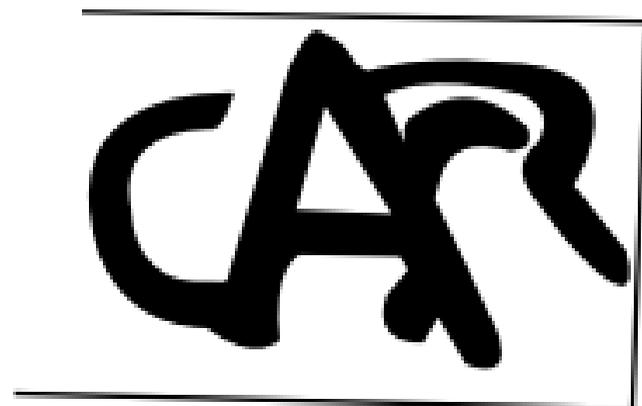


163 B.3



216.15





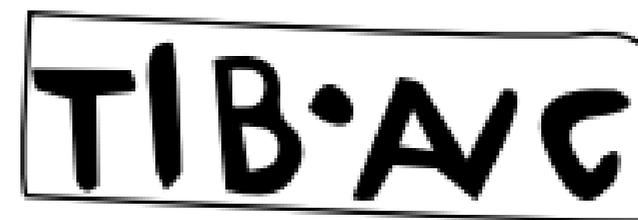
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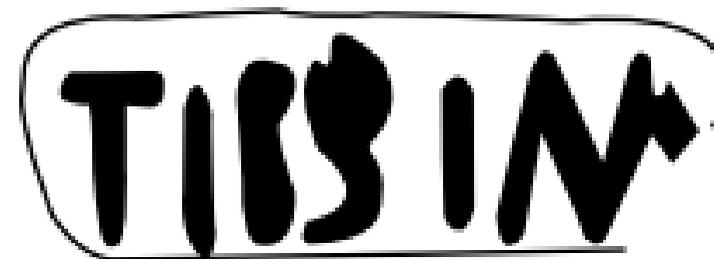
IMP.AVG (113)



TIB (193.13-22)



TIB.AVG (206)



TIBSIN (210)



		Strasbourg, horizon 1	Zurzach, Arretina-horizont	Vindonissa-Feuerwehrmagazin, Bauphase 1	Friedberg, 1963	Mainz Sigillata-Depot	Vindonissa-Depotfund	Basel, Grube IV untere Schicht
Ital.	Consp. 7	1						
Ital.	Consp. 11							
Ital.	Consp. 12		3	1	2	1		
Ital.	Consp. 14	1						
Ital.	Consp. 18	6	6	4	4	5		
Ital.	Consp. 19		1				2	
Ital.	Consp. 20		2					
Ital.	Consp. 22	5	7	2	4	4	2	5
Ital.	Consp. 23		2					
Ital.	Consp. 26		1					
Ital.	Consp. 15/24			1				
Ital.	Consp. 31	3	3		1		2	2
Ital.	Consp. 33		1		1		1	1
Ital.	Consp. 36	1				1	1	2
Ital.	Vind. 13						1	
Ital.	Drag. 11						1	
Ital.	Decorated ware		x					
SG	Drag. 17a			1		1		
SG	Ritt. 9						1	
SG	Drag. 29				1		1	4
SG	Drag. 24/25							1
SG	Drag. 11							1
SG	Beaker							1
Coin	Celtic				1 (Scheers Nr. 217)			
Coin	Republic/imperial	1 (unidentified denarius)	1 (RRC Nr. 508)					
Coin	Nem. I		1 (RPC Nr. 523)					
Coin	Lug. I	1 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr. 230)	2 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr., 230)	1 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr. 230)		2 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr. 230)		
Coin	Lug. I/II			1	1 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr. 230 or 233)			
Coin	Lug. II	1 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr. 230 to 245) with Tiberian countermark	2 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr. 246 and Nr. 233 to 245)	1 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr. 245)	1 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr. 236a or 244)	1 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr. 238a or 245)		
Coin	Moneysers		1 (RIC I <sup>2</sup> Aug. Nr. 431) with TIBIMP countermark					
Coin	Unidentified Roman			1				

Type	Strasbourg, horizon 1	Zurzach, Arretina- horizont	Vindonissa-Feuerwehrmagazin, Bauphase 1	Friedberg, 1963	Mainz Sigillata-Depot	Vindonissa-Depotfund	Basel, Grube IV untere Schicht
CVA <sup>2</sup> 267 to 270	2	2					
CVA <sup>2</sup> 268 (cf. 113-116)		2					
CVA <sup>2</sup> 268.7							1
CVA <sup>2</sup> 268.29							1
CVA <sup>2</sup> 269.19						1	
CVA <sup>2</sup> 270.6					2		
CVA <sup>2</sup> 270.62				1			
CVA <sup>2</sup> 275 to 278		1					
CVA <sup>2</sup> 276.6				1			
CVA <sup>2</sup> 278.91					1		
CVA <sup>2</sup> 292.26					1		1
CVA <sup>2</sup> 296	1						
CVA <sup>2</sup> 388 (cf. 4-5)			1				
CVA <sup>2</sup> 436.3				1			
CVA <sup>2</sup> 606.1					1		
CVA <sup>2</sup> 609.2					1		
CVA <sup>2</sup> 761	1				1		
CVA <sup>2</sup> 787.12							1
CVA <sup>2</sup> 819 or 823	1						
CVA <sup>2</sup> 844.4				1			
CVA <sup>2</sup> 1087.34						1	
CVA <sup>2</sup> 1862.6					1		
CVA <sup>2</sup> 1920 (cf. 1)	1						
CVA <sup>2</sup> 1969 ?	1						
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2534 (cf. 8)	1						
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2535.2						1	
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2535.3						1	
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2536	2						
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2536 (cf. 9-12)		1					
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2536.118						2	
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2536.123						1	
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2536.131						2	
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2536.85						1	
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2544.8					1		
CVA <sup>2</sup> 2544.17					1		
Italian, unidentified		1					
<i>NOTS</i> , Acutus i, 21a							2
<i>NOTS</i> , Salvetus i, 5d = Genin 2007, 370.1					1		
<i>NOTS</i> , Scottius i, 24a						1	
<i>NOTS</i> , Vapuso = Genin 2007, 429 (?)						1	