LEGIO I ADIUTRIX IN HOFHEIM AM TAUNUS

The study of Hispanic coins found in the camps of the Germania *limes* has provided some surprises with respect to what we knew about the history of the Augustan legions during the change of era, once the Cantabrian wars were over and some of the forces were transferred to Germania to take part in the campaigns of the Rhine and Rhaetia. The bronze coins that the soldiers transported in their pockets from Hispania and that ended up lost and buried (some of them appeared in tombs) are a particularly important testimony of this troop's movement. There are several reasons for these coins to be taken to such farreaching regions. Most were transported out of sentimental reasons, as souvenirs, and simply as remains of change that could not be converted into silver. We have actually found important minority groups of Spanish coins within the monetary circulation of the military camps of Germania, sometimes highly concentrated in one camp or in its nearby territory, which allow us to establish the arrival of entire legions of Hispanic troops in specific zones or fortresses (fig. 1). The origin of the Hispanic coins tells us whether the transferred troops came from Hispania Ulterior or from Hispania Citerior, and in some cases the military colony they had been supplied for – e.g. the coins of Augusta Emerita (Lusitania) found in Augusta Emerita Raurica 1.

It is much more difficult to follow these clues from Claudius onwards, since Rome suspended the minting of provincial coins, and the entire western part of the Empire now used money similar to that issued in Rome, which makes it difficult to identify the origin of the troops by the coins lost in their camps². Nonetheless, in exceptional cases the military units countermarked their coins with the legion's emblem, and thus it is possible to follow their trail to the new encampment where they were spent and lost. This is the case of the *legio I adiutrix* having been transferred from Hispania to Germania in 70 AD, and of the coins of Emporiae (Catalan Empúries; Spanish Ampurias) countermarked with its symbol found in Hofheim am Taunus (Main-Taunus-Kr.) and other *limes* camps of Germania Superior³.

LEGIO I ADIUTRIX

There are doubts about whether the creation of the *legio I* with mariners was the work of Galba (Dio 55, 24, 2) or Nero (Tac. Hist. I, 6), although it most certainly took place at the end of the 60s. It was most probably formed in two phases (RE XII, 1, col. 1381 [Ritterling]): Nero would have created it as an auxiliary corps of legions (*adiutrix*) with soldiers who were not *cives Romanorum*, and Galba would have promoted it to a *iusta legio*. The unit was based at Rome a little before the assassination of Galba (Tac. Hist. I, 31) and fought in Northern Italy next to Otho (II, 23f. 43) where it was already being called *prima adiutrix*.

After the triumph of Vitellius the legion was sent to Hispania, and we know that it remained on the peninsula from 69 until the beginning of 70 AD. In Hispania it took sides with Vespasian as did the other two peninsular units, *VI victrix* and *X gemina*. Owing to the revolts of Germans and Gauls, the VI and I legions were sent to Germania in 70, and neither of them would return to Hispania. The *legio victrix* was transferred to Germania Inferior, and the *legio adiutrix* to Germania Superior, to Mogontiacum (Mainz), in whose two legion's camps it was always thought to have been completely quartered as soon as it had arrived – but an important part of it seems to have been lodging in Hofheim am Taunus. We did not know either

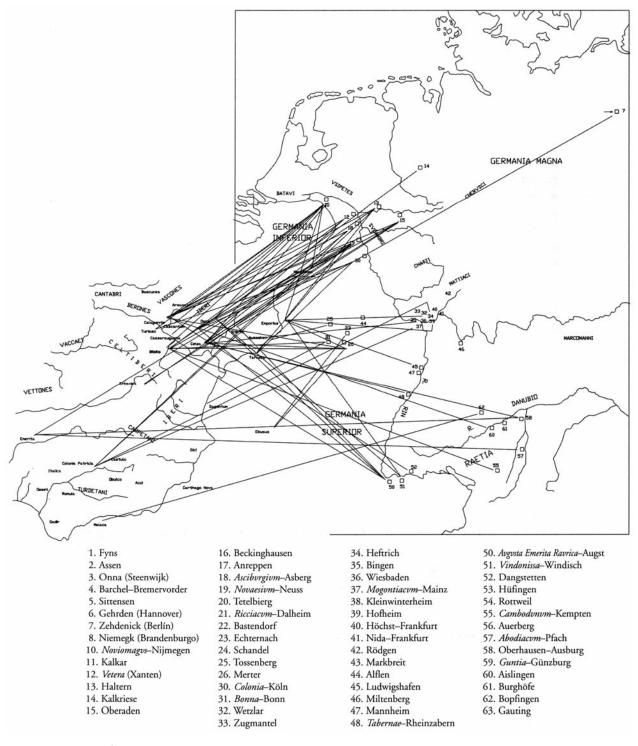


Fig. 1 Distribution of Hispanic bronze coins in Germania.

where they were billeted in Hispania (seeking after their base in the interior of the peninsula in Emerita), but as we shall see, its port could have been Emporiae itself.

In the Mogontiacum camp, now built in stone, the unit left important evidence. There are many signatures on the ashlars of the camp (fig. 2), some of them of their centuries: L I AD C V (*legio I adiutrix, centuria V*). It is, moreover, an impressive building whose function has been much debated. Several plinths of columns

represent soldiers of the *legio I adiutrix* in an offensive position, with the legion's symbol shown on their helmets: a dolphin within a pearled circle (**fig. 3**). In the 1930s the authorship of this monument was attributed to the legion and the work dated to the times of Vespasian. Both A. von Domaszewski and H. Kähler identified the dolphin within a pearled circle as the emblem of the *classicorum legio*, and this identification and the chronologies have been confirmed in subsequent works⁴.

EMPORIAE COUNTERMARKS

It is precisely the same symbol countermarked on Athena's helmet on the coins of Emporiae in the last issue of the mint (RPC I, no. 257; García-Bellido / Blázquez 2001, 115; fig. 4). This countermark is present on 90% of the coins of this issue. P. P. Ripollés has counted 243 dolphin and »D.D.« (*decreto decurionum*) countermarks in this series and only one in issues 241 and 254 (RPC I, 809). These last cases are undoubtedly the testimony of routine mint errors. The 257 issue was thus massively sealed with the symbol of the

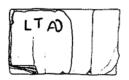




Fig. 2 Inscription marks on ashlars of Mogontiacum. – (Büsing 1982, pl. 23, 14. 19).

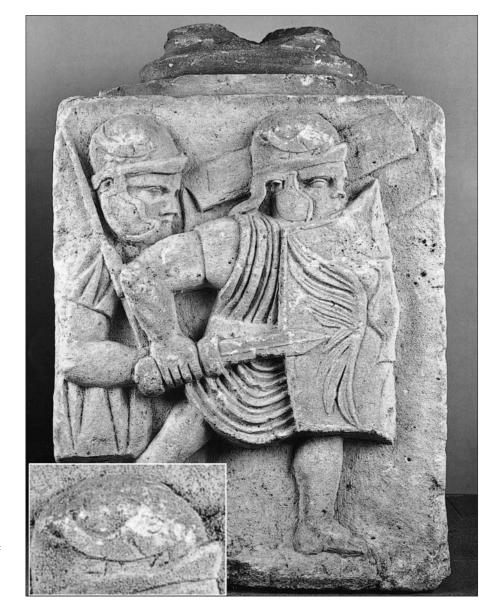


Fig. 3 Architectural plinths of Mogontiacum with soldiers of the *legio I adiutrix*. – (Seltzer 1988, fig. 44).





Fig. 4 Countermarks of a dolphin in a pearled circle, and »D.D.« on a coin of Emporiae. – (Photo Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan. Madrid).

I adiutrix but had to be >legalized< with another stamp that always accompanied it. This was the civilian countermark »D.D.« by which the decurions took responsibility for this anonymous and anomalous coining in Emporiae which did not contain the personal names of the magistrates – which was the usual custom⁵. It possibly was an issue for military purposes and occurred as late as 69-70 AD because it was only around that time that the legion was in Hispania. Nonetheless, until now there was not enough information for giving it a precise chronology, and that is why dates as vague as »Augustan« or »Claudian times« have been proposed (RPC I, 106).

COINS OF EMPORIAE IN GERMANIA SUPERIOR

The Emporiae coins were found in Germania, precisely in the region of Mogontiacum (fig. 5), but the largest and most uniform concentration of these coins was at the nearby camp at Hofheim am Taunus which seems to have been one of the certain places of arrival of the troop – at least of a detachment of the troop, since the camp barely measured 1.9 ha. The rest of the unit probably stayed at Mogontiacum where it built the monument mentioned above with its soldiers represented on the column plinths. Similar Emporiae coins have also been found at other sites, such as Ludwigshafen, Vindonissa and Augusta Raurica (the presence of the legion in Augusta Raurica is verified by an inscription [CIL XIII, 11, 542] which mentions the unit doing architectural work, that of Ludwigshafen by sigillated marks of its name in ceramics).

Hofheim am Taunus

In the Taunus mountains, and to the south of the modern city of Hofheim am Taunus, the Hochfeld rises c. 150 m where two camps have been identified, one of wood and earth, the other of stone⁶. The first camp measures 1.6 ha, with a double moat in the form of a V, and its characteristics are similar to those of other camps along the Danube. The abandonment of this camp is supposed to coincide with the events of the year 69, but the presence of countermarked coins from Emporiae makes us think that at least one part of it was still inhabited in 70, while the legion was building a new camp made of stone – since the Emporiae coins appeared in the wooden camp and generally in the soldiers' barracks. The discovery of such homogeneous money from Emporiae in the old camp means that the *legio I adiutrix* arrived also at Hofheim and not only at the legion camp in Mogontiacum.

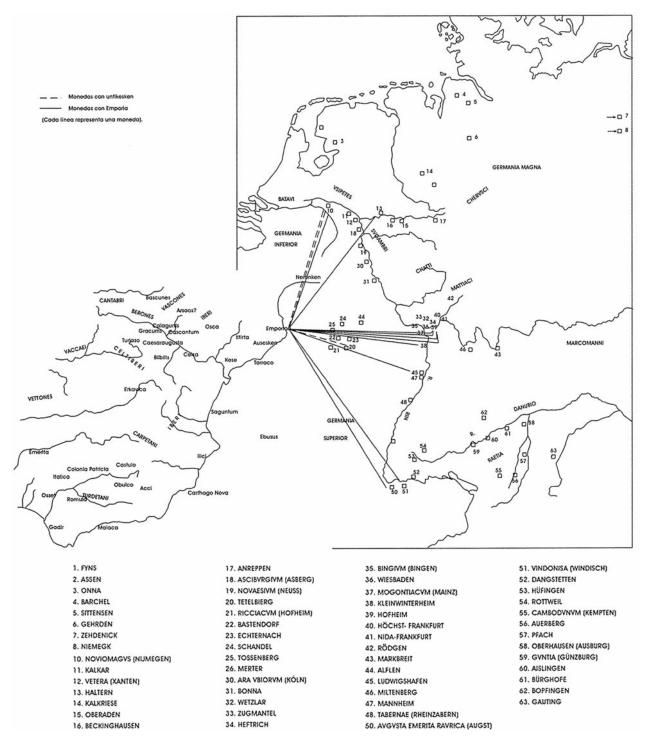


Fig. 5 Map of coin finds of Emporiae in Germania. – (García-Bellido 2004a, 154 fig. 4).

It is believed that the new stone camp at Hofheim, measuring 2.14 ha, was built in 71-74 with a double V-shaped moat, renovated in 83-85 and 96-98 and then abandoned in 106-110. No Hispanic coins have been found here, indicating that the *legio I* had indeed stayed at the old earthen camp in 70 while building the new stone camp, but it never inhabited the latter.

The units quartered in Hofheim are unknown to us. A *vexillatio* of the legion of Mogontiacum and a *cohors* are supposed to have stayed there, which seem to have changed in the second period. The coin countermarks indicate that there certainly was some unit of the *legio I adiutrix* and that the marks on the ashlars in Mogontiacum could indicate that the legion was indeed divided between Mogontiacum and Hofheim, although no Emporiae coins have yet been recorded in Mainz.

Among the coins found in Hofheim, there are abundant halved ones, especially Republican coins from Rome – four coins of Emporiae are also halved. The homogeneity of these four pieces from Emporiae indicates without a doubt that they arrived together, in the pockets of the soldiers of the *legio I adiutrix*, but we do not know if they were halved in Emporiae – where the custom of halving coins was very common – or in Hofheim. Of all the findings published in the monographs referring to this last camp which total 645 coins, 22 are Republican, 116 Augustan, 106 Tiberian, 57 from Caligula's time, 56 with a bust of Agrippa, 39 Claudian, and 93 are halved coins – the majority of which can not be classified but which are assumed to be Julian-Claudian. This last assumption is now open to question, since the four halved coins of Emporiae are undoubtedly Flavian. There are 133 barbarian imitations, 10 from the time of Nero and 13 of Vespasian. Thus there are 622 Julian-Claudian coins and 23 Nero-Vespasian ones. The Emporiae coins must have pertained to the latter group, even though they had been counted among the Augustan coins.

Hofheim/earthen camp

1-2. As halved, Emporiae, Vespasianus. Female bust; helmed r.; Pegasus r.; below EMPOR. – Heiss 1870, 100 no. 56 = RPC I, no. 257, 43; García-Bellido / Blázquez 2001, 115; Villaronga 1977, Ser. 26, rfa. no. 11B; obv. countermarks: dolphin in a pearled circle on helmet and D.D. on chin. – FMRD V, 1, 1, no. 1089.

3-4. As halved, Emporiae, Vespasianus. Female bust; helmed r.; Pegasus r., below EMPOR. – Heiss 1870, 100 no. 56 = RPC I, no. 257, 43; García-Bellido / Blázquez 2001, 115; Villaronga 1977, Ser. 25 (very worn); rf. FMRD V, 1, 1, no. 1090, 37-38.

Ludwigshafen/Rheingönheim

High above the mouth of the Neckar, in what is called Sommerfeld, there are traces of the wall of a castellum made of wood and mud⁷. We do not know which units have been there, although the inscription of a century on a sigillata possibly points to a cohort stationed there. Many coins, fibula and legions' seals (*legiones I adiutrix, IIII Macedonica, XXII primigenia, XIV gemina* [CIL XIII, 6]), like those of Rheinzabern, appeared there. Archaeological levels of parts of some *contubernia* and a small hoard of 114 coins allow date the clearly closed destruction in the years 69-70, possibly in relation to the quote from Tacitus (Tac. Hist. IV, 70). This hoard contains many coins from the civil wars, five of them minted in Hispania. In the year 74, with the advance of the *limes*, the camp has been abandoned, so the coins from Emporiae found there must predate this time. The Hispanic money was found in two horizons (one of Augustan time and the other of the time of the civil wars), to which the levels of destruction correspond (c. 70) – precisely when the *legio I adiutrix* was transferred there from Hispania with the coins from Emporiae and the imperial *denarii* minted in Hispania described below.

Coins found in the castellum with no exact origin

5. As, Emporiae, Tiberius-Caligula-Vespasianus? Female head r.; CN C P C M A Q; Pegasus r. above wreath; below

EMPORIT. – RPC I, no. 250; García-Bellido / Blázquez 2001, 108; rf. FMRD IV, 2, no. 2215, 14.

Hispanic denarii from the hoard found in contubernia (civil wars 68-69 AD)

- 6. Hispania; D; Genius bust wreathed with berries or flowers; r. GENIO P R; Mars naked advancing r.; holding javelin and shield; MARTI VLTORI. RIC I², 18; rf. FMRD IV, 2, no. 2212, 113.
- 7. Hispania; D; Mars naked advancing r.; holding javelin and shield; MARTI VLTORI-/SPQR in oak wreath. RIC I², 29; rf. FMRD IV, 2, no. 2212, 114.
- 8. Hispania; D; female bust r.; behind MONETA; cup of Vulcan over anvil with tongs and hammer, all in laurel
- wreath; above SALVTARIS. RIC I^2 , 30; rf. FMRD IV, 2, no. 2212, 115.
- 9. Hispania; D; female diademed bust r.; in front BON EVENT; clasped r. hands holding caduceus; below PACI PR. RIC I², 4; rf. FMRD IV, 2, no. 2212, 119.
- 10. Hispania; D; Galba, 68 AD; head laur. r.; globe at point of bust; GALBA IMPERATOR/Roma advancing r.; holding Victory and spear; ROMA RENASCENS. RIC 88 = RIC I^2 43(?); rf. FMRD IV, 2, no. 2212, 129.

The Emporiae coin belongs to one of the last issues of the mint and could have arrived with the *legio I adiutrix* in 70 AD, since the latest issue was the RPC I, no. 257, concentrated in Hofheim. We have no information whatsoever which allow to date this Emporiae coin found in Ludwigshafen, and therefore we do not know whether it is from Tiberius, Caligula or even Vespasian (as we shall comment below). It is unlikely that the coin arrived at the *castellum* in the times of Tiberius, with the troop of the *legio IIII Macedonica*, since we know of no other coin from Emporiae in this area around that time. We thus assume that it came with the other Spanish coins of Hofheim and with the *denarii* issued in Hispania during these times of conflict, that is, in the Vespasian reign when the legio *VI victrix* and the *legio I adiutrix* were transferred to Germania.

Augusta Raurica

Another example of the same issue as the one found in Hofheim (RPC I, no. 257; García-Bellido / Blázquez 2001, 115) appeared in Augusta Emerita Raurica⁸, a colony refounded in the last decade of the 1st century BC, possibly by veterans of the same *legio V alaudae* that years before had built Augusta Emerita in Lusitania – hence the homonymy of the two colonies⁹. We know that c. 73-74 AD a detachment of the *legio I adiutrix* was also stationed there to carry out various works, according to an inscription (CIL XIII 11, 542). This troop is probably the one that lost a coin from Emporiae, equal to the four coins found in Hofheim, all of them without a doubt having arrived with the legion from this city and possibly forming part of the money expressly coined to cover the costs of this unit during their stay in Emporiae.

11. As; Emporiae s/p.; Vespasianus?; female bust helmed r.; Pegasus r.; above wreath; below EMPOR. – RPC I, no.

257; García-Bellido / Blázquez 2001, 115; Augusta Raurica, Regio 17B, inv.-no. 1983.8035¹⁰.

Vindonissa

Vindonissa was a legion's camp of the *exercitus superior* with a well-known history starting in the time of Tiberius¹¹. Hispanic coins were abundant there, and the coin from Emporiae was found among those conforming the last horizon. The coin could be related to the above mentioned stay of the legion in Augusta Raurica, the colony nearest to the Vindonissa camp and closely related to it since Augustan times. It was an issue with few countermarks – which points to the fact that it was not minted in relation to the troop¹². The coins of this issue must have been pieces which were in residual circulation in Hispania when the legion left, since the latest one, as we have seen, was the issue RPC I, no. 257.

12. As half; Emporiae; no precise chronology; female bust helmed r.; in front; c ca t c o car q; Pegasus r.; above wreath; below EMPOR. – Heiss 1870, 3 no. 57 = RPC I,

no. 252; García-Bellido / Blázquez 2001, 110; cf. Kraay 1962, no. 12.

COMMENTARY

All these concordances among the archaeological, epigraphical, literary and numismatic data made me propose that the Emporiae countermarked coins of the issue 257, with some pieces of the residual circulation from issues 250 and 252, travelled with the *legio I adiutrix* from Hispania to Germania Superior in 70 AD.

The best evidence for a Hispanic origin is the fact that these coins were found in the Mainz region where we already knew that the legion settled – although we were not sure of the exact places, such as Hofheim and Ludwigshafen, in whose horizon of destruction it must have been involved, taking part in one of the many campaigns against Gauls and Germans under the command of Annius Gallus and Cornelius Clemens. Nevertheless, it is in the scenarios of engineering and architectural works where it is best testified to. These Emporiae coins that arrived in Germania, some countermarked with the legion's emblem, were joined by many other coins of Galba or Vespasian minted in Spain also found in this area. Here we only commented on the ones found at Ludwigshafen, probably brought by the same troop. All of these make up the numismatic horizon created by the c. 6000 men who travelled from Hispania to the area of Mogontiacum.

Of all the coins of Emporia in Germania, those of anonymous issue (RPC I, no. 257), the last issue of the mint, were the most abundant and above all the most explicit ones, thanks to the legion's countermark. The similarity we saw earlier between the countermark and the symbol legionaries wore on their helmets (figs 3-4), testified to by the bas-reliefs in Mogontiacum and the fact that the countermarked coins appeared precisely in the region of Mainz, permit to deduce that this countermark pertains to the legion and to the horizon of the years 69-70 AD¹³.

The large amount of this same issue found in Hispania and countermarked (90% of the total issue) indicates that the dolphin and D.D. seals were stamped in this province. We do not know whether the presence of this currency in the area of Mogontiacum is owing to the fact that the soldiers were paid, in part, with this money at the moment of their departure, or whether they brought it with them as part of their peninsular money. But the high number of coins with the same countermark in a single issue and their widespread dispersion in the area of Emporiae leads us to suppose that the minting was possibly done when the legion arrived on the peninsula in the year 69 – and not when it left (in 70) –, thus filtering into the local circulation during that time, first in the military and then in the civilian circulation, which gave rise to the finds on the peninsula.

What is the date of the issue? Probably 69 to 70 AD. With the data we have, it seems that it was money coined in Flavian times and not in the era of Tiberius or Caligula. If this would have been the case, the countermarks would not have been so concentrated in a single issue but been spread out much more among all the coins in circulation. Without these finds in Germania, we would have never believed that there was an issue from Emporiae as late as Vespasian, since it is well-known that minting was suspended in the western provinces with Caligula or with Claudius at the latest. We must now accept the idea that the mint was reopened in Flavian times to issue money in cases of military need.

Furthermore, this has been an anonymous issue, undoubtedly legalized by a *decreto decurionum*, whose acronym (D.D.) always accompanied the dolphin countermark. It is undeniable, as L. Villaronga already realized, that a minting without the confirmation of the *magistrates* needed to have a civilian legalization to be used, and this corroborates the rest of the information pointing to the military function of this issue.

THE QUARTER OF THE LEGIO I ADIUTRIX IN HISPANIA

We also did not know the place the unit was quartered in Hispania, since (as E. Ritterling mentioned) no inscriptions or archaeological evidence remain of these dates. However, the identification of the legion's emblem on coins of Emporiae and the fact that it was this mint – and not any other of the many possible ones in Hispania – which supplied it with money seem to point to its billeting in Emporiae itself, based at its port. This assumption is also supported by Villaronga's confirmation that all of the countermarked coins found in the city of Emporiae – without exception – bore the dolphin and the D.D. This suggests that the troop was there, or very close by, spending its bronze coins in the city itself. That's why we should not look for their base in another nearby city such as Barcino and Tarraco – I cite these because inscriptional evidence of its soldiers has been found in both (CIL II, 4509-4511 in Barcino; CIL II, 4151), although all of them date later than its quartering in Hispania, which led Ritterling to rule them out as evidence. There are also late inscriptions in Ilipa, Hispalis and Sanlúcar which have been used to defend the unit's stay in the southern zone¹⁴. The evidence supplied by the coins and countermarks seems to point to Emporiae as an important base of the provincial navy, more than to Emerita – in accordance with the words of Tacitus (Tac. Hist. II, 67, 2): »Prima classicorum legio in Hispania missa ut pace et otio mitesceret [...]« which explicitly mention its character as a naval legion.

This early stay of the legion in Emporiae may be the origin of the marine emblem on their helmets, the dolphin, since their time in Rome and Northern Italy does not seem suited to such a symbol. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the legion was created with mariners, and this also could have been the reason for this choice of »logo« for the unit.

Notes

- The Rauric colony was possibly founded by emeriti from the same legio V alaudae as the Lusitanian one. For a more thorough discussion see García-Bellido 2004b.
- The identification of the Western mints of imitations of Claudius showed interesting results (cf. Besombes 2006, 557-565).
- 3) A first version of this paper was published in Spanish (García-Bellido 2004a).
- 4) See von Domaszewski 1972, 43 no. 71. Kähler 1931, 26-28.
 Büsing 1982, 55. Seltzer 1988, fig. 44. Keppie 2000, 128. García-Bellido 2004b, 271.
- 5) The anonymous issue and the D.D. countermark had already been commented by Villaronga 1977, 16: "

 the coins without magistrates' names were countermarked suggests that these coins needed something to make them fully legal, and that stamping them with D.D. gave them a mark of authority which ensured their value and legality«.
- 6) Ritterling 1904; 1913; Rühl/Rühl I987; FMRD V, 1, 1, no. 1089. For the description of the site cf. Nuber 1986, 226-

- 234; 2006, 294-298. For the study of Hispanic coins cf. García-Bellido 2004b, 186.
- 7) Cf. García-Bellido 2004b, 193 for the description of the site and the numismatic data.
- 8) Cf. ibid. 206.
- 9) Ibid.
- 10) I owe this information, along with all the knowledge about Augusta Raurica, to the generosity of Marcus Peter.
- 11) Cf. García-Bellido 2004b, 211.
- 12) Only one of its coins was sealed with the eagle head (García-Bellido / García de Figuerola 1986, no. 1476).
- 13) The other two isolated cases of the dolphin countermark in two previous issues of Emporion (RPC I, no. 241. 252) are simply accidents.
- 14) Le Roux 1977 pass.; 1982, 132 assumes that it settled in Emerita because of the peacefulness of the place and because it belonged to Lusitania, since Tarraconensis already had the *legio VI Victrix*.

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Zusammenfassung / Abstract / Résumé

Legio I adiutrix in Hofheim am Taunus

Im Erdlager von Hofheim wurden verschiedene Münzen aus Emporiae (Spanien) gefunden, die sekundär mit dem Symbol der *legio I adiutrix* (ein Delphin im Perlkreis) gegengestempelt wurden. Dasselbe Symbol wird an den Plinthen eines Legionsmonuments in Mainz abgebildet. Diese Münzen werden hier interpretiert als Beweis für die Ankunft der *legio I* aus Spanien in Hofheim, um dort 70 n. Chr. das Steinlager zu bauen. Ähnliche Münzen sind auch in Ludwigshafen, Augusta Raurica und Vindonissa gefunden worden. Es scheint, dass diese Münzen aus Emporiae in flavischer Zeit geprägt wurden – und nicht unter Tiberius oder Caligula, wie wir ursprünglich angenommen hatten. Die vorgelegten Daten deuten darauf hin, dass Emporiae eine bedeutende Flottenbasis der römischen Marine in Spanien darstellte.

Legio I adiutrix in Hofheim am Taunus

Several coins of Emporiae (Spain), countermarked with the *legio I adiutrix* symbol (a dolphin within a pearled circle), had been found in the earthen military camp of Hofheim. The same symbol is represented in the plinths of the legionary monument at Mainz. Here, these coins are interpreted as evidence for the arrival of the *legio I* from Spain in Hofheim in order to build the stone camp in AD 70. Similar coins were found in Ludwigshafen, Augusta Raurica and Vindonissa. It seems that these Emporian coins were minted in Flavian times and not in those of Tiberius or Caligula, as we previously assumed. The presented data point to Emporiae as an important base of the Roman navy in Spain.

Legio I adiutrix à Hofheim am Taunus

Plusieurs pièces d'Emporiae (Espagne), contremarquées avec le symbole de la *legio I adiutrix* (un dauphin dans un cercle perlé), avaient été trouvées dans le camp militaire de Hofheim à enceinte de terre et de bois. Le même symbole est représenté sur les plinthes du monument de la légion à Mayence. Ces monnaies sont interprétées ici comme preuve de l'arrivée de la *legio I* en provenance d'Hispanie à Hofheim pour construire le camp de pierre en 70 ap. J-C. Des monnaies similaires proviennent de Ludwigshafen, d'Augusta Raurica et de Vindonissa. Avec les données actuelles il apparaît que ces pièces d'Emporiae ont été fabriquées sous les flaviens et non sous Tibère ou Caligula, comme nous le pensions. L'évidence fournie par les pièces et contremarques d'origine Emporitaines paraît pointer Emporiae comme une base importante de la marine romaine hispanique.

Schlüsselwörter / Keywords / Mots clés

Hessen / Römische Kaiserzeit / Germania Superior / Münzversorgung / Gegenstempel Hesse / Roman Empire / Germania Superior / coin supply / countermarks Hesse / Empire romaine / Germania Superior / approvisionnement de monnaies / contremarques

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