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THE ROMAN ARMY AND THE CULT OF THE *CAMPESTRES*

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## THE ROMAN ARMY AND THE CULT OF THE *CAMPESTRES*<sup>1</sup>

Despite its Latin name, the cult of the *Campestres* was of Celtic origin and spread through the Roman Empire via the Gallic cavalymen enlisted in the army. The *Campestres*—almost always invoked in the plural—are associated with the parade grounds and training fields of the cavalry and are linked with Epona, the patron deity of horses and their riders, and with the ternary Celtic goddesses, the *Matres* and the *Suleviae*. The geographic range of worship of the *Campestres*, likewise, overlaps that of Epona and the ternary Celtic goddesses. These cults share similar origins and significance. Sculpted monuments of Epona are concentrated along the Moselle, near Autun; the cult of the *Matres* is concentrated in Lower Germany; the *Suleviae* were worshipped in both Upper and Lower Germany.

As the *Campestres* are on occasion called *Matres*, a few words about the latter may be instructive. The Mother Goddesses are generally invoked in the plural and are usually depicted as a seated triad.<sup>2</sup> Each of the three often holds in her lap an emblem of fertility, such as children or plates of fruits or breads. The *Matres* are well-represented on inscriptions from Rome, Gallia Lugdunensis, Upper and Lower Germany, and Britain. Additionally, epigraphic evidence to their cult has surfaced in Gaul, Spain, Africa, and the Illyrian provinces, but the cult is native to the German provinces,<sup>3</sup> and votives to these goddesses were erected by German soldiers, including the *equites singulares*, who formed the imperial body-guard in the first half of the second century, and were largely, though not exclusively, recruited on the Rhine.

These goddesses, whose cult flourished from the reign of Gaius (A.D. 37-41) to that of Gordian III (A.D. 238-244)<sup>4</sup> were probably transferred throughout the Roman empire by the German soldiers recruited for the army (Haverfield [n. 3] 314). The highest concentrations of votives appear in Lower Germany, suggesting that this area might have been the original seat of worship. Moreover, the sculptures from this area are most characteristic, indicating that the *Matres* were indigenous to Lower Germany. Furthermore, the characteristic fruit basket of the *Matres* is also an attribute of the Batavian goddess Nehalennia (Haverfield [n. 3] 317). The epithets with which the *Matres* are invoked throughout the empire—*Patriae*, *Transmarinae*, *Domesticae*—suggest non-local cults, from across the sea or from the fatherland. However, it is likely that distinct but similar cults to Mother Goddesses existed among both Celtic and Germanic people, since both groups are known to have worshipped ternary deities. Via the cultural exchange between Celts and Germans in the Roman army or because of the migrations of the Celtic and Germanic peoples in the second and first centuries B.C., the two cults, the Celtic and Germanic variations, were fused, retaining the vestiges of original differences (Haverfield [n. 3] 318).

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Prof. Christoph Konrad and Mrs. Barbara Hill for kindly reading earlier drafts of this paper. Their comments have been most useful and are gratefully acknowledged. An earlier version of this paper was read at the AAH in Dayton, Ohio, May 7, 1994.

<sup>2</sup> A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain. Studies in Iconography and Tradition* (London 1967), 206-207. Although triads are most common, occasionally groups of four are to be found. For example, one relief on display in the Corinium Museum depicts four seated Mother Goddesses with plates of fruits in their laps: H. Sheldon, "Archaeology of Greater London", *Royal Society of Arts Journal* 124 (1976) 424; B. Hobley, "Excavations in the city of London. First Interim report, 1974-75", *AntJ* 57 (1977) 31-66. The addition or multiplication of deities (the Mother Goddesses, for example) enhances and emphasizes their powers and functions (fertility, protection, prowess in battle).

<sup>3</sup> F. Haverfield, *ArchAel* ser. 2.15 (1892) 317. Moreover, the sculptures from this area are most characteristic, leading Mommsen to conclude that the worship of the *Matres* is indigenous to Lower Germany (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1886, 124). Furthermore, the characteristic fruit basket of the *Matres* is also an attribute of the Batavian goddess Nehalennia (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 42 [1886] 301).

<sup>4</sup> Late in the third century, the onset of Christianity and invasions from the north weakened this and other cultic practices (including Mithraism).

Behind the *Matres* and other Celto-Germanic triads lies the fundamental Celtic belief in the three-fold power of a deity who encompasses the functions of war, fertility, and healing. The *Matres* are related to the Macha, a trio of war-goddesses, and the three Brigits of Irish lore. Furthermore, they share attributes with other Celtic goddesses, including Epona and Conventina (who is represented in three-fold form at Carrawburgh). Like many other Celtic deities, their spheres of influence include the battlefield and horses (also connected with war); they are, however, most significant as deities of fertility and childbirth.<sup>5</sup>

Another group of female deities, the *Suleviae*, were worshipped in both Upper and Lower Germany and also by the *equites singulares*. These goddesses are addressed as *Suleviae sorores* (CIL XIII 11740 [ILS 9323]), *Matres Suleviae* (CIL VI 31140 [RIB 192]), and with the epithets *paternae et maternae* (CIL VI 31161), and *domest[ic]ae suae* (CIL XIII 12056) by the Fabii Ianuarius, Bellator, and Iullus at Köln. The associations of these goddesses imply connections with fertility and prosperity as well as water and healing. The name *Suleviae* is etymologically related to *Sulis*, the Celtic goddess of the sun and healing, whose famous temple survives at Bath.<sup>6</sup> Their worshippers are similar to those of the *Matres*: they include the *equites singulares*, *humiliores* rather than officers; reliefs depicting them are also similar, as are their epithets (for example, *domesticae*). The *Suleviae* seem to have been originally distinct from but then conflated with the *Matres*. (Haverfield [n. 3] 325).

The *Campestres* were originally worshipped in Gaul and came to be known by their Latin name in the Latin speaking world through the auxiliary cavalry recruited in Gaul.<sup>7</sup> These goddesses were cultivated almost exclusively by the cavalry and were associated with the exercise ground or *campus*, which was also associated with Epona, the patron goddess of horses and their riders.<sup>8</sup> The *Campestres*, together with the *Matres* and the *Suleviae*, were included on dedications made by the *equites singulares* at Rome (6, 9-11, 14-17, 21-23)<sup>9</sup> and were worshipped by mounted units along the frontiers of the Roman empire. The dedications made by the *equites singulares* cite the *Campestres* as one group of deities in a long list of Roman gods. In the provinces, inscriptions in honor of the *Campestres* generally do not include such long lists, but there seems to exist a connection between the *equites singulares* and the worship of the *Campestres* in the Provinces as indicated by inscriptions, especially at Auchendavy (29) on the Antonine Wall.

Since the *Campestres* are so closely linked with the *equites singulares* and with the practice field, a few words about each may be helpful. The *equites singulares* were established by Domitian towards the end of the first century.<sup>10</sup> They had a permanent barracks in Rome, they accompanied the emperor to the front during wartime, and they were kept at full strength by the transfer of men from the *alae* and by recruitment from the provinces. The *equites singulares* probably included a greater mixture of races and cultures than other auxiliary units, and so it is appropriate that this unit would have made dedications to a variety of gods both Roman and Germano-Celtic (Birley [n. 7] 100).

The parade ground was a permanent part of the fort for a *cohors equitata*. In addition to its use as a training or practice field, the *campus* was used for demonstrations of riding skill with ceremonial equipment (Arrian *TT* 34.1-8; 35.1-7), for the dedications of New Year's altars to Jupiter Optimus Maxi-

<sup>5</sup> A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*, [n. 2] 206-208. The *Matres* were not identical with the Parcae, nor the θεοὶ μητέρες of Sicily (Diodorus Siculus IV. 79.7), but these goddesses were often confused with Parcae in middle ages: F. Haverfield (n. 3) 319. From a German book of questions to be asked of penitents, dating to the 11th century: "Hast thou done, as do some women at certain seasons, preparing a table in thy house and meat and drink thereon, that the three Sisters or *Parcae* may come and be refreshed therewith?"

<sup>6</sup> M. Green, "The Iconography and Archaeology of Romano-British Religion," in *ANRW* II.18.1 (1986) 140.

<sup>7</sup> E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army. Collected Papers* (Kendal 1953) 98.

<sup>8</sup> A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (Trier 1895) 50-51.

<sup>9</sup> Here and in the following pages, these numbers refer to the numbers of the texts in the Appendix.

<sup>10</sup> E. Liebenam, *RE* 6. 312-21; M. Speidel, *Die Equites Singulares Augusti* (Bonn 1965) 91.

mus, and for assemblies of the men and addresses of the commander to his troops.<sup>11</sup> The *campus* would be artificially levelled, although it was recognized in antiquity that it was best to exercise on various types of terrain, flat and rough. The *campus* could be covered in winter and in bad weather, as were the training grounds for *pedites* in some cases.<sup>12</sup> Vegetius (3.2) believes that regular exercise helps maintain the health of the troops and that it was important to exercise the men on hilly terrain in addition to the flat parade ground. Two practice grounds might even be attached to a given auxiliary fort: a level one outside the fort and a hilly one nearby. Such exercise halls appear to have been built in Roman Britain at Inchtuthil and Chester.<sup>13</sup> Some of these *campi* were paved, as at Slack and Ambleside, in Britain.<sup>14</sup> A raised platform or tribunal would be placed at the side of the *campus* so the commanding officer could view his men at their exercises, and a small temple might be built next to the tribunal. At South Shields, for example, three cobble-stone platforms were excavated on the second century parade ground. One held altars, another held a statue, perhaps of Mars, the third was probably the tribunal.<sup>15</sup> An inscription from Dura indicates that, in honor of enlarging the parade ground, the *Cohors Secunda Ulpia equitata* built a temple and erected a statue (*AE* 1931, 113: *campo adampliato templum extruxit cum statua*).

The *Campestres* were worshipped at Rome by the *equites singulares* on a series of marble altars, cut with good lettering, many of which (nos. 8-17) had been erected to commemorate the honorable discharge of members of the unit. The *Campestres* are listed along with other deities of some significance to a mounted unit fighting on behalf of the Roman empire: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Minerva, Mars, Victory, Hercules, Fortuna, and the *genius singularium Augusti*, to name a few. Many of these altars are inscribed on three sides: the formal declaration of discharge on the front, and the names of those to be discharged in two lists on the left and right sides. One of these altars (8) is particularly interesting in that male and female deities have been segregated. In fact, there seem to be two separate dedications on the same stone. Since this series of dedications was issued for official purposes—that is, the discharge of men from the *equites singulares*—all follow a similar formula in listing the gods honored by the unit, the full nomenclature of the reigning emperor, and the consuls for the year.

Other votives to the *Campestres* at Rome often take the form familiar from elsewhere in the empire, with less complex inscriptions. Some of these dedications are collective, the *cives Thraeces* of the *equites singulares*, for example, erected one (18). Others are quite personal: M. Ulpus Martialis (7) from the *Legio Prima Minervia* erected an altar to Jupiter, Juno, Hercules, and the *Campestres* in honor of his promotion from the rank of *decurio* in the *equites singulares* to that of centurion in the *Legio Prima Minervia*. P. Aelius Lucius (23), a centurion of the *legio Septima Gemina*, likewise erected an altar to the various gods of the *equites singulares* including Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the *Campestres*, Epona, the *Matres*, the *Suleviae*, and the *genius numeri equitum singularium Augusti* on the probable occasion of his promotion from the *equites singulares*.

Outside Rome, the dedications are strictly personal. The inscriptions are brief, frequently citing only the *Campestres*, but occasionally mentioning Epona, as on altars from Dacia (2), where we read *Eponabus* in the plural,<sup>16</sup> and from Raetia (5). The other epigraphic companions of the *Campestres* are

<sup>11</sup> Herodian 1.5.2; 2.8.1; 2.10.1; 2.13.4; 6.9.3; 8.7.3; Ammianus 20.5.1; 20.9.6; 21.13.9; *SHA Probus* 10.

<sup>12</sup> Vegetius 2.23 *et porticus tegerentur ad equites et quaedam velut basilicae ad pedites*.

<sup>13</sup> The training hall at Inchtuthil measured 140 feet x 70 feet (I. Richmond, *JRS* 50 [1960] 213). The training hall in Chester measured 250 feet x 80 feet. (F.H. Thompson, *Roman Cheshire* (Chester 1965), 39-40.

<sup>14</sup> R.W. Davies, *ArchJ* 125 (1968) 77. There is no epigraphic evidence for mounted or part-mounted auxiliary units at any of these three forts.

<sup>15</sup> The Parade Ground at Arbeia was outside the northeast corner of the fort. Relics found nearby included fragments of a statue, of a large altar, three fragments of an unscribed sandstone panel, and coins dating to the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Cf J.N. Dore and J.P. Gilliam, *The Roman Fort at South Shields* (Newcastle 1979), 58, and J. Thornborrow, "Report on the Excavations at Beacon Street, South Shields, 1959" in *Papers of the South Shields Archaeology and History Society* 1 (1959) 8-25.

<sup>16</sup> The dative plural form of Epona preserved on this altar is not a common usage, and this may be the only example; cf. R. Magnen's catalogue of inscriptions in *Epona déesse gauloise des chevaux, protectrice des cavaliers* (Bordeaux 1955), 39-

strictly local: the *genius loci* at Bonn (36), and Britannia at Castlehill in Scotland (27). This altar was, incidentally, found on the parade ground. The *Campestres* are also cited with the *genius* of an *ala* on Hadrian's Wall (25), and with Mars Augustus in Lambaesis (30). The personal worship of the *Campestres* in the provinces, however, parallels the cult at Rome.

In Britain, the *Campestres* are evoked as *Matres* twice, at Benwell (25) and at Cramond (28). Perhaps these inscriptions are mistakes for *Campestres et Matres*. It is also likely that the dedicators desired to emphasize either the fertility aspect of the *Campestres* or the cavalry aspect of the *Matres*, thus amalgamating the two cults, as had happened to the *Matres* and the *Suleviae*.

For the most part, the *Campestres* were worshipped by mounted units. And many of their worshippers had some connection to the *equites singulares* at Rome. M. Ulpius Martialis (7) and P. Aelius Lucius (23) have already been mentioned as having been promoted from the *equites singulares*. Additionally, the *Campestres* and the *Eponae* received a dedicated altar from M. Calventius Viator (2), a centurion of the *Legio Quarta Flavia*, an *exercitator* of the *equites singulares*, who would later be in charge of the *equites singulares* connected with the *Legio Quinta Macedonica* in Gerasa, Moesia.

M. Cocceius Firmus<sup>17</sup> likely served as an *eques singularis* in Rome before earning his commission as a centurion of the *Legio Secunda Augusta* (29). He erected an altar at Auchendavy on the Antonine Wall in Scotland, on which he singled out Mars, Minerva, the *Campestres*, Hercules, *Epona*, and *Victoria*, all of whom are represented together on altars dedicated by the *equites singulares* at Rome.

Occasionally, the connection between the dedicant and the Roman cavalry is not clear. For example, an altar from Cramond on the Antonine Wall (28) has been lost since 1794, and all discussion of the monument has depends on John Horsley's 1732 drawing of it.<sup>18</sup> The reading of this altar has always been in dispute, but it is clear that a *cohors Tungrorum* dedicated it. Horsely argued that the dedication was made by the *cohors Prima Tungrorum*, which was not *equitata*; the *cohors Secunda Tungrorum*, a unit which Horsely did not know of, was, however, mounted. But this restoration is not necessary. There is a dedication to the *Campestres* (34) from Benningen in Upper Germany by a unit which was not known to be mounted: the 24th cohort of Roman citizen volunteers (*cohors quarta et vicensima Voluntariorum c.R.*). Perhaps P. Quintius from Sicca Veneria in Africa was an enthusiastic rider who had a personal interest in equine deities (E. Birley, *ArchJ* 4 [1976] 108). It seems reasonable that the members of this auxiliary unit, like the tribune from Africa, would have an interest in riding and the appropriate deities. Perhaps these foot soldiers perceived that their own welfare was linked to that of the cavalry, as indeed it was.

*Campester* or *Campestris* was, moreover, an epithet for Mars at Tarraco (37) and of *Nemesis* at Rome (38). Both dedicators were drill instructors or *campidoctores* on the practice field. Domaszewski interprets this epithet for Mars as an equivalent of the Celtic *Campestres* for Roman citizen units (*Religion* [n. 8] 52) It has, however, been seen that legionaries also made dedications to the *Campestres* (2, 3, 29). If *Mars Campester* were a Roman equivalent of the *Campestres*, one would hope for more ev-

43, esp. no. 32. Magnen offers no comment on the dedication under discussion. *Epona* is infrequently cited epigraphically (Magnen lists 33 inscriptions out of a total of 253 monuments), but sculpted monuments depicting the goddess are numerous and widespread, concentrated in Western Europe with examples from Britain, Spain, the Gallic provinces, the two Germanies, northern Italy, Raetia, Dacia, and Moesia Inferior and Superior. See K.M. Linduff, *Latomus* 38 (1979) 820-825. Usually the goddess sits side-saddle on a mare (cf. Magnen, pll. 4-8, 18-33), but she is also to be seen mounted on a mare accompanied by a suckling foal (Magnen, pll. 9, 34, 36-37, 59) and seated or standing between two horses (Magnen, pll. 10-11, 43-45, 60-61, 65-66), or accompanied by four or more (Magnen, pll. 62, 64). The monuments clearly demonstrate *Epona*'s multiple functions—the fertility and protection of horses, the protection (and fertility?) of their human riders. The legionary centurion stationed in Dacia, by invoking *Epona* in the plural, may have wanted to emphasize the deity's multiple functions or to increase her power as a protectrice of riders.

<sup>17</sup> E. Birley, 97-103. M. Cocceius Firmus was extremely syncretic in his religious attitudes. At Auchendavy, he dedicated altars to nearly twelve deities including Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Victorious Victory (*CIL* VII 1111 [*ILS* 4831; *RIB* 2176]), to Diana and Apollo (*RIB* 2174), to the Genius of Britain (*CIL* VII 1113 [*ILS* 4831b; *RIB* 2175]), to Mars, Minerva, the *Campestres*, Hercules, *Epona*, and *Victoria* (*CIL* VII 1114 [*ILS* 4831c; *RIB* 2177]).

<sup>18</sup> J. Horsley, *Britannia Romana* (1732), *Scotland XXIX* (*CIL* VII 1084 [*ILS* 4801; *RIB* 2135]).

idence to his cult than this single inscription. And it is possible that the Celtic variety was viewed as more powerful since these deities were traditional patronesses of the cavalry and, perhaps, as equine goddesses, more mobile than Mars, so intimately connected with Rome.

Although it is perfectly reasonable for a soldier or officer to make personal religious dedications to whichever of the gods best suits his purposes, one might ask why the *Campestres* and other related Celtic deities were included on the official discharge proclamations of cavalry units in the emperor's service. Despite the fact that the *equites singulares* eventually came to be drawn from cavalry units from throughout the empire, and thus formed one of the most cosmopolitan groups of Romans in imperial service, this unit was originally recruited largely from the Rhine. It is possible that the *Campestres* and other ternary Germano-Celtic goddesses comprised an integral component in the personal religion of those men who saw active service in the early *equites singulares*. Such goddesses may have been viewed by their cavalry worshippers as protectors and preservers of the fate and identity of the unit itself. The Roman religious attitude was one of syncretism, and since the cult of the *Campestres* was probably viewed as advantageous to the Roman army in that it promoted and maintained morale, these goddesses became patronesses of the *equites singulares* and were henceforth absorbed into the official dedications and declarations.

The close connection between the *Campestres* and cavalry units is evident, and it is very likely that these goddesses have a deep significance for their adherents. Although the word *campus*, from which the name of our goddesses derives, is usually taken to refer to the practice field, the same word has been used to refer to the battle field by Vegetius (1.11) in his discussion of practice weapons. That use is likewise attested in Ennius (*Ann.* 280), Vergil (*Aen.* 11.373), Livy (24.48.12), Ovid (*Fasti* 2.227), and Tacitus (*Hist.* 3.24). It appears that the *Campestres* held sway over both the practice and the battle fields—as protectors over their worshippers from injuries inflicted both in practice and during actual battle.

The current writer now suggests that the *Campestres* may have, in the minds of their worshippers, selected cavalry officers who had demonstrated on the practice field that they were worthy to engage the enemy in battle or that they were worthy for further military glory in the afterlife. Death and afterlife associations are quite common for Celtic deities. Consider the enigmatic *Genii Cucullati*, who in Britain are found as a trio of dwarfs dressed in heavy hooded cloaks reaching from head to toe. Their hooded heads suggest death and the mysteries of the underworld.<sup>19</sup> Consider also the horned warrior gods and the close connection between war and death in the Celtic tradition, a connection confirmed by the observations of Julius Caesar: *in primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant metu mortis neglecto* (*bel. Gall.* 6.14.5). Epona, with whom the *Campestres* are closely connected in cult and function, likewise has funerary associations. Many of the small, portable monuments depicting Epona have been found in burial mounds, and several monuments, by virtue of their shape, are suggestive of funeral stele (Linduff [n. 16] 835). By analogy, it is not unreasonable to assume that the *Campestres* had similar associations with death and the afterlife. Perhaps our Roman-era goddesses were ancestors of the Valkyries, "the choosers of battle", the Germanic goddesses who chose mortals to engage in battle with the gods. The Valkyries are native to the places whence our goddesses originated and were themselves once perceived as a group of three. Perhaps the *Campestres* were the Celtic cousins of the Germanic *Alaisiagae* who are considered to be the ancestors of the Valkyries.<sup>20</sup> Two of the *Alaisiagae* have been named on an altar from Vercovicium (Housesteads, *RIB* 1576) as Baudhillie (ruler of battle) and Friagabi (the giver of freedom; Bosanquet [n. 20] 185-192).

<sup>19</sup> J.M.C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (Oxford 1964), 105; F.M. Heichelheim, *ArchAel* ser. 4,12 (1935) 194.

<sup>20</sup> Th. Siebs in R.C. Bosanquet, "On an Altar dedicated to the *Alaisiagae*", *ArchAel* ser. 3, 19 (1922) 194-196.

In conclusion, the *Campestres* were goddesses influential over the parade ground and mounted units, especially the *equites singulares* at Rome. They became so closely linked with the fate of the *equites* that they were included on their official inscriptions, and came to be embraced by Celts and non-Celts alike serving in the Roman army. These goddesses are good examples of the syncretic procedures of Roman army religion. Linduff's comments on Epona (*loc. cit.* [n. 16] 836) are likewise applicable to the *Campestres*. These goddesses became popular with Germans and Celts because they were familiar to their worshippers. As with the cult of Epona, so too there is no evidence for elaborate entrance requirements, a characteristic of eastern mystery religions, i.e. Mithraism, which may very well have barred many from worship. The worshippers of Epona could look to that goddess for protection for themselves and their horses. The worshippers of the *Campestres* could expect the same--protection from injury on the practice field and in battle. The *Campestres* may even provide a model of the continuity between pre- and post-Roman cults on the frontiers.

### Appendix: Sources on Matres Campestres

#### Lower Pannonia

Aquincum

1. [C]ampestribus Ael(ius) Vale(n)s et Ponti(us) Sabinus TR ST (*CIL* III 3667).

#### Dacia

2. Eponab(us) et Campestrib(us) sacr(um) M. Calventius Viator c. leg. III F(laviae) f(elicis) exerc(itator) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) C. Avidi Nigrini leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) v. s. l. m. (*CIL* III 7904 [*ILS* 2417]).

#### Upper Pannonia

Brigetio

3. Campestr(ibus) M. Ulp(ius) Ruf[us] eques leg. I Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) v. s. l. m. (*CIL* III 14355.22).
4. Campestr(ibus) L. Volumnius Horatianus trib(unus) milit(um) laticl(avius) leg. I Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) (*CIL* III 14355.21).

#### Raetia

5. Campestr(ibus) et Eponae ala I sing(ularium) p(ia) f(idelis) c(ivium) R(omanorum) qu(ibus) pr(a)e(st) Ael(ius) Bassianus praef(ectus) v. s. l. m. (*CIL* III 11909 [*ILS* 4830]).

#### Rome

6. Sulevis et Campestribus sacrum L. Aurelius Quintus c. leg. VII Geminae votum solvit laetus libens dedicavit VIII k(alendas) Septemb(ri)s Bradua et Varo co(n)s(ulibus) (*CIL* VI 768 [*ILS* 4776]).

7. I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Iunoni | Herclenti | Campestribus M Ulp(ius) Martialis | ex decurione | factus c. ab | imp(eratore) Caesare | Hadriano | leg. I Minerv(iae) voto suscepto | d(ono) d(edit) (*CIL* VI 31158 [*ILS* 2213]).

8. voto suscepto sacr(um) | Iovi Optimo Max(imo) Soli | divino Marti Mercur(io) | Herculi Apollin(i) Silvan(o) | et dis omnibus et Genio | imp(eratoris) Hadriani Aug(usti) et | Genio singularium | M. Ulp(ius) Tertius cives | Tribocus Cl(audia) Ara missus | honest(a) mission(e) ex numer(o) | eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aug(usti) VIII id(us) Ianuar(ias) | Asprenate II et Libone co(n)s(ulibus) | vot(um) solvit libens merito || voto suscepto sacr(um) | Iun(oni) Victoriae Fortun(ae) | Felicitati Minervae | Campestrib(us) Fatis Salut(i) | et omnibus deabus et Genio | imp(eratoris) Hadriani | Aug(usti) et genio singular(ium) | M Ulp(ius) Tertius cives | Tribocus Cl. ara missus | honest(a) mission(e) ex numero eq sing Aug VIII Id(us) Ian(uarias) | Asprenate II et Libone co(n)s(ulibus) | votum solvit libens merito (*CIL* VI 31139).

9. Iovi Optimo Maximo | Iunoni Minervae | Marti Victoriae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio | Felicitati Saluti Fatis | Campestribus Silvano | Apollini Dianae Eponae | Matribus Sulevis et | Genio sing(ularium) Aug(usti) | veterani missi | honesta missione | ex eodem numero ab | imp(eratore) Traiano Hadriano Aug(usto) p(atre) p(atriciae) | C. Serio Augurino C. Trebio | Sergiano co(n)s(ulibus)... (*CIL* VI 31140).

10. Iovi Optimo | Maximo Iunoni | Minervae Marti | Victoriae Mercurio | Felicitati Saluti | Fatis Campestribus | Silvano Apollini | Dianae Eponae Matribus | Sulevis et Genio | singularium Aug(usti) | veterani missi | honesta missione ex eodem numero ab | imp(eratore) Traiano Hadriano | Aug(usto) p(atre) p(atriciae) | l.l.m.v.s. | Hiberno et Sisenna co(n)s(ulibus)... (*CIL* VI 31141).

11. Iovi Optimo Maximo | Iunoni Minervae Marti | Victoriae Mercurio | Felicitati Saluti Fatis | Campestribus Silvano | Apollini Dianae | Epone Matribus | Sulevis et Genio | singularium Aug(usti) | veterani missi honesta missione ex eodem numero | ab imp(eratore) Traiano Hadrian | Aug(usto) p(atre) p(atriciae) | l.l.m.v.s. | L. Iulio Urso Serviano III | T. Vibio Varo co(n)s(ulibus). The text continues with discharge list (*CIL* VI 31142).

12. I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni | Minervae Marti | Victoriae Mercurio | Felicitati Saluti Fatis | Campestribus Silvano Apollini | Dianae Eponae et Genio | singularium Aug(usti) veter(ani) | missi honesta missione | ex eodem numero ab im-



p(eratore) | Hadriano Aug(usto) | p(atre) p(atriciae) | l.l.m.v.s. | Pontiano et Atiliano co(n)s(ulibus) | qui militare | coeperunt | Gallo et Bradua co(n)s(ulibus). The text continues with discharge list (*CIL* VI 31143).

**13.** I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni | Miner(vae) Marti Victori(ae) | Mercur(io) Felicit(ati) Saluti | Fatis Campestri(bus) Silvano | Apollini Dianae Eponae et | Genio singularium Aug(usti) veterani missi honesta mission(e) | ex eodem numero ab imp(eratore) | Traiano Hadriano Aug(usto) | p(atre) p(atriciae) | l.l.m.v.s. | L. Caeionio Commodo | Sex. Civica Pompeiano co(n)s(ulibus) | qui mil(itare) coeperunt | Palma et Tullo co(n)s(ulibus). The text continues with discharge list (*CIL* VI 31144).

**14.** Iovi Optimo | Maximo Iunoni | Minervae Marti | Victoriae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio | Felicitati Saluti Fatis | Campestribus Silvano | Apollini Dianae Eponae | Matribus Sulevis et | Genio singularium Aug(usti) | ceterisq(ue) Dis Immortalib(us) | veterani missi | honesta missione ex eodem | numero ab imp(eratore) Traiano | Hadriano Aug(usto) p(atre) p(atriciae) | L. Aelio Caesare II et P. Coelio Balbino co(n)s(ulibus) | l. l. m. v. s. The text continues with discharge list (*CIL* VI 31145).

**15.** I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Minervae | Marti Victoriae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio Felicitati | Fatis Saluti Campestribus | Silvano Apollini Dianae | Ephoniae Matribus Sulevis | et Genio singularium Augusti | ceterisque Dis Immortalibus | veterani missi honesta missione | ex eodem numero ab imp(eratore) | Traiano Hadriano Aug(usto) p(atre) p(atriciae) | Camerino et Nigro co(n)s(ulibus) | VIII idus Ianuarias qui militare coeperunt Pisone et Bolano co(n)s(ulibus) | l. l. m. v. s. The text continues with discharge list (*CIL* VI 31146 names are inscribed on right side only).

**16.** I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Minervae | Marti Victoriae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio Felicitati Fatis | Saluti Campestribus Silvano Apollini | Dianae Eponae Matribus Sulevis et | Genio singularium Aug(usti) ceterisq(ue) Dis | Immortalibus veterani missi honesta | missione ex eodem numero ab | imp(eratore) Tito Aelio Antonino Aug(usto) pio p(atre) p(atriciae) | Tito Aelio Antonino et Aurelio | Caesare co(n)s(ulibus) | qui militare coeperunt Vergiliano | et Messalla co(n)s(ulibus) Celsinius Ingenus singularium | Ulpus Repentinus Hasti L. Iulius Clemen. | voto solverunt animo libenti (*CIL* VI 31148; names of those discharged?).

**17.** Iovi Optimo | Maximo Iunoni | Minervae Marti | Victoriae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio | Felicitati Saluti Fatis | Campestribus Silvano | Apollini Dianae Eponae | Matribus Sulevis et | Genio singularium Aug(usti) | ceterisq(ue) Dis Immortalib(us) | veterani missi | honesta missione ex eodem | numero ab imp(eratoris) Hadriano | Antonino Aug(usto) P(io) p(atre) p(atriciae) | Priscino et Stloga co(n)s(ulibus) | l. l. m. v. s. The text continues with discharge list (*CIL* VI 31149).

**18.** sa[n]ct[is] | Campestribus | et ceteris | Dis Deabusque | et Genio imp(eratoris) Traiani | Hadriani Aug(usti) | itemque suo | cives Thraeces | eq. sing. ipsius | posuerunt | libentes merito (*CIL* VI 31157).

**19.** dedi. xiii k(alendas) [#]NIAS | Apro et Maximo co(n)s(ulibus) | pro sal(uti) imp. nn. Augg. | Matribus Paternis | et Maternis meisque | Sulevis Candidinilus Saturninus dec. | eq. s. imp. nn | voto libens posui (*CIL* VI 31161).

**20.** Campestribus | M. Ulpus | Vegetus dec(urio) f | ex singularib(us) Aug. | voto posuit laetus | libens merito pro | se et suis (*CIL* VI 31167).

**21.** Iovi Iunoni | Soli Lunae | Herculi Minervae | Marti Mercurio | Campestribus | Terrae Caelo | Mari Neptuno | Matribus Sule(v)is | Genio imp(eratoris) | M. Ulpus Nonius | veteranus Aug(usti) | cives Nemens | v. s. l. m. (*CIL* VI 31171).

**22.** I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Minervae | Marti Victoriae Hercul(i) | Mercur(io) Felicitati | Saluti Fatis Campestri- bus | Silvano [A]pollini Deanae | Eponae Matribus Sule(v)is | et Genio singularium Aug(usti) | M. Ulpus Festus dec(urio) pr. n. | eq. sing. Aug. | v. s. l. m. (*CIL* VI 31174).

**23.** I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Iunoni Minervae | Marti Victoriae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio | Felicitati Salutis Fatis | Campestribus Silvano | Apollini Dianae Eponae | Matribus Sulevis Ceterisque | Dis Immortalibus | Genio numeri eq. sing. Aug. | P. Aelius Lucius c. leg. VII Geminae | v. s. l. l. m. (*CIL* VI 31175).

#### Britain

Gloster Hill, Northumberland

**24.** [Ca]mpestril[bus] c[oh](ors) I | [- - -] (*CIL* VII 1029, addit. p. 312 [*RIB* 1206]).

Condercum (Benwell)

**25.** Matr(ibus) Tribus Campes[t]r[i]b(us) | et Genio alae prim(ae) Hispanolrum Asturum [- - -] Gordi[a]nae T(arentius) | Agrippa praef(ectus) templum a sol(o) restituit (*RIB* 1334).

Newstead

**26.** Campestr(ibus) | sacrum Ael(ius) | M(arcus) | dec(urio) alae Aug(ustae) | Vocontio(rum) | v.s.l.l.m. (*CIL* VII 1080 [*RIB* 2121]).

#### Castlehill

**27.** Campestribus et | Britanni(ae) | Q(uintus) Pisentius | Iustus Pr(aef(ectus) | coh(ortis) IIII Gal(lorum) | v.s.l.l.m. (*CIL* VII 1129 [*ILS* 4829; *RIB* 2195]).

#### Cramond

**28.** Matrib(us) Alalervis et Matrib(us) Camlpestribu(s) coh(ors) I | Tungr(orum) ins(tante) | VERSCARM | [c.] leg. XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) (*CIL* VII 1084 [*ILS* 4801; *RIB* 2135]).

#### Auchendavy

29. Marti | Minervae | Campestribus Herc(u)l(i) | Eponae | Victoriae | M(arcus) Coccei(us) | Firmus | c. leg. II Aug(ustae) (CIL VII 1114 [ILS4831c; RIB 2177]).

#### Numidia

Lambaesis

30. Marti | Aug(usto) et dis Campestribus | L. Aurel(ius) Maxim[us... (CIL VIII 2635 [ILS 3157]).

Gemellae

31. [C]ampes[tr]ibus | T. Aurelius Aurelianus praef(ectus) eq(uitatum) al(ae) Thracum p(iae) f(idelis) (Fossatum Africae 1949, 104, 107b).

32. diis Campestribus | M. Celerinius Augendus praef(ectus) eq(uitum) a(lae) Pann(oniorum) Severia(ae) (Fossatum Africae 1949, 104, 108).

33. diis Campestribus (CIL VIII 10760).

#### Upper Germany

Benningen

34. Campestribus | sacrum | P. Quintius L. f. | Quir. [Fi]rminus | domo Sicca | Veneria trib. | coh. XXIII Vol. c.R. (CIL XIII 6449 [ILS 2604]).

Böckingen

35. Campestribus ex voto C. Sanctinius Gai. fil(ius) Quir(ina) Aeternus praef(ectus) coh(ortis) V Delmatarum] (CIL XIII 6470).

#### Lower Germany

Bonn

36. [in] h(onorem) d(omus) di(vinae) | Genio loci e[st] Campestribus | dii[s] de[abus]que om[n]ibus - - - | N[on]ius Vic[tor] - - -] (Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission no.183).

#### Tarraco

Mars Campester

37. Marti Campestri sac(rum) | pro sal(ute) | imp. M. Aur. Commodi | Aug. et equit(um) sing(ularium) | T. Aurel(ius) Decimus | c. leg. VII G(eminae) Fel(icis) praep(ositus) simul et camp(idoctor) | dedic(atum) k. Mart. | Mamert(ino) et Rufoc(ostus) (A.D. 182. CIL II 4083 [ILS 2416]).

Rome

Nemesis Campestris

38. Nemesi | sanctae | Campestri pro salute dominorum nn. Augg. | P. Ael. P. f. | Aelia Pacatus | Scupis quod coh(ortis) doct(oris) voverat nunc | campidoctor coh. I | praetoriae p(iae) v(indicis) somnio admolnitus posuit l.l. (CIL VI 533; ILS 2088).