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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

Despite its Latin name, the cult of the Campestres was of Celtic origin and spread through the Roman Empire via the Gallic cavalrymen 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. 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, 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) 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 worshiped 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).

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1 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.

2 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).

3 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).

4 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 threefold 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 threefold 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.5

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 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.6 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.7 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.8 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)9 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.10 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-

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5 A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*, [n. 2] 206-208. The **Matres** were not identical with the Parcae, nor the θεοὶ μήτερες 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?”


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

The Roman Army and the Cult of the *Campestres*  

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 singularum 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 Thraces* of the *equites singulares*, for example, erected one (18). Others are quite personal: M. Ulpius Martialis (7) erected an altar to Jupiter, Juno, Hercules, and the *Campestres* in honor of his promotion from the rank 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, and from Raetia (5). The other epigraphic companions of the *Campestres* are

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11 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.
12 Vegetius 2.23 et porticus tegerentur ad equites et quaedam velut basilicae ad pedites.
13 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.
14 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.
15 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 uninscribed 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.
16 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 Firmus17 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.18 The reading of this altar has always been in dispute, but it is clear that a cohors Tungrorum dedicated it. Horsley argued that the dedication was made by the cohors Prima Tungrorum, which was not equitata; the cohors Secunda Tungrorum, a unit which Horsley 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.

Camester 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-

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43, esp. no. 32. Magnen offers no comment on the dedication under discussion. Epona is infrequently cited epigraphically (Magen 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 Germans, 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 (Magen, plll. 9, 34, 36-37, 59) and seated or standing between two horses (Magen, plll. 10-11, 43-45, 60-61, 65-66), or accompanied by four or more (Magen, plll. 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.

17 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 Victory (CIL VII 1114 [ILS 4831c; RIB 2177]).

18 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 bests suit 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. 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. 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).

19 J.M.C. Toynbee, Art in Britain under the Romans (Oxford 1964), 105; F.M. Heichelheim, ArchAel ser. 4,12 (1935) 194.
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. [Campestribus 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(ii) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) C. Avidi Nigrini leg(ati) (*CIL* III 7904 [*ILS* 2417]).

**Upper Pannonia**

Brigetio

3. Campestr(ibus) M. Ulpius Rulf(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(uni) milit(um) lat(i)cial(avius) leg. I Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) (*CIL* III 14355.21).

**Raetia**

5. Campestr(ibus) et Eponae ala I sing(uarum) p(ia) f(idelis) c(ivium) R(omanorum) qu(ibus) pr(ae(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 kal(endas) September(s) Bradua et Varo co(n)s(vis) (ulibus) (*CIL* VI 768 [*ILS* 4476]).

7. I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) I unoni | Hercleti | Campestribus M Ulpius Martialis I ex decurione | factus c. ab I imp(erator) Caesare | Hadriano | leg. I Minerv(i)ae voto suscepto | d(ono) d(edit) (*CIL* VI 31158 [*ILS* 2213]).

8. Voto suscepto sac(rum) I optimo Maximo Soli | divino Marti Mercuri(io) | Herculi Apollin(i) Silvan(o) | et dis omnibus et Genio | imp(eratoris) Hadr(a)e | Hadr(i) | aug(ustus) | C. Serio Augurino | Sergiano c. ab I imp(erator) Traiano Hadriano | aug(usto) | p(aeter) | CIL VI 31140).


p(eratore) | Hadriano Aug(usto) | p(atre) | p(atiae) | I.I.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. Iovi (ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni | Minervae Marti | Victorieae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio | Felicitati Salutis Fatis | Campestribus Silvano | Apollini Dianae Eponae | et | Genio sing(ularium) Aug(usti) | ceterisq(ue) | Dis Immortalibus | veterani missi | honesta missione ex comed | numero ab imp(eratore) | Traiano | Hadriano Aug(usto) | p(atre) | p(atiae) | | 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). 
14. Iovi Optimio | Maximo Iunoni | Minervae Marti | Victorieae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio | Felicitati Salutis Fatis | Campestribus Silvano | Apollini Dianae Eponae | Matribus Sulevis et | et | Genio sing(ularium) Aug(usti) | ceterisq(ue) | Dis Immortalibus | veterani missi | honesta missione ex comed | numero ab imp(eratore) | Traiano | Hadriano Aug(usto) | p(atre) | p(atiae) | | 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. Iovi (ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Minervae | Marti Victorieae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio | Felicitati Salutis Fatis | Campestribus Silvano | Apollini Dianae Eponae | Matribus Sulevis et | et | Genio sing(ularium) Augusti | ceterisq(ue) | Dis Immortalibus | veterani missi | honesta missione ex comed | numero ab imp(eratore) | Traiano | Hadriano Aug(usto) | p(atre) | p(atiae) | | 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 31146 names are inscribed on right side only). 
16. Iovi (ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Minervae | Marti Victorieae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio | Felicitati Salutis Fatis | Campestribus Silvano | Apollini Dianae Eponae | Matribus Sulevis et | et | Genio sing(ularium) Aug(usti) | ceterisq(ue) | Dis Immortalibus | veterani missi | honesta missione ex comed | numero ab imp(eratore) | Traiano | Hadriano Aug(usto) | p(io) | p(atre) | | 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 31149). 
17. Iovi Optimio | Maximo Iunoni | Minervae Marti | Victorieae Herculi | Fortunae Mercurio | Felicitati Salutis Fatis | Campestribus Silvano | Apollini Dianae Eponae | Matribus Sulevis et | et | Genio sing(ularium) Aug(usti) | ceterisq(ue) | Dis Immortalibus | veterani missi | honesta missione ex comed | numero ab imp(eratore) | Tito Aelio Antonino Aug(usto) | p(io) | p(atre) | | 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 31149). 
18. saluent(is) | Campestribus | et | ceteris | Dis Deabusque | et | Genio imp(eratoris) | Traiani | Hadriani Aug(usti) | itemque suo | cives Thraces | eq. sing. | ipsius | posuerunt | libentes merito (CIL VI 31157). 
19. dedi. xii (kalendas) | [N]IAS | Apro et Maximo co(n)s(ulibus) | pro sal(uti) | impp. nn. Augg. | Matribus Paternis | et | Maternis meisque | Sulevis Candidinibus Saturninus dec. | eq. s. | imp nn | voto | liberis posui (CIL VI 31161). 
20. Campestribus | M. Ulpius | Vegetus dec(urio) | f | ex | singularib(us) Aug. | voto | posuit laetus | libens merito pro se et suis (CIL VI 31167). 
29. Marti | Minervae | Campestribus Herc(u)l(i) | Eponae | Victoriae | M(arcus) Coccei(us) | Firmus | c. leg. II Aug(ustae) (CIL VII 1114 [ILS 4831c; RIB 2177]).

Numidia
Lambeasis

Gemellae

32. diis Campestribus | M. Celerinius Augendus prae(fectus) eq(uitetum) a(lae) Pann(oniorum) Severia(æ) (Fossatum Africane 1949, 104, 108).

33. diis Cam(pestribus) (CIL VIII 10760).

Upper Germany
Benningen

Böckingen

Lower Germany
Bonn

Tarraco
Mars Campester

Rome
Nemesis Campestris