

# CITIZEN COHORTS IN THE ROMAN IMPERIAL ARMY. NEW DATA ON THE COHORTS APULA, CAMPANA, AND III CAMPESTRIS

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Roman citizens enrolled in the legions, aliens in the cohorts and *alae*. That general rule of Augustus' military system is modified somewhat by a number of still rather enigmatic citizen cohorts. Two recently found inscriptions reveal a new such unit, *cohors Apula civium Romanorum*. That, in turn, leads to a better definition of the parallel *cohors Campana civium Romanorum* and of *cohors III Campestris civium Romanorum* and allows for some insight into the origin and command of these citizen cohorts.<sup>1</sup>

A broken tombstone from Side/Pamphylia exhibits the following text<sup>2</sup>

...cohο]rte Apula. Λεύκιος Σάλβιος Λευκίου νείδος Σεργία

The deceased soldier, *Lucius Salvius L(uci) f(ilius) Sergia (tribu)*, lacked a *cognomen* which dates his monument to the beginning decades of the first century A.D. The indication of the voting tribe proves the man possessed Roman citizenship. His unit, *cohors Apula*, previously unknown to epigraphy, can be identified with the Ἀπλανοί of the Cappadocian army mentioned by Arrian in his *Ektaxis* (A.D. 131–137) and listed, still in the same province, by the fourth century *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or. 38.34) as *cohors Apul{et}a civium Romanorum*. The citizenship of Lucius Salvius and the early date of his tombstone are evidence that *cohors Apula* was a citizen cohort from the beginning

<sup>1</sup> For the citizen cohorts see K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau* (Bern 1951) 82–105.

<sup>2</sup> G. E. Bean, *Side Kitabeleri (Inscriptions of Side)* (Ankara 1965) 155.

and had not, in contrast to the titular citizen cohorts, received the title *civium Romanorum* for gallant action at some later time.

A second inscription, on a stone slab from Alexandria Troas shows *cohors Apula* to be one of the earliest of all known cohorts:<sup>3</sup>

C(aio) Fabricio C(aii) f(ilio) Ani(ene tribu) Tusco, II vir(o), augur(i), praef(ecto) cohort(is) Apulae et operum quae in colonia iussu Augusti facta sunt, trib(un)o mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) VIII, trib(un)o dilectus ingenuorum quem Romae habuit Augustus et Ti(berius) Caesar, praef(ecto) fabr(um) IIII, praef(ecto) equit(um) alae praet(oriae) IIII, hasta pura et corona aurea donatus est a Germanico Caesare imp(eratore) bello Germanico, d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

No doubt, the *dilectus ingenuorum Romae*, levies of free born men at Rome which Fabricius Tuscus supervised, refers to the raising of *cohortes ingenuorum civium Romanorum* in the emergencies during the Pannonian revolt of A.D. 6 or after Varus' defeat in Germany in A.D. 9. Fabricius Tuscus, having spent the interim eight years as tribune of the third Cyrenaican legion, consequently commanded *cohors Apula* before, or at, the turn of the millenium.

Its name makes it obvious that *cohors Apula* was raised in Apulia/Italy, a region that was granted citizenship over half a century earlier. It was to be expected that in this second inscription, again, the cohort is not styled *civium Romanorum*, for the title *civium Romanorum* is mentioned in inscriptions only from the Flavian period onwards when regular units frequently received it as a distinction: at that point the true citizen cohorts began to feel a need for insisting upon their title, while before names like *cohors Apula*, *cohors Campana*, *cohors Italica*, *cohors Voluntariorum*, etc., sufficed to show that they were citizen units.<sup>4</sup>

The history of *cohors Apula civium Romanorum* thus can be summarized as follows: raised in the first century B.C. from Roman citizens in Apulia, it was transferred to the province of Asia with its garrison in or near Alexandria Troas; early in the first century A.D. it went south to Side/Pamphylia, there becoming apparently part of the Galatian army; from Side it moved eastwards with the Roman frontier and for

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973) 412. An excellent commentary to this text is P. A. Brunt, "C. Fabricius Tuscus and an Augustan Dilectus," *ZPE* 13 (1974) 161-85. On the *ala Praetoria* see M. Speidel, "Germanicus' Gardereiter," *Germania* 53 (1975) 165 f.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Kraft 95 and 195, now corroborated by our two texts and, e.g., *AE* 1966, 124.

the next three hundred years belonged to the army of Cappadocia. It has rightly been emphasized that *cohors Apula*, predating the emergencies of A.D. 6 and 9, changes our understanding of the origin of the citizen cohorts: Augustus must have had other reasons than these emergencies to enroll citizens in special cohorts rather than in legions, reasons yet to be found.<sup>5</sup> If it could be established that *cohors Apula* was a volunteer cohort, then the problem would take on particularly large dimensions, for there existed some 32 or more *cohortes voluntariorum* and the debate whether or not they are the result of servile levies during emergencies is still going on.<sup>6</sup> *Cohortes voluntariorum*, one might object, are commanded by tribunes, especially in the first century A.D.,<sup>7</sup> while Fabricius Tuscus as commander of *cohors Apula* only holds the rank of a *praefectus*; moreover, *cohors Apula* is not given the title *voluntariorum* in our inscriptions or in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The validity of these arguments is intimately tied up with the documents and the history of another citizen cohort raised by Augustus in an Italian region, namely *cohors Campana*, to which we now must turn.

As *cohors Apula* was raised in Apulia, so *cohors Campana* (or *Campanorum*) was raised in Campania.<sup>8</sup> That leaves unexplained the other name given by modern scholars to this unit: *cohors Campestris*.<sup>9</sup> However, a review of all the documents mentioning *cohors Campana* shows that it is never called *Campestris*:

<sup>5</sup> Brunt 180 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Kraft 87 ff. with the earlier literature. Since Kraft: U. Schillinger-Häfele, "Eine neue Inschrift aus Stettfeld," *Badische Fundberichte* 22 (1962) 85-88, A. Neumann, "Voluntarii," *RE* 17 A, 886 ff. (servile recruitment); M. Leglay, "Le commandement des cohortes voluntariorum de l'armée romaine," *Ancient Society* 3 (1972) 209-21 (several types of recruitment); M. Speidel, "The Captor of Decebalus," *JRS* 60 (1970) 142-53, esp. p. 151, and P. A. Brunt (recruitment from citizens).

<sup>7</sup> Leglay, with an addendum, *ibid.* 222, by J. F. Gilliam.

<sup>8</sup> For the cohort see W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Mösien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus* (Berlin 1938) 114 ff.; also G. Alföldy, "Die Auxiliartuppen der Provinz Dalmatien," *Acta Arch. Hung.* 14 (1962) 259-96.

<sup>9</sup> Kraft, Wagner, Alföldy, Brunt, and Leglay identify *Campana/Campanorum* with *Campestris*; G. L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (Oxford 1914) 65, no. 6, objected, but in the belief that the Pannonian coh. I. Camp. was a *cohors Campestris*, now disproved by *AE* 1968, 436 and *CIL* XVI, 179/180. The reading of *CIL* XVI, 113 (and 112) must be revised from *Camp(estr)s* to *Camp(anorum)*.

Source	Name of the cohort
1. <i>CIL</i> III, 8693 (= <i>ILS</i> 2600) (Salonae/Dalmatia)	<i>coh. Campanae</i>
2. <i>CIL</i> III, 14246, 1 (= <i>ILS</i> 9156) (Salonae/Dalmatia)	<i>cohortis Camp.</i>
3. <i>AE</i> 1966, 124 (Verona) (A.D. 41-54)	<i>coh. Camp.</i>
4. <i>CIL</i> III, 10052 (Lopsica/Dalmatia)	<i>co[h. I. Ca]mp LI[?...] civiu[m Romanorum?]</i>
5. <i>CIL</i> III, 14623, 3 (Narona/Dalmatia)	<i>coh.] Campan[.</i>
6. <i>CIL</i> III, 8438 (= <i>ILS</i> 2597) (Narona/Dalmatia)	<i>coh. I. Camp.</i>
7. <i>CIL</i> VI, 3520 (= <i>ILS</i> 2731) (Rome) (A.D. 106-116)	<i>coh. primae voluptariae (sic) Campanorum in Pannonia inferiore</i>
8. <i>CIL</i> XVI, 113 (Pannonia inferior) A.D. 151-160	<i>Ca]mp. vol. c. R.</i>
9. <i>CIL</i> XVI, 179/180 (Pannonia inferior) (A.D. 148)	<i>I. Campan. vol. c. R.</i>
10. <i>CIL</i> III, 3237 (Sirmium/Pannonia inferior) (A.D. 212)	<i>coh. I. Camp. vol. c. R.</i>
11. <i>CIL</i> XIV, 5351 (Ostia)	<i>cohor. I. Campanor.</i>
12. <i>AE</i> 1968, 436 (Zemun-Polje/Pannonia inferior)	<i>cor. pri. Campanorum</i>

It seems to follow from this table that *cohors I Campanorum voluntariorum civium Romanorum* was stationed first in Dalmatia and at some time before A.D. 116 moved to Lower Pannonia where it stayed into the third century A.D.<sup>10</sup> Yet it has also been suggested, not unreasonably, that there existed actually two units, one *cohors Campana* in Dalmatia and one *cohors I Campanorum voluntariorum civium Romanorum* in Lower Pannonia.<sup>11</sup> If so, we would have a perfect parallel for *cohors Apula*: a *cohors Campana* of the early first century A.D., perhaps without a serial number (if our no. 6 could be assigned to the Pan-

<sup>10</sup> Thus Wagner, Alföldy.

<sup>11</sup> Cheesman, Leglay. No. 4 may refer to a *co[hors Tru]mpli[norum]*.

nonian cohort), without the title *voluntariorum* and, most important, commanded by a prefect, while the Pannonian cohort, like other *cohortes voluntariorum*, had tribunes as commanders.<sup>12</sup> The discovery of *cohors Apula*, commanded by a prefect, has increased the likelihood for such a non-volunteer *cohors Campana* in Dalmatia different from the Pannonian cohort, but the question cannot be decided until a first century document for the Pannonian cohort, or a second century document for the Dalmatian cohort, can be produced which would show unequivocally that two *cohortes Campanae/Campanorum* existed at the same time.

*Cohors Apula* thus may, or may not, have been a volunteer cohort: if the Dalmatian and Pannonian cohorts *Campanae/Campanorum* are one and the same, then there is ample evidence for the omission of the title *voluntariorum* from the name of volunteer cohorts in the early period. The title *praefectus* of Fabricius Tuscus remains nevertheless significant: the *cohortes classicae* are also early citizen cohorts commanded by prefects and it is now obvious that they were not, in this, given worse treatment than other citizen cohorts such as *cohors Apula* and *cohors Campana*. Moreover, if there was only one *cohors Campana*, i.e., the volunteer cohort, then one must admit that there was no fixed rule to the effect that commanders of *cohortes voluntariorum* had to be tribunes.<sup>13</sup>

The only unit known bearing the name *Campestris* is *cohors III Campestris* and it seems to have been part of a composite series of units, so that perhaps there never existed any other *Campestres* units.<sup>14</sup> This cohort, first known in A.D. 103, belong to the army of Moesia superior, then moved into Dacia with Trajan's conquest and may have stayed there for a while before it returned, at the latest in A.D. 160, to Moesia superior. The unit is mentioned on the Dacian diploma of A.D. 110, and a tribune of the cohort made a dedication at Napoca in the north

<sup>12</sup> For a prefect as commander of *cohors Campana* see *AE* 1966, 124 (Verona): *L(ucio) Domitio M(arcii) f(ilio) Pob(lilia tribu) Severo, praef(ecto) coh(ortis) Camp(anae), praef(ecto) alae Aurean(ae) Hispan(orum) I, tr(ibuno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XX, IIII vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo), flam(ini) design(ato), ala Aurean(a) Hispan(orum) (prima)*. Tribunes of the Pannonian *cohors Campanorum*: our numbers 7, 10, and 11. Our number 4, too fragmentary, does not count.

<sup>13</sup> For the *cohortes Classicae* see Kraft 95-99.

<sup>14</sup> *Cohors VII Campestris* owed its existence solely to a faulty reading, see *CIL* III, 14160, 3.

of the province.<sup>15</sup> The name of the unit is given in the following variants:

Source	Name of the cohort
1. <i>CIL</i> XVI, 54 (Moesia Superior, A.D. 103–106)	[III Cam]pestris c. R.
2. <i>CIL</i> XVI, 57 (Dacia, A.D. 110)	III Campestris c. R.
3. <i>AE</i> 1934, 14 (Napoca)	coh. III Camp.
4. <i>CIL</i> III, 14216, 10 (Drobeta)	coh. III Cam.
5. <i>CIL</i> III, 14216, 8 (Drobeta)	coh. III. Camp.
6. <i>CIL</i> XVI, 111 (Moesia sup., A.D. 159/60)	III Campestr.
7. <i>AE</i> 1972, 657 (Moesia sup., A.D. 161)	III Campestr.
8. <i>AE</i> 1971, 424 (Prahovo near Viminacium)	coh. III Campestr.

Clearly, *cohors III Campestris* is not a volunteer unit. The origin of its name cannot be explained with certainty; it might refer to recruits from the plain as opposed to others from the mountains (*cohortes Montanorum*),<sup>16</sup> or it derives perhaps from the *campus*, the military training field and parade ground where the unit initially may have excelled or specialized.<sup>17</sup> The cohort is distinguished in the early diplomas by the title *civium Romanorum* which it seems to have received for gallantry. *Cohors III Campestris c. R.* being a titular, not an original citizen cohort, the *Campestres* units can be struck from the list of Augustus' citizen cohorts.<sup>18</sup> That has the added advantage of

<sup>15</sup> *CIL* XVI, 54; 57; 111; C. Daicoviciu, *Dacia* (Cluj 1969) 213: *I.O.M. Conservatori T. Scruius Vi[t]alis t[ri]b. coh. III Camp. v.s.l.m.* (= *AE* 1934, 14). I owe the reading *t[ri]b* instead of *t[u]b* to the generosity of J. F. Gilliam/Princeton; it is confirmed by a photograph kindly sent to me by Dr. H. Daicoviciu/Cluj.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Pliny, *HN* 4.108: *Oscidates montani*, *Oscidates campestris*. Such cohorts could come from Noricum, Liguria, Cappadocia, Cilicia, etc. The derivation from the village of Cambes or Cambete amongst the Rauraci considered by H. T. Rowell, "Numerus," *RE* 17 (1937) 1327–42 and 2537–54, esp. col. 2544, is out of the question, see *CIL* III, 1607.

<sup>17</sup> Compare the later *scholae armaturarum* (Not. Dig. Or. 11.9.10; Oc. 9.6.7) and D. Hoffmann, *Das Spättrömische Bewegungsheer* (Düsseldorf 1969) 284–85; but see also the *schola armaturarum* of A.D. 159, *CIL* X, 3344 = *ILS* 5902, from Misenum.

<sup>18</sup> They were counted among the true citizen-cohorts by Cheesman 187, Kraft, Leglay, and Brunt.

deleting the name of a non-citizen from Kraft's list of soldiers in the citizen cohorts and of re-opening the likelihood of the unit's being *milliaria* insofar as its commander was a tribune, a circumstance which among regular units points to their being 1000 strong.<sup>19</sup>

1. *Cohortes Classicae*, formed from the fleet at Forum Iulii, for the submission of Aquitania in 28 B.C.

Augustus' citizen cohorts, up to 46 units,<sup>19a</sup> i.e., some 23,000 men, or the equivalent of 4 legions compared to 27 legions proper, thus fall into more easily understood categories that explain each other to some degree:

1. Two *cohortes Classicae*, formed from the fleet at Forum Iulli, for the submission of Aquitania in 28 B.C.
2. *Cohors Apula* (and perhaps *cohors Campana*) *civium Romanorum*, raised in Apulia (and in Campania) long before the emergencies of A.D. 6 and 9.
3. *Cohors I Campana voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, raised in Campania at an unknown date.
4. Two *cohortes Italicae voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, raised in Italy at an unknown date.
5. Some 32 *cohortes voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, recruited like the foregoing, but not exclusively in Italy.
6. Two or six *cohortes ingenuorum civium Romanorum*, levied forcibly during the emergencies of A.D. 6 and 9 in Rome, as described in the new inscription from Alexandria Troas.

A *numerus Campestrorum* is usually listed among the less privileged units of the Roman army in Dacia. It is considered to be one of those units like the *Mauri*, *Palmyreni*, or *Syri*, that were neither *legion* nor *ala* nor *cohort* and did not even receive citizenship upon completion of their service.<sup>20</sup> The sole evidence for the existence of such a unit is

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Kraft 83, no. 3013, and 193. For a tribune of *cohors III Campestris* see *CIL* III, 14216, 8 (Drobeta) and note 15 above.

<sup>19a</sup> Cf. Kraft 82 ff.; Alföldy (below, note 28) 52 f., 62 f. *Cohors scutata civium Romanorum* was hardly a true citizen cohort (contra: Kraft 199), for good Roman names are common among regular Egyptian auxiliaries; cf. *IGRR* I, 1337.

<sup>20</sup> Wagner 205; Rowell; J. Benesh, "Die römischen Auxiliarformationen im unteren Donaauraum," *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University*, E-15 (1970) 159-210, esp. p. 188. For the citizenship given to the *nationes* see H. Callies, "Die

an inscription from a collection at Petreștii de Jos, to the west of Potaissa,<sup>21</sup> preserved only in manuscripts and published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (III, 1607) as follows:

D(is) M(anibus) Valerius Lo[ng]inus, vet(eranus) n(umeri) Campestror(um)  
vix(it) ann(os) XXXXVIII, Aurel(ius) Pirusi Virginiio b(ene) m(erenti)  
p(osuit) m(emoriae).

Scholars have pointed out the obvious connection with *cohors III Campestris*, perhaps stationed in the early second century at Gilaŭ, not too far from Petreștii de Jos.<sup>22</sup> Against the view that the *numerus* was derived from that cohort<sup>23</sup> it was objected that men of a more privileged unit, such as a cohort, would not be used to create a less privileged unit, such as a *numerus*.<sup>24</sup> In reality both units are one and the same. The discussion arose from the assumption that the terms *numerus* and *cohors* are mutually exclusive so that a specific cohort would never be called *numerus*.<sup>25</sup> That assumption, however, is wrong as can be seen from the following three examples.

1. In a text from Eumenia/Phrygia, written sometime after A.D. 129, *cohors I Claudia Sugambrum* is called *numerus*:<sup>26</sup>

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) m(aximo) pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Div(i)  
Traiani Parth(ici) fil(ii)] Div(i) Nervaę [n]ępoti[s] Traiani Hadriani  
Aug(usti) domuique eius, senatui populiq(ue) R(omani) et coh(ortis)  
I Cl(audiae) Sugambrum veteranae equitatae. M(arcus) Iulius,  
M(arci) f(ilius), Fabia (tribu), Pisonianus qui et Dion, praef(ectus)

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fremden Truppen im römischen Heer des Prinzipats und die sogenannten nationalen Numeri," *BRGK* 45 (1964) 130–227, esp. pp. 195–98. For such units see M. Speidel, "The Rise of Ethnic Units in the Roman Imperial Army," *ANRW*, II/3 (Berlin 1975) 202–31.

<sup>21</sup> The altar may well have been brought from elsewhere to Petreștii de Jos, cf. Șt. Ferenczi, "Contribuții la Problema Limes-ului de Vest al Daciei II," *Acta MN* XI (1974) 23–40, esp. p. 31.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., *CIL* III, 1607. For Gilaŭ see I. I. Russu, "Auxilia Provinciae Daciae," *SCIV* 23 (1972) 63–74, esp. p. 70, considering the tombstone *AE* 1934, 14 at Napoca and the lack of a camp at Napoca itself.

<sup>23</sup> Cantacuzino as cited by Wagner (above, note 8) 205; Benesh (above, note 20).

<sup>24</sup> Wagner 205.

<sup>25</sup> Th. Mommsen, "Die Conscriptionsordnung der römischen Kaiserzeit," *Hermes* 19 (1884) 1–79 and 210–34, esp. p. 220 (= *Ges. Schr.* 6, 104), but cf. Speidel (above, note 20) 204 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *AE* 1927, 95.



fabrum et praef(ectus) coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae) domo Tyro, metropolis Phoenices et Coeles Syriae qui a Moesia inf(eriore) Montan(ensi) praesidio numerum in Asia(m) perduxit, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ubens) m(erito).

2. An inscription from Stratonicea/Caria calls *cohors Lusitanorum* a *numerus*:<sup>27</sup>

D. M. Flavio Severo, militi cohortis Lusitanorum, vixit annis XX//X, militavit stipendia XII, memoria(m) num[e]r[us] posuit.

3. An *ala* is termed *numerus* on an inscription from Fectio/Germania Inferior:<sup>28</sup>

D(is) M(anibus). Valenti Bititrali(s filio), vet(erano) ex n(umero) ala(e) I [Tr]achum. H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

This last text has been dated as late as possible by scholars who thought that on inscriptions a specific *ala* or *cohors* might not be termed *numerus* until the later Roman Empire; yet it is obvious from the relief of the monument that the stone dates to the time of Hadrian.<sup>29</sup>

There has been little doubt that legal sources and papyri use the word *numerus* to describe any unit, even during the time of the principate,<sup>30</sup> but the above examples show that inscriptions may use the same terminology. *Numerus Campestrorum*, therefore, is the same as *cohors Campestrorum* or *cohors Campestris*<sup>31</sup> and the list of *numeri* in the Dacian army can be reduced by one.

Finally, the inscription from Petreștii de Jos has a certain linguistic interest. It adds an early second century instance to the Later Roman usage of calling any unit simply *numerus*, and it shows how in everyday

<sup>27</sup> CIL III, 12257.

<sup>28</sup> CIL XIII, 8818, cf. Suppl. p. 145. G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen in der römischen Provinz Germania inferior* (Düsseldorf 1968) 188 no. 68.

<sup>29</sup> Alföldy. Possibly the inscription no. 103 of H. Nesselhauf, "Neue Inschriften aus dem römischen Germanien und den angrenzenden Gebieten," *BRGK* 27 (1937) 51-134, should be read *equitibus n(umeri) alae Firm(ae) catafr(actariae)* instead of *n(ovae) alae* which is deduced from CIL III, 99 *alae novae Firmae Cataphract(ariae)* in a different word-order. For a *trib(unus) n(umeri)* of *cohors Hemesenorum* see *AE* (1968) 429.

<sup>30</sup> Speidel 205.

<sup>31</sup> The difference between *Campestris* and *Campestrorum* is negligible: the word is rarely spelled out in full, and cohorts change such names easily, e.g., from *cohors II Brittonum* to *Britannica* or *Britannorum*, cf. Wagner 110; see also *cohors Campana*, *cohors Campanorum* above. Thus, the abbreviated name of *coh. Campestr.* may often have been read *coh(ors) Campestr(orum)*.

language the full titles of the units were reduced to one word. Thus, writers of the early second century A.D. not only avoid unseemly technicality but use popular terms when they replace *ala Siliana* by *Siliani* (Tacitus, *Histories* 1.70) or *cohors III Augusta Cyrenaica* by *οἱ Κυρηναῖοι* (Arrian, *Ektaxis* 14), a pattern that shows why the lack of the numeral on the inscription from Petreştii de Jos was to be expected.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Of course, the numeral, too, can become the major word, for example when in Africa *cohors II Flavia Afrorum* becomes the *Secundani* of *Notitia Dignitatum*, *Oc.* 25.33, cf. M. Euzennat and Pol Trouset, *Le Camp de Remada* (Aix-en-Provence 1975) 60 f.