

SECTION A

THE ACTS OF THE ARVAL BROTHERS (*ACTA FRATRUM ARVALIUM*)

Introduction: The Arval Brothers were an archaic priesthood revived by Augustus. They worshipped the obscure Dea Dia in a sacred grove just outside Rome, at modern Magliana, but their activities increasingly focused on honouring the emperor and his family. The twelve members of the college were important senators at Rome, including members of the imperial family, holding position for life and replaced by co-optation on death. Their acts of worship were recorded on stone inscriptions. While the majority of the plaques are lost, others have survived almost intact, thus providing, for certain periods such as AD 69, a version of official court record.

The numbering used here divides the records according to year and entry, so **A69d** is the fourth preserved record for AD 69. Square brackets indicate a gap in the text. As the rites tend to follow obvious patterns and wordings, and involve a limited number of people, these can usually be filled in with a degree of certainty.

Bibliography: J. Scheid, *Commentarii fratrum arvalium qui supersunt* (Rome 1998; Latin text with French commentary and translation); J. Rupke, *Fasti Sacerdotum* (Oxford 2008) for definitive lists and biographies of Brothers.

A69a – 1 January, AD 69

(Small fragments for 1 January show Galba and T. Vinius as consuls and L. Salvius Otho Titianus as vice-president of the Arvals (with Galba himself probably president)).

A69b – 3 January, AD 69: vows for Galba

[Under the same consuls, on 3 January in the presidency of Servius Galba Imperator Caesar Augustus, with L. Salvius Otho] Titianus [as vice-president, on behalf of the] co[l]lege of Arval Brothers, they undertook vows for] the well-being of Servius Galba Imperator Caesar Augustus, *pontifex* *maximus* [holding tribunician power]. With sacrificial [victims on the Capitol he fulfilled the vows which the previ]ous year's pre[sident had made] and undertook vows for the fo[l]lowing year at the dictation of L. Salvius O]tho Titi[anus, the vice-president in t]he terms which are [written below: a male] ox [to Jupiter], a cow to Queen Juno, a cow to [Minerv]a, [a cow] to Well-Being; in the new [te]mple, a [male] ox to Div[us] Augustus, a cow to [Div]a Augusta, [a male ox to] D[ivus] Claudius]. The following were present [in the coll]ege: L. Salv[ius Oth]o {Titia} Tit[ianus], M. Raecius Ta]urus, L. Maecius Postumus.

[*AFA* 40 column I, lines 7–16]

A69c – 8 January, AD 69:

Under the same [consuls, on 8 January, in the T]emple of Concord, in the pres[ence of the Arval Br]other[s, in the presidency of Servius] Galba Imperator Caesar [Augustus, when L. Salvius Otho Titianus was vice-president, on behalf] of the [c]ollege of Arval Brothers, a sa[crifice] was [an]nounced [to the Dea Dia as d]ictated by L. Maecius Postumus: [on 27] May, in the ho[use; on 29 May], in the grove and in the house; on 30 May, in the house. The following were present [in the college: L. Salvius O]tho Titianus, Q. Tillius Sassi]us, [M. Ra]ecius Taurus, [L. Maecius P]ostumus.

[*AFA* 40 column I, lines 17–23]

A meeting took place early in January each year to announce the regular sacrifice and games in May. The venue (Temple of Concord) is probably not significant, given that the last such meeting recorded was also there (12 Jan, AD 63).

A69d – 10 January, AD 69: adoption of Piso by Galba

Under the [sam]e consuls, on 10 January, adoption made of L. Li[?cinianus?], in the presiden]cy of Ser. Galba Im[perator] Caesar Augustus, when [L. Salvius Otho Titia]nus was vice-[president], on behalf of the Arval Br[others] sa[crifice] was made on the Capitol in honour of] the adoption by [Ser. Sulpicius Gal]ba C[aeasar: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Public Well-Being of the Roman People (*other sacrifices lost*), a cow] to Provi[dence, a c]ow to [(*deity lost*), a cow] to *Securi[tas]*, a bull to his [own Divine Spirit, ...].

[*AFA* 40 column I, lines 24–31]

The date of the adoption is also given by Tac. *Hist.* 1.18. For L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, see *Hist.* 1.14–19, 29–30, and 48. He took Galba's names (Servius Sulpicius Galba) on adoption. *Securitas* means freedom from anxiety or danger.

A69e – 16? January, AD 69: sacrifices in honour of Otho

[(*exact date lost*), in the second presidency of Emperor M. Otho Caesar Augustus, the vice-president, L. Salvius Otho Titianus, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed on the Capitol in honour of the reign of Emperor Otho Caesar Augustus: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno], a cow [to Minerva] a cow to Victory, [a cow] to Well-Being, [a cow to Prosperity, a b]ull [to Mars the Avenger], a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following were present in the college: L. Salvius Otho Titianus, ~~L. Vitellius~~, son of Lucius, L. Maecius Postumus, M. Raecius Taurus.

[*AFA* 40 column I, lines 35–41]

Galba and Piso were killed, and Otho proclaimed emperor on 15 Jan., Tac. *Hist.* 1.27–45. Otho had been an arval since c. 56 and was younger brother of Salvius Otho Titianus. L. Vitellius was brother of the future emperor: consul 48, arval by 63, he attends meetings, before leaving to fight (Tac. *Hist.* 3.58). Executed after his surrender (*Hist.* 4.2), his name is consistently erased from the records, perhaps in error for his brother.

A69f – 26 January, AD 69: Otho elected consul

On 26 January, in the second presidency of Emperor Otho Caesar Augustus, the vice-president L. Salvius Otho Titianus, on behalf of the Arval Brothers sacrificed on the Capitol in honour of the consular elections of Emperor Otho Caesar Augustus: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following were present in the college: L. S[al]vius Otho Titianus.

[*AFA* 40 column I, lines 41–45]

For Otho's consulship, see **B69**. Salvius Otho Titianus, Otho's fellow consul was his elder brother, cos ord 52, arval from c. 56, president 58, already vice-president for 69.

A69g – 30 January, AD 69: vows for Otho

When Emperor M. Otho Caesar Augustus and L. Salvius Otho Titianus for the second time, were consuls. On 30 January, when Emperor M. Otho Caesar Augustus was president and L. Salvius Otho Titianus was vice-president, he sacrificed in the name of the college of Arval Brothers for vows being undertaken for the well-being

of Emperor M. Otho Caesa[r A]ugustus for 3 January in the following year: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to the Public Well-Being of the Roman People, a male ox to Divus Augustus, and cow to Diva Augusta, a male ox to Divus Claudius. The following were present in the college: L. Salvius Otho Titianus, L. Maecius Postumus, P. Valerius Marinus, M. Raecius Taurus, ~~L. Vitellius~~.

[*AFE* 40 column I, lines 47–53]

These were the usual vows taken on 3 January for the emperor's well-being. Otho had not been emperor then.

A69h – 26 February, AD 69: Tampius Flavianus co-opted

Under the same consuls on 26 February, in the Temple of Divus Julius, in the presence of the Arval Brothers, L. Tampius Flavianus was co-opted in place of S[er. Sul]picius Galba, in the [second] presidency of Emperor M. Otho Caesar [Augustus], when L. Salvius Otho Titianus was [vice-]president. The following were present in the college: Otho Titianus, P. V[aleri]us Marinus, ~~L. Vitellius~~.

[*AFE* 40 column I, lines 54–57]

L. Tampius Flavianus, cos I suff 45, cos II suff 76, see **B76** and **U5**.

A69i – 28 February, AD 69: Otho given tribunician power

Under the same consuls on 28 February, in the second presidency of Emperor M. Otho Caesar Augustus, when L. Salvius Otho Titianus was vice-president, he sacrificed on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers on the Capitol in honour of the election to tribunician power of the Emperor: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Well-Being, a cow to Victory, a bull to the Divine Spirit of the Roman People, a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following were present in the college: Otho Titianus, Maecius Postumus, Valer(ius) Marin(us), ~~L. Vitellius~~.

[*AFE* 40 column I, lines 58–62]

The delay in assuming the tribunician power which had come to define the position of emperor may have reflected Otho's caution in whether he could maintain power (Wellesley, *Year of the Four Emperors*, 3rd ed. 2000, pp 57–8). It appears that the stone-cutter was feeling overworked, since he has given up on the *praenomina* of those present and even abbreviated Valerius Marinus' names. This may also explain mention of tribunician power of the Emperor – this could just mean 'Victorious Commander', and later means 'emperor' but here the stone-cutter probably just omitted the rest of Otho's official name.

A69j – 1 March, AD 69: laurel wreath on the Capitol

When L. Verginius Rufus, for a second time, and L. Pompeius Vopiscus were consuls, on 1 March, in the second presidency of Emperor M. Otho Caesar Augustus, when L. Salvius Otho Titianus was vice-president, he sacrificed on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers on the Capitol in honour of a laurel wreath being placed: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Well-Being, a cow to Victory, a bull to Mars, a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following were present in the college: Otho Titianus, ~~L. Vitellius~~, L. Maecius Postumus, P. Valerius Marinus.

[*AFE* 40 column I, lines 63–67]

The laurel wreath symbolised a victory over the Rhoxolani, a Sarmatian tribe (*Tac. Hist.* 1.79), won by M. Aponius, governor of Moesia, himself an arval brother.

A69k – 3 March, AD 69: Otho given priesthoods

Under the same consuls on 3 March, in the second presidency of Emperor M. Otho Caesar Augustus, when L. Salvius Otho Titianus was vice-president, he sacrificed on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers on the Capitol in honour of the election to the priesthoods of Emperor Otho Augustus: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following were present in the college: Otho Titianus, P. Valer(ius) Marin(us).

[AFA 40 column I, lines 68–71]

A69m – 9 March, AD 69: Otho made *pontifex maximus*

Under the same consuls on 9 March, in the second presidency of Emperor M. Otho Caesar Augustus, when L. Salvius Otho Titianus was vice-president, he sacrificed on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers on the Capitol in honour of the election as *pontifex maximus* of Emperor Otho Augustus: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to the Dea Dia, a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following were present in the college: Otho Titianus, Otho Augustus, P. Valerius Marin(us), L. Maecius Postumus, ~~L. Vitellius~~

[AFA 40 column I, lines 72–75]

A69n – 14 March, AD 69: vows for an emperor's safe return

Under the same consuls on 14 March, vows were undertaken for the well-being and safe return of ~~Vitellius~~ Germanicus Imperator, at the dictation of L. Maecius Postumus, in the presidency of ~~Vitellius~~ Germanicus Imperator, when Maecius Postumus was vice-president, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Public Well-Being of the Roman People, a male ox to Divus Augustus, a cow to Diva Augusta, a male ox to Divus Claudius. The following was present in the college: L. Maecius Postumus.

[AFA 40 column I, lines 76–80]

An interesting entry: Tac. *Hist.* 1.90 tells us that Otho left Rome to the senate on this day before setting out to fight Vitellius' forces. Vows will have been made for his return. In fact he committed suicide on the morning of 16 April after defeat at the battle of Cremona (Tac. *Hist.* 2.46–50). But the records were written up to show vows for Vitellius (the titles Germanicus Imperator are certainly his), before his name was erased.

A69p – 30 April, AD 69: Vitellius given tribunician power

When T. Flavius [Sab]inus and Cn. Arulenus Caelius Sabinus were consuls, on 30 April, in honour of the election to tribunician power of ~~Vitellius~~ Germanicus Imperator, when L. Maecius Postumus was vice-president, he sacrificed on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers, on the Capitol: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Well-Being, a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following was present in the college: Maecius Postumus.

[AFA 40 column I, lines 81–84]

A69q – 1 May, AD 69: belated sacrifice for the day of Vitellius' accession

Under the same consuls on 1 May, in honour of the day on which ~~Vitellius~~ Germanicus Imperator came to power which was decreed to have been 19 April, in the presidency of ~~Vitellius~~ Germanicus Imperator, when L. Maecius Postumus was vice-president,

he sacrificed on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers, on the Capitol: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a male ox to Jupiter Victor, a cow to Well-Being, a cow to Prosperity, a bull to the Divine Spirit of the Roman People; and in the Forum of Augustus, a bull to Mars the Avenger, a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following were (*sic*) present in the college: Maecius Postumus.

[*AFE* 40 column I, lines 84–89]

19 April will have been when the garrisons at Rome took an oath to the new emperor (*Tac. Hist.* 2.55), after receiving news by messenger relay from Cremona (c. 330 miles) of Otho's suicide on the morning of 16 April.

A69r – May AD 69: Vitellius returns to Rome

[...] for the well-being and a[r]rival of Vitellius Germanicus Imperator, in the presidency of Vitellius Ger[manicus] Imperator, when L. Maecius Postumus was vice-president, [he sacrificed on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers], on the [Ca]pitol: [a male ox] to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a male ox to Jupiter Victor, [a cow to] Well[-Being of the Roman People, a cow to Prosperity, a bull to the Divine Spirit of the Roman People; and in the Forum of August[us], a bull to Mars the Av[enger], a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following was present in the college: Ma[ecius] Postumus].

[*AFE* 40 column II, lines 1–5]

For Vitellius' return to Rome, see *Tac. Hist.* 2.87–90 (not giving a date).

A69s – 29 May, AD 69: sacrifices and games

Under the sa[me] consuls, on 29] May, in the [third p]residency of Vitellius Ger[manicus I]mperator, when [L. Maecius] Postumus was vice-president, he [sa]crificed [two] sows to make appeas[ement], at the altar of the Dea [Dia on behalf of the] coll[ege of the Arval Brothers], and likewise a cow. Then, after the [sacr]ifice was made [in the temple, on the hearth] he sa[crificed] a perfect lamb] to the Dea Dia. After the [sacrifice] was complete, veiled and cr[owned], he [gave] the signal from [the starting-gat]es to [the chariots] and stunt-riders. [The following was present in the college: L.] Maecius Postumus.

[*AFE* 40 column II, lines 6–10]

A69t – 3 June, AD 69: birthday of Galeria, wife of Vitellius

Under the [same] consuls, on 3 Ju[ne], in the third presidency of Vitellius Germanicus Imperator, when L. Maecius Postumus was vice-president, [he sacrificed] on behalf of the [college] of Arval [Bro]thers [on the Capitol in honour of the bir]thday of Galeria, wife of Germanic[us Imperator A]ugustus: a male ox to Jupiter, [a cow] to Juno, [a cow to Minerva, a cow to the Well-Being of the Roman People], a cow to [Co]ncord, a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following [was] present in the college [L. Maecius Postumus?]

[*AFE* 40 column II, lines 10–13]

A69u – unknown date, AD 69: blue (circus) team

Under the same consuls, on [...?...] in the grove of the Dea Dia, expiation] was made by the atten[dant and the assistants of the college of Arval Brothers for [...] the blue team: a sow and [perfect] l[amb].

[*AFE* 40 column II, lines 13–15]

Vitellius was a fanatical supporter of the blue chariot team (Suet. *Vit.* 7.1, 14.4). Scheid (Commentary) suggests the organisers needed to atone for having broken the rules, trying to achieve a blue victory in the races of 29 May.

A69v – unknown date, AD 69: sacrifices

Under the same consuls [...? ..., in honour of ... ? ...] in the presidency of Vitellius Germanicus Imperator III, when C. [(name lost)] was vice-president, [he sacrificed on behalf of] the college of Arval Brothers, on the Capitol: a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, [a male ox to Jupiter Victor, a cow to Well-Being of the Roman People; and in the Forum of Augustus], a bull [to Mars the Avenger], a bull to his own Divine Spirit. The following was present in the college: ...

[AFA 40 column II, lines 15–18]

The records for the rest of AD 69 are lost, except for three tiny fragments not worth giving.

A70a – unknown date: sacrifices probably for Vespasian's return in AD 70

[...] when Q. Tillius Sassius was vice-president, he sacrificed, [on behalf of the] college of Arval Brothers on the Capitol, in honour of the day [when Emperor C]aesar Vespasian Augustus entered [into the city]: a [male] ox to Jupiter, [a cow to Juno], a cow to Minerva, [a cow] to Fortune the Home-Bringer. The following were present in the college: Q. Tillius Sassius, C. Licinius [Mucianus? (other names lost)]

[AFA 41]

This fragment seems likely to honour Vespasian's return, given the mention of sacrifice to *Fortuna Redux* (Fortune the Home-Bringer).

A72a – early January AD 72

(Small fragments show the promise of sacrifices to the Dea Dia later in the year, on a similar formula to other years, and presumably at the same time in January).

A72b – Spring, AD 72: appeasement for fallen tree

When Emperor C[aea]s[r] Ves[pasian Augustus] for the fourth time and Titus Caesar Imperator for the second were consuls, on [(part of date preserved, indicating a date between 14 April and 15 May)] [a sacr]ifice was carried out [in the grov]e of the Dea Dia, by the attendant and the assistants in appeasement for a tree which had [fallen] in a storm.

[AFA 42, lines 12–15]

The listing of the consuls here is unusual as entries usually start with the formula 'Under the same consuls', except where they are different from the previous entry which was not the case here.

A72c – 29 May, AD 72: sacrifices and games

When C. Licinius Mucia[nus for the third time] and T. Flavius Sabinus for the second were consuls, on 29 May, in the presidency of [M.] Trebellius Maximus and when L. Maecius Postumus was vice-president, [on behalf] of the college of Arval Brothers he sacrificed [two] s[ow]s, at the altar] to the Dea Dia [to make appeasement] and the[n a c]ow. [(fragments show games on the same pattern as every May, e.g. A69p, A80a

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and indicate the presence of C. Vipstanus Apronianus and Ti. Julius Candidus Marius Celsus; several other names are lost.)

[*AFA* 42 lines 16–28]

A75a – 3 January, AD 75: vows and sacrifices for Vespasian and Titus

When Emperor Caesar [Ve]spasian Augustus for the sixth time and Titus Caesar [I]mperator for the fourth time were consuls, on 3 January, the president Ti. Ju[lius Ca]ndidus [Mar]jius Celsus, [on behalf] of the college of Arval Brothers [un]dertook vows for the well-being of Emperor Vespasian Caesar [Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holding tribunic[ian] power and of [Titus Caesar] Ves[pasian Imperator] son of Augustus, with sacrificial victims offered [on the Capitol wh]ich the pre[vious year's] pr[eside]nt had vowed. The following were prese]nt in the college: Emperor Caesa[r Vespasian Augustus, T. Caesar Vespasian, son of Augustus, Caesar] Domitian, son of Augustus [*(other names lost)*].

[*AFA* 43abcdf lines 1–10]

A75b – early January, AD 75

[*(Small fragments show the regular promise made in January of offerings to the Dea Dia in May)*]

A78a – 3 January, AD 78: sacrifices and vows for Vespasian and Titus

When L. Ceionius Commodus and D. Novius Priscus were consuls, on 3 January in the presidency of C. Matidius Patruinus, with L. Veratius Quadratus as vice-president, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers, they undertook vows for the well-being of Emperor Vespasian Caesar Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holding tribunician power, consul eight times and of Titus Caesar Vespasian, son of Augustus, consul six times. With sacrificial victims on the Capitol he fulfilled the vows which the previous year's president had made and undertook vows for the following year at the dictation of L. Veratius Quadratus in exactly the terms written below: a male ox to Jupiter Greatest and Best, a cow to Queen Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Well-Being. Likewise for Titus Imperator Vespasian Caesar, son of Augustus, in the same words which are written below: a male ox to Jupiter Greatest and Best, a cow to Queen Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Well-Being. The following were present in the college: L. Veratius Quadratus, C. Tadius Mefitanus, Q. Tillius Sassius, L. Maecius Postumus, A. Julius Quadratus, C. Vipstanus Apronianus.

[*AFA* 44a lines 1–16]

A78b – 8 January, AD 78

Under the same consuls on 8 January, in the Temple of Concord, in the presence of the Arval Brothers, in the presidency of C. Matidius Patruinus, when L. Veratius Quadratus was vice-president of the college of Arval Brothers, a sacrifice was announced to the Dea Dia as dictated by L. Maecius Postumus: on 27 May, in the house; on 29 May, in the grove and in the house; on 30 May, in the house. The following were present in the college: L. Veratius Quadratus, C. Vipstanus Apronianus, L. Maecius Postumus, C. Junius Tadius Mefitanus, A. Julius Quadratus.

[*AFA* 44a lines 16–22]

A78c – 1 March, AD 78: Salvius Liberalis co-opted on written advice of Vespasian

Under the same consuls on 1 March, in the Temple of Concord, in the presence of the Arval Brothers; in line with the letter sent by Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, we co-opted C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus in place of the deceased C. Matidius Patruinus. The following were present in the college: L. Veratius Quadratus, C. Vipstanus Apronianus, L. Maecius Postumus, C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus. In the presidency of C. Salonus Matidius Patruinus, P. Sallustius Blaesus succeeded to his place and undertook the presidency for the same year, under the same consuls, on 1 March.

[*AFA* 44a lines 22–29]

C. Salonus Matidius Patruinus, brother-in-law to Trajan had a very short career as an arval, being only known as president in absence for the start of the year (A78a–b). For Salvius, see B84 and U26; for Sallustius, B89.

A78d – 11 March, AD 78: Sallustius Blaesus co-opted as president

Under the same consuls, on 11 March, in the Temple of Concord, the president P. Sallustius Blaesus, co-opted in place of C. Matidius Patruinus, summoned the college of Arval Brothers [and nominated] L. Veratius Quadratus as high priest. The following were present in the college: P. Sallustius Blaesus, L. Veratius Quadratus, L. Maecius Postumus, C. Junius Mefitanus, A. Julius Quadratus, C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus

[*AFA* 44a lines 29–35]

A78e – 29 May, AD 78: games

When Q. Articuleius Paetus and Sex. Vituliasius Nepos were consuls ... (*This pair of suffect consuls probably took office on 1 May. What happened in their consulship is lost, until the end of the entry for 29 May*)

[... Then P. Sallustius Blaesus, the president, veiled and crowned] gave [the signal, from the starting-gates] to the chariots and the stunt-riders whom he presented with silver crowns]. The following were present in the college: P. Sallustius Blaesus ... (*one name lost*), C. Junius Mefitanus, L. Veratius Quadratus, [*another name lost*], C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus.

A78f – 30 May, AD 78: feast at the house of the president

[Under the same consuls, on 30 May, likewise the Brothers dining] at the house of the president to complete the sacrifice, and [well-born boys], the sons of [senators] [with fathers and mother both still alive, receiving] fruits from the priests and [bringing them] to the altar].

[When Q. Articuleius Paetus and [Sex. Vituliasius Nepos were consuls ... (*This entry and any others for AD 78 are lost – it is not clear why the consular date is repeated, but see above A72b*)]

A79a – unknown date, probably AD 79: special vows and sacrifices

[When ... and Caesar] Domitian for the 6th time [were consuls, (*date and name of president lost*) and when P. Sallustius Blaesus [was vice-president, vows were undertaken on behalf] of the college of [Arval] brothers, for the well-being of Emperor] Vespasian Caesar [Augustus, consul 9 times and Titus Caesar Vespasian,

son of Augustus, consul 7 times, and Caesar Domit]ian, [son of Augustus], consul 6 times: victims [were sacrificed on the Capitol and vows fulfill]ed, [two male] oxen to Jupiter, Greatest and Best, [two cows to Queen Juno, t]wo [cows to Minerva, two cows] to Public Well-Being, [and vows were undertaken for the following year, as dictated by P. Sallustius Blaesus [vice-president ... (*the rest lost*)...].

[AFA 45]

Though very fragmentary, and lost after being recorded in the 16th century, the inscription may show unusual vows and sacrifices, with plural oxen, almost certainly two cows, and the inclusion of Domitian making it different from **A78a**, and possibly evidence for special response to Vespasian's (last?) illness or the conspiracy of Caecina (**C16b**, **H50**, **P2**).

A80a – 29 May, AD 80: games

[Under the same consuls, on 29 May, ... L. Venuleius Aproni]anus, [president], cro[w]ned and veiled] gave the [signal to the chariots and the stunt-]riders [in the starting-gates], whom [...]

[The following were present in the college: Emperor T. Caesar] Vespasian Augustus, [son of Divus], Caesar Domitian, son of Divus, [L. Venuleius Apronianus], C. Vipstanus Apronianus, C. Junius Tadius Mefitanus, L. Veratius [Quadratus, L. Po]mpeius Vopiscus Arruntius Catellius Celer, Ti. Julius Candidus Marius [Celsus], Q. Tillius Sassius.

[AFA 48, lines 1–7]

A80b – 30 May, AD 80: feast with aristocratic boys in attendance

Under the same consuls, on 30 May, in the house of L. Venuleius Apronianus, president, to complete the sacrifice, through feasting of the Arval Brothers, attended by well-born boys, the sons of senators with fathers and mothers both still alive, bringing fruits to the altar on platters.

[AFA 48, lines 8–10]

A80c – 7 December AD 80: vows for restoration of the Capitol

When M. Tittius Frugi and T. Vinicius Julianus were consuls, on 7 December on the Capitol, the priests came to the Temple of Strength (Ops) to fulfil the vows for the restoration and dedication of the Capitol by Emperor T. Caesar Vespasian Augustus. The following were present in the college: L. Venuleius Apronianus, C. Vipstanus Apronianus, L. Veratius Quadratus, L. Pompeius Vopsicus Arruntius Catellius Celer, C. Junius Tadius Mefitanus, P. Sallustius Blaesus.

[AFA 48, lines 11–16]

For the Capitol, twice rebuilt by the Flavians, see **K27–K32**.

A80d – 15 January AD 81: ritual for fallen tree in the sacred grove

When L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus and Asinius Pollio Verrucosus were consuls, on 15 January, in the grove of the Dea Dia, an act of expiation was carried out with sacrifice of a sow and perfect lamb by the attendant and assistants of the priest, because a tree had fallen through age.

[AFA 48, lines 17–19]

The expiation was carried out on 15 Jan, AD 81. But as Scheid (Commentary) explains, a decision to offer appeasement, taken in a previous presidency, as with routine expiation for bringing metal writing

implements into the temple at **A80e** and would result in the act of fulfilment being thought of as belonging to the previous year.

A80e: expiation (in May 81) for writing implements used in AD 80

When L. Vettius Paullus and T. Junius Montanus were consuls, on 1 May, in the grove of the Dea Dia, a sacrifice of sow and perfect lamb was carried out by the attendant and the assistants of the priest, for metal having been brought in to the temple to write. Under the same consuls, on 13 May, in the grove of the Dea Dia, a sacrifice of sow and perfect lamb was carried out by the attendant and the assistants of the priest, for metal having been brought out of the temple.

[*AFA* 48, lines 20–24]

A80f – first half of AD 80: seats allocated in the amphitheatre

When L. Aelius Plautius Lamia and Q. Pactumeius Fronto were consuls. Received by Laberius Maximus, procurator, prefect of the corn-supply, when L. Venuleius Apronianus was president, and Thyrsus the freedman was secretary. For the Arval Brothers: in the first level, twelfth wedge, eight marble steps: on the first step 5 feet and 15/48th, on the eighth step 5 feet 15/48th, making 42½ feet {on the first step 22½ feet}. And on the {top} second level, sixth wedge, four marble steps: on the first step {one} 22½ feet. And on the top level in the wooden seats, in the fifty-third section, eleven steps: on the first step 5 feet 9/24th, on the eleventh step 5 feet and 45/48th. Making 63 feet and 23/24th. The sum total 129 feet and 23/24th.

[*AFA* 48, lines 25–34]

This entry forms a sort of appendix to the acts for AD 80, even though the consular date was in the first half of the year (given Plautius Lamia's long consulship, see **B80**, we cannot currently date his partnership with Pactumeius closer than from some point between 14 Jan and 12 June). See note to **K14**.

A81e – 3 January AD 81: vows for imperial family at start of year

When L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus and Asinius Pollio Verrucosus were consuls, on 3 January, the president C. Junius Tadius Mefitanus, undertook vows on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers, for the well-being of Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasian Augustus, son of Divus, *pontifex maximus*, holding tribunician power, consul eight times, and for Caesar Domitian, son of Divus, consul seven times, and for Julia Augusta, and for their children; after burning sacrificial victims on the Capitol which the president of the previous year had vowed, he rendered two male oxen to Jupiter Greatest and Best, two cows to Queen Juno, two cows to Minerva, two cows to Public Well-Being, and he undertook vows for the following year, as dictated by L. Pompeius Vopiscus C. Arruntius Catellius Celer, in the exact terms written below:

Jupiter, Greatest and Best, if Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasian Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holding tribunician power, father of the fatherland, and Caesar Domitian, son of Divus, both of whom we consciously mention are alive and their households safe, on 3 January in the next year for the people of Rome and the Quirites, and if to that day you preserve them safe from any dangers which may be, [or come to be before] that day, and if you [grant] the happy outcome which we consciously mention and preserve [them in the] condition they are now in, or a yet better one, [and if you do this, then], in the name of the college of Arval Brothers, [we vow that you shall have two] golden oxen.