

## 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. Increasingly, their activities focused on honouring the emperor and his family, celebrating imperial anniversaries. The 12 members of the college were important senators at Rome, including members of the imperial family, and held position for life, being replaced by co-optation on death. Their acts of worship were recorded on stone inscriptions. Some of these have survived almost intact, others in a more or less fragmentary state, thus providing, for certain periods, a version of official court history. Bibliography: J. Scheid, *Commentarii fratrum arvalium qui supersunt* (Rome 1998) no.2. J. Rupke, *Fasti Sacerdotum* (Oxford 2008) for definitive lists of Brothers and biographies.

After two passages on the Arval Brothers, the numbering used here divides the records according to year and entry, so A38d is the fourth preserved record for AD 38. Square brackets indicate a gap in the text. As the rites tend to follow obvious patterns and wordings, involve a limited number of people, and may well be repeated from year to year, these can usually be filled in with a degree of certainty.

#### A1 The origin of the Arval Brothers

But Masurius Sabinus, in the first book of *Memorable Deeds*, following some historians writes that Acca Larentia was the nurse of Romulus. “This woman lost one of her twelve sons to death. In his place Romulus offered himself as her son and called himself and her other sons the “Arval Brothers”. Since then, the college of the Arval Brothers has been maintained, twelve in number, with the special symbols of priesthood being a crown of ears of corn a white headband.”

[Aulus Gellius, *Nights in Attica*, 7.7.8 = Masurius Sabinus, fr. 14]

Masurius Sabinus was a leading Julio-Claudian lawyer and teacher of law. He wrote on sacred, private and public law and his learning was admired by Tiberius who gave his legal opinions imperial authority. Gellius has also given the more common view that Acca, whose name was often mentioned in the early records of Rome, was a prostitute who made a lot of money which she bequeathed to Romulus or the Roman people.

#### A2 Arval Brothers priests for life

Amongst his first acts, Romulus created the institution of the priests of the fields (*arvorum sacerdotes*) and nominated himself the twelfth brother among the others who were the sons of Acca Larentia who brought him up. This priesthood was given as its most sacred emblem, a crown of ears of corn bound by a white headband, the first crown for the Romans. This honour is only ended by death and stays even with those exiled or imprisoned.

[Pliny, *Natural History* 18.6]

#### A15a – 1 June, AD 15: Paullus Fabius Persicus co-opted

On 1 June on the Palatine in the Temple of Apollo, [Tiberius Caesar] Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, master of the [Arval] Brothers co-opted Paullus Fabius [Persicus] in place of Paullus Fabius Maximus and [called] him to the sacred rites.

[The following were present: Drusus Ca]esar, M. Ca[ecil]i[us Cor]nutus, L. Domitius Ah[enobarbus], T. Q[uinticius Cr]ispinus Valerianus, ... (*name lost*), Paullus Fa[bius Persicus], ... (*name lost*)].

[*IFA* 3, lines 4–11]

The Fabii were one of Rome's most aristocratic families. Paullus Fabius Maximus, consul 11 BC, was a friend of Augustus, who committed suicide shortly before Augustus' death (LACTOR 17, F5.1–2, P1, P18). Persicus was his son: as he was not consul until AD 34, he must have been around 20 when co-opted.

#### **A20a – unknown occasion late in AD 20**

*(A list of names, T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus, L. Calpurnius Piso the pontifex, M. Caecilius Cornutus, Paullus Fabius Persicus, Cn. Pompeius the augur, alone survives just before the entry below, recording the consuls and first event of AD 21.)*

[*AFa* 4a, lines 2–6]

#### **A21a – 11 January AD 21: prayers and rites**

When Tiberius Caesar, for the fourth time, and Drusus Caesar, [for the second time, were consuls].

11 January, [*(location lost?)*] T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus, president, with clean hands and covered [head], under the open sky, [facing east announced] a sacrifice to the Dea Dia.

“That all may be good, propitious, favourable, and prosperous [for the people of Rome, the Quirites], and for the Arval Brothers, for Tiberius Caesar Augustus, for Julia Augusta, their children and grandchildren [and their whole house!] There shall be a sacrifice [this year to the Dea Dia ... (*date lost*)].”

[*AFa* 4a, lines 7–19]

#### **A21b – 20 May AD 21: illness of Sulla Felix**

[Since T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus, president] of the Arval [Brothers informed them] that [Sulla] Felix, [priest ... ] who was [hindered by] illness [and was unable] to be present at the [sacrifices] to the Dea Dia [on (*dates lost*)]. [M. Valerius Messall... ] was appointed as his replacement. The following were present: [T. Quinctius Crispinus] Valerianus, president, [Drusus] Caesar, [son of Tiberius, ... (*name lost*)...], M. Valerius] Messall [*... (name lost)...*, M. Caecilius] Cornutus, [Paullus Fabius Persi]cus, Sex. [Appuleius].

[*AFa* 4b, lines 1–15]

M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus is either the son (cos 3 BC) or grandson (cos AD 20) of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (Augustan aristocrat (see on consuls of AD 20 = **B20**)).

#### **A21c – 30 May AD 21: C. Pomponius Graecinus co-opted**

When Mamercus Aem[ilius Scaurus] and Cn. Trem[ellius] were consuls, on 30 May. Since T. Qui[nctius Crispinus] Valerianus, [president] of the Arval [Brothers] informed [them that another] had [to be summoned] by the Arval [Brothers] to the rites [of the Dea Dia] in [place of] the deceased [Sulla Felix], they [co-opted C. Pomponius] Graecin[us as Arval Brother] in the traditional [way]. The following were present: [T. Quinctius Crispinus] Valer[ianus, president, ... (*and other names lost*)]

[*AFa* 4b, lines 16–28]

C. Pomponius Graecinus was consul in AD 16, see **B16**.

#### **A27a – 4 Jan, AD 27: vows for Tiberius and Julia Augusta/Livia**

[When L. Calpurnius Piso and M. Licinius] Cra[ssus] were consuls, on 4 January, on the Capitol, L. Calpurnius Pis]o the Pontifex, [president, on behalf of the college of Arval] Brothers [undertook vows for the safety of Tiberius] Caesar Au[gustus, *pontifex maximus*, in his 28<sup>th</sup> year of tribunician power, consul four times, and for

Ju]lia Augusta. [After making sacrifices on the Capitol he fulfilled the vows which] the previous year's president had made, and undertook the vows for the coming year, dictated by T. Quin[ctius Crispinus Valerianus], in the exact terms [written below]:

[Jupiter, Greatest and Best], if Tiberius Caesar [Augustus, son of Divus Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, in his 28<sup>th</sup> year of tribunician] power, [consul four times, and Julia Augusta, whom I consciously] mention, shall be [alive and well for the state and Roman People, the Quirites,] on 4 [January in the next year for the Roman People, the Quirites;] and if you preserve [those people, whom I consciously mention, from dangers which happen or are to happen before that day; and if you grant them as prosperous] a situation [as I consciously name; and if] you see to it that [you preserve them] in the same condition as [at present or better], then I vow, [on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers,] a golden [ox to you. Jupiter, Greatest and Best, on the terms according to which] I have vowed that you will have [a golden ox which I have vowed this day, if you do this accordingly], I vow, [on behalf of the Arval Brothers that ... pounds of gold and ... pounds of silver will be offered] as a gift to you [(in a place? lost), from their resources].

[Queen Juno, on the terms according to which I have vowed that] Jupiter, Greatest and Best [will have a golden] ox [which I have vowed this day], if you do this accordingly, I vow to a golden cow [to you, on behalf of the Arval Brothers].

[Minerva, on the terms according to which I have vowed that] Jupiter, Greatest and Best will have a golden ox [which I have vowed this day], if you do this accordingly, I vow to a golden cow to you, [on behalf of the Arval Brothers].

[Dea Dia, on the terms according to which I have vowed that] Jupiter, Greatest and Best will have a golden ox, [which I have vowed this day], if you do this accordingly, [I vow to a] golden [cow to you], in the grove, [on behalf of the Arval Brothers].

[The following were present: L. Pis]o the Pontifex, Pa[ullus Fabius Persicus, L. Caninius Gallus, Cn. Domiti]us Ahen[obarbus, (and others – names lost)].

[*AFA* 5a–e, lines 1–32]

Much of this very fragmentary entry can be restored from very similar vows made at the start of other years, compare **A38a**, **A54a**.

### **A27b – 30 Jan AD 27: birthday of Julia Augusta/Livia**

[On 30 January, (name lost), on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed a male ox] on the Capitol [to Jupiter Greatest and Best], in honour of the birthday of Julia Augusta.

[The following were present: T. Quinctius Crispinus V]alerianus, L. Caninius Gallus, [Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus?].

[*AFA* 5f, lines 1–6]

### **A27c – shortly after 30 Jan AD 27: statue in honour of Tiberius and Julia Augusta/Livia**

[On (date lost), L. Piso the Pontifex, president], had a [statue] placed [in the grove of the Dea Dia], together with a plaque, a base, and the following inscription:

For the year's well-being of [Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Divus Augustus], *pontifex maximus*, holder of tribunician [power, consul, father of the fatherland, and of Julia August]a, his mother, in the fourth presidency [of L. Piso the Pontifex].

[*AFA* 5f, lines 7–14]

**A27d – 19 May AD 27: various rites in the grove**

(Fragments for 19 May show L. Piso conducting vows and sacrifices to *Dea Dia*.)

[*AFA* 5g, lines 4–7]

**A28a – 4 January, AD 28: vows for Tiberius and Julia Augusta/Livia**

(Fragments recording exactly the same vows as *A27a* above.)

[*AFA* 6, lines 1–6]

**A35a – 23 September, AD 35: birthday of Augustus**

[On 23 September, Paullus Fabius Persicus, vice-president, on behalf of the Arval Brothers, sacrificed a male ox on the Capitol] to Jupiter Greatest and Best, [in honour of the birthday] of Divus Augustus.

The following were present: Paullus Fa[b]ius Persicus, L. Caninius] Gallus, Taurus Statilius [Corvinus, ... (*another name lost*)].

[*AFA* 7, column II, lines 1–3]

**A35b – 16 November, AD 35: birthday of Tiberius**

On 16 November, the same vice-president sacrificed [a male ox on the Capitol to Jupiter Greatest and Best], by decree [of the senate, in honour of the birthday] of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Divus Augustus, [*pontifex maximus*], in his 2[7<sup>th</sup> year] of tribunician power, [five times consul].

The following were present: Paullus Fa[b]ius Persicus, L. Caninius Gal]lus, Taurus Statili]us Corvinus, ... (*another name lost*).

[*AFA* 7, column II, lines 4–10]

**A36a – 3/4 January, AD 36: vows for Tiberius**

(Significant fragments show vows being undertaken in the same terms as *A27a* above, by the president, L. Caninius Gallus, though for Tiberius alone (*Livia died in AD 29*)).

[*AFA* 7, column II, lines 11–23]

**A37a – 13 January, AD 37: vows for Tiberius, by order of the consuls**

On 13 January on the Capitol, [Taurus Sta]tilius Corvinus, president of the [Arval] Brothers, by order of the consuls summoned his colleagues [to fulfil and] undertake [vows] for the well-being of Tiberius Caesar.

[The following were present]: Taurus Statilius Corvinus, L. Caninius [Gallus] [Paullus Fab]ius Persicus, Cn. Domitius.

[*AFA* 8a, lines 1–6]

**A37b – 23 January, AD 37: sacrifice for Tiberius, by order of the consuls**

On 23 January on the Capitol, [Taurus Stat]ilius Corvinus, president of the Arval Brothers, by order of the consul, and by consent of the senate, summoned his colleagues and sacrificed two male oxen to Jupiter Greatest and Best for the safety and well-being of [Tiberius Caesar] Augustus.

[The following were present]: Taurus Statilius Corvinus, Fabius [Persicus, ... (*name lost*)], L. Caninius Gallus, Cn. Domitius.

[*AFA* 8a, lines 7–14]

**A37c – 17 May, AD 37: sacrifices and co-option of M. Furius**

[“C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus [greet]s his [colleagu]es the Arval Brothers]. [In place of M. Furius Camillus, [I co-opt, by my own judg]ement], M. Fu[r]ius ... as our colleague and Arval [Brother].

[*AEA* 11b, lines 7–14]

Though the names are fragmentary, we seem to have another case of a son replacing his father. Furius Camillus was consul in AD 8; for another son, Arruntius Camillus, see **B32**.

**A38a – 3 January, AD 38 (vows for Gaius)**

*(Probably starts with prayers for the imperial house, similar to those of A27a)*

Jupiter, Greatest and Best, on the terms according to which [I have vowed that you will have a golden ox which] I have vowed this day, if you do this accordingly, I vow, on behalf of the Arval Brothers that 25 pounds of gold and 55 pounds of silver will be offered [as a gift to you], from their resources.

Queen Juno, on the terms according to which I have vowed that Jupiter, Greatest and Best will have a golden ox which I have vowed this day, if you do this accordingly, I vow to a golden cow to you, on behalf of the Arval Brothers.

Minerva, on the terms according to which I have vowed that Jupiter, Greatest and Best will have a golden ox, if you do this accordingly, I vow to a golden cow to you, on behalf of the Arval Brothers.

In the same terms he made vows to the Dea Dia, to Well-Being, to Divus Augustus.

The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Furius Camillus.

[*AEA* 12a, lines 3–15]

**A38b – 7 January, AD 38: fulfilment of vows for Gaius**

On 7 January, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers, fulfilled the vows which he had made on 3 January for the safety of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, and sacrificed a cow in the grove of the Dea Dia.

[*AEA* 12a, lines 16–19]

**A38c – 11 January, AD 38: vows for Gaius**

On 11 January, [Taurus Statilius Cor]vinus, vice-president, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers, [... with clean hands and covered] head, [under the open sky, facing east, (*place lost*), announced the sacrifice to the Dea Dia:]

“That it may be [good], propitious, [favourable, and prosperous for Gaius Caesar Augustus] Ger[manicus, president, and for his] sisters, [for the people of Rome, the Quirites, and for the Arval Brothers, and] for me! [There shall be] a sacrifice [in the grove and in the house] of Gaius Caesar Augustus German[icus, president]:

on 27 May [at his house],

on 29 May [in the grove and at his house],

on 30 May [at his house].

[*AEA* 12a, lines 20–23 and *AEA* 12b, lines 1–7]

**A38d – 30 January, AD 38: birthday of Julia Augusta/Livia**

On 30 January, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, on behalf [of the college of Arval Brothers], on the Field [of Mars], at the Altar of Peace, [sacrificed ...]

The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, [... *and others (names lost)*].

Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, [on behalf of the college] of Arval Brothers sacrificed a male ox on the Capitol to Jupiter Greatest and Best, in honour of the birthday of Julia Augusta. The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Furius Camillus.

[*AFE* 12b, lines 8–11 and *AFE* 12c, lines 1–4]

### **A38e – 31 January, AD 38: birthday of Antonia**

On 31 January, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, [on behalf] of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed a male ox on the Capitol to Jupiter Greatest and Best, in honour of the birthday of Antonia Augusta.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 5–7]

### **A38f – 18 March, AD 38: Gaius hailed as *Imperator***

On 18 March, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, [on behalf] of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed on the Capitol three adult animals to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and, [in front of the] new temple, one to Divus Augustus, because on this day Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus [was hailed] *Imperator* by the senate.

The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Furius Camillus, Appius Iunius Silanus.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 8–14]

This commemorates Gaius being hailed as *Imperator* by the senate on 18 March, 37, two days after the death of Tiberius, marking their official recognition of his succession. See Barrett, *Caligula*, 53.

### **A38g – 28 March, AD 38: Gaius entered Rome**

On 28 March, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, [on behalf] of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed [on the Capitol] three adult animals to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and, in front of the new temple, one to Divus Augustus, because on this day, Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus entered Rome.

The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, M. Furius Camillus, Appius I[unius Sila]nus.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 15–20]

This commemorates Gaius' arrival in Rome on 28 March, 37, accompanying Tiberius' body from Misenum: see **J2g** and Levick, *Tiberius* 219–20, Barrett, *Caligula*, 55–6.

### **A38h – 18 April, AD 38: sacrifice to Dea Dia**

On 18 April, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, [on behalf] of the college of Arval Brothers made sacrifice in expiation for a branch which had fallen through old age in the Grove of the Dea Dia and ordered the branch [to be burnt].

[*AFE* 12c, lines 21–23]

### **A38i – 23 April, AD 38: sacrifice to Augustus**

On 23 April, [Taurus Statilius C]orvinus, vice-president, [on behalf] of the college of Arval Brothers [sacrificed a male] ox at the Theatre of Marcellus, in front of the statue of Divus Augustus. [The following were present: Paullus F]abius Persicus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Fu[r]ius Camillus, Appius Iunius Si]lanus.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 24–28]

The calendar at Praeneste records the dedication of this statue to Augustus in AD 22 by Livia and Tiberius (**K3**). The date is not recorded as having had any previous significance to Augustus in any Augustan calendar or in Ovid's *Fasti* (4.863–900). It disappears from the *AFE* after this year.

**A38j – 24 May, AD 38: birthday of Germanicus, father of Gaius**

On 24 May, [Taurus Statilius] [Corvinus], vice-president, [on behalf] of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed a male ox on the [Capitol] to Jupiter Greatest and Best, in honour of the birthday of Germanicus Caesar.

On the same day in the Temple of Jupiter Stator:

Letters were read out from Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus co-opting as Arval Brothers, L. Annius [Vinicianus] in place of C. [Pomponius Graecinus]; [C. Caecina Larius] in place of Tiberius Caesar [son of] Drusus; C. Calpurnius Piso in place of M. Silanus. The following were present: M. Furius Camillus, Appius Iunius Silanus, Paullus Fabius Persicus].

[*AFE* 12c, lines 29–37]

L. Annius Vinicianus: part of the assassination of Gaius in 41 (*Jos. JA* 19.18–20) and conspired against Claudius in 42; C. Caecina Larius: see **B42**; C. Calpurnius Piso (cos 57 – **B57**) must have been in his twenties when appointed.

**A38k – 27 May, AD 38: sacrifice to Dea Dia**

On 27 May, C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus, president of the college of [Arval] Brothers, in his own house, which had previously belonged to his grandfather Tiberius Caesar, carried out, in the open air, a sacrifice on the altar of the Dea Dia.

The following were present: M. Furius Camillus, Appius Iunius Silanus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Paullus Fabius Persicus, C. Caecina Larius, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, L. Annius Vinicianus, C. Calpurnius Piso.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 38–44]

**A38m – 29 May, AD 38: sacrifice to Dea Dia and entertainment**

On 29 May, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, on behalf of the college of [Arval] Brothers sacrificed a cow in the Grove of the Dea.

On the same day, and in the same place, C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus, [president] of the college of Arval Brothers, together with Appius Silanus, priest of the Dea Dia, sacrificed a special lamb and gave a signal to chariots and stunt-riders.

The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Furius Camillus, C. Caecina Larius, L. Annius Vinicianus, C. Calpurnius Piso.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 45–53]

Compare **A53a**, **A58b**, **A59h**.

**A38n – 26 June, AD 38: sacrifice at Altar of Augustan Providence**

On 26 June, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed a cow in the Field of Agrippa at the Altar of Augustan Providence.

The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, M. Furius Camillus, Appius Iunius Silanus.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 54–58]

The Altar of Augustan Providence is mentioned on the *SCPP* (**P3f**) and was perhaps created to celebrate Augustus' adoption of Tiberius. It comes to represent the divine personification of the emperor's care for the Roman empire, and is quite frequently represented on coins from Tiberius to Vitellius, e.g. *RIC* Tiberius 81; *BMC* Tiberius 146. No trace of it remains.

**A38o – 26 June, AD 38: sacrifice in honour of Jupiter**

In the consulship of Ser. Asinius Celer and Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus  
 On 1 July, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed a male ox on the Capitol, in front of the statues of ex-consuls, in honour of Jupiter Greatest and Best.

The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, M. Furius Camillus, Appius Iunius Silanus.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 59–65]

**A38p – 4 July, AD 38: sacrifice at the Altar of Peace**

On 4 July, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed a cow at the Altar of Peace in the Field of Mars. The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, M. Furius Camillus, Appius Iunius Silanus.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 66–70]

This celebrated the beginning of the Altar of Augustan Peace in 13 BC. See LACTOR 17, C20 for the date of this public holiday on calendars and K13 for the monument itself.

**A38q – 1 August, AD 38: sacrifice in honour of Augustus' conquest of Egypt**

On 1 August, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed a male ox in front of the new Temple to Divus Augustus.

The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, M. Furius Camillus, Appius Iunius Silanus.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 71–76]

This celebrated the capture of Alexandria in 30 BC by Octavian/Augustus after his defeat of Antony and Cleopatra. See LACTOR 17, C21 for the date of this public holiday on calendars.

**A38r – 31 August, AD 38: birthday of Gaius**

On 31 August, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed a male ox on the Capitol to Jupiter Greatest and Best, in honour of the birthday of C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus.

The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, M. Furius Camillus, Appius Iunius Silanus.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 77–82]

**A38s – 21 September, AD 38: Gaius made *pater patriae***

On 21 September, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, vice-president, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed on the Capitol three adult animals to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and, [in front of his new tem]ple, one to Divus Augustus, because on this day, Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus accepted the title Father of the Fatherland offered him by unanimous decision of the senate.

The following were present: Paullus Fabius Persicus, M. Furius Camillus, Appius Iunius [Silanus, P. Me]mmius [Reg]ulus, C. Caecina, L. Annius Vinicianus, [C. Calpurniu]s Piso.

[*AFE* 12c, lines 83–91]

Dio (59.3.2 = LACTOR 15, B3) tells us that Gaius accepted all Augustus' titles shortly after his accession, with the except of *pater patriae*, father of the fatherland, which he took soon afterwards. This record shows the date as 21 September, AD 37. For the honour, see LACTOR 17, H38 and Barrett, *Caligula* 70–71.



**A38t – 23 September, AD 38: Augustus' birthday; Drusilla's deification**

On 23 September, [Taurus Statilius Cor]vinus, vice-president, [on behalf] of the college of Arval Brothers [sacrific]ed [a male ox] in the new temple of Divus Augustus, in honour of the birthday of Divus Augustus.

[The following were present: Paullus Fabius P]ersicus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, [M. Furius Camillus, P. Mem]mius Regulus, C. Caecina Largus, [...], [C. Calpurniu]s Piso.

[On the same day, for the consecration of Drusill]a, in the new Temple of Divus Augustus, the college of [Arval] Brothers [... D]rusilla [... ] Diva Drusilla [... ]

[*AFA* 12c, lines 92–103]

For Drusilla, see **J22** and Barrett, *Caligula* 86–9.

**A38u – 24 September and 16 November, AD 38: various rituals**

*(Meagre fragments show sacrifices of a male ox on 24 September and on 16 November, with ritual expiation of a fallen branch at some date in between.)*

[*AFA* 12c, lines 103–109 and *AFA* 12d, lines 1–10]

**A39a – 1 January, AD 39: Gaius' consulship**

When C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus, for a second time, and L. Apronius Caesianus were consuls (AD 39), and Appius Iunius Silanus was president of the Arval Brothers.

On 1 January, [L. Salvius Otho, priest] and vice-president on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers [sacrificed] on the Capitol a male ox to Jupiter, a [cow] to Juno [and a cow to Minerva], and, [in fr]ont of the statues of ex-consuls, another male ox to Divus Augustus at his [new] temple, [in honour of the con]sulship of [C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus ...]

[*AFA* 13abcd, lines 1–10]

**A39b – January to March, AD 39: various sacrifices**

*(Sufficient fragments to restore as the next three entries sacrifices to mark the birthdays of Livia (30 January), Antonia (31 January) and the acclamation of Gaius as Imperator by the senate (18 March) on exactly the same formulae as for AD 38 (A38d–f). Those present included Paullus Fabius Persicus, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, C. Caecina Largus, and P. Memmius Regulus.)*

[*AFA* 13e, lines 1–17]

**A39c – Unknown date, AD 39: sequence of sacrifices**

[...] sacrificed [...] to Minerva a cow, [to Well-Being a cow,] to Divus Augustus a male ox; [also] in the Temple of Concord [a cow; also on] the Palatine to Divus Augustus a [male] ox, and at the Altar of Providence, a cow.

The following were present: Cn. Domitius, Ca[ecina Largus, Taurus] Statilius Corvinus.

[*AFA* 13fgh, lines 1–8]

Record of sacrifices to Jupiter and Juno must have preceded that to Minerva. Sacrifice to Concord suggests a political context in which unison has *not* been apparent. While that to Providence shows a wish to thank the gods for taking care of the status quo. The likely context is failure of Gaetulicus' conspiracy (see **A39e** below).

**A39d – 24/26 October, AD 39: birthday of Agrippina the Elder**

On 2[.] October, [L. Salvius Otho], priest and vice-president on behalf of the [college of] Arval Brothers sacrificed a male ox on the [Capitol] in honour of the birthday of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus [Caes]ar, mother of Caesar [Ger]manicus ...].

The following were present: Cn. Domitius, Paullus Fabius Persicus, C. Caecina Largus.

[*AFE* 13fgh, lines 9–16]

**A39e – 27 October, AD 39: Gaetulicus' conspiracy detected**

On 27 October, on account of the uncovering of wicked [plots against Gaius Germanicus] by Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus ... [L. Salvius] Otho, priest [and vice-president on behalf of the college of Arval] Brothers [sacrificed ...]

[*AFE* 13fgh, lines 17–22]

For Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus and his conspiracy, see **A39c** above; **B26**; **P5**; Barrett, *Caligula* 101–6.

**A40a – 24 May, AD 40: birthday of Germanicus**

On 24 May, [...the vice]-president in the presidency of [P. Memmius Regulus, on behalf of the college] of Arval Brothers sacrificed a male [ox to Jupiter], a cow to Juno [and a cow to Minerva in honour of] the birthday of Germanicus [Caesar].

[The following were present: ...] M. Silanus, C. Caecina [Largus, Taurus Sta]tilius Corvinus.

[*AFE* 14 column I, lines 1–9]

**A40b – 1 June, AD 40: sacrifice to Dea Dia**

On 1 June, [...the vice]-president in the presidency of P. Memmius Reg]ulus, on behalf of the college of Arval Brothers [sacrificed] a cow to the Dea Dia.

The following were present: [Imperator C. C]aesar Augustus Germanicus, [C. Caecina L]argus, Taurus Statilius [Corvinus, L. A]nnius Vinicianus, C. [Calpurnius] Piso, M. Silanus.

[*AFE* 14 column I, lines 10–18]

**A40c – 2/5 June, AD 40: sacrifice to Drusilla**

On 2/5 June, [...the vice]-president in the presidency of [P. Memmius Reg]ulus, on behalf of the college of [Arval] Brothers sacrificed a ma[le ox to Jupiter], a cow to [Juno] and a cow to Minerva in honour of the birthday of [Diva Drusilla] Augusta.

[The following were present: C. Ca]ecina L]argus, M. Silanus, [L. Ann]ius Vini]cianus, C. Calpurnius Piso.

[*AFE* 14 column I, lines 19–26]

**A44a – 12 January, AD 44: Claudius *pater patriae* (father of the fatherland)**

On [12] January, sacrifice to Jupiter because Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus was called father of the fatherland. [On] the Capitol a male ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Prosperity, a male ox to Divus Augustus, a cow to Diva Augusta.

The following were present: C. Caecina Largus, L. Vitellius, Paullus Fabius Persicus, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, C. Piso, M. Silanus, L. Silanus, Magnus Pompeius.

[*AFE* 17, lines 3–14]

Claudius initially refused the title *pater patriae* (Dio 60.3.2 = LACTOR 15 C3), but took it in January 42 (*RIC Claudius* 90–91 = *BMC Claudius* 181–4, showing Claudius PP and COS II).