

Reconstructing Religion
Augustus and the *Fratres Arvales*

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Abstracts

The following thesis is an examination of the underlying reasons for the re-establishment of the cult of the Arval Brothers under Augustus, the first Roman Emperor (31 BC-AD14). It aims to prove that the re-foundation of this archaic Roman cult fits within the parameters of Augustus' religious, as well as political reforms after the victory at Actium in 31 BC. Moreover, it seeks to determine the reasons behind the choice of this particular cult. Although Augustus had significantly reduced the number of men in the Senate, there was still a bottleneck for the few major political offices available. Thus, he decided to give out priesthoods as thanks to his loyal supporters, and to reward those that had crossed over to his side. The members of the brotherhood in 21 BC are highly prominent men both militarily and politically, and this shows that Augustus wanted to solidify his support among the members of the aristocracy.

La présente thèse est une examination des raisons sous-jacentes du rétablissement du culte des Frères Arvales sous Auguste, le premier empereur Romain (31av. J.-C.-14 de notre ère). Elle propose de prouver que le rétablissement de ce culte romain archaïque s'accorde avec les paramètres des réformes politique et religieuse suivant la victoire à Actium en 31 av. J.-C. De plus, elle cherche à déterminer les raisons derrière le choix de ce culte en particulier. Malgré qu'Auguste avait réduit le nombre d'hommes siégeant au Sénat, il y avait toujours une route étroite menant aux offices les plus prestigieuses. Donc, il octroya des prêtrises pour remercier ses supporteurs et pour récompenser ceux qui avaient choisi de changer de camp. Les membres de la fraternité des Frères Arvales en 21 av. J.-C. sont des hommes très proéminent dans les domaines de la politique ainsi que dans l'armée, et ceci démontre qu'Auguste voulait solidifier l'appui des membres de l'aristocratie.

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Introduction:
Qui Fratres Arvales Sunt?

Pontifex Maximus, augur,
XV virum sacris faciundis,
VII virum epulonum, frater arvalis,
sodalis Titius, fetialis fui.¹

I was Pontifex Maximus, Augur,
Quindecemvir of the sacred proceedings,
Septemvir of the sacred feast, Arval brother,
Fellow of Titus, and Fetial priest.
(Aug. *RG.* 7)

In 31 BC, Octavian, the adopted son of Julius Caesar and his heir-apparent, won the decisive Battle of Actium against Mark Anthony. This marked the end of over two decades of Civil Wars, first between Caesar and Pompey, and then between Octavian and Anthony. This also marked the end of the Roman Republic, and the dawn of a new golden age, the Early Empire, commonly known also as the Early Imperial Period. In 27 BC, Octavian became Augustus, the “revered one”, and was thus the Empire’s Princeps. The Roman Empire was still not united however, as there remained dissidents whose allegiances had previously rested upon either Anthony or, for the older generation, even Pompey himself. The Civil Wars had taken a toll on the aristocracy, and numerous patrician families of old had been extinguished or were on the verge of disappearing. Others had lost their fortunes and could no longer afford to be in the Senate. Augustus undertook a number of reforms to remedy the situation, including elevating plebeian families to the rank of patrician in 29 BC, and revising the roll of the Senate in

¹ All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

29/28 BC.² Previously, senators had to have a net worth of 400,000 sesterces or more to be admitted into the Senate, but Augustus now raised this requirement to 1,000,000 sesterces, in order to create a large gap between the senatorial and equestrian orders. As numerous senators were not able to meet this requirement, Augustus gave them the difference. This ensured that the senators would be in his debt. Patronage was greatly important during the Early Empire, and Augustus indebted a number of senators to his family in this way.

Another reform that Augustus undertook was a religious reform. Augustus, publicly a strict devotee of the *mos maiorum*, the ways of the ancestors, undertook a refurbishment of Roman religion. Many religious institutions had fallen into disuse, one of which was the prestigious office of *flamen Dialis* that had gone unoccupied for decades, between the years 86-11 BC.³ Many aristocrats believed that the gods had inflicted the misfortunes that had befallen the Republic during the Civil Wars, since the Romans no longer fulfilled their religious obligations. The historian Titus Livius, or Livy, stated this concerning his fellow Romans: “But there had not yet come about that contempt for the gods which possesses the present generation”⁴ and concerning the seemingly useless ancestral religious practices: “but because [our ancestors] did not scorn these trivial things, your fathers were able to build this great Republic; and now we, as though we had no further use for

² Eck, Werner. *The Age of Augustus*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2007), 80.

³ Tac. *Ann.* III.58; Beard, Mary, John North and Simon Price. *Religions of Rome. Volume 1: A History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 130.

⁴ Livy. III.20.5

Heaven's favour, are polluting all the ceremonies".⁵ Evidently, the matter of religion was greatly important to Romans during the Age of Augustus, and many authors discussed the need for the Romans to return to the proper worship of the gods in their works. Augustus also restored eighty-two temples that had been in dire need of upkeep, and held the heirs of the initial dedicators responsible for the refurbishment and restoration of those altars and temples.⁶ Livy mentions that Augustus was the "founder or restorer of all the temples".⁷ Thus, the Princeps was very involved in the new religious life of Rome.

Beyond the restoration of the office of *flamen Dialis* and numerous temples, Augustus tackled the revival of cults that had been disfavoured or lost, as well as creating new ones that would suit his religious reforms. The nebulous Arval Brothers were among the cults that Augustus revived, along with the *sodales Titii*. Although very little is known about the *sodales Titii*, the college of Arvals has left proceedings, or *Acta*, that reveal the inner workings of their cult.

The Arval Brothers were twelve in number, and each year elected a new magistrate from within the college to oversee their rituals and ceremonies. They worshipped the goddess *Dea Dia*, who is only attested in the proceedings of the Arval Brothers. She was a fertility goddess that the brotherhood worshipped in a sacred grove, around five miles outside of

⁵ Livy. VI.41.8-9

⁶ Dio. LIII.2.4; Aug. *RG*. 20

⁷ Livy. IV. 20.7

Rome's *pomerium* along the *via Campana*. The purpose of the Arval Brothers was to ensure the fertility and productivity of the crops, and their unique headdress recalled their agricultural nature. Furthermore, the name "Arval" is etymologically linked to the word *arva* meaning field, by the ancient Roman author Varro in his *De Lingua Latina*.⁸ The college, which was not part of the four major colleges at Rome – the *flamines*, the *augurs*, the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, and the *septemviri epulonum* – was nonetheless equal in honour to them by the end of Augustus' reign.⁹ At the beginning of Augustus' reign however – in 29 BC—, when he was still Octavian, the college had long been forgotten. Octavian had enlisted aristocratic patricians to help him restore the brotherhood, men such as Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Caecilius Cornutus. These were men of knowledge and antiquarians who would have possessed the ability and aptitudes to help in the re-foundation of an archaic cult.

Although the renewal of the Arval College fits within the religious reform of Augustus, it needs to be seen why he had opted for this cult instead of other long-forgotten archaic rituals. Surely, there was a specific feature of this college that attracted the Princeps' attention, or suited his purpose. But what was this attraction, and what was this purpose? Augustus seems to have favoured traditional Roman gods that had been poorly worshiped during the Late Republic. These included Apollo, to whom he pledged an undying

⁸ Varro. *LL*. 6.22

⁹ The assumption is that Augustus would not have mentioned lesser priesthoods in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.

devotion, and Mars, whose cult he revived when he dedicated the Temple to *Mars Ultor*, the Avenger, as well as when he revived the Arval Brothers.¹⁰

Modern Scholarship

Unsurprisingly, many modern scholars of the last century have tackled Augustus' religious reforms. Most accounts agree with the common Roman opinion that the disasters emerging from the Civil Wars were due to the lack of devotion towards their gods. Ronald Syme, in *The Roman Revolution*, discusses the "national program" of Augustus and concludes, "the ruinous Civil Wars engendered a feeling of guilt that came for the neglect of the gods".¹¹ Karl Galinsky, in *Augustan Culture: an interpretive introduction*, devotes an entire chapter to Augustus' religious reforms and argues that "the religious restoration paralleling the political one had proceeded on the basis of needs that had been articulated in the Late Republic."¹² In their definitive *Religions of Rome*, Beard, Price, and North argue that the "circumstances surrounding the lapse of this office [of *flamen Dialis*] highlight the close interrelationship between the disturbances of civil war and the apparent neglect of religion, as well as the various tactics of change and adaptation that might accompany such lapses".¹³ The implication of this statement is that the Romans believed that their fate was due to their own disrespect of the gods, and thus is in accord with the views of Syme and Galinsky.

¹⁰ Ogilvie, R.M. *The Romans and their Gods in the Age of Augustus*. (New York: Norton, 1969), 114.

¹¹ Syme, Ronald. *The Roman Revolution*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 447.

¹² Galinski, Karl. *Augustan Culture: an interpretive introduction*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 291.

¹³ Beard, Price and North. *Roman Religion Volume 1: A History*. 132.

The most prominent scholar of the Arval Brothers is undoubtedly John Scheid. His work has helped illuminate many aspects of this cult throughout multiple monographs. By association, this means that he has also worked on the religious reforms of the first emperor. As such, he contributes to the *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* with his chapter “Augustus and Roman Religion: Continuity, Conservatism and Innovation”. After a brief overview of the current scholarship, Scheid concludes, quite rightly that “in Augustus’ time, Roman religion was believed to be in decay [...] Today, this perspective is shared by most specialists”.¹⁴ Interestingly enough, Werner Eck’s otherwise excellent survey *The Age of Augustus* barely touches upon the subject of religion, and does not mention Augustus’ religious reforms, choosing rather to dwell on the equally important political reforms.

Paul Zanker takes a different approach from these other scholars and examines the importance of visual culture in the Augustan Age. In *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Zanker devotes a whole chapter to the Augustan cultural renewal. He claims that “the upper class were not hopeful for the [post-Actium] future because they saw the Civil Wars and all the other calamities as a result of a complete moral collapse”.¹⁵ Moreover, “ever since Cato the Elder, the dissolution of tradition and of state, the self-

¹⁴ Scheid, John. “Augustus and Roman Religion: Continuity, Conservatism and Innovation” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, edited by Karl Galinsky (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 176.

¹⁵ Zanker, Paul. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Transl. by Alan Shapiro. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 101.

destructiveness that threatened to destroy Rome, had all been ascribed to the neglect of the gods".¹⁶

Therefore, it is obvious that the dominant opinion among the scholars of the Augustan Age is the conclusion that there is a relationship between the disasters of the Civil Wars and the neglect of the gods. Such a consensus supports the aforementioned Livy quotes. Horace, in his *Odes*, also examines this relationship saying that the Romans of the days of Augustus could only atone for the transgressions of their ancestors by refurbishing the temples and returning to a traditional worship of the gods.¹⁷

The purpose of this thesis is multifaceted. In the first chapter, the hymn of the Arval Brothers found in the Proceedings of AD218 will be examined in order to determine which reconstruction of the prayer is closer to the original as inscribed on the marble *Acta*. Moreover, the nature of Mars will be examined in the context of the brotherhood. As the Arval College worshipped mostly fertility deities, such as their chief goddess *Dea Dia*, along with the *Lares* and the *Semones*, the presence of Mars has puzzled many scholars. However, it will become obvious that the Arval Brothers primarily worshipped the agricultural nature of Mars, a function that harkens back to archaic Roman religion. This will be demonstrated by considering the Italic and Etruscan versions of Mars, which are closer temporally to the archaic Mars, as well as that from the Roman provinces, primarily Gaul.

¹⁶ Zanker, Paul. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. 102.

¹⁷ Horace. *Odes*. III.6.

In chapter two, archaeological analysis of the sacred grove of the Arval Brothers, will be examined to understand the function of the brotherhood under Augustus. There is very little evidence from the Augustan grove, but there is evidence for the foundations of a temple, as well as of a circus. The circus has been mostly ignored by John Scheid in his work *Romulus et ses frères*, as he dedicates but one paragraph in this extensive work to the structure that is closest in time to the Augustan revival. The growth of the grove over time does demonstrate that the prestige of the cult increased as time went on, and as it became more closely involved with the Imperial cult. Thus, by the Severan age, there was an enormous complex in the grove complete with *Caesareum* and *Balneum*.

In chapter three, the members of the brotherhood during the age of Augustus will be analyzed in order to determine if there are certain patterns emerging in the membership. Indeed, there is evidence for hereditary appointments under Augustus. Moreover, the members of the Augustan Arval brothers were highly prominent individuals prior to their co-optation into the college, a very specific aspect of the Augustan brothers as opposed to the Neronian brothers that included members of the lower classes.

Finally, the relation between Augustus and the brethren will be discussed in the conclusion, as it became obvious that both a religious and political incentive pushed the emperor to choose this cult amongst others to revive. The Arval brothers epitomized Augustus' religious revival: the members were of patrician class, they were prominent political and military

men, and the cult itself was rooted in the very foundation of Rome by Romulus. As Augustus fashioned himself as a second founder of Rome, his association with the Arval brothers is not surprising.

Chapter One: *Enos Marmor iuvato!* The *Carmen Arvale* and the Nature of Mars

The Arval Brothers left behind the most extensive yearly proceedings of any Roman priesthood. Each year, they would have the name of all the members inscribed, as well as any rituals and *piacula* they may have performed in that year. They also inscribed lists of deities to which they sacrificed. The most common of these are their chief goddess Dea Dia, as well as Mars. It is difficult to reconcile the presence of Mars in what is seemingly an agricultural cult. Scholars such as George Dumézil and John Scheid have argued that the presence of Mars indicates the martial aspect of the cult. This assertion needs to be examined more closely. The following chapter will examine the Arval hymn of the brotherhood, which was inscribed in the proceeding of AD218. A reconstruction of the hymn will be offered following the suggestion of numerous scholars. Moreover, this chapter will argue that Mars' presence among the chief deities of the Arval Brothers is axiomatic, as the brotherhood worshiped the god in both a martial and agricultural aspect. These two points are tied as Mars is mentioned on numerous occasions in the Arval Hymn.

The origins of the cult of the Arval Brothers are markedly nebulous. The only reference in Republican literature is Varro's *De Lingua Latina*. He discusses the philological roots of the word *Arvales* rather than dealing with the origins of the cult itself. Following the restoration by Augustus in 29 BC, references to the cult increase exponentially with the *Acta* of the college, which were their yearly proceedings. The inscriptions dating back to the

Augustan age, however, only enumerate the members of the cult without providing any information about the cult itself, its rituals, or the specific offices that were available in the cult. Imperial literature can help fill in the gaps. In his first book, Livy discusses the relationship between Acca Larentia and Romulus. At first glance, this does not seem to relate to the Arval Brothers. However, Aulus Gellius, in his *Attic Nights*, specifically links the founding of the Arval brothers to Acca Larentia and her twelve sons. Relying on these two authors, a brief sketch of the alleged origins may be presented.

Acca Larentia, an Etruscan woman married to Faustulus, a shepherd brought up the twins Romulus and Remus herself, after her husband had brought them into their home. She had earned the derogatory name *lupa* for her rather loose behaviour, which led to the legend that a she-wolf nursed the twins.¹⁸ Acca Larentia already had twelve sons, and when one of them died, Romulus offered to replace him. These were the twelve first members of the Arval Brothers and Acca Larentia was still worshipped during the Roman Empire by the brotherhood under the name of the Mother of the Lares.

These fragments help to piece together the origin of the Arval Brothers according to Roman tradition. They also help to explain the nature of the rituals performed, as they are sometimes tinged with Etruscan practices. These glimpses do not, however, enlighten us as to the reasoning behind the cult itself, or the rituals performed. One piece of evidence does

¹⁸ Livy 1.4.7; Aulus Gellius. *NA* 7.7.

help in this respect: the Arval Hymn, the main prayer of the Arval Brothers that comes down via the yearly proceedings of the brotherhood.

The *Carmen Arvale*

The proceeding of AD 218 was found in the pavement of the sacristy of Saint-Peter at the Vatican in 1778.¹⁹ Many of the proceedings had been reused in Christian churches, either as flooring, tables, or even tombstones. The border is conserved at the bottom and on the left side on the front, and on the right on the back. On the back, there is also a hole for the installation of a hinge, and a portion of the text has been erased by friction, most likely caused by a door.²⁰ It measures 77.3cm in height, and 63.1cm in length. It has been sawed in half into two fragments. They are 1.3cm wide, meaning that it would have measured 2.6cm in width at the time of its discovery.²¹

The problems of interpretation are mostly due to the missing portion of the text. These are due to text being lost by friction, as well as gaps in the proceeding itself, but they are not limited to it. Other problems, such as alterations between repeated lines, can be ascribed to either scribal error, or to a flawed original text.²² It is greatly possible that the scribe could not decipher some cursive writing, but it is also possible that the *libelli* that he was perhaps using as a template had been altered over the years and the text would have suffered from numerous re-editions. This uncertainty is one of

¹⁹ Scheid, John. *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalum qui supersunt=CFA XV*.

²⁰ Scheid *CFA* 293.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Bréal, Michel. "Épigraphie italique" (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1881), 375.

the reasons why the text has been under so much scrutiny over the years, and this is an issue that will always plague commentaries on the Arval Hymn.

As mentioned previously, the hymn is included in the proceeding for the year AD218, the first year of the rule of Elagabalus, the penultimate Severan emperor. The hymn itself is composed in a style of Latin that is very different from the rest of the proceeding, including a very unique mix of archaic Latin, Greek, and Etruscan words, as well as the original Indo-European reduplication of god names, such as Marmor and Berber. It is much too archaic for the Severan period, and is unlikely to be the result of antiquarianism. It is, however, the common opinion that the hymn was originally composed in the archaic period. Many dates have been suggested as the original date of composition, some going as far back in time as the sixth century BC.²³ More conservative estimates, however, argue for a date of composition between the fifth and fourth centuries BC.²⁴ This more likely dating is based on the presence of the word *Lases* instead of the more familiar *Lares* to denote the household gods, a word which predates the phenomenon of rhotacism.²⁵ Moreover, the reduplication of Mars in order to find Marmor would also suggest a date of composition of the late fifth, early fourth century BC.²⁶

²³ Warmington, E.H. *Remains of Old Latin: Archaic Inscriptions Vol.IV.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 251.

²⁴ Paladino I. *Fratres Arvales.* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1988), 195; E. Norden. *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern.* (Lund: Gleerup, 1939), 275-277.

²⁵ Paladino, I. *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

The lines that precede and follow the text of the Hymn support the antiquity of the Hymn. It is introduced thus: *Ibi sacerdotes clusi, succincti, libellis acceptis, carmen descendentes tripodaverunt in verba haec.*²⁷ (“Then, the priests, confined, [their togas] gathered up with a belt, having received little books, divided into two groups, performed a triple time ritual dance [and sung] the hymn in the following words”). Consequently, the brothers did not recite the prayer from memory, but instead had to read it from a text. This text was presumably passed down from member to member over the years, with the book of a deceased Arval Brother placed in the hands of the newly elected one.²⁸ The anachronistic nature of the prayer’s Latin compared to the rest of the inscription is therefore due to its date of composition almost six hundred years prior to the reign of the Severans, when such a Latin would have been commonly spoken.

If this is the case, it is not surprising that the brothers needed a written text in order to recite the prayer. As Latin had changed a great deal over the centuries, many of these words would have changed or lost their meaning, making them difficult to remember. This has many implications: first, the rite was so ancient that the members dared not change anything in the formula, for fear of offending the gods invoked and having to offer atonement. Furthermore, because the Hymn retained a number of elements such as chanting, repeated lines, a direct address to the deity, and an

²⁷ See Appendix I for full transcription and translation.

²⁸ Under Augustus, the Arval Brothers were elected rather than co-opted by the Emperor. This changes overtime and the practice disappears completely with Nero.

exactness of wording, there may have been a mystical reason why the prayer remained unchanged for so long.²⁹ Moreover, the next line reads: *Post tripodationem deinde signo dato publ{i}c{i} introier(unt) et libellos receperunt.*³⁰ (“After the triple time ritual dance, a sign having been given, the public slaves entered and collected the small books”). This final line is significant. That there were slaves in charge of the safekeeping of these liturgical texts is indicative of the high value placed on the volumes. These books could only be read when the Arvals were performing this specific ritual to Mars, adding to their mystique. Obscure language would have solidified this mystical nature of the text, preventing any changes over the years.

To add to the mystery of the ritual, the brothers would chant amongst themselves, without any servant present.³¹ Only the members of the brotherhood could witness the ceremony. The ritual was also minutely choreographed; when the brothers chant *Semunis alternei advocapit conctos*, they are giving instructions to one another. At the beginning of the ritual, the priests had divided into two groups, and were clearly issuing instructions to the other group. This line is in the third rather than the second person

²⁹ Burriss, Eli Edward. “The Magic Elements in Roman Prayers” *CP* 25 (1930) 50-52; Pliny the Elder mentions that at the time of the Law of the Twelve Tables, magic was still present in Italy *NH*.30.3.

³⁰ See Appendix I.

³¹ This is the implication of “*ibi sacerdotes clusi*”. At the end of the prayer, the servants come back in to gather the books; cf. Scheid. *Romulus et ses frères: le collège des frères arvaies, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs*. (Paris: De Boccard, 1990), 617; G. Rohde. *Die kultsatzungen des römischen Pontifices*. (Berlin: Töppelmann, 1936), 64.

because the brothers are speaking to the divinities that they are invoking, these indirect instructions do not seem out of place.³²

The inscription itself is problematic for previously mentioned reasons, and over the years many transcriptions have been proposed by scholars from T. Mommsen to J. Scheid.³³ A few reconstructions stand out due to their striking discrepancies compared to the others. The most notorious of these is that posited by Georges Édouard in the late 19th century. Édouard believed that the inscription was based on a cursive text, and proceeded to replace all the letters he believed were out of place with letters that are similar in cursive. Most scholars, however, agree as to the reading of the last three lines of the hymn. It is the first part of the Hymn that poses the most problems. By comparing the reconstructions, it is fairly certain that the first line would be *E nos Lasas iuvate*, whether written as *E! Nos!* or *Enos*. These variations do not alter the meaning of this line. The next line must be taken as *Neve lue rue* for two reasons. The first is that Breal's proposed variant of *Neve luem arves* adds both the letters "m" and "a", which are not present in the inscription. Breal's interpretation therefore diverges too much from the text. The second is that Havet's proposed reconstruction of *Ne velueris* replaces both letters "u" and "e" by "is", which is also distant from the inscribed letters.

The second part of this line, *Marmar sins incurrere in pleoris*, has been the object of less editing. Most postulations deal with *sins*, replacing it either

³² Norden, E. *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern*. 177ff; cf. Paladino, Ida. *Fratres Arvales: storia di un collegio sacerdotale romano*. 198.

³³ See Appendix II for these transcriptions.

with *sers* or in one instance *suis*. In the context of this line, *suis* does not make sense; there is no indication as to who “his” people would be. *Sins* must be accepted, as it is closest to the text on the inscription. As Paladino has suggested, this could be a Latinized version of the Greek σινος, “harm” or “calamity”³⁴. In *pleoris* is replaced by *impleores* in one instance. However, after the infinitive verb *incurrere*, a direct object would be expected, “rushing onto the people”. Therefore, *impleores* can be discarded. The invocation of Mars under the name Marmar, possibly an appellation of Sabine origin, is not problematic; it is simply a reduplication of the Indo-European root *mar-, which means “to shine”.

Finally, the line from *satur* to *sta Berber* needs to be considered. The reconstruction of Michel Bréal can be discarded for the first half of this line: *sata, tutere Mars*, which is incoherent with the inscription. *Sata* may be feminine singular or neuter plural, two possibilities that do not concord with the vocative use of Mars. Furthermore, *tutere* as a second person subjunctive cannot agree with Mars, since it is a passive form. If this is indeed the verb used here, one would expect an active form, which would be translated to “may you protect, Mars”. Therefore, this postulation can be discarded. The more plausible transcription would be *satur fu, fere Mars*, which is what five of the transcriptions propose.

As for the latter part of this line, although numerous variations have been proposed, only *limen sali, sta, Berber* can be accepted when compared to

³⁴ Paladino, Ida. *Fratres Arvales: storia di un collegio sacerdotale romano*. 201.

the text on the inscription. Berber is a reduplication of the Etruscan name for Mars, Ver, with the common change from “v” to “b”. Finally, the repetition of the final *Triumpe!* five times instead of three may seem problematic, but it simply is a parallel to the five verses in the *carmen*.³⁵

By comparing the reconstructions to each other, as well as with the text of the inscription itself, it has been possible to propose an accurate reconstruction. The readings that are closest to the inscription have been favoured. In essence, the author will follow the version of the hymn proposed by Scheid, who is by far the most conservative of all the versions presented. Now that this has been addressed, the significance of the context of the Hymn must be examined in order to determine the nature of the deities and the rituals of the Arval Brothers.

The Nature of Mars

As mentioned previously, the Arval Hymn is addressed to three specific deities: the Lares, the Semones and Mars. Dea Dia, the chief goddess of the grove, is not invoked in the Hymn. Amongst a grouping of agricultural deities, Mars may seem to be out of place, since by the time of the Early Empire, Mars was heavily influenced by his Greek counterpart Ares, and was worshipped as a martial god who watched over soldiers during combat. Furthermore, vengeance was an important aspect of the god of war, which Augustus emphasized when he built the large temple to Mars *Ultor* in the *forum Augusti*. The Temple to Mars *Ultor* linked Augustus to Julius Caesar to

³⁵ Paladino, Ida. *Fratres Arvales: storia di un collegio sacerdotale romano*. 186.

an even greater degree, as initially it was to be dedicated for the avenging of Caesar. This was not, however the only aspect of Mars that Augustus favoured. In line with his policies of the restoration of the Republic, a return to *mos maiorum*, and his marriage laws, Augustus revived the Arval Brothers who partly worshipped a Mars that was very different from that commonly worshiped in the Early Empire, one that was much closer to his Etruscan and Italic counterparts as an agricultural god. This is not to say that the worship of Mars did not have a martial resonance, but simply that they favoured his agricultural aspect.

Recent scholarship has tended to deemphasize Mars' agrarian aspect, both in relation to the Arval Brothers as well as to the Roman pantheon in general.³⁶ Georges Dumézil, the architect behind the tripartite theory in Indo-European myth, has taken issue with this very aspect of Mars. His theory is firmly based on the idea that the gods fall into three categories that reflect cultural and class struggles among the early Indo-Europeans: the priestly/regal function, the warrior function, and the agricultural function. His case study for the Italic version of his theory (he has also developed this theory using Vedic religion) is the pre-Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus.³⁷ Jupiter thus is the representative of the priestly/regal function, Mars the warrior function, and Quirinus the agricultural function.

³⁶ See Guillaume-Coirier, Germaine. "Les Couronnes Militaires Végétales à Rome: Vestiges Indo-Européens et Croyances Archaïques" *RHR* 210 (1993) 387-411; Scheid. *Romulus et ses Frères. Passim*; Schilling, Robert. "Dea Dia dans la liturgie des frères Arvales" *Hommages à Marcel Renard*. Vol. II. (Bruxelles: Latomus revue d'études latines, 1969) 675-679.

³⁷ Dumézil, Georges. *Jupiter, Mars et Quirinus*. (Paris: Gallimard, 1941), *passim*.

Nevertheless, Dumézil's theory needs to be addressed as it has held considerable sway over Roman religion in the past fifty years.

Dumézil was aware of the agrarian aspect of the archaic Mars, and tried to address this issue without negating the validity of his theory.

According to him, Mars was also:

Invoqué pour la prospérité des bêtes et des champs, et principalement pour détourner d'eux les fléaux démoniaques et atmosphériques; ce qui est encore, mythologiquement, un office de combattant.³⁸

Therefore, Dumézil concludes that agrarian Mars was essentially an aggressive defender of fields and boundaries, thus closely linking both martial and agricultural aspects of the deity. Even if one aspect of the god was dominant, there is no reason to reject the idea that Mars was worshipped in Rome as both a war god and an agricultural god from an early date.

Modern scholarship portrayed Mars as primarily a martial god, defending the fields rather than ensuring their prosperity. Consequently, it is necessary to examine the previous Italic and Etruscan manifestations of Mars, as well as his prominent aspects in the Roman provinces as well as in literature. This evidence shows that Mars was much more than a warrior god. Augustus may very well have been aware of this dual aspect.

An early Latin author to make reference to Mars' agrarian nature is Plautus in his play *Truculentus*. One of the characters, Strabax, declaims in

³⁸ Dumézil, Georges. *Jupiter, Mars et Quirinus*. 84. "Invoked for the prosperity of the beasts and fields, and especially to prevent environmental and spiritual plagues from attacking them; which is still, mythologically a warrior function."

anger that: “By my vow, Mars has proved angry with my father; for his sheep are not very far away from the wolves”.³⁹ This is a very interesting claim; it brings together the martial and agrarian aspects of Mars. Here, he is portrayed as a god who not only ensures the prosperity of the flock, but who also defends it from external threats such as wolves. Therefore, by Plautus’ time, Mars had begun to merge both of his primary aspects, that of agrarian and martial god.

Cato the Elder refers to this agrarian aspect in his didactic work *De Agricultura*. This is a guide for the proper management of one’s estate, including legal land ownership issues, as well as for the prosperity of one’s fields and livestock. Cato dedicates a section of his work to the prayers that farmers must declaim in order to ensure the fertility of their flocks and fields. Two of these refer to prayers and sacrifices performed to Mars.

The first of these prayers will be quoted in full:

*Votum pro bubus, uti valeant, sic facito. Marti Silvano in silva interdius in capita singula boum votum facito. Farris L. III et lardi P. III S et pulpae P. III S, vini S III, id in unum vas liceto coicere, et vinum item in unum vas liceto coicere. Eam rem divinam vel servus vel liber licebit faciat. Ubi res divina facta erit, statim ibidem consumito. Mulier ad eam rem divinam ne adsit neve videat quo modo fiat. Hoc votum in annos singulos, si voles, licebit vovere.*⁴⁰

“Perform the vow for the oxen as follows, so that they might be healthy. Make a vow to Mars Silvanus in the forest, in the daytime, for each head of cattle. Three pounds of husked wheat, and four ½ pounds of lard, and four ½ pounds of meat, and three pints of wine. You may put it [the foods] in one vessel, and likewise you may pour the wine in one vessel.

³⁹ Plaut. *Trucul.* III.1.11-12.

⁴⁰ Cato. *De Agri.* 83.

Either a slave, or a free man may perform this sacrifice. After the sacrifice shall be completed, immediately consume [the offerings] in that very place. A woman may not assist at the sacrifice, nor see how it is performed. You may perform this vow each year if you so wish”.

This passage directly contradicts Dumézil’s conclusion that Mars was relegated to a custodian of the land and the protector of borders, since here it is clear that he is called upon as an agricultural god who is able to ensure the health and fertility of a farmer’s cattle. Furthermore, Mars here is referred to by the epithet *Silvanus*. There are several hypotheses about the origins of the epithet *Silvanus*. Most relevant to this discussion, it is argued that *Silvanus* is an adjectival derivation of the noun *silva*, or that it derives from *silva* itself. The added -no- means “master of the forests”.⁴¹ *Silvanus* was the name of an archaic Roman god. There is little evidence for *Silvanus*’ cult until the time of Augustus, although Augustus could have revived this cult, just as he had the Arval Brothers and the *Sodales Titii*. *Silvanus* was also the god of forests and was often associated with uncultivated land. Both are consistent with the vow being made in the forest as opposed to in the farmer’s fields. Furthermore, this vow must be made during the day *interdius*. Such timing is even more revealing when associated with the god Mars since the Indo-European root present in the name Mars has a very similar meaning to that used to form Dea Dia, namely *mar-, which means “to shine”. Therefore, the worship of an agrarian Mars fits in perfectly with the worship of Dea Dia, the

⁴¹ Mihály-Lorand, Dészpa. "Silvanus." Ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider In *Brill's New Pauly*, http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e1113260.

chief goddess of the Arval Brothers.⁴² This is not the only evidence for the worship of Mars as a god of agriculture.

At Praeneste, Mars was worshipped under the epithet *Bubetis*,⁴³ Also present in Italy were the Etruscan and Sabine versions of Mars, *Mavors* and *Mavers* respectively. Both these Italic deities were chthonic gods who ensured the protection and prosperity of farms, cattle, woods and farmers.⁴⁴

Moreover, Mars is tied to the ritual of the *ver sacrum* (sacred Spring) performed in times of great distress such as after the crushing defeat near lake Trasimeno in 217 BC.⁴⁵ This sacrifice entailed the dedication of all the yield of spring to a deity, including plants, animals, as well as humans. Humans, however, were usually expelled from the city rather than killed, but there is evidence that humans were sacrificed in historical times.⁴⁶ This link between the yield of a year and Mars can only make sense if the aspect of Mars this was sacrificed to was the agrarian as opposed to the martial one.

In Roman Gaul, many similar aspects of Mars appear. Mars was the Roman god most commonly associated with local divinities, which reflects his compound nature.⁴⁷ There are a number of local agricultural or fertility deities that came to be assimilated to Mars: Mars *Jeusdrinus* (protector of the

⁴² For further discussion of the importance of Dea Dia, see Chapter 2, pgs 38-39.

⁴³ Williams, Thomas. "A new epithet of Mars" *Hermes* 93 (1965) 252; CIL I² 33= ILLRP 248, CIL I² 1513= ILLRP 573, CIL XI 5805.

⁴⁴ Petruševski, M.D. "L'évolution du Mars italique d'une divinité de la nature à un dieu de la guerre" *AAntHung* 15 (1967) 417.

⁴⁵ Livy 22.10 although on this occasion it was dedicated to Jupiter, a Roman peculiarity; Dion. Hal. 1.6; Plin. *HN*. 3.110 states that the Picentes were led by a woodpecker to their city, an animal associated with Mars, whilst the Hirpini (Fest.93) by a wolf, also associated with Mars (Fest. 150).

⁴⁶ Dion.Hal.1.6.; Fest. 519ff; Liv. 22.57.

⁴⁷ Tournié, Irène. "Religion et acculturation des peuples alpines dans l'Antiquité" *DHA* 27 (2001) 180.

local *pagus* and god of the source), Mars *Cemenelus* (god of the sources and protector of the city Cemenelum), and Mars *Buxenus* (box-tree god).⁴⁸ When Julius Caesar declared that the Gallic Mars presided over wars, he was referring to only one of Mars' epithets in Gaul, namely *Olloudius*, which means "powerful". Most aspects of Mars in Gaul however were agrarian rather than martial. Furthermore, there has been a debate concerning the relationship especially between Mars *Buxenus* and the Roman Mars. Salomon Reinach claims that it is impossible to know why this chthonic Gallic deity came to be associated with Mars.⁴⁹ M.D. Petruševski, who argues that the archaic Italic Mars was first and foremost a chthonic deity, has produced evidence to the contrary.⁵⁰ Moreover, Gallic gods were very close to nature, and intrinsically tied to it, meaning that the only reason why such gods came to be associated with, and eventually assimilated to, the Roman Mars was because he had a number of different aspects to which local deities could relate. Therefore, one cannot see Mars as simply a warrior god that defends the Romans and protects them in time of war.

The second prayer to Mars in Cato's *De Agricultura* is the better known and lengthier of the two.

Cum divis volentibus quodque bene eveniat, mando tibi, Mani, uti illace suovetaurilia fundum agrum terramque meam quote ex parte sive circumagi sive circumferenda censeas, uti cures lustrare [...] "Mars Pater. Te precor quaesoque uti sies volens propitious mihi domo familiaeque nostrae, quois re ergo agrum

⁴⁸ Tournié, Irène. "Religion et acculturation des peuples alpines dans l'Antiquité". 177.

⁴⁹ Reinach, Salomon. *Orpheus*. (London: W. Heinemann, 1918), 168

⁵⁰ Petruševski, M.D. "L'évolution du Mars italique d'une divinité de la nature à un dieu de la guerre". 417.

*terram fundumque meum suovetaurilia circumagi iussi, uti tu morbos visos in visoque, vidertatem vastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiasque prohibessis defendas averruncesque; utique tu fruges, frumenta, vineta virgultaque grandire beneque evenire siris, pastores pecuaque salva servassis duique bonam salutem valetudinemque mihi domo familiaeque nostrae; harumce rerum ergo, sicuti dixi, macte hisce suovetaurilibus lactentibus immolandis esto; Mars Pater, eiusdem rei ergo macte hisce suovetaurilibus immolandis esto.*⁵¹

“With the help of the willing gods, may some good occur, I order you Manius, so that you may take care to purify my farm land and my property with this suovetaurilia, in whatever part you think best [for them] either to be driven around, or carried around. [...] “Father Mars! I pray and beseech you so that you may be willing and propitious towards myself, my house, and my household. Therefore for this reason I have ordered this suovetaurilia to be driven around my fields and my farm, so that you may defend, ward off and prevent seen and unseen diseases, bareness and destruction, crop failure and intemperate weather. That you may watch over my crops, my grain, my vineyard and my brushwood so that they may grow and come to a good granary That you may watch over my shepherds and my flocks, and doubly give good health and strength to myself, my house and my household. Therefore for this reason, just as I said, be worshipped with this suovetaurilia, a sacrifice of suckling victims. Father Mars, therefore for this same reason, be worshipped with this suovetaurilia, a sacrifice of suckling victims”.

There are clearly two parts to this prayer. The most salient passages are quoted above, with the instructions omitted because they neither add, nor detract, from the present argument.⁵² The first lines do not directly mention Mars directly, but the prayer’s addressee is clear from the outset. *Suovetaurilia* or *lustrationes agri* were performed to Mars. This prayer is in

⁵¹ Cato. *De Agri*. 141

⁵² The omitted text simply concerns directions as to how to perform the ritual.

fact the oldest description of a *lustratio* and its ritual instructions were widely applied.⁵³

The only person named in this first section is Manius, certainly a slave who is directed to undertake the necessary preparations to carry out the sacrifice. This recalls the first prayer mentioned above, in which Cato says that a slave, but not a woman, can perform the sacrifice to Mars.

In the second half, the suppliant clearly calls upon Mars for the good health of his crops, his animals, and his household. The suppliant is making expiation in order to ensure the fertility of his property, not in order to protect the boundary of his fields. This was a very archaic ritual that reached back into the recesses of Roman consciousness when the dominant aspect of Mars was that which resembled Mavors and Mamers of their fellow Italic peoples. Yet this is not to say that this prayer only refers to the agrarian aspect of Mars; rather it refers mostly to this aspect, but in the final lines, it is possible to see an invocation to a martial Mars as well. Indeed, the farmer asks Mars to “watch over my shepherds and my flocks”, a line that could be seen as asking Mars to protect the household from harm caused by enemies or invaders.

This agrarian aspect of Mars was still present by at least 39 BC, when an inscription from Caere relates the following: “[L.] *Censorino C. Calvisio cos [heisce] mag. ara Sil. Mar. fac. cu[r]*”.⁵⁴ It has been suggested that the MAR

⁵³ His information is confirmed by other authors such as Varro *LL* 6.22.

⁵⁴ Ross-Taylor, Lily. *Local Cults in Etruria*. (Rome: American Academy at Rome, 1923), 121 citing 7602 in Huelsen. *Rom. Mitt.* XXIII. 37.

found in the inscription referred to an unknown epithet of Silvanus, either Martius or Maritimus. However it clearly refers to Mars.⁵⁵ Caere in Southern Etruria, modern Cerveteri, had been conquered by Rome in 353 BC, well over three centuries by the time that this inscription was written. It thus possibly refers to a Roman version of the god.

This broad survey of the nature of Mars has shown that the agrarian aspect, which was much more prominent in the days of Plautus or Cato was nonetheless still present in the later Republic. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Augustus would have been aware of this version of Mars. Moreover, this aspect is present in three different mediums, that of didactic text, theatrical play and inscription. It is safe to assume that this aspect was a very popular one, and that, as can be seen in the Catonian prayer to Mars, it coexisted with the martial aspect without any difficulty.

Conclusion

The deities called upon in the Arval Hymn are, Mars, the Lares, and the Semones. Furthermore, the main cult deity is Dea Dia, and many offerings are also made to the Mother of the Lares, Acca Larentia. The Lares protected the home, and the Semones protect the crops. Mars ensures that the farmer's crop will grow, that his cattle will be healthy and fertile, and that his own household will prosper. All three of these deities are thus linked by their common agrarian features. Dea Dia furthermore is the goddess of a sacred

⁵⁵ Ross-Taylor. *Local Cults in Etruria*. 121; Burriss, Eli Edward. "The Religious Life on a Roman Farm as reflected in the *De Agricultura* of Marcus Porcius Cato". 30.

grove ensuring the prosperity of the harvest, and the Mother of the Lares is a chthonic deity.

Scholars have tried to understand why an agricultural cult worshiped the martial Mars.⁵⁶ This problem however disappears when we consider the relationship between the Mother of the Lares, Mars and the Arval Brothers. As mentioned in the introduction, Acca Larentia was either the mother or nurse, but her nickname *lupa* was the origin of the story of Romulus and Remus being reared by a she-wolf. She was intrinsically associated with Mars because she thus reared his two boys. Furthermore, she was honoured in Rome with the title “Mother of the Lares”, but in this case, the Lares were none other than Romulus and Remus.⁵⁷ The Mother of the Lares was a chthonic deity and the Larentalia, a festival celebrated for the dead, was held in her honour on December 23rd.⁵⁸ The sacrifices were conducted by the *pontifices* and the *flamen Quirinalis*. The Larentalia was furthermore celebrated at a grave, which indicated Acca Larentia’s strong chthonic character. The Arval Brothers performed her sacrifice in a similar way, by

⁵⁶ See Dumézil, George. *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*; Garcia-Calvo, Augustin. “Nueva Interpretación del Carmen Arval” *Emerita* 25 (1957) 387-448; Gerschel, Lucien. “Saliens de Mars et Saliens de Quirinus” *RHR* 138 (1950); Guillaume-Coirier, Germaine. “Les Couronnes Militaires Végétales à Rome: Vestiges Indo-Européens et Croyances Archaïques” *RHR* 210 (1993) 387-411; Hermansen, Gustav. “Mares, Maris, Mars, and the Archaic Gods” *SE* 52 (1984); Lawson, Vija Rumpé. *The Acta Fratrum Arvalium as a source for Roman Imperial History 23BC to AD243*. (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1985); Paladino, Ida. *Fratres Arvales: storia di un collegio sacerdotale romano*.; Petruševski M. D. - L'évolution du Mars italique d'une divinité de la nature à un dieu de la guerre”; Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères: le collège des frères arvales, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs*; Tournié, Irène. “Religion et acculturation des peuples alpines dans l'Antiquité”); Williams, Thomas. “A new epithet of Mars”; York, Michael. “Romulus and Remus, Mars and Quirinus” *JIES* 1988 (16).

⁵⁷ York, Michael. “Romulus and Remus, Mars and Quirinus”. 164.

⁵⁸ Hermansen, Gustav. “Mares, Maris, Mars and the Archaic Gods”. 158.

throwing offerings off of the terrace, where the rotunda was, down into the valley.

It is evident that the Arval Brothers were predominantly a fertility cult, as is obvious by the deities that they worshiped, and to whom they sacrificed. This is not to say however that the Brothers did not worship a martial aspect of Mars when this became necessary. For example, when they prayed for the safety of the emperor, it is likely that they were praying to Mars the Warrior so that he would safeguard and defend the Emperor as well as his family and Rome. Nevertheless, this inquiry into the nature of Mars has helped illuminate the Arval Hymn in context, as well as the nature of the cult itself. Next, we must turn to the topography of the sacred grove, which shall further contribute to our understanding of the rituals of the Brethren and their place in Augustus' political and religious program.

Chapter Two: The Topography of Cult
The *lucus Deae Diae* and the ritual centres of the Arval Brothers

The sacred grove of the Arval brothers, the *lucus Deae Diae*, was central to the cult worship of this ancient brotherhood.⁵⁹ It was excavated by a team from the *École française de Rome* led by Drs. John Scheid and Henri Broise from 1975 to 1981. This excavation led to the mapping of a number of buildings at the site, notably the Temple of Dea Dia, the Balneum, the Caesareum, the Papiliones, but most importantly for our purposes, the Circus. The buildings excavated all date from the Severan period, except for the Circus which can firmly be dated to the AD 30s, under Tiberius. Most scholars, including John Scheid, have used the later Severan buildings to reconstruct the rituals and purpose of the cult as far back as its re-foundation under Augustus, circa 21 BC. This retrojection is tenuous at best, since most of the Severan buildings have no earlier foundations, and there is no archaeological evidence that would point to similar structures elsewhere in the grove. The two exceptions are the Temple of Dea Dia and the Circus. The temple has foundations that date back to the second century BC, suggesting that the site could have been in use during the Augustan era. As for the Circus, it is also one of the oldest constructions at the site, and as such is a valuable piece of evidence for the reconstruction of the earliest practices of the Arval brothers.

There are a number of issues that need to be addressed with respect to the cult site. Firstly, the sources conflict as to the exact location of the

⁵⁹ For maps showing the evolution of the grove, see Appendix III.

lucus. Second, the nature of the sacred grove is complex and deeply imbedded in a pre-existing collective Indo-European heritage. Third, scholars who have turned their attention to this very singular cult have focussed on the Severan cult complex in order to draw conclusions regarding the cult under the Julio-Claudians. However, the only construction that may be traced back as early as this era has been largely ignored by scholarship. Finally, the Arval brothers performed functions at a number of important sites in Rome. The underlying logic of these choices requires further examination. Examining these issues will shed light on the nature of the cult under Augustus, and give indications as to why he would have picked such a singular cult to revive in the first years of the Principate. This chapter will argue that the fertility aspect of the cult, which was discussed in Chapter One, was key to Augustus' decision. This is directly in line with Augustus' marriage laws of 19 BC. Furthermore, there is no doubt that Augustus fashioned himself as a second Romulus, or second founder of Rome. It is only natural that the Arval brotherhood, traditionally attributed to Romulus himself, would have been one of his religious priorities.

Location of the Sacred Grove

The *lucus* of Dea Dia was situated at the border of the *ager Romanus antiquus*. According to the *Acta*, the grove was located at the fifth mile marker from Rome, on the *via Campana*.⁶⁰ Literary sources, however, list it as being

⁶⁰ *CFA* 313, n.105, b, l.1-20 places the *lucus* on the 5th mile marker from Rome c. AD224; *CFA* 331, n.114, col. I, l.7-17 also places it at the fifth mile mark c. AD240; cf. also *CIL* VI, 2107, l.3 in *luc(o) d(eae) D(iae) via Camp(ana) apud lap(idem) (quintum)*.

at the sixth mile marker, or even beyond the sixth mile mark.⁶¹ These conflicting details can be reconciled when one looks at the evolution of the course of the *via Campana*. This road ran from the city of Rome, starting at the Sublician Bridge and ending at the salt mines at the mouth of the Tiber, the *campus salinarum Romanorum*.⁶² The *via* would indeed have obtained its name because of the *campus*.⁶³ Thus, the name also describes the main function of this road, namely to convey salt from the mouth of the Tiber to the city of Rome. The distance between the Sublician Bridge and the *lucus* of Dea Dia is around six miles, if one assumes that the road closely paralleled the course of the Tiber, which it seems to have done.⁶⁴ Thus, during the earlier years, the *lucus* would have been situated at the sixth mile marker from Rome.

The nature of the road changed however when Claudius decided to create a new port only a few miles from Ostia, the *Portus Augusti*, on the right bank of the Tiber. The road that brought goods from this port to the city of Rome was initially the *via Campana*. Thus it became one of the most

⁶¹ The Temple of *Fors Fortuna*, which is a few meters from the Caesareum, is said to have been at the 6th mile marker (Ovid. *Fast.* 6.733), whilst the catacomb of Generosa, which lies on top of the temple of dea Dia, is placed by the martyrologists beyond the sixth mile mark (Scheid "Note sur la *via Campana*" *MEFRA* 88 (1976) 642).

⁶² Tucci, Pier Luigi. "Eight fragments of the Marble Plan of Rome shedding new light on the Transtiberim" *PBSR* 72 (2004) 197-199. The direct course of the *via Campana* had been disputed until recently (John Scheid is of the opinion that the *via Campana* originates at the Aemilian bridge); it was said to either run from the Aemilian or the Sublician bridge, but a new fragment of the Marble Plan of Rome shows that the *via Campana* ran towards the Sublician bridge. The *via Campana* took up the course of the *via Salinara*.

⁶³ Scheid, John. "Note sur la *via Campana*" 639; cf Richardson, Lawrence Jr. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 415.

⁶⁴ See fragments 138a-f and 574a-b of the *Forma Urbis*. Tucci, Pier Luigi. "Eight fragments of the Marble Plan of Rome shedding new light on the Transtiberim". 192-193.

important routes for trade and the conveyance of goods into the city.⁶⁵

Shortly after the creation of the new port however, the *via Portuensis* was built as a direct route from the *Portus* to Rome, circumventing the *via Campana*. These two roads converged at the gates of Rome, and the *via Portuensis* took over the urban course of the *via Campana*, which began a mile further than the Sublician bridge.⁶⁶

The martyrologists situated the *lucus* beyond the sixth mile marker; thus another evolution in the course of the road can be seen. After the third century, the *via Campana* is no longer mentioned. Indeed, it seems that the *via Portuensis* takes up the course of the *via Campana*, and the *via Portuensis* from the first century AD is no longer in use.⁶⁷ Thus, the course returned to the initial route on the *via Campana* prior to the creation of the *Portus Augusti*, placing the *lucus* around the sixth mile marker once more.

The location of the grove is not surprising. Such sanctuaries often marked the boundary of the *ager Romanus antiquus*, which was situated at the fifth, or sixth mile marker from Rome.⁶⁸ For example, the gods Terminus and Robigus also had groves on this same border. The god Terminus fittingly had a sanctuary at the sixth mile marker on the *via Laurentina*, which marked

⁶⁵ Suet. *Claud.* 20; Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 96-97.

⁶⁶ Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 98. In an earlier article ("Note sur la *via Campana*"), Scheid claims that two miles of the *via Campana* would have been taken up by the *via Portuensis* and is at pains to reconcile this with the archaeological evidence. He discards this idea in *Romulus et ses frères*, returning to the original course of the *via Campana* as directly following the Tiber river, as is evident by the fragments of the *Forma Urbis*.

⁶⁷ Scheid, John. "Note sur la *via Campana*". 645.

⁶⁸ Woodard, Roger D. *Indo-European Sacred Space: Vedic and Roman Cult*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 230, 258.

the boundary between Roman and Laurentine territories.⁶⁹ The god Robigus also had a liminal sanctuary, and his was situated at the fifth milestone on the *via Claudia*.⁷⁰ The grove of Dea Dia served a similar function on the *via Campana*.

Indo-European Concepts of the *lucus*

The concept of the sacred grove is essential in order to understand the religious practices and the cult of the Arval brothers. In all the proceedings of the brotherhood, the rituals are said to have taken place *in luco deae Diae*, in the sacred grove of Dea Dia. It is significant that the word *lucus* is used rather than similar terms such as *nemus* or even *silva*. The invariable use of *lucus* suggests a peculiar, perhaps even technical function. The word *lucus* comes from the Indo-European root *leuk-, which is the same root found in words meaning “bright”, “to shine”, “to be luminous” or even “to see”.⁷¹ From this root, the Italic languages obtain the root *louk-*, which can be found in Latin as *lucus* “sacred grove”, in Oscan as *loukei* “sacred enclosed space”, and in Venetian as the compound *entollouki* “center of the sacred grove”. Remarkably, only in the Italic languages has the root *leuk- given the specific meaning of sacred space; indeed, in Sanscrit, the cognate *lokáh* means “open

⁶⁹ Woodard, Roger D. *Indo-European Sacred Space: Vedic and Roman Cult*. 96-97.

⁷⁰ Woodard, Roger D. *Indo-European Sacred Space: Vedic and Roman Cult*. 136. Strabo 5.3.2 also mentions a place called φηστοι that was the ancient boundary of Roman territory, and was also between the fifth and sixth mile marker.

⁷¹ Otto, Claude. “Lat. *lūcus*, *nemus* «bois sacré» et les deux formes de sacralité chez les Latins” *Latomus* 2000 (59) 3-4.

space”, in Baltic *laūkas* means “field”, whilst in Germanic, the root *loh-* means “a clearing”, but none of these denote a sacred connotation.⁷²

The concept of the sacred grove itself dates back to the earliest days of the Italic languages, before they separated into different dialects. This suggests that the importance of groves is imbedded into an earlier religious consciousness. This is not to say that parallel rituals cannot be found in geographical areas that did not develop the sacred meaning from the root **leuk-*, and indeed there is proof to the contrary in the Vedic Agnistoma.⁷³ This root can also reveal the specific aspect of the grove, and thus an aspect of the chief goddess, Dea Dia. Her name can be translated to the “shining one”, an aspect that she would have taken on because of the *lucus* as opposed to the other way around.

Lucus can refer not only to the sacred area of a particular deity, but also to the forested area itself. A sacred grove is not something created by man. Rather, the *lucus* was seen as being an especially mysterious wooded area that the god itself chose in order to communicate with its worshippers. Usually, the *lucus* was found within an inhabited area, although the grove itself remained uninhabited and wild, which reinforced its divine aura.⁷⁴

⁷² Pokorny, Julius. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. (Bern: Francke, 1959); Lejeune, Michel. ““Enclos sacré” dans les épigraphies indigènes d’Italie”. *Les bois sacrés. Actes du Colloque International de Naples. Collection du Centre Jean Bérard* 10 (1993) 94-95.

⁷³ Woodard, Roger D. *Indo-European Sacred Space*. 231.

⁷⁴ This is evident from Sen. *Thyestes*. 650-670 wherein Seneca describes the grove as mysterious and fear inducing, because the gods of the underworld have taken possession of the forest; cf Lucan. *BC*. 399-425, Apul. *Met*. V.1.

The Topography of the *lucus Deae Diae*

The *lucus* was neatly arranged in two terraces. The Temple of Dea Dia occupied the top terrace, along with either twelve or thirteen temporary altars. Behind the Temple rose the sacred forest that had such an importance place in the rituals of the Arval brothers. Further down on the hillside, on a second terrace, were the *Caesareum*, the very elusive *Papiliones* and finally the *Balneum* marks the southern boundary of the sacred space.

The location of the Temple of Dea Dia on the higher terrace suggests that she was the foremost deity to whom the Arval brothers sacrificed, and the elaborate rituals devoted to her point in this direction as well. The *Caesareum* was of lesser importance, and was much less sumptuous, as the sacrifices to the *divi* always followed that to Dea Dia. This hierarchy seems to be reinforced in the *Acta* that mention sacrifices to all the deities in the grove; Dea Dia came first and was followed by Jupiter and Mars. Next came the deities with temporary altars, followed by the *divi* and, on some occasions, the *genius* of the Roman emperor. As for the Circus, it was in the Southwestern corner. Although most of these buildings date from the Severan period, they must be briefly covered before turning to the most interesting structure in the grove for the Julio-Claudian era, the Circus.

I. The Temple of Dea Dia

The sanctuary of Dea Dia consisted in a circular temple, surrounded by a wooded area, as well as around a dozen of temporary altars to minor

deities worshiped in conjunction with Dea Dia.⁷⁵ The temple was rather large, measuring approximately 25 meters in diameter. Next to the temple was a well, an integral part of a sacred grove.⁷⁶ Indeed, *luci* and water sources seem to go hand-in-hand. The temple overlooked the valley, and the hillside behind it was reinforced in order to prevent caving onto the terrace where the temple was situated.⁷⁷

This temple was said to have had a *fastigium*, a word that typically refers to the triangle that surmounts each end of a rectangular building. According to C. Huelsen and R. Altmann, this meant that the temple must have been rectangular, since a circular temple could not have had a roof that would fulfil the restrictions imposed by a *fastigium*.⁷⁸ However, the word *fastigium* could also mean “summit” or “peak”, and could thus refer to a decoration on top of the roof as opposed to the shape of the roof itself. Indeed, this same word was used in order to describe how Nero had attained the heights of noble birth.⁷⁹ It is thus evident that the nature of the word *fastigium* was quite complex, and that there is no reason to believe that the temple must have been rectangular. Although the previously presented

⁷⁵ Some such deities are, in order: Janus, Jove, Mars, the Juno of Dea Dia, *sive deo sive dea, virginibus divis, famulis divis*, the Lares, the Mother of the Lares, , *sive deo sive dea in cuius tutela hic lucus locusue est, Fons, Florae*, Vesta, the mother of Vesta, and *Adolendae Conmolendae Deferundae* (Scheid and J.Svenbro. “Le comparatisme. Point de depart ou point d’arrivée?” in *Le comparatisme en histoire des religions: actes du Colloque international de Strasbourg (19-20 septembre 1996. Ed. François Boespflug* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997), 308).

⁷⁶ White, K.D. “The Sacred Grove. A Comparative Study of some Parallel Aspects of Religious Ritual in Ancient Crete and the Near East” *G&R* 1 (1954) 114; Ulback, Edward. “The Sacred Groves of Latium and their Divinities” *CJ* 29 (1934) 658.

⁷⁷ Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 143-144.

⁷⁸ *Ibid* 106; *CIL* VI, 2099, I, l.21-22.

⁷⁹ *Tac. Ann.* 13.17

evidence relates to the temple as it was restored under the Severans, there is evidence that the occupation of this area goes back as far as the second century BC.⁸⁰ This indicates that the Arval brothers had been using the site long before the restoration of the cult by Augustus, although it is in no way certain what the original temple would have looked like.

Another problematic aspect of the temple concerns the number of doors, of which the exact numbers are unknown. The *Acta* of AD240 states: “*et ianua mediana deae Diae aperta est*”, suggesting that the temple would have had an odd number of doors.⁸¹ Considering that the *Acta* speak of sacrifices offered to a number of different deities, this is not surprising, since multiple doors could indicate that multiple gods were worshiped at this same temple. Scholars such as Scheid and Broise have shied away from this conclusion, since temples to multiple gods are traditionally rectangular. However, there does not seem to be a satisfactory answer to this problem. John Scheid, unwilling to accept that there could be more than one important god in the sacred grove, dismisses the notion. He postulates that *ianua* must not be taken as meaning door, but rather panel or leafs, linking this word to *ostium* and *valua*.⁸² This is untenable, since *ianua* is associated with the linguistic evolution of a completely different word, rather than being an evolution of

⁸⁰ Scheid, John and Henri Broise. “Rome: le bois sacré de dea Dia” in *Archeologia laziale: Quaderni del Centro di studio per l’archeologia etrusco-italica Vol. I.* ed. by Stefania Quilici Gigli. (Rome: Centro di studio per l’archeologia etrusco-italica, 1998), *passim*; Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères.* 149.

⁸¹ NSA 1914: 467, II, l. 36-37. “and the middle door [of the temple] of Dea Dia is was opened”.

⁸² *Ianua* traditionally means door, or entrance; *ostium* can be translated as door, entrance, doorway or mouth of a river, while *valua* would rather be translated as double or folding-door, or even one leaf of the door.

ostium and *valua*. Furthermore, one is at pains to reconcile this interpretation with the practicality of the ritual. Why would an Arval brother open one panel of a door to perform a sacrifice? There is simply nothing to support this argument, and as such it can be accepted that the temple had an odd number of doors.

If so, then we must consider the likelihood that at least two other deities were worshipped. Due to the antiquity of the cult, it follows that the Arval brothers worshiped an altered version of the archaic triad of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus. In fact, Jupiter and Mars received the most elaborate offerings after those to Dea Dia.⁸³ After these three, the offerings drop drastically in value. These gods receive animal sacrifices, whilst the other deities receive libations and cakes. Furthermore, the Severan commentaries indicate that there were at least two statues in the temple.⁸⁴ This is strong evidence that the Arval brothers worshiped more than one deity in the temple. There would have indeed been three deities worshipped in the temple, and these three would have formed a triad similar to that of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus.

II. The Altar to Dea Dia and the *Arae Temporales*

There were two types of altars on the top terrace of the sacred grove: an altar reserved for Dea Dia, and the *Arae Temporales*. In front of the temple, there was an open space with an altar where the brothers would make sacrifices concerning the *lucus*, including expiatory rites for cutting down the

⁸³ *CIL* VI, 2099; *CIL* VI, 2104; *CIL* VI 32390; *CIL* VI 2109; *CIL* VI 39443; Scheid, John and J. Svenbro. "Le comparatisme: point de départ ou point d'arrivée?" 308.

⁸⁴ *CIL* VI, 2104a, l.25; *CIL* VI 2104a, l.30

trees, or maintaining the grove.⁸⁵ The other altars were dedicated to deities who played a subordinate role to dea Dia, but that were nonetheless invoked in a variety of rituals, especially those concerned with the maintenance of the sacred grove. The *Acta* refer to these altars as *Arae Temporales*. Since the proceedings mention the same deities repeatedly, the subordinate deities do not seem to have been readily interchangeable, which suggests that the deities who had an *Ara Temporalis* were not “temporary” deities. Rather, *temporalis* refers to the material with which their altars were built. Marini and Henzen claim that these altars were made of grass. Whether this is true or not, the altars were definitely constructed using perishable materials, most probably of wood, as one proceeding mentions the need to rebuild the temporary altars that had burned down.⁸⁶

Invocations of the gods of the *Arae Temporales* follow a specific pattern. First comes the “*dieu premier*” represented by Janus, then the god of sovereignty, Jupiter, followed by the warrior god, Mars, and the fertility/agricultural gods. Then come a list of deities invoked in the rituals of the Arval Brothers. Finally the “*dieu dernier*”, Vesta, closes the list of invoked deities.⁸⁷ Even when some of these gods are omitted, they still follow the same order. This could suggest that the *Acta* have been wrongly interpreted. Gods that had been believed to be “temporary” would actually have been part

⁸⁵ Pasoli, E. *AFA* 64-65; Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 108; *CIL* VI, 37164, a-b, 1.8-9 “*item de aede exi[er(unt) e]t ante aram thesauros dederunt*”: “similarly, they left the temple, and before the altar, they gave offerings”.

⁸⁶ Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 139; *CIL* VI, 2107, 1.4-7.

⁸⁷ Littleton, Scott C. *The New Comparative Mythology*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 83.

of the main gods worshipped by the Arval brothers, since it is their altar, rather than their presence, which is temporary.

III. The *Caesareum*

The *Caesareum* was built on the middle terrace, below the *aedes* of dea Dia. In the proceedings of the brotherhood, two terms in the *Acta* are used to describe the same building: *Caesareum* and *tetrastylum*. The proceedings of the Arval brothers mention that the *Caesareum* was an independent structure, not a room in another building, and that it contained a *tetrastylum* large enough for a dinner. Between the Temple of Dea Dia and the *balneum*, or bathhouse, a rectangular podium measuring 4,40m by 6,20m was uncovered in 1570. In each of the four corners stood a column that was 7,70m high, creating a huge *tetrastylum* in which the Arval brothers could have dined.⁸⁸ On one side it was closed off by an apse, in which nine statues of Caesars were found, all of them depicting the emperors in the Arval garb with the crown of wheat. Seven have been identified: Marcus Aurelius, Trajan, Hadrian, Lucius Verus, Septimus Severus, Caracalla and Gordian. Each statue had an inscription indicating that its subject was an Arval brother.⁸⁹ Such apsidal *Caesarea* have been found in Cyrene, Pompeii and Pozzuoli. *Augustea* in the same manner were found in Palmyra, Rome, and Pompeii.⁹⁰ *Augustea* were similar to the *Caesarea* since the former were dedicated to the imperial cult, while the latter were dedicated to the house of the ruling emperors.

⁸⁸ Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 159. Scheid cites the drawing of Peruzzi found in A. Bartoli. *I monumenti antichi di Rome nei Disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, 1914.

⁸⁹ Scheid. *Ibid.* 159.

⁹⁰ Scheid. *Ibid.* 161.

It has been argued that the mention in the *Acta* was a separate building, located between the temple of dea Dia and the *Caesareum*.⁹¹ Yet there is no physical evidence that such a structure existed in the *lucus*. A *tetrastylum* is simply a pedestal with four columns, either dedicated to a god, or housing the statue of a god.⁹² Some *tetrastyla* were enclosed in other buildings; for example, when Augustus built the *tetrastylum* to Apollo, he added to it Greek and Latin libraries, thus forming a complex around the *tetrastylum*.⁹³ It is possible that the same arrangement was found in the *lucus* of dea Dia: the *tetrastylum* may have been enclosed in the *Caesareum*, therefore being of the same date as the other buildings of the complex, namely of the Severan era.⁹⁴ Several *Acta* mention that the Arval Brothers would come down from the temple in order to eat in the *tetrastylum*, so that it had to have been of a significant size.⁹⁵

IV. The *Balneum*

The *Balneum* is the most well-known building in the *lucus* of Dea Dia. It has been extensively excavated, and a floor plan can easily be made. Prior to the discovery of a key inscription however, excavators had ignored the meridian portion of the *lucus*. The first mention in the *Acta* of the *balneum* is in AD240:

⁹¹ Scheid, John. *Ibid.* 112-129.

⁹² Scheid, John. *Ibid.* 126.

⁹³ Suet. *Aug.* 29.

⁹⁴ Indeed, this is the conclusion Scheid reaches, stating that the *tetrastylum* would have been an altar dedicated to the Caesars. Scheid. *Romulus et ses frères*. 129. A. Pellegrini comes to the same conclusions, as can be seen from his drawing of the *lucus* (Pellegrini. *Gli edifici del bosco sacro degli fratelli arvali*, 1865), figure reproduced in Scheid, John and Henri Broise "Rome: le bois sacré de dea Dia". 75.

⁹⁵ Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 131.

[*Deinde reversus ad ar*]am deae Diae extas --- | reddidit et ad foculum --- exta --- reddidit [---] | et in tetrastulum reversus est et subsellis c[onse(it)] | et in codice cavit --- | --- et in balneo ibit".⁹⁶

Thereupon, turning back, he returned the entrails at the altar of Dea Dia, and returned the entrails to the brazier and he turned back in the *tetrastylum* and he sat down on the low bench and he took precautions according to the book, and walked into the *balneum*.

The *balneum* was situated 150 meters from the temple of Dea Dia and is constructed on the same north/south axis as the temple, which cannot be a coincidence given the distance that separates the two.⁹⁷ This suggests that both date to the same era, to the building program under the Severans. The baths are approximately 28 meters long, and 35 meters wide at their widest.⁹⁸ The Northern wall of the *balneum* follows the curve of an immense portico, which would have enclosed the whole *lucus* up to the temple of Dea Dia.⁹⁹ What is remarkable about the side walls of this portico is that they have Flavian, and even Julio-Claudian foundations,¹⁰⁰ suggesting that the earliest emperors had begun a building program in the *lucus* which was later continued and expanded by the Severans. The triple-U portico adjacent to the *balneum* is however of Severan construction, and there is nothing to indicate how this space had previously been used.

⁹⁶ NSA, 1914: 467, II, l.1-8.

⁹⁷ Scheid. *Romulus et ses frères*. 144.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 145.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 147.

V. The *Papiliones*

The *papiliones* are situated between the first and second U-shaped walls adjacent to the vestibule of the *balneum*. The nature of these buildings is complex. The name evokes a profoundly militaristic idea; indeed *papilio* was the term used for the tents by soldiers while at war.¹⁰¹ Although Scheid has associated these military tents with the invocation to Mars in the *Carmen arvale*,¹⁰² this is not necessary to explain why these tents are present at the *lucus*. As I argued in Chapter One, the nature of Mars that is invoked by the brothers does not solely correspond to the martial aspect, but to the agricultural aspect as well.¹⁰³ Hence this explanation cannot be used without misunderstanding the *Carmen* and assuming that it invokes solely the martial Mars. The best explanation for the use of such tents is the association between the invocations to dea Dia being *sub divo*, or under the stars, and the Arval brothers sleeping *sub divo*. Although there is no mention of a restriction requiring the brothers to live rustically, it is not impossible that, once they entered the *lucus*, they entered the realm of dea Dia and had to sleep in such tents in order to demonstrate their association with, and devotion to, Dea Dia. Similar associations are made between *sub divo* and other deities such as Sol and Luna.

¹⁰¹ Tert.*Mart.*3.1; *CIL* VI, 2104, a, l.4; *CIL* VI, 32391, l.3-9; *NSA*, 1914: 467, II, l.42.

¹⁰² Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 135, 616-623.

¹⁰³ See Chapter One, pgs 21-30.

VI. The Circus

Now that the Severan buildings have been discussed with a brief reference to the older foundations of the Temple, the most interesting construction can now be examined. Of all the buildings in the complex of the grove of Dea Dia, only the Circus can be connected to the era of the earlier emperors.

Since most of the buildings date from the Severan period, it is dangerous to use them as evidence for how the cult functioned under Augustus. However, scholars such as Scheid, Schilling, and Broise have assumed that the cult remained immutable over the centuries and consequently use the Severan evidence to make conclusions about the cult under Augustus. However, the Circus, the oldest building in the grove, dating to the period of the earlier Julio-Claudians, has largely been ignored by modern scholarship.¹⁰⁴ This is remarkable considering that it is the only certain link to the early Julio-Claudian cult.

The first possible mention of the Circus in the *Acta* occurs under Caligula in 38AD:

*Eodem die eodemque loco C. Caesar Augustus Germanicu[s magister]/ collegii frat<r>um arvalium cum Appio Silano flamin[e deae Diae]/ agnam opimam inmolavit et **signum misit quadrig[is]/ et desultoribus.** (vacat).¹⁰⁵*

And on the same day, and at the same place, Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, magister of the college of the Arval brothers, with Appius Silanus, the flamen of *dea Dia*, sacrificed

¹⁰⁴ Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 148.

¹⁰⁵ CIL 2028c line 48-51.

the best lamb and **gave the signal to the chariots and to the horse riders.**

One would hope for more detail concerning the chariot race, as well as the games that certainly occurred simultaneously, but unfortunately the lacuna prevents any further detail. However, the space available at the lacuna, three-quarter of a line, would not provide enough space for elaboration on the subject. This suggests that the chariot races and by association the games, were so well known at this time that there was no need to elaborate on the rituals that took place on that specific day. The unceremonious way in which the signal for the chariot races was introduced supports this conclusion.

Further evidence supporting the hypothesis that the games had already been in place and widely known by the time of Caligula is a funerary inscription from 35AD. In this epitaph, a chariot racer is praised for having received the palm of victory on numerous occasions *ad deam Diam*. This epitaph confirms that the Circus was in fact in use prior to 35AD, under Tiberius, for the chariot racer to have won on multiple occasions. It is reasonable to assume that there was less evolution of rituals between the year 21 BC and 35AD than between 21 BC and the Severan period. If the games were common knowledge by 35AD, this could indicate that they had been instituted by Augustus himself when he revived the cult, and that the Circus is the structure that gets us closest to the rituals of the revived Arval brothers as Augustus himself had intended them to be.

The Circus and associated games were important to Augustan propaganda. For example, he made a number of alterations to the Circus

Maximus in Rome, including placing an Egyptian obelisk in the middle of the Circus with an orb on top dedicated to *Sol Invictus*.¹⁰⁶ The canonical shape of circuses seems to have crystallized under the first emperor as well.¹⁰⁷ The earliest chariot races were held in honour of the god Consus, who was the god of the granary, or storehouse, connected with the harvest, as well as Seia, Messia and Tutulina, archaic Italic agricultural divinities.¹⁰⁸ A cult of the Sun was connected very early on with the Circus, and may have been set up as early as the reign of the Tarquins. Furthermore, the cult of the Sun came to be the most important one associated with all circuses, not the Circus Maximus.¹⁰⁹ It is not surprising then that when Augustus revived the cult of the Arval Brothers he would include the construction of a Circus: *dea Dia* was without doubt an agricultural deity, and was also very much associated with the cosmos, just as Sol or Luna were. Moreover, her name clearly implies some sort of association with the Sun, as previously discussed.

Furthermore, if there were chariot races, they could have been accompanied by gladiatorial combats, or *venationes*.¹¹⁰ The epitaph of the chariot racer also mentions that he was part of the “green” team, suggesting that these games were quite elaborate, with the four colours being represented. This also means that there might have been a significant number of people in attendance at these games, since the different colours

¹⁰⁶ Lyle, Emily B. “The Circus as Cosmos” *Latomus* 43 (1984) 832-833; Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses: arenas for chariot racing*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 73; cf. 269-272.

¹⁰⁷ Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses: arenas for chariot racing*. 73.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 62-63.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 63.

¹¹⁰ Poynton, J. B. “The Public Games of the Romans” *G&R* 7 (1938) 83.

would have their supporters in the crowd cheering them on.¹¹¹ Therefore, these games must have had a wide appeal, since people would travel from Rome in order to attend. These games would also have been a creation of Augustus under whom, as mentioned earlier, the dimensions of the circuses had crystallized.

The Circus provides a number of important insights concerning the sacred grove. Not only were chariot races held, but also the various activities associated with chariot races and games as well. Unfortunately, the archaeological reports concerning the circus have not yet been published, and as such it is difficult to say how large the structure would have been and how many spectators it would have held. We can surmise, however, that these games had a great deal of importance. The grove was not sufficiently distant from the *Circus Maximus* to warrant the construction of a circus for the local populations, and as such reveals that games were intrinsically tied to the festival of Dea Dia. These games must have been started under Augustus in order to have gained such prominence by the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula. Consequently, the Circus is the most crucial construction at the grove when trying to reconstruct the cult of the Arval Brothers in its earliest days after its re-foundation in 21 BC.

¹¹¹ Unfortunately, the excavation report of the Circus has not yet been published by John Scheid, and as such there is no estimate of the dimensions of the circus itself, and the assumption of a large attendance is based on the elaborate races rather than archaeological evidence. The report is to be published in 2011.

VII. The Ritual Centres at Rome

For a number of rituals during the festival of Dea Dia, the Arval brothers would meet at night at the house of the president of the brotherhood. On the occasions when the emperor was also the president, the college would meet in the imperial household.¹¹² These sacrifices, although at the home of the emperor, were not out of the ordinary. After all the emperor was supposed to be a brother equal to the others.

Whenever a brother's seat had to be filled, co-options into the brotherhood were held in Rome. The same holds for the announcement of the dates of the festival of Dea Dia. For the announcement of the festival, from AD59-AD63, they would meet in the Pantheon. Marcus Agrippa built the Parthenon, which made it possible for announcements to be held there under Augustus. From AD 63 on however, the college met at the Temple of Concord.¹¹³ As for co-option, there were numerous locations where the Arval Brothers met under the Julio-Claudians (the Temple of Apollo, the Temple of Jupiter, and the Temple to the Divine Julius), but the college regularly met at the Temple of Concord from the Flavians onwards.¹¹⁴ This is an interesting change, as the buildings associated with Augustus, including the Parthenon and the Temple of the Divine Julius vowed by Augustus himself, were slowly replaced with the change of regime.

¹¹² *CIL* VI, 32379, l.24-25; *CIL* VI 2087, l.4; *CIL* VI 2104a, l.6.

¹¹³ Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 177.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

The regular sacrifices that were part of the religious calendar under the Julio-Claudians were celebrated at the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, the *ara Pacis*, the Temple of the Divine Augustus, the Temple of Concord, and the altar of the Divine Augustus in the *Campus Agrippae*, under the Julio-Claudians.¹¹⁵ After the reign of Vespasian however, all these sacrifices occur in the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter that had been rebuilt by Vespasian. This indicates that the Arval Brothers were a closely associated with the emperor, thus going through the same motions as the co-options and slowly moving away from buildings associated with Augustus.

Conclusion

The previous analysis has demonstrated that although there is a great amount of archaeological and epigraphic evidence concerning the Arval brothers, very little can be used to reconstruct the rituals of the revived brotherhood in its early days under Augustus. The most common mistake by scholars has been to assume that the cult was immovable and make conclusions concerning the nature of the Arval brothers accordingly. It is clear, however, that this was not the case and that there are very few structures and locations which one can use in order to better understand the brotherhood. The Circus is one of the oldest structures in the grove. Its mention in the *Acta* of 38AD as well as in the epitaph of 35AD clearly indicates that games were taking place in this same Circus as early as the days of Tiberius. This is as relevant as the archaeological evidence gets to

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 179-180.

illuminating the nature of the Arval brothers under Augustus. However, this has important implications, as it suggests that the sacred grove was central to a large festival. This in turn shows that Augustus made full use of the cult in order to further his religious and political agenda. Moreover, as mentioned previously, it is very tempting to assume that the cult was fixed in order to draw conclusions based on the Severan constructions; however, these conclusions are untenable.

The sacred grove seems to have been in use under Augustus, since it corresponds to other boundary sanctuaries such as that of Terminus and Robigus that mark the boundaries of the *ager Romanus*. It is mentioned conclusively in the proceedings of AD14, and less conclusively in those of 21 BC based on reconstruction.¹¹⁶ Therefore, there is no reason to doubt that Augustus was using the grove for the rituals of the Arval brothers; indeed, this would seem to parallel his use of another sacred grove, that of the Palatine, for the sanctuary of Apollo. The use of these ancient sacred groves fit well within his policy of restoring the *mos maiorum* concerning religious practices, a return to the Golden Age of Rome.¹¹⁷ Finally, the temple itself reveals an interesting feature of the cult, namely that it is possible that although the games were reserved for *Dea Dia*, there is no evidence contradicting the fact that the Arval brothers worshiped a triad of divinity,

¹¹⁶ CIL 32338 line 8; CIL 2023a line 1,3,5.

¹¹⁷ Gros, Pierre. "Le bois sacré du Palatin: une composante oubliée du sanctuaire augustéen d'Apollon" *Revue archéologique* 35 (2003) 63.

Dea Dia, Jupiter and Mars, following the template offered by the triad of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus

Therefore, the material evidence, and especially the Circus, reveals the importance of the fraternity under Augustus, as well as under the Severan emperors. It remains to be seen exactly how important this cult was with the aristocratic members of society, and it is to a prosopographical analysis that we shall now turn.

Chapter Three

Senatus et Sacerdotes: A Prosopography of Cult

After the victory at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC, Octavian faced the challenge of governing a divided empire while holding an undefined and unconstitutional position of power. Moreover, his victory had not been so decisive as to eliminate all the followers of Mark Antony. There were still many “Pompeians” and “Republicans” throughout the empire. Octavian needed to consolidate his power as well as unify a fragmented empire in order to be able to rule as smoothly as possible. He thus undertook a series of reforms that led to the revision of the senatorial aristocracy and to the creation of new patrician families to fill the gaps caused by the extinction of old patrician families during the previous generation of Civil Wars. Opposition had to be appeased, and the numerous political allies needed to be rewarded for their loyalty. Octavian also needed to show possible dissidents that formerly opposing factions had now crossed over to his side. The newly refounded college of the Arval Brothers was an ideal instrument for Augustus, as he appointed an array of senators during his rule.

This chapter will argue that Augustus used the Arval college to placate the opposition and repay the good behaviour of loyal supporters. Moreover, Augustus’ conscious effort to give a new life to old patrician families that had been forgotten in the previous generations is readily visible in the membership. Finally, it is possible to see the changing character of the college by comparing the membership at the beginning versus the end of Augustus’ reign. Indeed, by AD 14, there was a strong hereditary aspect to the college.

There are only two fragments of the proceedings dating back to the rule of Augustus. The fragment from 21/20 BC, found near the bank of the Tiber in 1880, is badly damaged.¹¹⁸ It preserves only a fraction of the proceedings of the year, but fortunately includes most of the names of the college. The remaining names must be inferred from context.¹¹⁹ The fragment itself measures 14cm in height, 15 cm in length, and 3cm in width.¹²⁰ A fragment for the *Acta* of AD 14 was discovered in the Astalli Palace at the beginning of the 16th century.¹²¹ Its dimensions are unknown because the fragment has disappeared, although a reconstruction survives and fortunately includes all the names of the Arval Brothers. It also contains a mention of an erasure. The name of the Arval who succeeded Augustus was erased, probably due to *damnatio memoriae*. Through careful analysis of these two sources, it is possible to reconstruct the college of the Arval Brothers as it was under Augustus, and thus determine the reasons behind the cooption of the individuals therein.

The College of 21/20 BC

The first cohort of Arval Brothers included six patricians, four from well-established patrician families (Ap. Claudius Pulcher, Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, L. Cornelius Cinna and M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus). They are joined by three plebeians (Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Cn. Pompeius Rufus and M.

¹¹⁸ Scheid. *CFA*. P. XV.

¹¹⁹ The college was used by the emperors as a stepping stone for their successors; as such, in the proceedings of 21/20BC, the name of M. Vipsanius Agrippa can be added to the list, as well as C. Claudius Marcellus. This would bring the total of members to 11, and thus the college would have been completed by Augustus himself as the 12th member.

¹²⁰ Scheid. *CFA*. P.3

¹²¹ *Ibid* 5.

Caecilius Cornutus).¹²² Two of the patricians were newly promoted, and owed their status to Augustus (L. Scribonius Libo and Sextus Appuleius Sextus). There was one Etruscan (Sextus Appuleius Sextus), but no other Italians were co-opted under Augustus after his death.¹²³ There were four men who had previously been Antonians, and one who had previously been a Pompeian, as well as two members that had been opposed to his rule independent of faction ties.¹²⁴ This means that former opponents of the regime filled seven of the nine available seats.¹²⁵ Moreover, it is evident that the men included in this first cohort wielded significant political power as well as social prestige, qualities that are only found in the Arval Brothers of the Augustan era.¹²⁶ In fact, the prestige of the brothers co-opted under Tiberius is far inferior to those that had been members of the first two colleges attested. Now, we must turn to the individual members' backgrounds in order to determine the reasoning behind their cooption.

1. L. Scribonius Libo

L. Scribonius Libo was born around 90 BC, and died after 21 BC. He held many political offices prior to his nomination as Arval Brother in 29 BC, and was a patron of the city of Caudium in Samnium where he built

¹²² Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales: Recrutement et origines sociales sous les Julio-Claudiens*. (Paris: Collection de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1975), 289; for statistical purposes, members of the royal family as well as heirs-apparent will not be included.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 298. The term "Italian" here refers to families that had been from outside the region of Rome, but still within peninsular Italy. Etruscan here refers to individuals from the region of Etruria within the last two generations.

¹²⁴ Lawson, Vija Rumpe. *The Acta Fratrum Arvalium as a source for Roman Imperial History 23BC to AD243*. 41.

¹²⁵ Three of these crossed to Octavian's side after his marriage to Livia in 38BC.

¹²⁶ Lawson, Vija Rumpe. *The Acta Fratrum Arvalium as a source for Roman Imperial History 23BC to AD243*. 43.

towers.¹²⁷ He held a quaestorship in 59 BC. He was *triumvir monetalis* in 55/54 BC as well as aedile in 53/52 BC. He was praetor in 50/49 BC, and propraetor in Etruria in 49 BC. He was *epulones* in 34 BC, as well as consul in the same year.

Libo's consulship was a reward for his change of allegiance. Indeed, Libo had been a staunch Pompeian, and had exerted a great deal of influence on Pompeius Magnus, and Pompeius' son Sextus.¹²⁸ When Helvius Mancina accused Libo in front of the censors in 51/50 BC, on account of his lavish aedile games that left him with a hefty debt, Pompey was present at this trial and voiced his opposition to the charge.¹²⁹ Libo was subsequently proscribed by the Triumvirs, but saved by his good friend Pompey.¹³⁰ He commanded a Pompeian fleet in the Civil Wars, and he married his daughter to Sextus Pompey.¹³¹ Libo surrendered to Antony in 35 when Sextus Pompey was defeated in Sicily.¹³² Libo turned to Octavian later that year, and was elected consul in the following one. Libo's sister Scribonia married young Octavian in 40 BC, an effort at reconciliation between the two men.¹³³ In 39 BC, Libo's granddaughter was promised to Marcellus, Augustus' nephew.¹³⁴ Octavian elevated Libo to the rank of patrician in 29 BC, at the same time as

¹²⁷ *ILS* 5326, 5528.

¹²⁸ *Cic. Ad. Fam.* I.2.3.

¹²⁹ *Cic. Ad. Att.* IX.11.4; *Plin. NH.* XXXVI.102.

¹³⁰ *Val. Max.* VI.2.8; Libo was not proscribed by Pompey, but by the other Triumvirs.

¹³¹ *Caes. BC.* 3.5.3; 23.1-24.

¹³² *App. BC.* V. 139

¹³³ *Suet. Aug.* 62.2 Scribonia was later dismissed by Augustus (in 39 BC) in favour of Livia whom he married in 38 BC.

¹³⁴ *Cass. Dio.* 43.36 ff.

he made him an Arval Brother; Libo served as *magister* of the brotherhood in 21 BC.¹³⁵

2. L. Cornelius Cinna

L. Cornelius Cinna was born around the second half of the 70s BC and died after 21 BC. He was quaestor in 44 BC, as well as suffect consul in 32 BC. He was a supporter of Antony, but was pardoned by Octavian in 32/30 BC.¹³⁶ The reason behind this pardon seems to have been that starting in 34 BC, Octavian was trying to recruit Pompeians to his side. As Cinna was the stepson of Pompeia, his support boosted Octavian's prestige. Cinna was made an Arval Brother in 29 BC.¹³⁷ Although Cinna abandoned his allegiance to Pompey and defected to Octavian, his brother was later on involved in a conspiracy against Augustus. This suggests that Pompeians were still a threat during the early Empire.¹³⁸

3. Ap. Claudius Pulcher

Ap. Claudius Pulcher was born in 75 BC and died sometime after 21 BC. He became an *epulonis* in 39 BC. He was consul in 38 BC, and commander for Augustus in 37/36 BC.¹³⁹ He was proconsul of Spain in 33 BC, and celebrated a triumph in 32 BC.¹⁴⁰ Pulcher was then proconsul in Bithynia from 27-20 BC. There is also evidence that Pulcher was a patron of

¹³⁵ *CIL* 32338=CFA n.1

¹³⁶ Sen. *De Clem.* 1.9; Sen. *De Benef.* IV. 30

¹³⁷ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1318; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 24-26.

¹³⁸ Sen. *Clem.* 1.9

¹³⁹ Dio. XLVIII.43; *CIL* 1423, 1424; commander: App. *BC.* V. 98

¹⁴⁰ *CIL* I p.748

Herculaneum.¹⁴¹ Pulcher became a friend of Octavian after the latter's marriage to Livia, although Pulcher's family had very strong ties to Pompey. Pulcher had stayed in the Pompeian camp because his uncle's numerous friends had agreed to keep his safe.¹⁴² Moreover, the granddaughter of Pulcher's uncle married the eldest son of Pompey. Pulcher was proscribed by Antony, and his choice of allegiance to Augustus was self-evident. Finally, Augustus placed him in the college of the Arval Brothers in 29 BC to show that the Republican aristocracy had sided with him after the Battle of Actium.¹⁴³ This was the last mention of Pulcher: given his age of 65 in 21 BC, it is reasonable to assume that he died shortly afterwards.

4. M. Caecilius M. f. Gal. Cornutus

M. Caecilius Cornutus was born either in the late 60s or early 50s BC, and died after 21 BC, perhaps living into the first century AD. He had impressive Republican support due to the suicide of this father, who had died rather than to submit to Octavian in 43 BC. He was co-opted into the brotherhood in 29 BC, and it is greatly possible that on account of his religious specialization, he helped Augustus and Domitius Calvinus refound the Arval Brothers. Moreover, Cornutus married the daughter of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus in 24 BC, who was also an Arval Brother.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ *CIL* X 1423, 1424

¹⁴² Dio. XL.64.1

¹⁴³ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 1226; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 29-33.

¹⁴⁴ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 971; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 36-40.

5. Cn. Domitius M. f. Men. Calvinus

Cn. Domitius Calvinus was born in the 90s BC and died shortly after 21 BC. He was legate in Asia in 62 BC, and was elected tribune of the Plebs in 59 BC. He was elected praetor in 56 BC, but was unsuccessful in securing the consulship for 54, despite bribing the incumbent consuls. The affair made quite a stir, but with the help of Pompey, Calvinus was able to silence the scandal and obtain the consulship for 53 BC.¹⁴⁵ Calvinus was also the only accused in the scandal of 54 BC to throw in his lot with Caesar in 49 BC.¹⁴⁶ He was governor in Asia in 48 BC and three years later was co-opted as Pontifex.¹⁴⁷ It was as Pontifex that he received Caesar and the *haruspex* at his house on March 15th 44 BC, but there is no evidence that he was involved in the plot to kill the Dictator.¹⁴⁸ He was magister of the horse in 43 BC, and was re-elected consul in 40 BC, which suggests that his friendship with the Dictator had extended to Octavian.¹⁴⁹ He then was sent as governor in Spain from 39 to 36 BC and celebrated a triumph in 36 BC.¹⁵⁰ He used the loot from his victory to rebuild the Regia in the forum.¹⁵¹ It is possible that in the 30s BC he fulfilled the duties of the Pontifex Maximus as Lepidus was in exile. He was also a central figure in early Augustan religious policies. He was indeed the only descendant of a consular family to be an Augustan supporter prior to

¹⁴⁵ Cic. *Ad. Att.* IV. 17

¹⁴⁶ Cic. *Ad. Att.* IV.16.6; Caes. *BC.* III.34; Suet. *Caes.* 36; Dio. XLI.57

¹⁴⁷ Val. Max. 8.11.2; Suet. *Caes.* 81.4

¹⁴⁸ Val. Max. 8.11.2

¹⁴⁹ *CIL* VI 1301, 1976.

¹⁵⁰ ILS 42

¹⁵¹ Cass. Dio 48.42.4-6

his marriage to Livia in 38 BC.¹⁵² He is attested as an Arval in 21 BC, but his role in Augustus' religious reforms suggests that he was among the first cohort of members, perhaps even helping Augustus with the refoundation. He was in fact the first Arval to commission the inscribing of the *Acta*.

6. Pompeius Q. f. Rufus

Pompeius Rufus was born in 70 BC and died in AD 14. He fought as a Pompeian, and was a staunch Republican until Caesar pardoned him in 46 BC. He was suffect consul with Octavian in 31 BC. By the Secular games of 17 BC he was *quindecimvir*, and was *magister* of the Arval Brothers, and so probably an original member.¹⁵³

7. M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus

M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus was born in 64 BC and died in AD 8.¹⁵⁴ He was proscribed in 43 BC and joined Brutus, whom he had fought at Philippi with, throwing his allegiance in with the Republicans.¹⁵⁵ He turned to Antony in 41/40 BC, but then shifted to Augustus in 37/36 BC, after befriended Agrippa. He returned to Antony in 35 BC, but left him definitely in 32BC, for which he was rewarded with the consulship.¹⁵⁶ He was then an extremely loyal supporter of Octavian, and the Princeps rewarded him accordingly.¹⁵⁷ He and Agrippa even shared Antonius' mansion on the

¹⁵² Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 1482; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 40-43.

¹⁵³ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti sacerdotum*. 2747; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 47.

¹⁵⁴ Schulz, H. *De M. Valerii Messallae aetate*. (Stettin: K. Marienstifts-G, 1886), 6.

¹⁵⁵ App. *BC*. IV. 38; V. 113; Plut. *Brutus*. 40-2, 45, 53.

¹⁵⁶ Vell. Pat. II.2.71

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Palatine.¹⁵⁸ When it burnt down, Augustus provided Corvinus with compensation, suggesting a very close relationship between the two.¹⁵⁹ He was praetor in 38/37 BC as well as consul with Octavian in 31 BC. He was elected Augur, as a *supernumerarius*, on November 13th 36 BC.¹⁶⁰ Corvinus was then city prefect in 26 BC, and *curator aquarum* from 11 BC to his death.¹⁶¹ He was a military commander for Augustus in 35 BC in Illyricum, as well as a governor of Syria in 30/29 BC. The people of Mallus in Pedia, which had been allotted to the province of Syria, honoured a Valerius M. f. as benefactor, saviour, and patron.¹⁶² He was proconsul in Southern Gaul between 29 BC and 27 BC when he celebrated a triumph.¹⁶³ He was an Arval Brother from the refoundation of the cult in 29 BC. Corvinus was by far the most influential senator of the first decade BC, and in 2 BC proposed the title *pater patriae* for Augustus.¹⁶⁴ After wavering in his loyalties, Corvinus an outspoken supporter of Augustus until his own death.¹⁶⁵

8. Paullus Aemilius L. f. Pal. Lepidus

Paullus Aemilius Lepidus was born in the 70s BC and died in 13 BC. He was the nephew of M. Aemilius Lepidus, the triumvir. His uncle proscribed him, and he joined the camp of Brutus, under whom he conquered Crete.¹⁶⁶ He thereafter joined Octavian in 38 BC either out of hatred for his uncle, or to

¹⁵⁸ Dio. LIII.27.5

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Dio. XLIX. 16.1

¹⁶¹ Syme, Ronald. *The Augustan Aristocracy*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 211.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ App. BC. IV. 51; App. BC. IV. 38; Dio. LI.7.7

¹⁶⁴ Suet. Aug. 58.2

¹⁶⁵ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 3414; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 50-55.

¹⁶⁶ App. BC. V.2

secure the fate of his family, as it was not uncommon during the Civil Wars for friendships with the most powerful men to surpass political allegiances.¹⁶⁷ He was an Augur by the mid-30s, an Arval Brother in 29 BC, suffect consul in 34BC, and proconsul in Asia or Macedonia in 25 BC.¹⁶⁸ He was elected as one of the last pair of censors in 22 BC.¹⁶⁹ In 14 BC, shortly before his death, Lepidus restored the *Basilica Aemilia*.¹⁷⁰ He married Cornelia who gave him three children: L. Aemilius Paullus, M. Aemilius Lepidus and a daughter. Cornelia died in 18 BC, however, and Lepidus took as second wife Marcella Minor.¹⁷¹ Considering that Marcella married M. Valerius Messalla Barbatus Appianus in 12 BC, it is safe to assume that Lepidus had died.¹⁷² Lepidus' oldest son L. Aemilius Paullus did not succeed his father in the Arval College, and it is unclear why this is, since he would have been about 18 years old at the time of his father's death. Paullus eventually joined the brotherhood, however, and he is attested in the *Acta* of AD14.¹⁷³

9. Sex. Appuleius Sex. F.

Sextus Appuleius Sextus was born in the 70s BC and died some time after 8 BC. He was the son of Octavia Maior, the elder half-sister of Augustus.¹⁷⁴ His father had been *flamen Dialis* as of 29 BC, and it is therefore safe to assume that Octavian had adlected the Appuleii into the patrician

¹⁶⁷ Dio. LIV. 21

¹⁶⁸ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 512; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 58-60.

¹⁶⁹ Vell. Pat. 2.95.3; Cass. Dio 54.2.1-3

¹⁷⁰ Dio. LIV.24.3

¹⁷¹ Prop. IV. 11; *CIL* VI 9000.

¹⁷² Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 60.

¹⁷³ Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 60.

¹⁷⁴ Braund, David. *Augustus to Nero: A Source Book on Roman History 31BCE - AD68*. (Worcester: Billings & Son, 1985), 129; *CIL* VIII 24583=*ILS* 8963.

ranks.¹⁷⁵ Sextus was consul in 29 BC and 14 BC. He was proconsul in *Hispania Citerior* in 27 BC, and in Asia in 23 BC. He was also legate in Illyria in 8 BC and subjugated the Pannonians.¹⁷⁶ He was quaestor and praetor, and was granted a triumph in January of 26 BC.¹⁷⁷ Sextus also held prestigious priesthoods, including the office of *Flamen Dialis* and Arval Brother, both of which he obtained in 29 BC.¹⁷⁸ He was also elected Augur in 26/25 BC. In 12 BC, when accused of adultery, Augustus himself pled for him, and he was cleared of all charges.¹⁷⁹ He was a much-accomplished politician and military man, as well as very well connected. Sextus was part of the *gens* that was related to most of the other Arval families. Interestingly, he was an Etruscan, the only Italian who held a seat in the college of the Arval Brothers.¹⁸⁰

Analysis of the first cohort

There was a strong sense of familial ties within the first college of Arval Brothers. L. Scribonius Libo's sister was Augustus' first wife, and Libo's granddaughter was engaged to Marcellus. L. Cornelius Cinna's father was Caesar's brother-in-law.¹⁸¹ Ap. Claudius Pulcher was the cousin of Livia's father. M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus adopted one of Pulcher's sons, and he went on to marry Marcella, Augustus' niece.¹⁸² This was Corvinus' only tie to the imperial family. M. Caecilius Cornutus was the nephew by marriage of

¹⁷⁵ *CIL IX 2637*

¹⁷⁶ Cassiod. *Chron. Min.* II.135

¹⁷⁷ Syme, Ronald. *Augustan Aristocracy.* 317.

¹⁷⁸ ILS 8963

¹⁷⁹ Dio. LIV.30.4

¹⁸⁰ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum.* 686; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales.* 61-62.

¹⁸¹ Tac. *Ann.* 3.6; Plut. *Caesar.* 1; Suet. *Caesar.* 1.5

¹⁸² Syme, Ronald. *Augustan Aristocracy.* 148.

Corvinus, but did not have ties to the imperial household. Cn. Pompeius Rufus' aunt Pompeia had married Caesar, and thus he was a member of the imperial family.¹⁸³ Finally, Sex. Appuleius Sextus was Augustus' nephew. Seven of the *gens* represented in the college of 21 BC were either related to the imperial family or to each other. Only Cn. Domitius Calvinus and Paullus Aemilius Lepidus were not, Calvinus had an illustrious political career. Lepidus on the other hand came from a very prestigious patrician family, the Aemilii. Moreover, he had been a very good friend of Augustus, as well as a very loyal supporter. What Calvinus and Lepidus lacked for in family ties they made up for in honours.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that so many Arvals were related to the imperial household. There is a practical reason for this from the point of view of the emperor. All these families not only had ties to him, but also to noble patrician families. It is within these families that serious opposition to his rule could arise, and their connections to the imperial family could give them a legitimate claim to the Principate.¹⁸⁴ Thus, Augustus chose to place them in a college that was created out of respect for the *mos maiorum* in which he could keep a close watch on potential usurpers. The closer the ties were to the imperial family, the greater the risk of rebellion. Furthermore, Augustus had gone to great lengths in order to pacify and reconcile the great Roman families, and offering them membership to a prestigious religious

¹⁸³ Plut. *Caesar*. 5.

¹⁸⁴ Lawson, Vija Rumpe. *The Acta Fratrum Arvalium as a source for Roman Imperial History 23BC to AD243*. 46.

college with ties to the foundation of Rome was a step in the right direction.¹⁸⁵

Membership in the brotherhood also seemed to be a recompense for a glorious political career, but membership also helped some of the men obtain more honours.¹⁸⁶ Eight of the first nine members had held a consulship prior to their cooption into the brotherhood, and two of them had held the office twice. Of these, Sex. Appuleius Sextus was granted a second consulship after he was co-opted, holding the office in 14 BC. Moreover many of the brothers held offices in the Provinces. There was one *propraetorship*, six *proconsulships*, three *governorships*, and two *military appointments*. One office was held in Etruria, three in Spain, one in Bithynia, one in Southern Gaul, one in Syria, and three in Asia.¹⁸⁷ Seven of these offices were filled after the Brothers were co-opted into the college, which is not surprising since there was a customary five year period between a consulship and an appointment in the provinces. Four men celebrated triumphs, two of which did before their cooption, and two after their cooption. Seven of the nine Brothers held other priesthoods. There were two *septemviri epulonum*, and three *augurs*. There was also one *Pontifex*, one *quindecimvirum* and one *Flamen Iulialis*. Only Sex. Appuleius Sextus held two other priesthoods.

¹⁸⁵ Lawson, Vija Rumpe. *The Acta Fratrum Arvalium as a source for Roman Imperial History 23BC to AD243*. 59; this will be discussed further in the fourth chapter on the relationship between Augustus and the brotherhood.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 60.

¹⁸⁷ It is possible that the number of offices held in Asia was two instead of three, depending on the location of Lepidus' *proconsulship* that was either in Asia or Macedonia.

Furthermore, Pompeius Rufus and Sex. Appuleius held their priesthoods after their cooption.¹⁸⁸

Thus, there are patterns of cooption for 21/20 BC. Most of the Arval had ties to the Imperial family, or to other Arval Brothers. Most had held consulships prior to being co-opted, and most held some sort of office in the provinces. The majority also had held priesthoods other than the Arval College, with only one holding more than one other priesthood. This is remarkable since it had usually not been possible to simultaneously be a member of two major colleges during the Republic.¹⁸⁹ Although the Arval College was not officially one of the major four priestly colleges, it was placed as high in honour and can be seen as the fifth major priesthood. Finally, four of the Arval Brothers had obtained the highest honours: the permission to celebrate a triumph.

The College of AD14

The second cohort of Arval Brothers had five members of ancient patrician families, as well as two of recent patrician families. Only two members were from plebeian families. Therefore, between 21/20 BC and AD14, the old families had gained a seat to the detriment of the plebeian families. No Italians were represented in this group. Only two members had Republican allegiances, and only one had a father with similar allegiances.

¹⁸⁸ Sex. Appuleius held his office of *Flamen Iulialis* as of 29BC, in the same year as he was coopted into the Arval College.

¹⁸⁹ Galinsky, Karl. *Augustan Culture: an interpretive introduction*. 313; Beard, Mary, John North and Simon Price. *Religions of Rome Volume 1*. 188; Gag , Jean. "Les Sacerdotes d'Auguste et ses R formes Religieuses" *M FR* 48 (1931) 82.

Thus, the number of Arvals with Republican tendencies had dropped from seven to three by the end of Augustus' reign. There were nine new Arvals in this Proceeding, so all the initial members had by this time died and been replaced, since the appointment to the brotherhood was for life. Two members are excluded from these statistics: one of these is Drusus Caesar Tiberius who replaced L. Aemilius Paullus at the end of AD14. Drusus could not be counted because he was an heir-apparent. As to the other member who was replaced, Augustus, the Arval who replaced him is unknown from the inscription since the name was erased, probably in accordance with a decree of *damnatio memoriae*. Excluding these two cooptions, the nine members of the proceeding will be discussed in order to determine the reason for their cooption.

1. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus

L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was born around 50 BC and died in AD25.¹⁹⁰ His father, the elder Ahenobarbus, had been a Pompeian, and was captured by Caesar at Corfinium and was thereafter pardoned.¹⁹¹ Nonetheless, Ahenobarbus the elder was believed to have been one of the conspirators in 44 BC.¹⁹² After Philippi, he reconciled with Mark Anthony.¹⁹³ Shortly before the Battle of Actium, the elder Ahenobarbus joined Octavian's camp and died

¹⁹⁰ Since he was consul in 16BC, and the minimum age requirement was 33 for the consulship, 50BC is a possibility. However, since he married Antonia Maior, the daughter of Mark-Anthony and Octavia, he may have benefitted of the customary remission of 5 years. This means that he would have been born around 45BC.

¹⁹¹ Caes. *BC*. I.23.

¹⁹² Suet. *Nero*. 3.1

¹⁹³ Vell. Pat. II.73, 76

shortly thereafter.¹⁹⁴ Octavian elevated the Domitii Ahenobarbi family to the rank of patrician in 29 BC.¹⁹⁵ Ahenobarbus the son was aedile in 22 BC, and praetor in 20/19 BC. In 16 BC he was elected consul, and was then proconsul in Africa in 12 BC.¹⁹⁶ Finally, he was a legate in Illyria in 1 BC, and won triumphal ornaments. He was co-opted into the brotherhood in 20/19 BC, replacing Cn. Domitius Calvinus. Ahenobarbus married Antony and Octavia's daughter, thus becoming the nephew of Augustus by marriage. His allegiance was to Augustus, and his influence was limited to Augustus' lifetime.¹⁹⁷ The Princeps had named Ahenobarbus in his will as being in charge of his patrimony.¹⁹⁸ After Ahenobarbus' death, his son Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus took his seat in the college.

2. L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex

L. Calpurnius Piso was born in 48 BC and died in AD32.¹⁹⁹ Piso was related to Augustus, as his aunt was Caesar's last wife.²⁰⁰ He was proconsul in *Gallia Transpandina* in 17/16 BC and was thereafter elected consul in 15 BC. Next came the governorship of Pamphylia from 13 to 11 BC. Piso then went to Thrace as a legate to Augustus and was legate in Syria between 4 and 1 BC.²⁰¹ There is a dedicatory inscription in Cilicia Pedias, a region of the

¹⁹⁴ Vell. Pat. II.84; Tac. Ann. IV,44; Suet. Ner. 3. Plut. Ant. 63.4

¹⁹⁵ Suet. *Nero*.1.2

¹⁹⁶ *CIL* VIII 68 = *ILS* 6095; *CIL* VIII 1180, 14310

¹⁹⁷ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 1479; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 74-76.

¹⁹⁸ Suet. *Nero*. 4

¹⁹⁹ Tac. *Ann*.VI.10

²⁰⁰ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 1057; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 76-83.

²⁰¹ Cass. Dio. 54.34; Tac. *Ann*.6.10.

province of Syria, naming him as *legatus pro praetore*.²⁰² He won the triumphal insignia following the campaign in Thrace where he was sent to quell a rebellion of the Bessi.²⁰³ He was also city prefect from AD13 until his death when he received a state funeral.²⁰⁴ He was probably elected Pontifex at the time of his consulate, but the first attestation of his epithet comes from the Proceeding of the Arval brothers in AD14. He was the first member of the *Calpurnia gens* to hold a priestly office. He was probably co-opted into the brotherhood between the year 15 BC and 14AD, but it is reasonable to suggest that he was co-opted after his consulship and prior to his governorship of Pamphylia.

3. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus was born at the beginning of the 50s BC and died in AD24. He was consul in 14 BC and a legate with Augustus in the Danube from 10-6 BC. Lentulus received the triumphal ornaments for this campaign.²⁰⁵ He was proconsul of Asia in 2/1 BC, and in AD14 he accompanied Drusus to quell the mutinies in Dalmatia.²⁰⁶ He was an Augur by the time of his consulship, as attested by his epithet, and replaced L. Cornelius Cinna in the college of the Arval brothers, perhaps around the time of Lentulus' consulate. Augustus had provided almost four million sesterces in order for Lentulus to retain his high status.²⁰⁷ Lentulus was very close to

²⁰² Syme, Ronald. *The Augustan Aristocracy*. 337.

²⁰³ Dio. LIV. 34.6, 7; Sen. *Ep.* 83.14

²⁰⁴ Tac. *Ann.* VI.10-11

²⁰⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 4.44

²⁰⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 1.27.2

²⁰⁷ Sen. *De Ben.* II.27.1

Drusus and Tiberius, and at his death, Tiberius inherited all of his possessions.²⁰⁸ Tiberius also made him *Magister* of the Arval Brothers in 14AD so that the chief of the priesthood would be a Claudian supporter.²⁰⁹

4. Paullus Fabius Maximus

Paullus Fabius Maximus was born around 46 BC and died in AD14. He was *Quaestor Augusti* in the Armenia between 22 and 19 BC²¹⁰. He was praetor in 15 BC, and then consul in 11 BC.²¹¹ Maximus was also proconsul of Asia in 10/9 BC and governor of *Hispania Tarraconensis* in 3 BC.²¹² The people of Bacara in Spain set up an altar to Augustus on Maximus' birthday.²¹³ While governor in Asia, he implemented calendar reforms that made the first day of the year Augustus' birthday. He was elected Pontifex as early as 15 BC, and was perhaps co-opted into the Arval brotherhood prior to his proconsulship. Maximus was a very close friend of Augustus, and married Augustus' cousin Marcia.²¹⁴ He accompanied Augustus to Planasia when the latter visited Agrippa Postumus. There is evidence for this in the *Acta* of AD14 for this expedition, since both Augustus and Maximus had sent their votes for the new cooptations by missive.²¹⁵ Maximus fell out of grace with Augustus when he divulged information to his wife Marcia that made its way

²⁰⁸ Tac. *Ann.* IV.44; Suet. *Tib.* 49.

²⁰⁹ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 1344; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 65-73.

²¹⁰ *IG* II² 4130

²¹¹ Syme, Ronald. *The Augustan Aristocracy*. 405.

²¹² *PIR*² F47

²¹³ *ILS* 8895; *CIL* II 2581

²¹⁴ *ILS* 8821

²¹⁵ *CIL* VI 2023 = *ILS* 5026; this is also mentioned in Plin. *NH.* VII.150; Dio LVI.30.1; Plut. *De Garr.*11

to the ears of the Princeps through Livia.²¹⁶ Accordingly Maximus committed suicide shortly before Augustus' death.²¹⁷ At his funeral, Marcia wailed declaiming that she was to blame for his death.²¹⁸ Maximus' son Paullus Fabius Persicus succeeded him the Arval College, as his cooption in lieu of his father is mentioned in the *Acta* for AD15.²¹⁹

5. Cn. Pompeius Cn. f. Augur

Not much is known about Cn. Pompeius. The inscription indicates that he was co-opted following the death of his father.²²⁰ Moreover, he was a colleague of Cn. Lentulus in the college of Augurs, and it is possible that Lentulus, acting magister of AD14, had helped Pompeius secure his father's seat. Furthermore, this suggests that Augustus was trying to reinforce the hereditary status of the Arval Brothers. Pompeius did not hold a consulship, but was perhaps a praetor.²²¹ He died shortly after AD21, date after which he disappears from the records. With his death, the *Pompeii Rufii gens* fades away from the college, having been members for thirty-five years.²²²

6. M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus

M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus was born in the teens BC and died in AD21. He was a consul in AD20. He was co-opted into the Arval brotherhood rather early, perhaps in AD8, in succession of his grandfather M. Valerius

²¹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 1.5

²¹⁷ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*.1592; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 84-88.

²¹⁸ Ann. 1.5.2

²¹⁹ *AE* 1947 n.52 = *CFA* n.3

²²⁰ *CIL* VI 2023

²²¹ *PIR*² III F443

²²² Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 94-95.

Messalla Corvinus, as he would have been the proper age to enter the brotherhood.²²³

7. T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus

T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus was born in the 30s BC and died in AD27. He was praetor in 2 BC, as well as suffect consul in AD2.²²⁴ He was an Arval between AD14 and AD27, but it is possible that he was co-opted after his consulship. He was *magister* in AD21. Valerius could have been co-opted because Augustus wanted to save old patrician *gens* that were in danger of being extinguished in order to solidify Claudian support.²²⁵

8. L. Aemilius Paullus

L. Aemilius Paullus was born in the early 30s BC and died in AD14. He was consul in AD1, and Arval Brother perhaps shortly after this. He married Vipsania Julia, Augustus' granddaughter.²²⁶ This marriage caused a certain degree of discomfort within the imperial household. Paullus was related by blood to the Triumvir Lepidus, as well as to the *Scipiones*. With him, the *Aemilii* got too close to power and became a threat. He was exiled in AD8 for conspiring against Augustus, along with his wife Julia. He died in exile around AD14, and was replaced as an Arval Brother by Drusus Caesar Ti. f.²²⁷

²²³ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 3416. Cf Fabius Persicus who succeeded his father at 15 years of age.

²²⁴ Dio. LV.10.11; *CIL* I² 29

²²⁵ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 2875; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 93-94.

²²⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 64.

²²⁷ Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 523; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 89-93.

9. M. Caecilius M. f. Cornutus

M. Caecilius Cornutus was born at the end of the 20s BC and committed suicide in AD24. He was praetor either in 6 or 11AD, as well as *curator locorum publicorum iudicandorum* as of AD16. Cornutus was co-opted into the Arval College in succession to his father, M. Caecilius Cornutus. Cornutus was implicated in the trial of Vibius Serenus and committed suicide, having been accused by informers.²²⁸

Analysis of the second cohort

There were certainly some familial ties within the second group of Brothers. L. Aemilius Paullus had married Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus in 4 BC. Paullus was also related to L. Scribonius Libo. Paullus Fabius Maximus was related to the emperor because he had married Marcia, his cousin. He was also related to Sextus Appuleius Sextus, as he had married his daughter Fabia Numantina to Sextus' son. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus had married Antonia Maior, who was a niece of Augustus. Ahenobarbus was also perhaps a relative of Domitius Calvinus. L. Calpurinius Piso was related to the *Messallae*, who were very prominent members of the college. Moreover, his aunt was Caesar's last wife, making him a member of the Imperial family. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus was a relative of L. Cornelius Cinna, and T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus was a relative of the *Valerii Messallae*.²²⁹

²²⁸ Tac. Ann. 4.28; Rüpke, Jorg. *Fasti Sacerdotum*. 972; Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 95-103.

²²⁹ Scheid, John. *Les Frères Arvales*. 322.

Furthermore, a number of Arval Brothers replaced their own relatives. Cn. Pompeius Cn. Augur replaced his father Cn. Pompeius Rufus, whilst M. Caecilius Cornutus replaced his father M. Caecilius Cornutus. M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus replaced his grandfather M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. His co-option can only be explained due to familial ties, since he had an uneventful political life. Finally, Paullus Fabius Maximus, Arval in AD14 would be replaced by his son Paullus Fabius Persicus at his death. Six Arval Brothers had family ties to the Imperial family or to other Arval *gens*, and in addition to this, three Arvals had been co-opted in succession to a father or grandfather. It is thus clear that, by the end of Augustus' reign, the Arval College had become partially hereditary. In this way, Augustus guaranteed the support of leading members of the most powerful families in Rome. Once seen as the crowning achievement of a political career, membership's meaning in the brotherhood slowly shifted. It also became a stepping-stone for young aristocrats whose male relatives had been Arvals. M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus is a perfect example of this. He was co-opted when he was very young, and thereafter went on to obtain the consulship in AD20.

Seven of the nine *nobiles* were elected consul at one point in their career. Five of these attained this office before they were co-opted into the brotherhood. This indicates that, although the nature of the college was not as clearly a reward for a military career (due to the high number of hereditary seats), it was still possible to obtain it on the battlefield. Only four

members of this cohort were sent to the provinces. Among them there were four proconsulships, three legate appointments, two governorships and two men received the triumphal ornaments. Although fewer members received these appointments than in the first cohort of Arval Brothers, they only received three fewer appointments than their predecessors in total.

Moreover, they were sent to key provinces: Africa, Asia (twice), Gaul, Spain, and Pamphylia, on top of being legates in Illyria, Thrace, and Syria. More interestingly, only two of these nine appointments occurred prior to their cooption. Both triumphal insignia were given after their cooption. Only three brothers held other priesthoods: two *Pontifices* and one Augur. All three obtained these offices prior to their cooption

The majority of the Arval Brothers still held consulships, although only a few were given offices in the Provinces. Most were related to the Imperial family, or to Arval *gentes*. Only a few received other priestly appointments, all of which were given after they were co-opted.

Conclusion

Augustus clearly wanted to surround himself with prominent members of the aristocracy. In the first proceeding, there were a disproportionate number of men who had once opposed him, but it is not surprising that this number shrank dramatically by the time of the second proceeding. Augustus had consolidated his power by this time. Most of the men who had been opposed to Octavian were dead, and very few could still remember a time before the Civil Wars. The Republican ideology had all but

died at this point, and it is natural to find only three members of the brotherhood who had once had allegiances to someone else but Augustus. Many more individuals had achieved important political honours in the first cohort, as only four were sent to the provinces in the second.

As for the consulships, they were almost equally distributed between cohorts. However, the number of Arvals that had held consulships prior to their cooption had dramatically decreased, suggesting that members of the college no longer were as prominent in the political sphere. It is only through Augustan patronage that they were able to secure this office after being co-opted. Augustus even revived old patrician families that had fallen out of favour or fallen on hard times, and in this way made sure that their allegiance was to him alone. He used the college in order to pacify his enemies and reward his supporters. This is clear throughout his rule as he rewarded loyal followers by offering their seat in the college to their sons or grandsons. The hereditary character of their seat guaranteed that prestige of membership would remain within the family even after Augustus was gone.

**Conclusion:
Augustus and the *Fratres Arvales***

Delicta maiorum inmeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris
aedisque labentis deorum
et foeda nigro simulacra fumo.

You must suffer for the faults of your ancestors, Guiltless Roman
Until you restore the temples, and the crumbling shrines of the gods
And the images befouled with black soot.
(Hor. *Odes*. III.6.1-4)

Augustus' religious revival came at a time when Romans had lost their ancestral devotion to the traditional gods.²³⁰ He harnessed the reverence for the *mos maiorum* and satisfied a widespread desire for religious fulfilment.²³¹ The authors of the Augustan Age reflect this desire, and few make it as flagrant as Horace. The poet, who was commissioned by Augustus to write the *Carmen saecularum* for the Secular games of 17 BC, draws a direct link between Roman suffering and complete disregard for ancestral customs and gods. Many viewed Augustus as the *mundi servator*, the protector of the world.²³² Velleius Paterculus, a Tiberian commander who devoted his retirement to the writing of history, captured the essence of the Augustan reforms when he said:

There was nothing that men could ask of gods, nothing that
gods could offer to men, nothing that prayer could conceive of,
nothing that ultimate bliss could achieve, which was not
vouchsafed

²³⁰ See Introduction 8-10.

²³¹ Ogilvie, R.M. *The Romans and their Gods in the Age of Augustus*. 113; Galinsky, Karl. *Augustan Culture: an interpretive introduction*. 291; Ovid. *Ars Amatoria* 1.637: "It is expedient that there should be gods, and as it is expedient, let us believe that they exist".

²³² Prop. IV. 6.36

to the state, to the people, to the world by Augustus after his return to Rome.²³³

Thus, it is readily apparent that the religious revival had filled a desire for something more, it had filled a gap in the Roman soul that could not be quenched by anything else. Augustus had closed the gates of Janus, the gates of War, on multiple occasions, but his religious revival struck deeper within the Roman psyche than the gates ever could. Augustus had brought the *pax deorum* to Rome.²³⁴

The Augustan Religious Reforms

The timeframe of the Augustan religious reforms has been debated in modern scholarship. Scholars such as John Scheid believe that the reforms were almost completed by the time Octavian became Augustus, thus situating them between 43 and 28 BC.²³⁵ Others, such as Paul Zanker, prefer to see the religious reforms as beginning in 29 BC, when Octavian was commissioned to bring the old priesthoods to full complement and to appoint men as supernumerary.²³⁶ Octavian had, however, already laid the groundwork for the reforms year prior to Zanker's suggested starting point of 29 BC, and it is therefore imperative to look at the religious reforms from year following Julius Caesar's death down to AD5.

²³³ Vell. Pat. II. 89

²³⁴ Syme, Ronald. *The Roman Revolution*. 446: "The Roman people could not be pure, strong and confident without *pietas*. The prosperity of the Roman people depended on the *pax deorum*".

²³⁵ Scheid, John. "Augustus and Roman Religion: Continuity, Conservatism and Innovation". 178.

²³⁶ Zanker, Paul. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. 103; Syme, Ronald. *The Roman Revolution*. 294-295; Dio. LI.20; *RG*. 20.

Octavian's religious career forms an important background to his religious reforms, which began in 42 BC. In 48 BC, Julius Caesar nominated him as *pontifex* to fill the void that had been left by L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who died at Pharsalus.²³⁷ After Julius Caesar changed his will in 45 BC, he named Octavian his heir and elevated him to patrician rank.²³⁸ In 42 BC, Octavian began the erection of the Temple to the Divine Julius, which was completed and inaugurated by Mark Anthony as *flamen* two years later.²³⁹ Although Octavian was not a priest of this cult, it was his initiative that had made the building of the temple and the instauration of the cult possible. Octavian seems to have been made Augur as early as 41/40 BC, as attested to by a contemporary coin.²⁴⁰ After 40 BC, Octavian was referred to as *Divi Filius* because Julius Caesar had been voted divine honours.²⁴¹ In the same year, Octavian was able to start controlling the election of the *pontifices*, which was an important step in isolating the *Pontifex Maximus*, Lepidus. In 36 BC, after his victory over Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus, Octavian vowed a temple to his patron god, Apollo. This temple was eventually built into Octavian's residence on the Palatine, and is known as the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus*.²⁴² It was finally completed in 28 BC.

²³⁷ Gagé, Jean. "Les sacerdoces d'Auguste et ses réformes religieuses" 78; Cic. *Phil.* 5.46; Caes. *BC.* 3.99; Cic. *Phil.* 2.29; Luc. 7.599ff.

²³⁸ Suet. *Iul.* 83: this was extremely important as many priesthoods were reserved for men of patrician rank only.

²³⁹ Scheid, John. "Augustus and Roman Religion: continuity, Conservatism and Innovation" 178.

²⁴⁰ Gagé, Jean. "Les sacerdoces d'Auguste et ses réformes religieuses" 79: *C CAES COS PONT AUG.*

²⁴¹ Syme, Ronald. *The Roman Revolution.* 202.

²⁴² Vell. II.81; Cass. Dio XLIX.15.5; LIII.1.3; Suet. Aug. 2.

In 32 BC, when Octavian declared war against Cleopatra, he did it in accordance with the *mos maiorum* by following the proceedings of the *fetiales*.²⁴³ This suggests that Octavian had revived this forgotten priesthood prior to this date. The *fetiales*, however, were part of a larger reform that Octavian was undertaking. Along with this priesthood, he restored the temple of Jupiter *Feretrius*, also according to legend one of the oldest temples in Rome.²⁴⁴ This particular god dealt with the lawful ratifying of treaties, as well as with declarations of war in accordance with the precepts of the *fetiales*. In 30 BC, Octavian reacted strongly against being worshipped as a god and set the groundwork for the Imperial cult; there would be no public honours for him in Rome, but there could be such honours offered in the rest of Italy and in the provinces, especially Hellenistic provinces accustomed to such ruler worship.²⁴⁵ In 29 BC, he revived the Arval Brothers and the *sodales Titii*.²⁴⁶ This revival was part of the bestowal of new privileges on all public priesthoods.²⁴⁷ As mentioned previously in this year Octavian was allowed to name individuals to specific priesthoods, as well as name supernumeraries to the memberships. He also held the *augurium salutis* that had previously been suspended during the Late Republic on account of the Civil Wars. This was a vow for the safe-keeping of the city, and an annual ascertainment of the

²⁴³ Dio. L. 4.5.

²⁴⁴ Livy. 4.20; Nep. Att. 20.1.2-3.

²⁴⁵ Dio. LI.19-20; Scheid, John. "Augustus and Roman Religion: continuity, Conservatism and Innovation" 182.

²⁴⁶ Scheid, John. "Augustus and Roman Religion: continuity, Conservatism and Innovation" 181.

²⁴⁷ Suet. Aug.31.

acceptability of the prayers offered to the gods.²⁴⁸ Moreover, Octavian also closed the gates of Janus in 29 BC, indicating that Rome was no longer at war.

Octavian did not yet have power over all the priesthoods: he allowed Lepidus to maintain his office of *Pontifex Maximus*, because it would have been against the *mos maiorum* to remove a *pontifex* from office. Octavian no doubt did not expect his fellow triumvir to survive until 12 BC, and thus a part of his reforms had to wait for Lepidus' death, whereupon Augustus would take the office himself. Nevertheless, Augustus did not let this kink ruin his plan. He acted in conjunction with priesthoods that were not under Lepidus' authority. It is thus as *quindecemvir* that he held the Secular Games in 17 BC. These games did not fall under the authority of the *Pontifex Maximus*, and were celebrated by the consuls, the Senate and the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis*.²⁴⁹ When Lepidus died, Augustus finally became *Pontifex Maximus* and was able to complete his religious reforms. In 12 BC, he took control of the Sibylline Oracles and had them transferred from the Temple of Jupiter *Capitolinus* to that of Apollo *Palatinus*.²⁵⁰ He then proceeded to reinstate the office of *flamen Dialis*, as well as reform a number of pontifical duties.²⁵¹ Finally, from 5 BC to AD5, he turned his attention to the cult of the Vestal Virgins whose numbers had been dwindling. He succeeded in giving this

²⁴⁸ Scheid, John. "Augustus and Roman Religion: continuity, Conservatism and Innovation" 182.

²⁴⁹ Beard, Mary, John North and Simon Price. *Religions of Rome Vol I*. 205; Zos.2.137-139.

²⁵⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 31; Scheid, John. "Augustus and Roman Religion: continuity, Conservatism and Innovation" 191.

²⁵¹ Dio. 54.36.1; Tac. *Ann.*4.16.4

archaic cult its lustre back, and as such many prominent men vied to send their daughters as Vestal Virgins.²⁵²

This delay in religious innovation demonstrates that Augustus had a coherent religious policy in mind. He performed all the reforms he could without having the authority of *Pontifex Maximus*, and completed his vision after Lepidus died. His religious revival was deeply rooted in tradition, and Augustus consequently had no choice but to let his fellow triumvir finish his years in exile. Many of his reforms dealt with priesthoods that had been long forgotten, such as the Arval Brothers, the *sodales Titii*, and the *fetiales*. Other neglected bodies, such as the *flamen Dialis* and the Vestal Virgins, were also reinvigorated by Augustus. It is interesting to note that the *sodales Titii* were instituted by Romulus himself to honour his fellow ruler, Titus Tatius.²⁵³ Thus, this cult went back to the origins of Rome. Augustus' reforms moreover dealt with the Secular Games, which were to be performed every 110 years, another institution that had begun in the days of archaic Rome.

Evidently, the Arval Brothers were a fundamental part of this revival. They became the most prominent college after the major four. Augustus was so proud of his college that he mentioned it in his *Res Gestae Divi Augustus*, the Deeds of Divine Augustus. He consecrated an immortal vow to the Italian gods, not only the Roman ones. This meant that minor deities of villages, sources, and forests were to be worshipped throughout Italy, as opposed to

²⁵² Dio. 55.22.5; Suet. *Aug.* 31.

²⁵³ Tac. *Ann.* 1.54.

only locally.²⁵⁴ Indeed, Augustus wanted to homogenize the gods, as well as people, of Italy, and what better way than to create a common worship.²⁵⁵ The Arval College fit perfectly into the designs of Augustus. They harkened back to a time when Romans were better, a time when the *mos maiorum* was a way of life instead of a memory.

The Arval brotherhood worshipped a very different Mars than the *Mars Ultor* of the *forum Augusti*. His agrarian nature has been discussed at length, and it cannot be denied that it is primarily under this aspect that he was honoured by the brotherhood. The Arval Hymn, although a highly archaic one, has been shown to reveal that the brotherhood was a fertility cult, rather than a martial one as proposed by Scheid and Dumézil. The invocation to Mars fits well with the invocation of the *Lares* and the *Semones*. Moreover, this prayer is very similar to those compiled by Cato in his *De Agricultura*. These prayers asked Mars to protect fields from plagues and disease, and to ensure their prosperity, as opposed to protect them from outside threats such as wolves and invaders. This aspect of Mars was much more archaic than the martial one, as it remained well into the Empire in areas such as Roman Gaul and rural Italy, where local gods retained their archaic character for much longer than they did within Rome proper. The worship of this aspect of Mars was also aligned with the other events that occurred at the same time around Augustus. In 29 BC, Octavian had commissioned the *Georgics* from Virgil, and these were farming treatises.

²⁵⁴ Virg. *Aen.* 8.714

²⁵⁵ Ogilvie, R. M. *The Romans and their Gods in the Age of Augustus*. 116.

Agriculture commanded esteem due to traditions fuelled by men such as Cato. By appealing to a past that was free of political affiliation, Augustus was hoping to unify his Empire. Moreover, the fertility aspect emerges once more with the *Leges Iuliae* in 18 BC. These laws forbade a senator from marrying a woman of a lower social status, and they also penalized men who were not married and did not have children. Augustus was trying to avoid the same decrease in patrician families that had occurred during the generation prior to the Principate. Therefore, encouraging the worship of a fertility cult was a natural extension of his policies.

The archaeology of the sacred grove reveals little about the Arval Brothers under Augustus, and many scholars have tried to use the Severan buildings to reconstruct the workings of the cult under Augustus. As has been discussed in Chapter Two however, this is simply untenable. Very little attention has been paid to the Circus, the oldest construction in the grove, with the most eminent scholar of the Arval Brothers, John Scheid, ignoring it almost entirely. It is much more revealing than any other of the constructions that all date from the Severan Era. A circus suggests that there were games, and chariot races, and that people would attend the festival of *Dea Dia* presumably to see these very games. Epigraphical evidence has pointed to the importance of the games, since a funeral inscription commemorated a chariot racer's victory at the sacred grove. The theory concerning the circus' importance is novel in the field, and demonstrates one of the purposes of Augustus' revival. Just as the worship of common gods has served to unify the

many different peoples in Italy, so the games of *Dea Dia* could have brought together people from not only Rome to the grove, but also from the *ager Romanus*. Moreover, Augustus, fashioning himself as a second Romulus, wisely chose to identify himself with this cult, on account of its origins relating to Romulus himself.

The choice of members for the first two colleges reveal moreover another of Augustus' policies at the time. Augustus was trying to consolidate his power and unify the Empire, which meant that he had to reward loyal supporters, as well as supporters that had surrendered to him after being Antonian or Pompeian supporters. Many of the members of the first college were such men; a majority had been associated with Anthony in the Civil Wars, and were later pardoned by Augustus and placed in positions of power such as the consulship, or in priestly colleges, such as the Augurs, the Pontifices, and the Arval Brothers. These men were often allowed to hold more than one major priesthood simultaneously, which had been prohibited during the Republic.²⁵⁶ By concentrating the power in a few men, Augustus was ensuring that their allegiance remain with him in the event of the rise of an opponent. It is striking that Augustus only named one man of Italian descent to the college. This can be attributed to the overwhelming support he received from Italy, and thus he needed to rather obtain the support of the old aristocracy of Rome. After all, the municipals had been the backbone of

²⁵⁶ See pg 68 n. 188.

Augustus' party, and he needed to real in the ancient patrician families of Rome.²⁵⁷

The second Arval college was different in composition. Whilst the first college was filled with men who had a distinguished military and political career, holding the consulship before their appointment to the college, the members of AD14 were significantly lesser in prestige. Most of them that would go on to hold consulships did so after their appointment in the college. Only four men were appointed to offices in the provinces. Moreover, many of them owed their seat in the college to hereditary rights. It is possible that Augustus was trying to reward certain families, as opposed to only certain men, by allowing relatives to be co-opted after the death of a member. This is even more obvious when one sees youths, as young as 15, being co-opted in the place of their fathers, as was the case with Fabius Persicus. The second college was seen more as a stepping-stone to higher office, rather than a reward for a distinguished career. Therefore, the membership parallels the change that can be seen in the reign of Augustus. Augustus initially needed the support of the old aristocracy, and did so by appointing these aristocrats to the Arval College. By the end of his reign, however, Augustus had solidified his power, as well as eliminated any latent opposition, and used the college to petition for young *nobiles*. Some of these young men held the office for a long time, and went on to have illustrious careers.

²⁵⁷ Syme, Ronald. *The Roman Revolution*. 359-360.

The purposes of Augustus' revival of the Arval Brothers are quite complex, but each fits well with his overarching reforms. The link that this priesthood created between Augustus and Romulus was reason enough for the Princeps to revive it. If he was to usher a golden age, he needed to be associated with the foundation of Rome and its founding father. Beyond this however, Augustus wanted to revive the reverence that the Romans had once had for the *mos maiorum* in order to unite formerly feuding families, as well as men with differing political allegiances. By leveraging Roman respect for traditions with the Arval Brothers, Augustus was able to secure his position as Princeps, as well as to merge the Imperial Cult with one that was very archaic, in order to fend off any opposition to such a foreign concept. Augustus was a visionary who realized that the Romans were longing for a religious fulfilment that had been absent for generations, and satisfied this desire with traditional customs upon which all Romans could agree.

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5. *IG = Inscriptiones Graecae.*
6. *IGR = Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes auctoritate et impensis Academiae Inscriptionum et Litterarum humaniorum.*
7. *ILLRP = Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae.*
8. *ILS = Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.*
9. *NSA = Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.*
10. *PIR² = Prosopographia imperii Romani saec. I, II, III.*

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**APPENDIX I:
The Carmen Arvale (CIL 2104(32388)) (CFA n.100)²⁵⁸**

Ibi sacerdotes

clusi, succincti, libellis acceptis, carmen descendentes tripodaverunt in verba haec:

"Enos

Lases iuvate,

[e]nos Lases iuvate, enos Lases iuvate! Neve lu{e} rue Marma<r> sins in currere in {p}leores, neve lue rue Marmar

[si]ns in currere in pl{e}or{e}s, neve lue rue Marmar s{in}s {i}ncurrere in pleo{r}es!

Satur {f}u, {f}ere Mars! Limen

[sa]l{i}. sta berber! Satur fu, fere Mars! {L}imen sal{i}, sta berber! Satur fu, fere

Mars! {L}imen s{al}i, s{t}a berber!

[Sem]unis alternei advocapit conctos, semunis alternei advocapit conctos, s{e}munis alter{nei} advocapit

[conct]os! Enos Marmor iuvato, enos Marmor iuvato, enos Ma<r>mor iuvato!

Tr{i}umpe, t{r}iumpe, triumphe, t{r}ium-

[pe, tri]umpe!" Post tripodationem deinde signo dato publ{i}c{i} introier(unt) et libellos

receperunt.

Then, the priests, confined, [their togas] gathered up with a belt, having received little books, divided into two groups, performed a triple time ritual dance [and sung] the hymn in the following words:

"Help us Lares! Help us Lares! Help us Lares!

Mars! Do not charge onto the people with pestilence and destruction

Mars! Do not charge onto the people with pestilence and destruction

Mars! Do not charge onto the people with pestilence and destruction!

Be satiated, fierce Mars!

Jump the threshold, stand your ground Mars!

Be satiated, fierce Mars!

Jump the threshold, stand your ground Mars!

Be satiated, fierce Mars!

Jump the threshold, stand your ground Mars!

They shall invoke altogether the Semones in turn!

They shall invoke altogether the Semones in turn!

They shall invoke altogether the Semones in turn!

Help us Mars! Help us Mars! Help us Mars!

Conquer, Conquer, Conquer, Conquer, Conquer, Conquer!"

After the triple time ritual dance, a sign having been given, the public slaves entered and collected the small books.

²⁵⁸ This transcription is taken from Scheid's *CFA*. It is the closest to the original text on the inscription, and where corrections have been made, he accounts for them.

**APPENDIX II:
Reconstructions of the Arval Hymn**

1. Michel Bréal
Enom, Lases, juvate!
Neve luem arves, Marmars, sers incurrere.
Impleores...
Sata, tutere Mars.
Clemens satis sta, Berber.
Semunis alternei advocapit cunctos.
Enom, Marmor, juvato.
Triumpe!

2. Georges Édouard
E! Nos! Lases, juvate!
Hi mi lua fave; Marmar, serp, incure se! Inde foris satur fuce, Remars:
Limen sali.

(Stabe aversi (or abversi))

Manis paternei, abvolate.

(Conctes)

E! nos, Marmor, juvato!
Triumpe

3. Louis Havet
Enos, Lases, juvate!
Ne velueris, Marmars, incurrere in pleoris.
Satur fu, fere Marmars, nive insali, sta...
Semunis alternei advocapit conctos.
Enos, Marmars, juvato.
Triumpe, triumpe, triumpe!

4. Theodor Mommsen
Enos, Lases, juvate! Neve lue rue, Marmar, suis (or sers) incurrere in
pleores.
Satur fu, fere Mars.

(Limen sali. Sta, Berber)

Semunis alternei advocapit conctos. Enos Marmor, juvato. Triumpe!

5. Ida Paladino
E nos Lases iuvate (x3)
Ne velue rue Marma sins incurrere in pleores (x3)
Satur fu fere Mars limen sali sta berber (x3)
Semunis alternei advocapit conctos (x3)
E nos Marmor iuvato (x3)
Triumpe (x5)

6. John Scheid

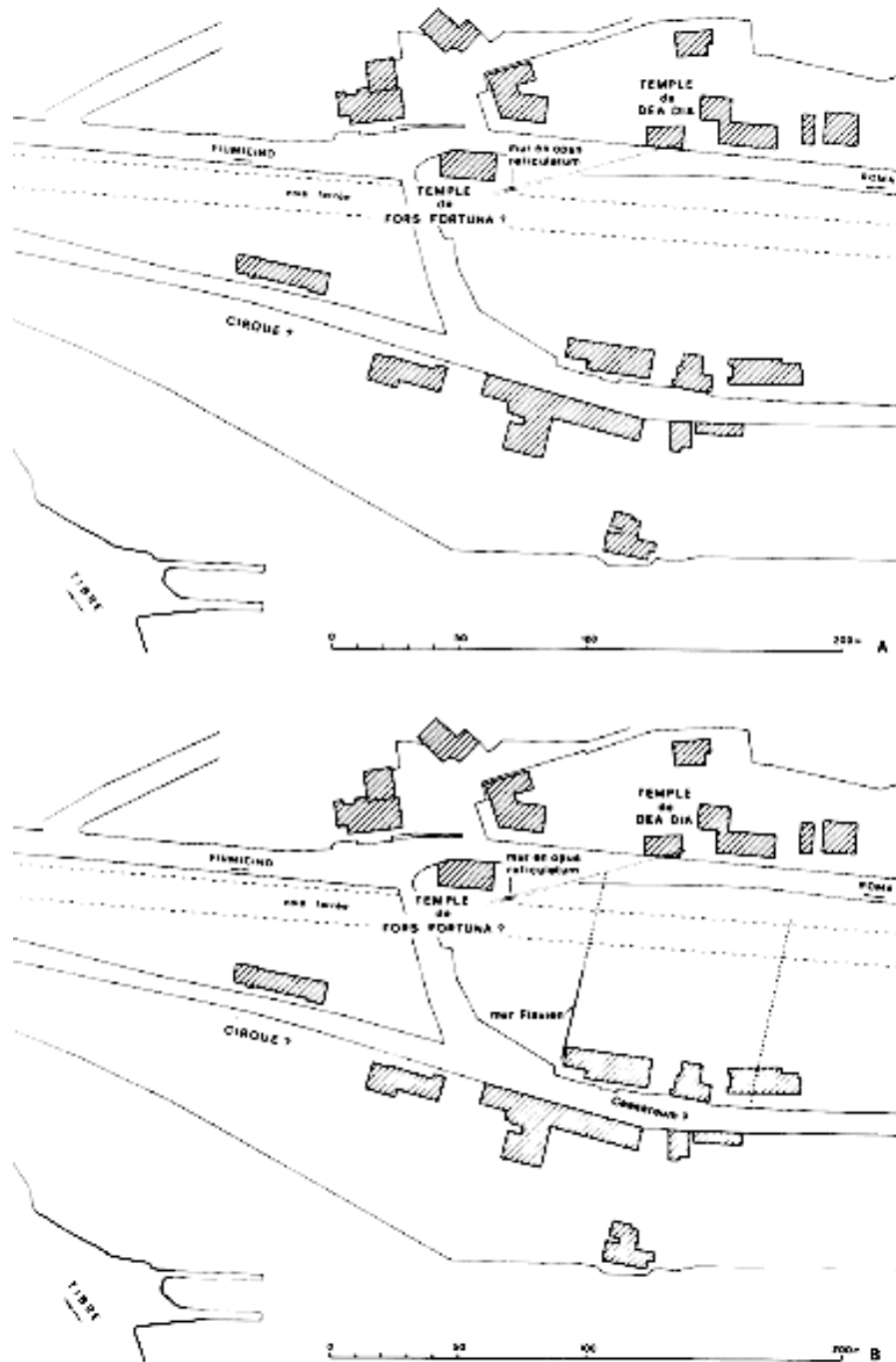
Enos Lases iuvate,
[e]nos Lases iuvate, enos Lases iuvate! Neve lu{e} rue Marma<r> sins in
currere in {p}leores, neve lue rue Marmar
[si]ns in currere in pl{e}or{e}s, neve lue rue Marmar s{in}s {i}ncurrere in
pleo{r}es!
Satur {f}u, {f}ere Mars! Limen
[sa]{i}. sta berber! Satur fu, fere Mars! {L}imen sal{i}, sta berber! Satur
fu, fere
Mars! {L}imen s{al}i, s{t}a berber!
[Sem]unis alternei advocapit conctos, semunis alternei advocapit
conctos, s{e}munis alter{nei} advocapit
[conct]os! Enos Marmor iuvato, enos Marmor iuvato, enos Ma<r>mor
iuvato!
Tr{i}umpe, t{r}iumpe, triumpe, t{r}ium-
[pe, tri]umpe!

7. E. H. Warmington

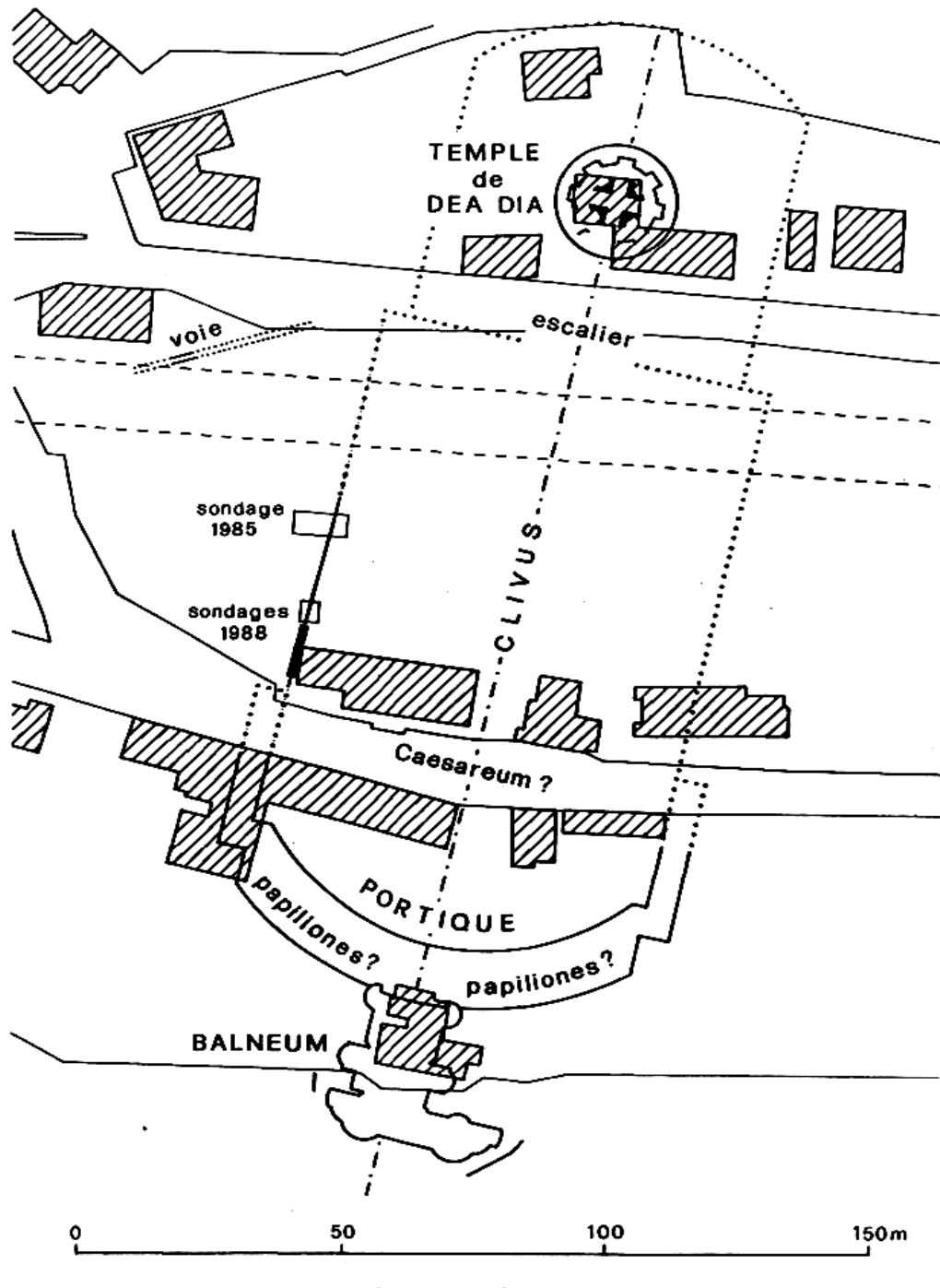
Enos Lases iuvate! (x3)
Neve lu[e] rue Marma(r) sins incrrere in pleores! (x3)
Satur fu, [f]ere Mars, limen [sal]i! Sta! Berber! (x3)
[Sem]unis alternei advocapit conctos (x3)
Enos Marmor iuvato! (x3)
Triumpe! (x5)

APPENDIX III The Sacred Grove

Figure 1: The Sacred Grove under the Julio-Claudians (above) and the Flavians (below)²⁵⁹



²⁵⁹ Scheid, John. *Romulus et ses frères*. 218p.

Figure 2: The Sacred Grove under the Severans²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ Scheid, John and Henri Broise. "Rome: La Magliana (le lucus de dea Dia)". *MEFRA* 101 (1989) 515.

APPENDIX IV
The Arval Brothers under Augustus

Proceeding of 21/20 BC	Proceeding of AD14
L. Scribonius Libo	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus
L. Cornelius Cinna	L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex
Ap. Claudius Pulcher	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur
M. Caecilius M. f. Gal. Cornutus	Paullus Fabius Maximus
Cn. Domitius M. f. Men. Calvinus	Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Augur
Cn. Pompeius Q. f. Rufus	M. Valerius Messalla Messalinus
M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus	T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus
Paullus Aemilius M. f. Pal. Lepidus	L. Aemilius Paullus (replaced by Drusus Caesar Ti. f.)
Sex. Appuleius Sex. f.	M. Caecilius M. f. Cornutus
<i>M. Vipsanius L. f. Agrippa</i>	<i>Germanicus Julius Caesar</i>
<i>C. Claudius Marcellus</i>	<i>Tiberius Claudius Nero</i>
Augustus Caesar	Augustus Caesar (replaced by ?)