



Pisae and Other Citizen Communities

When, on 2 April A.D. 4, Pisae received word of the death of Gaius Caesar, the Roman colony lacked magistrates because of a “rivalry between candidates for office.” So “all the decurions and the colonial citizens” gathered, deliberated, and “collectively agreed among themselves” to observe a period of universal mourning, to perform public funerary sacrifices, to erect a commemorative arch, and to send an embassy of condolence to the emperor. “Through the consensus of all the civic orders,” Pisae paid its respects to a model prince, “designated *princeps*, as being most just and most like his father in virtues,” and to a model protector, “the sole defense of our colony.” These ringing phrases come from the decree that Pisae was eventually able to pass when it again had magistrates (*ILS* 140). This and an earlier Pisan decree for Lucius Caesar (*ILS* 139) provide a unique window on the world of Augustan citizen communities, answering basic questions about the communities’ relations with the capital (texts of both decrees are printed at the end of this chapter). What contact, if any, did Roman citizens outside Rome have with the institutions of the *res publica*, such as the census and the legislative and electoral assemblies? What contact did they have with the imperial house? How were relations with the *res publica* affected by the Principate?

Earlier chapters have indicated some paths to follow. The chapter on the Senate argued that honorific senatorial decrees collected and synthesized honors from different sectors of society; that the decrees were designed for publication to citizens; that Italian municipal *fasti* reflect the reception of senatorial decrees; that the decrees, containing instructions for citizens to follow, were legislative and designed to be passed as statutes; and that by publishing the decrees before the comitial vote, the Senate usurped a legislative function. The chapter on the *equester ordo* noted that a large part of the

heterogeneous group were aristocrats from citizen (and Latin and peregrine) communities. It argued that the group achieved a semblance of unity by gathering in Rome and performing corporate acts and that recognition of the group's informal expressions likewise served to undermine formal institutions of the *res publica*.

This chapter, building on the earlier ones, explores how Pisae could come to employ the name of the sovereign citizenry while expressing ideas consonant only with monarchy, mourning a prince whom "cruel fate had snatched from the *populus Romanus*." It seeks to show that the process most fully reflected in the Pisan decrees was representative of other communities, by sketching a map of politics—of the communications, initiatives, and counter-initiatives between citizen communities, the Roman Senate and popular assemblies, and the imperial house. The project is to understand how the citizen became a subject.

The essentially civic Roman *res publica* was structurally unable to cope with the expansion of the citizenry after the Social War; its institutions had to be reformed, replaced, or abandoned.¹ Exactly what did occur is imperfectly known, but some patterns seem to have been set for the way citizen communities would interact with Rome under the Principate.

First, a degree of personal mobility must be acknowledged. To an extent, Italians could and did travel to the seat of government. Municipal elites certainly traveled. Immediately after unification, Italian local magnates successfully agitated for privileged seating in Rome's theaters as Roman knights.² Much later, under Tiberius, the council of Veii held a session in the Temple of Venus Genetrix in Rome, as a surviving decree shows (*ILS* 6579; A.D. 26).³ Some Italians apparently came to Rome on regular judicial business. Citizens of Puteoli exchanged pledges to appear in court (*vadimonia*) in the Forum Augustum.⁴ Other Italians will have been drawn to the increasingly prosperous capital for trade, spectacles, and possibly construction work.⁵ Episodically, with candidates canvassing them, Italians traveled to Rome to cast ballots. In 57 B.C., Italians were summoned by a circulating dossier of senatorial decrees,

1. This theme can only be sketched here; see the fundamental study of Y. Thomas, "Origine" et "Commune patrie": *Etude de droit public romain (89 av. J.-C.–212 ap. J.C.)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1996).

2. On the *lex Roscia* of 67 B.C. see T. P. Wiseman in *CAH* 9², pp. 327–62, esp. 332.

3. Compare also the citation of the "Aventine canon" at Narbo and Tibur: *ILS* 112; R. E. A. Palmer, "Adherence to the Aventine Canon and the *Lex Tiburtina*," in *Roman Religion and the Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), 57–78.

4. See G. Camodeca, *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum*, vol. 1 (Rome: Quasar, 1999), nos. 13–15.

5. See P. A. Brunt, "Free Labour and Public Works at Rome," *JRS* 70 (1980): 81–100.

letters from the consuls, and municipal decrees, to pass a law restoring Cicero from exile.⁶ On 6 March 12 B.C., the members of the seventeen voting tribes that chose the *pontifex maximus* formed, so Augustus claimed, “a greater crowd than had ever been seen before,” when they “poured into Rome from all Italy” to elect him (*Res gestae* 10.2).⁷ Presumably they had been summoned by an edict explaining the special procedures.⁸ Local votes probably helped elect to Roman office Q. Varius Geminus, “first of all the Paeligni to be made senator” (*ILS* 932), and others like him.

Second, there will have been some devolution of institutions, with local Italian organs replacing the overburdened Roman ones. If Italians could not come to Rome, Rome came to them; Italian towns became like “little Romes.” Italian magistrates assisted the Roman census, the fundamental institution of Roman citizenship. Though Italians were clearly counted in Roman censuses from 70 B.C. on, the entire Italian populace did not have to file into the Campus Martius for the initial enumeration or the closing purificatory ceremony, the *lustrum*.⁹ Italian communities probably followed a procedure like the one outlined in the *Tabula Heracleensis* (*RS* 24, lines 142–56). A local censor informed himself of the upcoming census; conducted, according to a schedule published at Rome, a census of his fellow *municipes* or colonial citizens; entered the tallies in local records; and then sent the books on to the Roman censors. Italian censorial magistracies coincide with Roman censuses. Thus the circulation of documents replaced the circulation of persons.¹⁰

Third, and related to this devolution but distinct from it, was the use of local decrees as vehicles of expression. In 63 B.C., Capua expressed “the greatest civic gratitude” toward P. Sestius, the provincial quaestor who brought an army there to eject an alleged Catilinarian conspirator (Cicero *Sest.* 9). When Sestius went on trial in 56 B.C., Capuan citizens and decurions attested to his services in a decree designed to defend him against danger, which his advocate had read aloud in court (Cicero *Sest.* 10). “The most distinguished *municipia* and colonies” praised L. Flaccus, praetor in 63 B.C. (Cicero *Flacc.* 101). Like Cicero’s citation of publicans’ decrees and theater cheers as expressing equestrian opinion, his citation of local decrees as expressing Italian opinion—the consensus of *cuncta* or *tota Italia*—acknowledged and aided a

6. For the sources see T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. 2 (New York: American Philological Association, 1952), 200.

7. Still invaluable on the Italian electorate generally is R. Syme, “Caesar, the Senate, and Italy” (1938), reprinted in *Roman Papers*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 87–119.

8. It may be relevant that Augustus issued an edict regarding theater seating at the gladiatorial show that accompanied his installation as *pontifex maximus* (Suetonius *Aug.* 44).

9. See P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C.–A.D. 14* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), chaps. 7, 9.

10. See C. Nicolet, *L’inventaire du monde: Géographie et politique aux origines de l’empire romain* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), chap. 6.

devaluation of the Roman assemblies. In addition, as E. Gabba has argued in a brilliant essay, the pattern of issuing honorific decrees and coopting prominent Romans as civic *patroni* fed the growth of personal power, further undermining the Republic.¹¹

How did these three patterns—mobility, devolution, and local expression—develop under the Principate? The first piece of evidence comes from Suetonius (*Aug.* 46).

Having thus taken care of Rome and Roman affairs, Augustus made Italy populous by personally founding twenty-eight colonies and channeled into many places public works and public revenues. He also made Italy Rome's equal in right and honor, at least in some respects, by devising a type of ballot for the election of Roman magistrates that colonial decurions could cast each in his own colony and send sealed to Rome before the day of elections. And in order that no place lack a supply of upper-class men or commons, he appointed men seeking an equestrian military career on the public recommendation of any town, while to the plebs who could show him sons or daughters as he inspected the regions [of Italy], he distributed one thousand sesterces for each child.

A decurial “postal vote” would have bolstered the Roman assemblies, allowing citizens outside Rome to express themselves there; though unconfirmed, it is a theoretical possibility. Following a suggestion by R. Syme, though, C. Nicolet has confirmed the appointments to military offices; only in Augustan epigraphy do we find the title *tribunus militum a populo*.¹² The significance of the procedure is threefold: it linked the Italian towns that made the recommendations with the emperor, who made the appointments; it enhanced the *equester ordo*; and it bypassed the traditional organs of government, further devaluing them. (If, as is possible, the office was only titular, the procedure devalued the republican state in another way.) The career of one of the appointees may be considered in this light.

To Marcus Holconius, son of Marcus, Rufus, tribune of the soldiers by the *populus*, duovir for giving justice five times, twice quinquennalis, priest of Augustus Caesar, *patronus* of the colony.¹³

11. E. Gabba, “Le città italiche del I sec. a.C. e la politica” (1986), reprinted in *Italia romana* (Como: New Press, 1994), 123–32.

12. See Nicolet, “*Tribuni militum a populo*,” *MEFR* 79 (1967); 29–76.

13. *ILS* 6361b: “M. Holconio M. f. Rufo, trib(uno) mil(itum) a popul(o): (duo)vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) V, quinq(uennali) iter(um): Augusti Caesaris sacerd(oti): patrono coloniae.”

Holconius Rufus built a career on contacts between his colony, Pompeii, and Rome and the emperor, through four positions: the tribunate, the local censorship (by the *Tabula Heracleensis* procedure, Holconius would have brought local census records to a Roman censor, i.e., Augustus, M. Agrippa, or Tiberius); the priesthood of the imperial cult (Holconius is the earliest known imperial priest in Italy), and the position of *patronus* (in principle, representing Pompeian interests at Rome). In short, Holconius exemplified the “*equus* coming to Rome” described in the chapter on the *equester ordo*, here seen from an Italian perspective.

In the absence of direct government, Italian communities communicated with the capital diplomatically, through a traffic in elite envoys and documents.¹⁴ The center of gravity shifted in two directions, toward the imperial house and toward Italian towns. A parallel “map of politics” emerges from two passages in Augustus’s *Res gestae*. The first involves the oath Italian cities except Bononia offered directly to a military figure, a *dux*.¹⁵

Of its own accord, all Italy swore an oath of allegiance to me and demanded that I be leader for the war I won at Actium.¹⁶

The second passage involves the crowns the *municipia* and colonies offered when the army saluted the emperor.

Whenever I was acclaimed *imperator*, I did not take the crown gold from the *municipia* and colonies, though they decreed it as kindly as they had before.¹⁷

The common element is the absence of the *res publica*.

However, this map of politics conflicts with the one I have drawn in the chapter on the Senate. The Senate attained its highest visibility under the Principate. On this apparent contradiction turns the interpretation of the Pisan decrees. A local council could both imitate and actively emulate the Roman Senate.

14. For Roman government or lack of it in Augustan Italy see W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (Munich: Beck, 1979); F. Millar, “Italy in the Roman Empire: Augustus to Constantine,” *Phoenix* 40 (1986): 295–318; C. Nicolet, “L’Italie comme cadre juridique sous le haut-empire,” in *L’Italie d’Auguste à Dioclétien* (Paris: Brocard, 1994), 377–98.

15. Imp. Caesar excused Bononia from swearing the oath (Suetonius *Aug.* 17.3), which implies that the oath was civic.

16. Augustus *Res gestae* 25.2: “iuravit in mea ver[ba] tota Italia sponte sua, et me be[lli], quo vici ad Actium, ducem depoposcit.”

17. *Res gestae* 21.3: “quotienscumque imperator a[ppe]llatus sum, aurum coronarium non accipi decernentibus municipi[s] et colonis aequ[e] beni[g]ne adque antea decreverant.”

Shipped out from Rome to lead the Spanish legions, Lucius Caesar arrived dead at Massilia on 20 August A.D. 2. Centurions and municipal leaders carried his corpse to Rome. Pisae, where Lucius had been *patronus*, may have witnessed his cortege, as it may have witnessed the cortege of the elder Drusus a decade earlier.¹⁸ On 19 September, the Pisan council, meeting in the Augusteum, ratified its decree for Lucius, deepening and extending the imperial presence in the colony with precise provisions for situating, erecting, and performing rites around a memorial altar.

- 1 On [19 September] at Pisae in the Augusteum in the forum: present at the drafting were Quintus Petillius, son of Quintus; Publius Rasinius, son of Lucius, Bassus; Marcus Puppius, son of Marcus; Quintus Sertorius, son of Quintus, Pica; Gnaeus Octavius, son of Gnaeus, Rufus; Aulus Albius, son of Aulus, Gutta.
- 5 Whereas Gaius Canius, son of Gaius, Saturninus, duovir, delivered a speech about augmenting the honors for Lucius Caesar, son of Augustus Caesar (pater patriae, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power twenty-five times), augur, consul designate, *princeps iuventutis*, *patronus* of our *colonia*, as to what might please it to be done about that matter, about that matter the Senate decided the following:
 - 9 Since the Senate of the Roman people, among the other very many and very great honors for Lucius Caesar, son of Augustus Caesar (pater patriae, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power twenty-five times), augur, consul designate, through the agreement of all the orders, with the zeal . . .

[lines missing]
- 13 . . . responsibility having been given to Gaius Canius Saturninus, duovir, and the ten first men for choosing and determining which site of these two seems more suitable and for purchasing with public funds from private owners the site that they prefer;
- 15 And that at that altar each year on [20 August], public sacrifices be offered to his shades by the magistrates or those who have jurisdiction there, with those among them who have the legal and sacred right to wear such clothing on that day dressed in dark togas; and a black ox and a black sheep, filleted with black fillets, be offered to his spirits and shades; and those victims be burned at that

18. Dio 55.12.1; cf. the corteges of the elder Drusus (Suetonius *Claud.* 1.3) and Augustus (Suetonius *Aug.* 100). On the way from Nola to Bovillae, Augustus's corpse lay in state in the basilica or principal temple of each town.

place, and separate urns above them shower them with milk, honey, and oil; and then finally power be given to others who want to offer private sacrifices to his shades, no one offering more than a single candle, torch, or crown, provided that those offering sacrifices approach the pile of wood and then depart dressed in Gabinian style;

- 27 And that the area before the altar, where that pile is gathered and stacked, also be cleared to a distance of forty feet and be surrounded by oak stakes; and a pile of wood for that purpose be placed there each year; and on a large pillar set up beside the altar, this decree, together with earlier decrees regarding honors to him, be engraved or carved; and certainly with respect to other ceremonies that it has determined or shall determine to prohibit or to stipulate on that day, what the Senate of the Roman people has decided is to be followed;
- 32 And that at the first opportunity, envoys from our order approach Imp. Caesar Augustus, *pater patriae*, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power twenty-five times, and ask him that he allow the Julian colonial citizens of Colonia Opsequens Julia Pisana to do and accomplish everything in keeping with this decree.

The Pisan decree for Lucius presents a picture of continuing loyalism in a town with a tradition of allegiance to the dynasty. But behind the Pisan decree lay something else. In at least four aspects of its decree, Pisae responded to, imitated, and even incorporated a decree of the Roman Senate. First, from overall layout to chancery touches, the decree followed the form of an Augustan senatorial decree: the abbreviation “q. d. e. r. f. p. d. e. r. i. c.” (for “as to what might please it to be done about that matter, about that matter the Senate decided the following”) was Augustan.¹⁹ Second, the opening runs, “Since the Senate of the Roman people, among the other very many and very great honors for Lucius Caesar, through the agreement of all the orders, with the zeal . . .” (lines 9–10). Third, midway through appears the clause “qui ibi iure dicundo praerunt (those who have jurisdiction there [*ibi*],” line 18). A Pisan drafter would have written, “those who have jurisdiction at Pisae,” as the drafter of the Gaius decree in fact did: “qu[i Pi]sis iure dicundo praerunt” (*ILS* 140, line 32). The clause in the Lucius decree was drafted at Rome as part of a senatorial decree, where the *ibi* had a universalizing effect. Transcribing errors of this sort are common in local copies of Roman documents, and

19. See R. K. Sherck, *Municipal Decrees from the Latin West*, *Arethusa Monographs* 2 (Buffalo: 1970), 67–69.

universalizing *ibi* appears in many Roman statutes.²⁰ Fourth, toward the close of the decree comes the provision that “certainly with respect to other ceremonies that it has determined or shall determine to prohibit or to stipulate on that day, what the Senate of the Roman people has decided is to be followed” (line 33).

The Roman Senate’s full decree for Lucius must have resembled its decrees for Germanicus and the younger Drusus. Just as the Senate modeled provisions for voting centuries named after Germanicus and Drusus on a statute for Lucius and Gaius, so it modeled the rest of the funeral honors on earlier decrees for Lucius and Gaius. Beside Germanicus’s funerary altar, the Senate placed a bronze pillar on which his funeral honors were to be inscribed “in the same manner as those decrees of the Senate were inscribed,” “those decrees” being the decrees for Gaius and Lucius (“*similiter incideretur ut eas (enatus)c(onsulta) incisa essent,*” *T.Siar.* fr. ii, col. a, lines 5–7). When the Pisans engraved their decree for Lucius “on a large pillar beside the altar,” they were reproducing the Roman installation.²¹

The Pisans will have acquired the senatorial decree themselves. As is indicated in the Roman decree for Germanicus, capillary dissemination of imperial ideology relied on the combined initiative of the Senate issuing decrees through consuls and the envoys of citizen communities coming to Rome to pick them up (*T.Siar.* fr. ii, col. b, lines 21–25). Local delegations were embassies of condolence, and like the Iliaans arriving late for the younger Drusus’s funeral in A.D. 23 (Suetonius *Tib.* 52.2), they brought with them expressions of civic grief. Perhaps the Pisan delegation brought copies of its “earlier decrees for Lucius.” In Rome, the Pisan delegation would have found delegations from colonies, *municipia*, cities, and royal courts, bearing commemorations and showing their loyalty by their presence. Civic competition found a new forum at funerals and other imperial ceremonies. In 5 B.C., the Sardians and Samians had sent delegations to congratulate Augustus on his consulate and Gaius on his *tirocinium* (see chap. 5). The Aezanitai followed Tiberius to Gaul to congratulate him on his A.D. 4 adoption (*ILS* 9463). The Roman Senate acknowledged these displays of consensus. Pisans being Roman citizens and the Pisan council being an *ordo* (“*ex nostro ordine,*” *ILS* 140, line 34), Pisans could see themselves in phrases like *pietas omnium ordinum* and *consensus omnium civium*. When Pisans placed parallel phrases at the head of their decree for Lucius, the words redounded to their own glory: “*cum senatus populi Romani . . . per conse<n>sum omnium ordinum studio[---*”

20. See M. W. Frederiksen, “The Republican Municipal Laws: Errors and Drafts,” *JRS* 55 (1965): 183–98. For other examples of universalizing *ibi* see *RS* 24, 28–29.

21. Cf. the mock Forum Augustum of Arretium; see *ILS* 50–60.

[when the senate of the Roman people . . . through the consensus of all orders and with the zeal . . .] (lines 10–12). In these lines, Pisans could find their loyalty acknowledged and mirrored back. For the first time, an Italian community expressed the notion of Italian consensus that Livius Drusus, Cicero, Augustus, and the Augustan and Tiberian Senates employed to refer to expressions outside the comitia.²² In doing so, it indicated its complicity in undermining the comitia.

When Pisae passed its decree for Lucius, society was in flux. The old institutions of citizen sovereignty were still active, and new institutions were evolving. Italian communities wishing to show their loyalty to the imperial house by honoring a deceased prince faced several choices. They could spontaneously enact their own honors, as the Pisans apparently did with their “earlier decrees” (*ILS* 139, line 30). They could bring these decrees to Rome and receive the Senate’s benediction; then, when they saw what the Senate recommended and what other communities had done, they could augment their own honors. If they chose to, they could participate in the formal enactment of the Senate’s honorific decree into law.

The Roman legislative assembly, the *comitia tributa*, ratified as Roman statutes at least the electoral provisions in the decrees for Lucius, Gaius, Germanicus, and Drusus. Two towns, Heba in Etruria and Ilica in Spain, published the later honors as statutes or at least as legislative bills (*rogationes*; see the introduction to the present book).²³ But Pisae engraved the honors before comitial ratification, effectively allowing the Senate to usurp a legislative function by getting citizens to act on its decrees directly. Pisae expressed its will through the local council. On the map of politics, the Pisans followed the Senate in the name of loyalty to the imperial house.

This was entirely representative of the rest of Italy. The Italian municipal *fasti*, referring repeatedly to twenty-nine different senatorial decrees but only once to one act of the Roman people, show the same picture. The development of the *fasti* has recently been examined by J. Rüpke, who has inquired into their dissemination.²⁴ Rüpke rejects the “Zankerian” hypothesis of simple imitation of Rome by Italian communities, arguing that no Roman model would account for the diversity of *fasti*. He suggests that *fasti* were in effect a literary genre that fell victim to cultural engineering: appearing in the late Republic, the genre became a political stake that was monopolized by Augustus along with the rest

22. For the best discussion of the theme of Italian consensus see R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), chap. 20, “*Tota Italia*,” esp. 285–86.

23. M. H. Crawford (“The End of the *Rogatio Valeria Aurelia*,” *Athenaeum* 82 [1994]: 429–35) has identified two Italian bronze fragments as containing the closing *sanctio* of the *rogatio/lex* for Germanicus or Drusus (or each of them).

24. J. Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995).

of political power. According to Rüpke, local initiative spread the genre, but no town precisely copied another. Without disagreeing with it, one may say that Rüpke's inquiry proceeds at too high a level of abstraction. In particular, it neglects the source of the contents of the *fasti*, Roman senatorial decrees; underrates the identifiable author of the *fasti* of Praeneste, Verrius Flaccus; and fails to consider the only epigraphical evidence for the creation of an Italian local calendar, the Pisan decree for Lucius. As Pisae entered the day of Lucius's death in the civic calendar, so Ostia commemorated obsequies for an individual generally taken to be Lucius himself in its *fasti*.

... was covered. Men ... tens of thousands, with candles ... marched along the way ... of Ostia, dressed in dark togas ... the town was decorated.²⁵

Pisae and Ostia marked Lucius's death with similar decurions in dark clothing, mass mourning, and candles. The Pisan decree and the Ostian *fasti* were two sides of a coin. The decree shows how local councils created *fasti* from Roman senatorial decrees, while the *fasti* reveal the world of circulating senatorial decrees behind the Pisan decree.

This culture of loyalism, mutually advantageous to the Italian communities, the Roman Senate, and, above all, the imperial house, had one catch. Italian communities could squeeze the Senate itself out by bypassing the whole *res publica* and proclaiming their loyalty to the emperor directly, as the Pisans did with their decrees for Lucius and Gaius. The emperor had the power, the towns had the initiative for honoring him, and the involvement of the *res publica* was optional.

The Pisan decree for Gaius reflects learned behavior and a crystallized ritual. With the Principate a generation old in A.D. 4, Italians had witnessed state funerals for Marcellus, Agrippa, Octavia, the elder Drusus, and Lucius and had learned the appropriate words and gestures. So Pisans duly decided to offer an annual sacrifice to Gaius in "the same manner as was established for offering a sacrifice to Lucius Caesar."

- 1 ... present were Quintus Sertorius, son of Quintus, Atilius Tacitus; Publius Rasinius, son of Lucius, Bassus; Lucius Lappius, son of Publius, Gallus; Quintus Sertorius, son of Quintus, Alpius Pica; Gaius Vettius, son of Lucius, Virgula; Marcus Herius, son of Marcus, Priscus; Aulus Albius, son of Aulus, Gutta; Tiberius

25. *F. Ost., Inscr. Ital.* 13¹, p. 183: "tectata est. hominu[m] / -inta millia can[delis] / obviam processe[runt] / Ostiensium pulla[ti] / oppidum fuit orn[atum]."

- Petronius, son of Tiberius, Pollio; Lucius Fabius, son of Lucius, Bassus; Sextus Aponius, son of Sextus, Creticus; Gaius Canius, son of Gaius, Saturninus; Lucius Otacilius, son of Quintus, Panthera.
- 5 Whereas speeches were delivered, since there were no magistrates in our *colonia* because of the rivalry between candidates for office, and the things written below were done:
- 7 When on [2 April] the news was brought to us that Gaius Caesar, son of Augustus (pater patriae, *pontifex maximus*, protector of the Roman people and defense of the whole world), grandson of the Divus, after he had successfully completed his consulate waging a war beyond the farthest borders of the Roman people, and after he had served the *res publica* well by defeating or accepting the surrender of the most warlike and most powerful nations, having presently received wounds on behalf of the *res publica*, was, as a result of that disaster, snatched by cruel fate from the Roman people, having already been designated *princeps*, as being most just and most like his father in virtues, and the sole defense of our *colonia*; and this renewed and multiplied the grief of everyone individually and collectively at a time when the mourning the *colonia* had collectively undertaken immediately after the death of his brother Lucius Caesar, consul designate, augur, our *patronus*, *princeps iuventutis*, had not yet ceased;
- 17 And that for those reasons, when at the time of this disaster there were neither duovirs nor prefects nor anyone else having jurisdiction, all the decurions and the colonial citizens collectively agreed among themselves that, in keeping with the enormity of so great and so unforeseen a loss, from the day when his death was announced to the day when his remains had been returned and interred and observances to his shades had been completed, everyone, having changed their clothes and shut the temples of the immortal gods, the public baths, and all the shops, should abstain from social intercourse; and the women of rank in our *colonia* should mourn; and the day when Gaius Caesar died [21 February] should go on record as a day of mourning equivalent to that of the Allia and be so marked down in the presence, by the order, and by the wish of all; and care should be taken that no public sacrifice, no supplications, no weddings, and no public banquets be held, planned, or announced for that day or for [21 February] in the future; nor shall any theatrical or circus performances be held or attended on that day;

- 31 And that on that day each year a public sacrifice should be offered by the magistrates or those having jurisdiction at Pisae in the same place and the same manner as was established for offering a sacrifice to Lucius Caesar;
- 34 And that an arch should be erected in the most frequented spot in our *colonia*, decorated with the spoils of the nations that were defeated by him or surrendered to him, and a statue of him on foot, in triumphal dress, should be erected above and two gilded statues of Gaius and Lucius Caesar on horseback on either side;
- 39 And that at the first moment we are able to elect and have duovirs by the law of the *colonia*, the duovirs first elected should refer to the decurions this that has pleased the decurions and the colonial citizens collectively, and after the public authority has been invoked, that resolution should be legally decreed and under their authority be placed in the public archives;
- 42 In the meantime, Titus Statulenus Iuncus, *flamen Augustalis*, *pontifex minor* of the public rites of the Roman people, should be asked, with the envoys having apologized for the present exigency of the *colonia*, that he make known the public duty and the will of the collective bodies and present Imp. Caesar Augustus, pater patriae, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power twenty-six times, with a memorandum;
- 48 And since Titus Statulenus Iuncus, *princeps* of our *colonia*, *flamen Augustalis*, *pontifex minor* of the public rites of the Roman people, having presented the memorandum, as has been written, to Imp. Caesar Augustus, pater patriae, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power twenty-six times, has done this;
- 51 The decurions determined that everything done, enacted, and established by the agreement of all ranks on [2 April] when Sextus Aelius Cato and Gaius Sentius Saturninus were consuls, should thus be done, enacted, accepted, and followed by the duovirs Lucius Titius, son of Aulus, and Titus Allius, son of Titus, Rufus and should thus be done, enacted, accepted, and followed forever by those who are duovirs, prefects, or other magistrates in our *colonia* in the future;
- 56 And that the duovirs Lucius Titius, son of Aulus, and Titus Allius, son of Titus, Rufus take care, in keeping with our decree, that at the first opportunity, in the presence of the proquaestors, the public scribe place everything written above in the public archives;
- 58 They decided.

The Pisan decree for Gaius differs from the decree for Lucius in one all-important respect: in the decree for Gaius, the Pisans show no signs of having worked from a Roman senatorial decree. Their honors reflect a local, rather than senatorial, conception of the Principate and the prince Gaius. In the Lucius decree, the Pisans gave Augustus and Lucius standard titles: “Lucius Caesar, son of Augustus Caesar (pater patriae, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power twenty-five times), augur, consul designate, *princeps iuventutis*, patronus of our colony.” But in the Gaius decree, they omitted official epithets and substituted ones of their own making: “Gaius Caesar, son of Augustus (pater patriae, *pontifex maximus*, protector of the Roman people and defense of the whole world), grandson of the Divus . . . designated *princeps*, as being most just and most like his father in virtues, and the sole defense of our colony.” Pisae chose to depict the dead young man as a prince and a protector. Precisely because they are unparalleled, the unofficial epithets cannot be dismissed as “rhetoric.” Where sources deriving from official pronouncements reproduced a sober and pedantic career for Gaius, the Pisan decree was hazy, hyperbolic, hysterical. The Cupra Maritima *fasti*, for example, noted how old the prince was when he died, where he was wounded, and where he died.

21 February. C. Caesar, son of Augustus, died in Lycia, aged twenty-three years. At Rome, a period of mourning was decreed until his remains were placed in the Mausoleum. He was wounded on 26 August while waging war against enemies of the Roman people in Armenia, as he besieged Artagira, a town in Armenia.²⁶

Contrast the language of the Pisan decree.

Gaius Caesar . . . after he had successfully completed his consulate waging a war beyond the farthest borders of the Roman people, and after he had served the res publica well by defeating or accepting the surrender of the most warlike and most powerful nations, having presently received

26. *Inscr. Ital.* 13¹, p. 245 (supplements exempli gratia): “[viii k. Mart. C. Caesar] Aug(usti) f. dec[essit in Lycia] / [annum agens xxi]ii. Romae iustit[ium indic]/[tum est,] donec ossa eius in [ma]esol[aeum in]/[lata sunt.] v eid. Sept. bellum cum [hostibus] / [p(opuli) R(omani) gerens] in Armenia percuss[us est, dum] / [obsidet Ar]ta[g]iram, Ar[meniae oppidum.]” Cf. Gaius’s Lycian cenotaph, which named names (“Art]avas[d—”); see J. Ganzert, *Das Kenotaph für Gaius Caesar in Limyra* (Tübingen: Wachsmuth, 1984): 127 and fig. 25. In Strabo’s *Geography*, the name *Artagira* alone conjured up the whole catastrophe; see R. Syme, *Anatolica: Studies in Strabo* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 330, on Strabo 529/11.14.6. For the way other Augustan documents, such as the Alpine Trophy from La Turbie and the *Res gestae*, were similarly crowded with foreign names and precise figures see Nicolet, *L’inventaire*, chap. 2.

wounds on behalf of the *res publica*, was, as a result of this disaster, snatched by cruel fate from the Roman people.

If the Pisan decree for Gaius had an equivalent, it was in a collection of abbreviated honorific *decreta* from nearby Forum Clodii, just up the Auser from Pisae (*ILS* 154). Forum Clodii ignored the Roman Senate, offering the same cult to the dead Augustus and the living Tiberius and omitting the official epithet *Divus* and the cult the Senate had established. Like the rest of Italy, Forum Clodii constructed a calendar from synopses of decrees, but they were local decrees, not Roman senatorial ones.²⁷

If not a senatorial decree, what were the sources of the Pisan image of Gaius? Three sources may be identified: recent Roman pageants, local circumstances, and the decree's timing. The Pisan image of Gaius as a protector and dynast clearly owes something to the events of 2 B.C. in Rome, when the dedications of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum formed a great send-off to the East for Gaius.²⁸ In an edict, Augustus said that the *elogia* of Rome's *summi viri* in the Forum Augustum showed citizens what they should demand from future *principes*.²⁹ Ovid, who witnessed the events of 2 B.C., had the same hazy image of Gaius's mission, the same sure image of his future. Ovid prophesied victory for Gaius but was unsure of the lands and peoples that would be conquered ("auguror, en, vinces," *Ars am.* 1.205). He simply described the "current leader of youths and future leader of seniors" setting out to conquer "the East" ("nunc iuvenum princeps, deinde future senum," "oriens ultime," *Ars am.* 1.194, 178).

It is possible to put a name to the likely transmitter of Gaius's image to Pisae. The Pisan image of Gaius probably also owes something to the known Pisan *eques* in Rome, the envoy T. Statulenus Iuncus. The year 2 B.C. was one of conspicuous equestrian corporate activity. In that year, knights proclaimed Lucius *princeps iuventutis* and joined the Senate and people in proclaiming Augustus pater patriae, as the knight Ovid recalled (see chap. 2). Ritual obligations will have compelled Statulenus to divide his time between Pisae and Rome. In Pisae, Statulenus was *flamen Augustalis*, priest of the civic imperial cult. In Rome, he was *pontifex minor* of the public rights of the Roman people, member of the equestrian contingent of the pontifical

27. Note also from Forum Clodii matching dedications to Lucius Caesar and Agrippa Postumus from 5 B.C. (*CIL* 11.3304–5) and others to Germanicus and Drusus (3306–8).

28. See R. Syme, "The Crisis of 2 B.C." (1974), in *Roman Papers*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 912–36.

29. Suetonius *Aug.* 31: "commentum id se, ut ad illorum < . . . > velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a civibus."

college.³⁰ Like his peer and contemporary Holconius Rufus of Pompeii, Statulenus personally benefited from his Roman connections. Having delivered the memorandum, Statulenus earned the title of *princeps* of the colony. Parallels between Ovid's poetry and the Pisan decree have often been noted, without being explained.³¹ In fact, Ovid and Statulenus probably witnessed the same Roman ceremonies. Like the inscription for Holconius, the Pisan decree for Gaius provides a local perspective on a knight coming to Rome.

The Pisan image of Gaius as a protector may also owe something to the circumstances—the place and the time—when the decree was composed. Pisae publicly identified with the Augustan regime, in its monuments (the Augusteum, the altars, the arch for Gaius, and the decrees themselves) and in its communal and collective names (*colonia Iulia Opsequens Pisana*, *coloni Iulienses*). Moreover, Pisae, like the rest of Etruria, profited materially by the regime.³² Marble and timber brought prosperity and led to a building boom reflected in the Pisan commissions, such as the gilded statues on Gaius's arch.

Northern Italy was also subject to threats. Modern maps, showing Pisae tucked away in the heartland of an empire extending to the Danube, give a misleading impression of what it was like to live there. Within living memory, northern Italy had witnessed enormous violence: the first major battles of the post-Caesarian civil wars; the ravaging of the Etrurian coast by Sex. Pompeius's fleet in 40 B.C.; a female bandit-pretender who emerged at Mediolanum (Valerius Maximus 9.15. ext. 1); perhaps bringing L. Piso (cos. 15 B.C.) to sit in justice there as a general with imperium (Suetonius *Rhet.* 6).³³ From his hideaway at Cosa on the Etrurian coast, Clemens, the false Agrippa Postumus, would assemble an army of the disaffected of the Italian *municipia* (Tacitus *Ann.* 2.39). The Alps had only been declared conquered in 7/6 B.C.; Liguria, bordering Etruria at Pisae, had been the last to fall.³⁴ The Cottian Alps remained a dependency whose inhabitants would harass Comum under Tiberius (*ILS* 206). But Sardinia probably presented the most pressing threat to Pisan security. Strabo wrote:

30. Senatorial during the Republic, the *pontifex minor* was equestrian by the second and third centuries A.D.: see *ILS* 1329, 1340, 1342, 1420, 1450; cf. *ILS* 1740, for an Antonine *a cubiculo* "pontif(icatu) min(ore) exornatus." Presumably the change was Augustan. The phrase "publicorum p. R. sacrorum" (*ILS* 140, lines 43, 49) implies that the priesthood held by Statulenus was Roman, not Pisan. Verrius Flaccus (*F.Praen.* for 1 Jan.) says that a *pontifex minor* performed a function at the Curia Calabra in the Capitolium on the first day of each month; cf. Macrobius *Sat.* 1.15.10.

31. See, e.g., A. S. Hollis, *Ovid: Ars Amatoria* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 77.

32. See W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 316–18.

33. See B. D. Shaw, "Bandits in the Roman Empire," *Pe&P* 105 (1984): 3–52.

34. See R. Syme in *CAH* 10 (1934): 347–51.

There are four peoples in the Sardinian mountains: the Paratoi, the Sossinatoi, the Balaroi, and the Akonites. They live in caves. And if they happen to have some grain-producing land, they do not sow it responsibly. Instead, they pillage the farmers' fields—and not only the farmers on the island. They also set sail against the mainland, especially the territory of the Pisans.³⁵

Sardinia was placed under the emergency command of an equestrian prefect in A.D. 6, remained in that status there at least until Tiberius, and regularly required military operations over the following centuries (Dio 55.28.1; *ILS* 105). While the Sardinian threat was never removed, the protection Rome offered Italy was passive; Italy was ungarrisoned, and police help had to be summoned.³⁶ Pisae, ideologically and materially tied to the status quo, had reason to fear any threats. Once more, the Gaius decree represents the rest of Italy. Pisae was unfortunate in being the Sardinian pirates' chosen destination (because it was prosperous and vulnerable?). Pisan images of Augustus and Gaius as protectors and guardians mirrored other towns' dedications to Augustan Pax, Salus, Securitas, and Victoria.³⁷ One might say that the two Pisan decrees uniquely reveal different sides of the common experience that gave rise to some of Augustan Italy's principle epigraphic genres: municipal *fasti*, equestrian career inscriptions, and altars to the Augustan peace.

Lastly, the Pisan image of Gaius as a lost prince and the hysterical tone of the decree may owe something to the moment when the decree was composed. It does not seem to have been noticed before that the decree for Gaius is the sole contemporary witness to a delicate moment in the imperial succession. Pisae learned of Gaius's death, agreed on its informal honors, and sent messengers to Statulenus on 2 April A.D. 4. Statulenus had returned, *duoviri* had been elected, and Pisae formally ratified the honors before 26 June A.D. 4, when Augustus still held the *tribunicia potestas* for the twenty-sixth time (*ILS* 140, lines 47 and 50).³⁸ On 26 June, Tiberius adopted Germanicus, and Augustus adopted Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus. After that date, the emperor—who, earlier, when he wished that Lucius and Gaius might succeed to his *statio*, said that he had “passed the great climacteric, common to all old men”

35. Strabo 225/5.2.7: τέτταρα δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ὄρειων ἔθνη, Πάρατοι, Σοσσινάτοι, Βάλαροι, Ἀκόνιτες, ἐν σπηλαίοις οἰκοῦντες, εἰ δὲ τινα ἔχουσι γῆν σπόριμον, οὐδὲ ταύτην ἐπιμελῶς σπεύροντες, ἀλλὰ τὰς τῶν ἐργαζομένων καθαρχάζοντες, τοῦτο μὲν τῶν αὐτόθι, τοῦτο δ' ἐπιπλέοντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν Πισάταις μάλιστα.

36. See Eck, *Organisation Italiens*, 10–13.

37. Cf., e.g., the twin altars to Pax and Securitas from Praeneste: P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (Munich: Beck, 1987), figs. 238–39.

38. See D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*, 2d ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996), 61–68.

and spoke of “whatever time I have left”—again had successors.³⁹ No other item of evidence captures the moment of uncertainty between Gaius’s death and Tiberius’s adoption.⁴⁰

On the map of politics, this was purely a relation between subject and monarch, with no role for the institutions of the *res publica*. When Pisans employed the vocabulary of consensus this time (“everything done, enacted, and established by the *consensus omnium ordinum* on [2 April] . . . should thus be done, enacted, accepted, and followed”), the words had a different meaning. Literally, the word *consensus* embraced all ranks of Pisan society. By implication, *consensus* designated not the senatorial and imperial way of bypassing the Roman *comitia* but an Italian community’s way of bypassing the whole *res publica*. This transition from imitating the Roman Senate to actively emulating it may be reflected in the Pisan commemorative arch. Under the Principate, the *senatus populusque Romanus* characteristically honored the imperial family with arches (*T.Siar.* fr. i, lines 9–11; see chap. 1).

The senate determined that a marble arch should be erected in the Circus Flaminius with funds . . . placed where [*or facing*] statues to Divus Augustus and to the Augustan house have been . . . by Gaius Norbanus Flaccus, with figures of defeated nations . . .

When Gaius died, the Pisans got in first with their honors (“an arch should be erected in the most frequented spot in our colony . . .”). On the map of politics, they would appear as leaders, not followers.

This chapter has explored how far Pisae represented the rest of Italy and how far local circumstances gave the Pisan decrees their particular character. Statulenus was not unique. Hundreds of Julio-Claudian knights, glimpsed both in Rome and in their hometowns through equestrian career inscriptions, are on record.⁴¹ But not all transmitters of imperial ideology were knights.

39. Aulus Gellius *NA* 15.7.3: “ἀλιμακτῆρα communem seniorum . . . mihi quantumcumque superest temporis.”

40. Marking the day the news came as a day of *Allia*, a reference to the day Rome fell to Gallic invaders and the traditional designation of a date of ill fortune (Rüpke, *Kalender*, 467–70), may have had a special meaning for the Pisans, besieged by Sardinian pirates and loyal to a regime without a future. Cf. the single mention of *Allia* in all of Valerius Maximus (9.11.ext. 4), an apostrophe to an unnamed enemy of the imperial state. The common view that the enemy must have been Seianus has been questioned by J. Bellemore in “When Did Valerius Maximus Write the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*?” *Antichthon* 23 (1989): 67.

41. See Demougin, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1992).

Also connecting Italy and Rome were freedmen. The outstanding example is Verrius Flaccus (Suetonius *Gram.* 17).⁴² For Praeneste, Verrius composed splendid municipal *fasti*, posted in a semicircle around his statue. In Rome, Verrius tutored Lucius and Gaius. Such knights and freedmen shared the characteristic of mobility between Rome and Italian towns; they owed their status to the interaction of Italian communities and the dynasty, and they helped to bring the image of the imperial house to Italy.

Several different routes linked the towns of Italy to the imperial house. Some passed through the Roman Senate, some bypassed the *res publica* entirely. In either case, initiative for honoring the house was acknowledged to come from a consensus of loyal subjects. The organs of the *res publica* merely provided the acknowledgment. Italians least of all “venerated the Republican traditions of Rome.”⁴³

LATIN TEXTS

ILS 139: The Pisan Decree for Lucius

From *Inscr. Ital.* 7¹, 6.

- [a(nte)] d(iem) XIII k(alendas) Octobr(es) Pisis in foro in Augusteo
 scrib(endo) adfuer(unt)
 Q(uintus) Petillius Q(uinti) f(ilius), P(ublius) Rasinius L(ucii) f(ilius)
 Bassus, M(arcus) Pupius M(arci) f(ilius),
 Q(uintus) Sertorius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Pica, Cn(aeus) Octavius Cn(aei)
 f(ilius) Rufus, A(ulus) Albiu[s]
- 4 A(uli) f(ilius) Gutta;
 quod C(aius) Canius C(aii) f(ilius) Saturninius (duo)vir v(erba) f(ecit)
 de augendis honoribus
 L(ucii) Caesaris, Augusti Caesaris, patris patriae, pontificis maximi,
 tribuniciae potestatis XXV, fili, auguris, consulis designati, principi[s]
- 8 iuventutis, patroni coloniae nostrae, q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri)
 p(laceret) d(e) e(a) r(e) i(ta) c(ensuere);
 cum senatus populi Romani inter ceteros plurimos ac maximos
 (vacat)

42. See R. A. Kaster, *C. Suetonius Tranquillus: De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 190–92 and app. 2.

43. A. H. M. Jones, *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1960), 3–17 at 4, “The *Imperium* of Augustus.”

- honores L(ucio) Caesari{s}, Augusti Caesaris, patris patriae, pontificis maximi, tribuniciae potestatis XXV, filio, auguri, consuli designato, (*vacat*) per (*vacat*)
- 12 conse<n>sum omnium ordinum studio [---
(lines missing)
- 14 tetur data cura C(aio) Canio Saturnino (duo)vir(o) et decem primis elig[endi]
aspiciendique, uter eorum locus magis idoneus videatur emendi[que]
- 16 publica pecunia a privatis eius loci qu[em] magis probaverint, utique apud eam aram quod annis a(n)te d(iem) X[III] k(alendas) Sept(embres) p[ub]lice Manibus eius per magisstratus eosve, qui ibi iure dicendo pr[ae]runt, togis pullis amictos, quibus eorum ius fasque erit eo die [eiu]s vestis habendae, inferiae mit-
- 20 tantur, bosque et ovis atri infulis caeruleis infulati Diis Manibus eiu[s] mactentur eaeque hostiae eo loco adoleantur superque eas (*vacat*) singulae urnae lactis mellis olei fundantur ac tum demum facta[m] c[eteris] <esse> p[ro]testatem, si qui privatim velint Manibus eius inferias mitter[e]
- 24 [nive quis] amplius uno cereo unave face coronave mittat, dum ii qui im-
[molaver]int cincti Cabino ritu struem lignorum succendant adque [exi]nde {h}abeant; (*vacat*)
[utique] locus ante eam aram, quo ea strues congera{n}tur compona{n}tur, pate[at]
- 28 [q]uoque versus pedes XL stipitibusque robustis saepiatur lignorumque
acervos eius rei gratia quodannis ibi constituatur cippoque grandi secundum aram defixso hoc decretum cum superioribus decretis ad ei[us]
honores pertinentibus incidatur insculpaturve; nam quod ad cetera
- 32 sollemnia, quae eodem illo die vitari caverive placuissent placerentque, id sequendum quod de iis senatus p[ro]puli R[omani] censuisset; utique prim[o]
quoque tempore legati ex nostro ordine Imp[er]atorem) Caesare[m] Augustum,
patrem patriae, pontificem maximum, tribuniciae potestatis XXV,
- 36 adeant petantque ab eo, uti colonis Iulienibus coloniae Opsequenti[s] Iuliae Pisanae ex hoc decreto ea om<n>ia facere exsequique permittat.

ILS 140: The Pisan Decree for Gaius

From *Inscr. Ital.* 7¹, 7.

---scrib(endo) ad]–

- 1 fu[e]r(unt) Q(uintus) Sertorius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Atilius Tacitus,
P(ublius) Rasinius L(ucii) f(ilius) Bassus, L(ucius) Lappius
P(ublili) [f(ilius) G]allus, Q(uintus) Sertorius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Alpius
Pica, C(aius) Vettius L(ucii) f(ilius) Virgula, M(arcus) Herius
M(arcus) [f(ilius) P]riscus, A(ulus) Albius A(uli) f(ilius) Gutta,
Ti(berius) Petronius Ti(berii) f(ilius) Pollio, L(ucius) Fabius L(ucii)
f(ilius) Bassus,
- 4 Sex(tus) [A]ponius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Creticus, C(aius) Canius C(aii)
f(ilius) Saturninus, L(ucius) Otacilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Panthera.
quod [v(erba) f(icta)] sunt, cum in colonia nostra propter
contentiones candidato-
ru[m m]agistratuus non essent et ea acta essent quae infra scripta sunt:
cum a(nte) [d(iem) II]II nonas Apriles allatus esset nuntius C(aium)
Caesarem, Augusti, patris patri-
- 8 ae, [po]ntif(icis) maxsumi, custodis imperi Romani totiusque orbis
terrarum prae-
si[dis, f]ilium, Divi nepotem, post consulatum, quem ultra finis
extremas popu-
li [Ro]mani bellum gerens feliciter peregerat, bene gesta re publica,
devictis aut
in [fid]em receptis bellicosissimis ac maximis gentibus, ipsum
volneribus pro re
- 12 pu[bli]ca exceptis ex eo casu crudelibus fatis ereptum populo
Romano, iam designa-
tu[m i]ustissimum ac simillum parentis sui virtutibus principem
coloniaeque
no[st]rae unicum praesidium, eaque res nondum quieto luctu, quem
ex deces-
su [L(ucii) C]aesaris, fratris eius, consulis designati, auguris, patroni
nostri, princ[i]-
- 16 pis [iu]ventutis, colonia universa susceperat, renovasset
multiplicassetque
ma[er]orem omnium singulorum universorumque, ob eas res universi
decu-
rio[ne]s colonique, quando eo casu in colonia neque (duo)vir(i) neque
praefecti

- er[ant] neque quisquam iure dicundo praerat, inter sese consenserunt,
 pro
- 20 ma[g]nitudine tantae ac tam improvisae calamitas oportere ex ea die
 qu[a ei]us deces<s>us nuntiatus esset usqu[e] ad eam diem qua ossa
 relata atque
 co[nd]ita iustaque eius Manibus perfecta essent, cunctos veste mutata
 templis-
 qu[e d]eorum immortalium balneisque publicis et tabernis omnibus
 clausis
- 24 co[nv]ictibus sese apstinere, matronas quae in colonia nostra sunt
 sublugere
 di[em]que eum, quo die C(aius) Caesar obit, qui dies est a(nte)
 d(iem) VIII k(alendas) Martias, pro Alliensi
 lu[gub]rem memoriae prodi notarique in praesentia omnium iussu ac
 vo[lun]tate caverique, ne quod sacrificium publicum neve quae
 suppli-
- 28 ca[tio]nes nive sponsalia nive convivia publica postea in eum diem
 eo[ve d]ie, qui dies erit a(nte) d(iem) VIII k(alendas) Mart(ias), fiant
 concipiantur indican-
 u[rve], nive qui ludi scaenici circiensesve eo die fiant spectenturve,
 ut[ique] eo die quodannis publice Manibus eius per magistratus eosve,
- 32 qu[i Pi]sis iure dicendo praerunt, eodem loco eodemque modo, quo
 L(ucio) C(aes)ari parentari institutum est, parentetur; (*vacat*)
 utique [ian]us celeberrimo coloniae nostrae loco constituatur orna-
 tu[s sp]oleis devictarum aut in fidem receptorum ab eo gentium, super
- 36 eu[m st]atua pedestris ipsius triumphali ornatu circaque eam duae
 eq[uest]res inauratae Cai et Luci Caesarum statuae ponantur; (*vacat*)
 utique [cu]m primum per legem coloniae duoviros creare et habere
 po-
 tu[er]imus, ii duoviri qui primi creati erunt hoc, quod decurionibus
- 40 et [uni]versis colonis placuit, ad decuriones referant, eorum pu-
 bl[ica] auctoritate adhibita legitime id caveatur auctoribusque
 iis [in t]abulas publicas referatur; interea T(itus) Statulenus Iuncus
 fla[me]n Augustalis, pontif(ex) minor publicorum p(opuli) R(omani)
 sacrorum, rogare-
- 44 tu[r, uti] cum legatis excusata praesenti coloniae necessitate hoc
 of[ficiu]m publicum et voluntatem universorum libello reddito
 Im[p(eratori) Ca]esari Augusto, patri patriae, pontif(ici) maximo,
 tribuniciae
 po[test(atu)] XXVI indicet; (*vacat*)

- 48 idqu[e T(itus) St]atulen[us] Iuncus, princeps coloniae nostrae, flamen August(alis),
 po[ntif(ex)] minor publicorum p(opuli) R(omani) sacrorum, libello,
 ita uti supra scriptum
 es[t, Imp]eratori Caesari Augusto, pontif(ici) maximo, tribun(iciae)
 potest(at)is XXVI, pat[ri]
 pat[ri]ae reddito, fecerit; placere conscriptis, quae a(n)te d(iem) IIII
 nonas Apriles
- 52 qu[ae Sex(to)] Aelio Cato, C(aio) Sentio Saturnino co(n)s(ulibus)
 fuerunt, facta acta con-
 st[ituta] sunt per consensum omnium ordinum, ea omnia ita fieri agi
 ha-
 be[ri opse]rvarique ab L(ucio) Titio A(uli) f(ilio) et T(ito) Allio T(iti)
 f(ilio) Rufo (duo)viris et ab eis quicum-
 qu[e post]ea in colonia nostra (duo)vir(i) praefecti sive ali magistratus
 er[unt], omnia in perpetuom ita fieri agi haberi opservarique; utiq(ue)
 56 L(ucius) Titius
 A(uli) [f(ilius) T(itus) Al]lius T(iti) f(ilius) Rufus (duo)viri ea omnia,
 quae supra scripta sunt, ex decreto
 nos[tr]o coram proquaestoribus primo quoque tempore per scribam
 pu-
 bli[ci]c[um] in tabulas publicas referenda curent; (*vacat*) censuere.