

# MEMORY, MONEY, AND STATUS AT MISENUM: THREE NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE *COLLEGIUM* OF THE AUGUSTALES

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(Plates IX–XII)

More than thirty years — a generation of man — have passed since the chance discovery in 1968 of what has been referred to since as the *collegium* of the Augustales at Misenum. In addition to statuary and architectural elements of exceptional interest, the excavations,<sup>1</sup> which presented formidable technical problems, have yielded a rich epigraphical dossier pertaining to the local Augustales, and to political, social, economic, religious, and administrative aspects of their organization from the Julio-Claudian and late Flavian periods to the end of the Antonine age. One of these inscriptions has at last received appropriate scholarly attention; it both whets the appetite for more and reveals the inadequacies of the cursory accounts of the dossier published previously.<sup>2</sup> Now that all the material recovered from the site has been transported to the Castello Aragonese di Baia, and is attractively displayed in the new Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, one dares to hope that the entire complex and its contents will soon receive the comprehensive archaeological and historical treatment that they so richly deserve.

Forming the core of the dossier are ten bases which had been prepared to take statues. They are now visible in a courtyard outside the official entrance to the Museo, where an axonometric line-drawing (Pl. IX) illustrates the position in which each was

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Abramenko (1993) = A. Abramenko, *Die municipale Mittelschicht im kaiserzeitlich Italien. Zu einem neuen Verständnis von Sevirat und Augustalität* (1993)  
Borriello and D'Ambrosio (1979) = M. R. Borriello and A. D'Ambrosio, *Baiae-Misenum, Forma Italiae reg. I*, vol. 14 (1979)  
Camodeca (1996a) = G. Camodeca, 'Una nuova coppia di consoli del 148 e il pronconsul Achaiae M. Calpurnius Longus', *ZPE* 112 (1996), 235–40  
Camodeca (1996b) = G. Camodeca, 'Iscrizioni nuove o riedite da Puteoli, Cumae, Misenum', *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica*, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli 3 (1996), 161–8  
Champlin (1991) = E. Champlin, *Final Judgments: Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 B.C.–A.D. 250* (1991)  
De Franciscis, *Sacello* = A. De Franciscis, *Il Sacello degli Augustali a Miseno* (1991)  
Duncan-Jones (1982) = R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies* (2nd edn, 1982)  
Duthoy (1978) = R. Duthoy, 'Les \*Augustales', *ANRW* II.16.2 (1978), 1254–1309  
Guadagno (1994) = G. Guadagno, 'Il sacello degli Augustali di Miseno', in *Tranquillitas* (Mélanges en l'honneur de Tran tam Tinh) (1994), 243–53  
Ostrow (1985) = S. E. Ostrow, 'Augustales along the Bay of Naples: a case for their early growth', *Historia* 34 (1985), 65–101

Parma (1994) = A. Parma, 'Classiari, veterani, e società cittadina a Misenum', *Ostraka* 3 (1994), 43–59

Parma (1995) = A. Parma, 'Una nuova iscrizione di Misenum con un veterano duovir della città', *Ostraka* 4 (1995), 301–6

<sup>1</sup> A. De Franciscis, 'L'attività archeologica nelle provincie di Napoli e Caserta', *Atti Convegno di Studi Magna Grecia* 10 (1970), 421 ff.; A. Gallina (Zevi), *Fasti Archeologici* 23 (1972), 5049; Borriello and D'Ambrosio (1979), 137–9; M. R. Borriello, 'L'edificio degli Augustali da Miseno', in *Domiziano/Nerva*, Exhibition Catalogue, Soprintendenza archeologica per le provincie di Napoli e Caserta (1987), 13–24; De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 15–16. F. Ceci, S. V. 'Miseno', *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, Suppl. 2 (1995), 712–13. The site is c. 1m below sea level.

<sup>2</sup> Camodeca (1996b), 161–8 (*AE* 1996.424), a dedication to Trajan of 112 C.E. and, on the right side, a decree of the Augustales dated 9 November 113 C.E.: a vast improvement over the two (incomplete) versions in De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 24–8 and 84; cf. *AE* 1993.468. De Franciscis, who was Soprintendente alle Antichità di Napoli e Caserta at the time of the site's discovery, assumed responsibility for the publication of the complex but was unable to complete the task before his death in 1989. It is doubtful whether he would have approved the posthumous work appearing under his name, however conscientiously undertaken (at the request of his family) by Nella Castiglione Morelli, a former student. Cf. the comments of the editors of *AE* on the epigraphical portions of the book as a whole: 'Le manuscrit, . . . correspond à un état provisoire de la lecture, avant le transfert des inscriptions qui n'étaient pas alors entièrement dégagées de la terre et de l'eau.' (*AE* 1993.129; for a more severe but justified critique, cf. D. Boschung, *Gnomon* 67 (1995), 569–70). The 'controllo' of these texts later undertaken by Guadagno (1994), 245 ff. (cf. *AE* 1994.426a–f) also leaves much to be desired, as will be seen below.

discovered at the moment when it proved possible to clear and to drain the precinct.<sup>3</sup> One base was prepared to take a statue but was left uninscribed and hence presumably unused; three originally bore statues of emperors;<sup>4</sup> four carried statues of divinities;<sup>5</sup> two commemorated Augustales.<sup>6</sup>

Base 9 (Pl. X) of a medium crystallised, translucent, greyish white marble (Proconnesian?) is 138 cm in height, 73 cm wide, and 58 cm deep, with cornice consisting of crowning fascia, cyma reversa, fillet, and cyma reversa. It originally stood towards the northern end of the portico, positioned immediately to the east of the three principal rooms; De Franciscis found it undisturbed *in situ* and reported it 'non ancora leggibile';<sup>7</sup> it subsequently remained submerged under 1.5 metres of water until finally liberated and moved in 1993 to the Castello di Baia. It carries three inscriptions: the monumentally carved face (A below) and minutely inscribed right and left flanks (B and C, respectively). In a brief paragraph, Guadagno has drawn attention to part of the contents of the text on the face of the stone, a record of the dedication of a statue to Q. Cominius Abascantus by his wife, Nymphidia Monime, and has asserted that the two long texts on either side were identical, '... probabilmente duplice redazione di un unico decreto degli Augustali di Miseno ...'.<sup>8</sup> In actuality, these two flanking inscriptions bear two different consular dates; that on the right is more than twice the length of that on the left; and it contains not a decree but the highly exact and specific conditions surrounding a testamentary legacy by Cominius Abascantus to the local Augustales through intermediaries, specially appointed *curatores*, formally requested by Cominius' widow and heir. Commentary and translations appear below, following the presentation of the texts themselves; but it will be useful first to provide an overview of the items and themes of major significance, those most likely to engage the attention of social, economic, and cultural historians, epigraphists, and legal scholars.

Q. Cominius Abascantus and Nymphidia Monime are the dominating personalities in these three closely related texts which, considered together, fascinate because they introduce us to *mentalités* — those of a man obsessively concerned to perpetuate his memory.<sup>9</sup> Cominius and his wife took exact, one might almost say compulsive, precautions to secure this objective, through a series of benefactions graded with consummate care for status, through sums spelt out with unparalleled specificity, and through legal conditions unfolded with scrupulous precision. This penchant for detail opens a wide and welcome window onto historical conditions in and beyond Misenum during the reign of Antoninus Pius, in the years 147–149 C.E.

Text A, formally recording Nymphidia Monime's commemoration of her husband with a statue, presents a *cursum* marked by the status dissonance familiar to us from other

<sup>3</sup> But the contents of the drawing have unfortunately not been integrated into the only published plans of the site, for which see Borriello and D'Ambrosio (1979), 138, fig. 289; the same plan has been reproduced in De Franciscis, *Sacello*, as illustration no. 5; neither is easily legible. In discussing individual inscriptions, I provide each with the number assigned by the superintendency to the base in the courtyard on which it appears.

<sup>4</sup> Bases 2 and 6 (= De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 28) dedicated to Nerva in 97 C.E. by the Augustales C. Volusius Atimetus and P. Herennius Callistus, respectively; Base 1, carrying an equestrian bronze statue of Trajan, records on the face a dedication to Trajan sometime in 112 C.E. by three L. Kaninii, Augustales; the right side bears a decree of the Augustales dated 9 November 113 C.E., recording the Augustales' gratitude to, and bestowal of honours on, the Kaninii; on the left side appears the relief of the Tutela Classis, on the right that of the Genius Municipii: Camodeca (1996b), 161 ff. (= De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 25–7, 84).

<sup>5</sup> Base 3, dedicated to Apollo by the *curator* (*Augustalium*) M. Calpurnius Narcissus (= De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 23); Base 4, a dedication to Liber Pater by L. Laecanius Primitivus *curator* (*Augustalium*),

assignable to 161 C.E. owing to the reference to the third consulship of Antoninus Pius and the second of Verus, on the left-hand side (= De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 24); Base 5, dedicated to Asclepius by L. Avidius Eleuther *imm(unis)*; the decree on the left side was enacted in 102 C.E., but the face is probably later (see below) (De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 21 ff.); and Base 8, dedicated to Venus by Sex. Sextilius Demetrius, *cur(ator)* (= De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 29). The letter forms and sizes of all four of these dedications are strikingly similar, suggesting that they were nearly contemporaneous in date, and also that they should be interpreted as a religious ensemble.

<sup>6</sup> Base 10, dedicated by the Augustales to C. Iulius Phoebus, *curator perp(etuus)* (= De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 47); the inscribed panel on the right side, not recorded by De Franciscis, indicates that Phoebus marked the occasion with an *epulum* and cash distribution of twelve sesterces to the Augustales, in the consulship of A. Cornelius Palma and Q. Sosius Senecio (99 C.E.); for Base 9, see below.

<sup>7</sup> De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 47.

<sup>8</sup> Guadagno (1994), 247.

<sup>9</sup> See Champlin (1991), ch. 9, 'Memory', 169 ff., emphasizing that 'the concern of the testator is always with memory, to the exclusion of all else' (182).

careers of affluent and ambitious freedmen. It locates Q. Cominius Abascantus at the edge of the local governing class (honoured with decurional insignia, while permanent president of the Augustales), and parades his acts of local philanthropy. Chief among these were two statues in the forum, potent symbols of the twin faces of Misenum: one of the *classis tutelae*, entirely apposite in the western headquarters of Rome's imperial navy, the other of the *genius municipii*, representing the town's civic aspect. In Cominius' presentation of *sportulae* to individuals in the public spaces of the forum when dedicating the statues, and in his allocation of sums according to the status of the recipients, self-representation and *munificentia* commingle, as so often elsewhere. His handouts flowed to *decuriones*, Augustales *corporati*, and *municipes* — but also to persons occupying two more mysterious categories: Augustales *qui in corpore non sunt* and *ingenui corporati*. Here are two new categories of citizens, to be reckoned with and integrated into future discussions of the polity of *municipia* in the Roman West. I argue that the former constituted a 'reserve tank' for Augustales who qualified, financially and otherwise, for membership in the *corpus*, but who were blocked owing to the enforcement of a strict *numerus clausus*, which can be established beyond reasonable doubt as having consisted of one hundred; and I suggest more tentatively that the latter will have been members of the other professional *corpora* that are attested at Misenum. In addition, Cominius established two permanent foundations in order to provide an annual wine party (*multatio*, a word not elsewhere attested) for *decuriones*, the *populus*, and the Augustales *corporati*, on 17 December, his birthday, with income distributed to each body in accordance with the financial formula set forth earlier in the inscription. By applying this formula to the three groups that benefited annually from the income, we can estimate the approximate size of the population of Misenum in the mid-second century: just under four thousand persons.

Text B concludes with a date of enactment — a date that provides chronological grounding for this mini-archive, and yields a new pair of consuls *suffecti*, who have now been shown to belong to the final three months of 148 C.E.; it opens with a *verbatim* report of the contents of a chapter of Cominius' will (*caput ex testamento*) recounting a legacy of ten thousand sesterces to the Augustales *corporati* and prescribing fourteen precise annual sums to be expended by the Augustales at the Parentalia on Cominius' behalf. Remarkably, and like all but one of the figures contained in Text A, each of these sums was four sesterces or a multiple, a clear sign that the silver denarius dominated in financial transactions of this sort; still more noteworthy is the fact that, since the fourteen sums total six hundred sesterces, interest on the principal had been calculated at precisely 6 per cent. The fourteen acts to be performed range from town to tomb, and several display elements of public spectacle reminiscent in epigraphy of the testamentary prescriptions of an anonymous Gaul from the tribe of the Lingones (*CIL XIII.5708*) and in literature of the flamboyant funerary provisions of Trimalchio (Petr., *Sat.* 71). In town, Cominius insisted that the two statues mentioned in Text A be cleaned, oiled, and adorned with roses and violets: this was clearly intended as a collective ritual act to be performed by Augustales; at his garden tomb (*cepotafium*), he demanded annual athletic contests featuring ten pairs of wrestlers, a banquet for selected municipal dignitaries to be held *in triclin(i)o quod est super sepulchrum*, and the pouring out of aromatic nard over his earthly remains. We next encounter an extraordinary version of a *modus*, the restriction frequently attached to legacies that imposes conditions on a beneficiary's conduct: following the will provision comes a carefully crafted *stipulatio*, in which specifically appointed *curatores* assume personal liability for three separate types of non-performance. If, as seems highly probable, this was drafted by a *iurisconsultus*, it, like so much else in this text, was at variance with common practice. We also have the record of the written receipt (*apocha*), which immediately precedes the date of enactment.

In Text C, the scene shifts away from memorializing Cominius and to Nymphidia, his widow-heir. Specification of the consular date (3 January 149 C.E.), of the meeting-place of the Augustales (*in templo Augusti*), and standard formulaic terms (*relatio*, *placere*) prove that, following decurional practice, which was itself based on the *senatus consulta* of Rome, the Augustales of Misenum passed their own decrees, and that the two officials who brought the *relatio* were the annual magistrates (*curatores anni sui*). It

is however the thrust of the decree that especially rivets attention. Although at Misenum and elsewhere co-option into the *ordo decurionum* is commonly attested municipal practice, no instance of *adlectio* among Augustales has previously surfaced. Nymphidia Monime presents us with our first known case; moreover, this woman was adlected on these Augustales' own initiative, apparently independent of decurional authority. Were the Augustales *corporati* hoping, by conferring so signal an honour on their wealthy former colleague's widow and heir, to attract further legacies to their treasury (for Cominius and Nymphidia appear to have been childless)?

In recent years, scholars have increasingly come to view Augustales less as a priestly grouping focused on maintaining the imperial cult, and more as constituting an *ordo* next in status to that of *decuriones*, a 'middle layer' in the social and economic fabric of towns in the Roman West, the *libertina nobilitas*.<sup>10</sup> Since the three inscriptions that comprise the Cominius archive form only a small sample of a dossier of texts and monuments that derive from only one *municipium* — a *municipium*, moreover, where the presence of the *classis praetoria* lends a distinctively imperial flavour to the the history of major local institutions — we need to guard against overinterpretation. First, scholarly equilibrium may require, in the future, that we attend more carefully to the cult acts of Augustales, for there is no denying that those of Misenum discharged religious functions centred on the emperors: witness the newly discovered dedication in the precinct to Domitian,<sup>11</sup> which must now be set alongside those to Nerva and Trajan previously known; the fact that the precinct itself was designated *templum Augusti* in official documents; and the fresh evidence for Augustales' performing public rites in the forum, at the foot of statues pregnant with both imperial and civic meaning. Still, it is the aspirations of a single Augustalis, to be perceived and remembered as a man of wealth and high repute, that constitute the driving forces behind these texts. Our man's self-regard finds its outlet in a particular social context, and points to the prominence of the Augustales *corporati* in the social structure of Misenum, as well as to the institutional autonomy of the *corpus*. Cominius' *ornamenta decurionalia*, his statues and his *sportulae*, his provisions for annual wine-drinking in the forum by persons high and low, for wrestling matches and annual dinners at his tomb for local dignitaries, leave the dominant impressions, as do the large number of Augustales *corporati* and presence of would-be *corporati* in local society, and their ability to adlect new members, own buildings, manage their finances, and pass decrees, acting independently of decurional control.

*Non omnis moriar*. One Roman funerary monument near the Porta Capena, having survived periods of neglect (and other vicissitudes), was still being managed by its founding families one hundred and twenty-five years after it was built, but not long thereafter; the *actio de sepulchro violato* prescribed sizeable fines that by the third century were no longer being enforced.<sup>12</sup> Not even the dictates of papal Bulls bind the faithful in perpetuity: that of Clement VII (Medici), who in 1532 prescribed that the psalter be recited uninterruptedly, night and day, in Michelangelo's Medici Chapel, had lost most of its force after the Medici ceased to hold power in Florence.<sup>13</sup> How long did

<sup>10</sup> See M. Beard, J. North, and S. Price (eds), *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1 (1998), 357–8, with references *ad loc*; Abramenko, (1993) ('Mittelschicht'); A. Los, 'La condition sociale des affranchis privés au première siècle', *Annales HHS* (1995), 1040 (Augustales among 'categories intermédiaires qui possédaient . . . une autonomie par rapport aux élites et un poids réel'); D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (1981), 127–8 (*libertina nobilitas*); q.v. also for earlier bibliography.

<sup>11</sup> A new study clearly establishes on the left of the temple podium the presence of a dedication to Domitian, dated either in late 94 or during the first eight months of 95 C.E., and thus very likely promotional ideology for the gens Flavia: see the forthcoming article by G. Camodeca, 'Domiziano e il collegio degli Augustali di Miseno', in *Studi in onore di L. Gasperini* (2000), 169–86.

<sup>12</sup> Porta Capena: *CIL VI.10243*, on which see Champlin (1991), 177; *actio de sepulchro violato*: F. de Visscher, *Le Droit des tombeaux romains* (1963), 139–46; *fines* and their non-enforcement: N. Purcell, 'Tomb and suburb', in H. von Hessburg and P. Zanker (eds), *Römische Graberstrassen* (1987), 40–1. For the attitudes of beneficiaries towards testators' desires for permanent commemoration, see also K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal: Sociological Studies in Roman History*, vol. 2 (1983), 250–3.

<sup>13</sup> L. D. Ettlinger, 'The liturgical function of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 22 (1978), 287–304; to be discussed in M. A. Lavin and I. Lavin, *The Liturgy of Love. Images from the Song of Songs in the Art of Cimabue, Michelangelo, and Rembrandt* (forthcoming).

Cominius Abascantus believe that the Augustales would go on performing their commemorative obligations; did he envision a time when six hundred sesterces might prove inadequate to fulfill them? Though every trace of Cominius' tomb has long since vanished, the wholly fortuitous preservation of a portion of his will makes it possible to ask such questions, nearly two thousand years after his death.

## A

The die (Pl. X; height: 80 cm; width: 58 cm) has been carved in lapidary capitals of good to expert quality; the squarish letters have pronounced right-to-left diagonal cuttings. Letter heights decrease from 4 cm (line 1), to 3 cm (line 2), to 2.5 cm (line 3), to 2 cm (lines 4–22). Tall T (line 1), I (*eis*, line 8; *annis*, line 16), and L (line 13); supralineate bars over the numerals in lines 18 and elsewhere. The beginnings of lines 5, 11, and 18, which extend beyond standard left-hand margins, emphasize transitions to new sentences in the text (as also in B and C below).

- Q. Cominio Abascanto,  
ornament(is) decurionalib(us)  
honorato, curator  
Augustalium perpetuo.
- 5 Hic statuas duas Geni Municipi et  
Classis Tutelae in foro posuit, quarum  
dedicatione decurionib(us) sing(ulis) HS XX n(ummos),  
Augustalib(us) corporatis HS XII, eis qui  
in corpore non sunt HS VIII, ingenuis
- 10 corporatis HS VI, municipib(us) HS IIII dedit.  
Praeterea HS CX m(ilia) n(ummorum) decurionib(us)  
in mulsatione ipsorum et populi  
XVI K Ianuar(ias) die natalis sui, itemque  
Augustalib(us) corporatis HS XX m(ilia) n(ummorum) dedit,
- 15 uti ex incremento earum summarum  
quod annis die suprascripto  
divisio fieret ex forma ipsius.  
Et hoc amplius HS X (milia) n(ummorum) in comparatione  
vini eisdem Augustalib(us) largitus dedit.
- 20 Nymphidia Monime coniugi optimo,  
cuius dedicatione Augustalib(us) corporatis  
viritim HS VIII n(ummos) et epulum dedit.

**Line 1:** both *gentilicium* and *cognomen* are so widely dispersed in and beyond coastal Campania as to leave little scope for inference. For local Cominii see (e.g.) *CIL* X.726 (Surrentum); *AE* 1994.416 (Herculaneum, financial archive of L. Cominius Primus, 69 C.E.); *CIL* X.1504 (Naples); 2319, 2321 (Puteoli); for a Cominius at Misenum, who sponsored an epitaph for a Bessian sailor in the fleet, cf. *CIL* X.3576. A P. Aelius Abascantus, probably a veteran of the fleet, is also attested at Misenum, the father of P. Aelius Rufinus (*CIL* X.3334 = *ILS* 8391, the *sententia Senecionis*).

**Lines 2–3:** *ornamenta decurionalia* could be bestowed on those freedmen of wealth and standing who were prevented, owing to their having been born in slavery, from formal entry into the *ordo decurionum*; when the obstacle of servile birth did not obtrude, a man, after his *adlectio in ordinem*, could rise to the duumvirate — as was precisely the case with the Misene veteran C. Julius C.f. Maron, whose inscription, a dedication by the *propolae piscium* of Misenum, has now been published (Parma (1995), 301 ff.). L. Licinius Primitivus, another Augustalis of Misenum, was similarly honoured with *ornamenta decurionalia* in 165 C.E. (*CIL* X.1881 = *ILS* 6328, incorrectly assigned to Puteoli by Mommsen and, on his authority, by Dessau); his titles and his local

benefactions bear such striking affinities with those of Cominius that one is tempted to regard the latter as formal model for the former. Note, however, this important difference: Cominius' statue was erected in the precinct of the Augustales, that of Primitivus in a public place — very probably the forum of Misenum (cf. *CIL* X.1881, last line: 'l(oco) d(ato) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)').

**Lines 3–4:** in addition to Cominius, four other Augustales of Misenum are known to have borne the title *curator perpetuus*, including L. Licinius Primitivus, praised by the Augustales, among other reasons, *quod res negotiaque eorum integre administret* (*CIL* X.1881, cited above); he and Abascantus are the only two known to have received decurional insignia. Like the two *curatores anni sui* (the chief annual officers, or presidents, see C, below, line 5), *curatores perpetui* had the authority to bring a *relatio* before the Augustales as a body: see Base 1, the decree of the Augustales, of 9 November 113 C.E., Camodeca (1996b), 163, lines 4–5: '*referente* L.Tullio Eutycho, *curatore perpet(uo)*', q.v. also for the other *curatores Augustalium perpetui*; Base 5 (=De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 22, lines 4–5): '*petente* Tullio Eutycho *curatore perpetuo*'. For a *curator perpetuus* of the *seviri* Augustales at Ostia, cf. *ILS* 6160.

**Lines 5–6:** on the left side of the Misene base (No. 1), which carried an equestrian statue of Trajan, appears a relief of a female divinity standing barefoot on a warship, with her right hand on the rudder, her left hand carrying an object which has thus far resisted identification, but was just possibly a prow; on the right side is a relief of a togate male figure, *capite velato*, bearing a *patera* in his lowered left hand, and a cornucopia in his right. These lines of the Cominius inscription place the identity of these personifications beyond all reasonable doubt (cf. De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 25–6): on the left stands a representation of the *Classis Tutela*, or protectress of the fleet, with the *Genius* of the Town (or, just possibly, the *Genius Augustalium*) on the right (see now the discussion of Camodeca (1996b), 161–2). Our text further proves that the two presiding town divinities — symbolizing, respectively, the military and civil faces of Misenum, and represented in art at least as early as 112 C.E. but probably much earlier — were still receiving new dedicatory statues more than a generation later, since the consular dates accompanying the inscriptions on both sides of the Cominius text place the events described in 148–149 C.E. (see the notes on B, line 50, and C, line 1, below).

**Line 8:** consistently, in all three of our texts, individual Misene Augustales are referred to as *corporati*, and their formal organization is twice referred to as a *corpus* (B, line 31; C, line 21). Camodeca has rightly emphasized (1996b, 164) that this terminology was already in play in 102 C.E., when both words appear in a local decree of the Augustales (Base 5; cf. De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 22). Thus, by this date the structure of the college had already come to resemble that of professional associations, the *collegia*, whose defining characteristics include a common treasury, the right to possess property, and to own and manumit slaves (on the right to take legacies, see note on B below, lines 2–4) — cf. for general discussion, J. A. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome* (1967), 235; F. M. DeRobertis, *Il fenomeno associativo nel mondo Romano* (1981), *passim* — all of which features are reflected in the new epigraphical dossier from Misenum, where also, it is important to recognize, the Augustales *corporati* assembled in their own temple (C, below, line 2) and passed decrees (De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 22; see C, below, lines 3–4). *Seviri Augustales corporati* are attested in Gallia Narbonensis and at Lugdunum (J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* IV (1900), 215–16; and see now Abramenko (1993), 178); and *corpora Augustalium* are known also at Senia in Dalmatia (*CIL* III.3016), and at Petelia in Bruttium (*CIL* X.114 = *ILS* 6469); but Augustales *corporati* are thus far attested in Italy only at Misenum. (The find-spot of *CIL* X.1870, where another Augustalis *corporatus* is mentioned, is unknown. Mommsen saw it in Naples and assigned it to Puteoli, where large numbers of the inscriptions in the Neapolitan collections undoubtedly originated; but its Misene origin now seems certain.)

**Lines 8–9:** what can be meant by the distinction between Augustales *corporati* and those *qui in corpore non sunt* — a distinction not otherwise attested in the epigraphy of the Roman West? Ought one to suppose that *corporati* consisted solely of *curatores anni sui* and *curatores perpetui* (Duthoy (1978), 1282–6; cf. also Ostrow (1985), 74, n. 46); on

this hypothesis *ii qui in corpore non sunt*, a much larger number, will have been all others — all non-office holders, including those who had been *curatores* in some earlier year? This seems most unlikely. The language of the decree which is the subject of C, below, counts strongly against it: when the Augustales *corporati* assembled to consider appropriate *commoda* for Abascantus' wife, the motion passed *ex consensu universorum* (lines 7–8). *Universi* (which occurs in precisely the same sense thirty-five years earlier, in the decree of 113 C.E.: Camodeca (1996b), 163, lines 6 and 21) is scarcely the appropriate word for a *corpus* consisting of only a handful of members. A much more plausible alternative presents itself. I attempt to demonstrate below (line 17, note) that membership in the *corpus Augustalium* was fixed precisely at one hundred members, the *corporati*. These must have constituted the inner circle of full-fledged members; *ii qui in corpore non sunt* will then have been associate members, active in the cult but not full participants, presumably ineligible for the larger *viritim* cash donations, invitations to *epula*, and the other *commoda* that were reserved for the one hundred *corporati*. From this group of associate members the *corporati* could draw new recruits into their more exclusive body when positions opened up. If this explanation is correct, the group will have functioned as a 'holding tank' for future Augustales *corporati* in much the same way as *corporati* waited in the wings until positions in the *ordo decurionum* became available — as Abramenko (1993) has sought to show. The existence of a category of members of lower status (for the numbers of such non-*corporati*, see the commentary on line 17, below) is powerful evidence both for the prominence of well-to-do freedmen in local society, and for social discrimination among them.

**Lines 9–10:** who were the *ingenui corporati*, equally absent from the epigraphical record other than at Misenum? There are two possibilities: either freeborn townsmen formally organized in *corpora* — that is to say, the professional *collegia* — or a third category of Augustales, members of that order who were free born. The presence of a *c(enturia) Cla(udia) ingen(uorum)* among the Augustales at Herculaneum (G. Guadagno, *Cronache Ercolanensi* 7 (1977), 114 ff. = *AE* 1978.119) has been thought to lend some plausibility to the latter hypothesis (see Parma (1994), 56, n. 73). Duncan-Jones, in correspondence, also inclines to this view, observing that, since one group of *corporati* has just been clearly identified as Augustales, to directly introduce a second group of non-Augustales seems strange. Going on to note that the rate at which *sportulae* are distributed to *ingenui* is half that of the Augustales, he finds a parallel in the cases (in other inscriptions) in which children receive half the payments to *decuriones*, and suggests that these *ingenui* too were children, with the word *liberi* omitted to keep the language of the text within economical bounds. But for three reasons the first alternative seems to me to be more probable. (1) In Cominius' list of recipients of cash donations, Augustales *corporati* are earmarked for twelve sesterces (line 8). If *ingenui corporati* were also Augustales, logic requires that they be understood to be already included in the broad category of Augustales *corporati*, and therefore should have received the same cash distribution. (2) Abascantus took great care to grade his financial distributions according to the social position of his recipients: decurions (twenty sesterces) lead the list, and *municipes* are at the bottom. Considerations of status thus make it most unlikely that *ingenui corporati*, if freeborn Augustales, would receive smaller cash donations (six sesterces) than either Augustales *corporati* (twelve sesterces) or Augustales *qui in corpore non sunt* (eight sesterces) — both groups consisting of ex-slaves. (3) Comparison with a closely parallel text from Misenum, already discussed (see comments on lines 3–4, above), confirms that *ingenui corporati* were a category distinct from Augustales. L. Licinius Primitivus in 165 C.E. similarly graded the amounts of his cash handouts according to his recipients' status: decurions (twelve sesterces), Augustales (eight), *ingenui et veterani corporati* (six), and *municipes* (four). Here the *ingenui* are coupled with *veterani*, and both are distinguished from the Augustales by the smaller sums they received. Until more evidence comes to light — to repeat, such formal categorization of *ingenui* is known only at Misenum — I tentatively conclude that *ingenui corporati* were the freeborn members of the various professional *collegia* — such as the newly attested *collegium propolarum* (Parma (1995), 301 ff.).

**Line 12:** *mulatio* must mean a distribution of honeyed wine; along with *crustula*, pastries, gifts of *mulsum* became one of the forms of *liberalitas* favoured by Italian municipal notables under the Empire: S. Mrozek, 'Crustulum et mulsum dans les villes italiennes', *Athenaeum* 50 (1972), 298 f.; I have attempted to show that it was the great triumphal banquets of Julius Caesar which set the standard later imitated by local aristocrats ('Between public and private: the *epulum publicum* and Caesar's *horti trans Tiberim*', in M. Cima and E. La Rocca (eds), *Horti Romani* (1998), 41–3). *Mulatio* is a hapax legomenon, but a word beginning with the letters *mulsa* appears on a fragmentary inscription from Mons Feretur (Secchiano, *CIL* XI.6481); Bormann restored *mulsa[rum]*, but that conjecture may need to be revised in the light of the new evidence from Misenum. The amount of Cominius' capital foundation, 110 thousand sesterces, seems high for wine alone: cf. *CIL* XIV.2827 = *ILS* 6294, in which the donor established identical foundations of 100,000 sesterces to Minturnae and Casinum for annual distributions of both wine and pastries (Duncan-Jones (1982), 231, note on no. 665). Did the *mulatio*, like the Greek institution of *glukismos*, include the distribution of foods as well (cf. P. Schmitt Pantel, *La cité au banquet: histoire des repas dans les cités grecques*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 157 (1992), 344–7)?

**Line 17:** Cominius specified that from the interest on his two capital foundations, for the benefit, respectively, of the decurions and *populus*, and the Augustales, there be an annual division *ex forma ipsius*: that is to say, based on the scheme or formula of distribution which he had set forth in lines 7 ff. Cominius' precision, here and elsewhere on this stone, is especially welcome, for it provides a firm basis both for calculating the size of the college of Augustales at Misenum, and for estimating the approximate size of the town's population, in 148–49 C.E.

We can conclude that there were one hundred Augustales *corporati*. First, Cominius' capital gift to the Augustales *corporati*, as we know from line 14, was 20,000 sesterces. Second, at an interest rate of 6 per cent, that sum would yield an annual income of 1,200 sesterces — and as will be seen below in the commentary on B, lines 16–17, we can be certain this was precisely the rate that Cominius expected to be generated by the legacy described in that text, nearly contemporary in date. Third, on the occasion of his earlier one-time gift, each Augustalis *corporatus* received twelve sesterces (line 8), and he makes clear that the annual payout from the new capital gift is to be based on his formula (line 17). Thus, since we know the amount of the capital foundation (20,000 sesterces), the annual income from the foundation (1,200 sesterces), and the sum which each Augustalis *corporatus* was to receive (12 sesterces), simple division establishes that the college consisted of one hundred *corporati*<sup>14</sup> — a very substantial number, given the size of the town's population (see below): Augustales will not have numbered more than two hundred at Puteoli, a major port of much larger size

<sup>14</sup> Camodeca (1996b), 165, reached a different conclusion. His starting point is a donation to the Augustales of a capital sum of 30,000 sesterces, attested in the decree of 102 C.E. (Base 5, = De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 22), from the interest on which an annual *viritim* distribution was to occur. Noting that twelve sesterces are assigned to Augustales in five of seven instances in which specific *sportulae* are mentioned, and assuming an interest rate of 6 per cent, or 1,800 sesterces (which figure he derives from the rate supplied in Text B, mentioned above), he concludes that there were 150 members of the college.

While one hesitates to disagree with the scholar who has studied these new inscriptions more carefully than has any other, Camodeca's arguments seem to me to rest on weak foundations. Whereas, on our base, both the amount of individual *sportulae* (Text A) and an interest rate (Text B) are recorded, neither is mentioned in the decree of 102; it seems hazardous to make inferences from a text in which two of the critical variables are completely unknown. Camodeca, indeed, recognizes that the evidence of the Cominius text would support a membership of 100; finding that

lower number unacceptable he prefers to believe that in 148 the Augustales received only 8 sesterces at each annual *divisio* — despite the fact that, as we have seen, Cominius' formula seems explicitly to call for them to receive twelve. We need to ask which text is more probably anomalous: that of 148, where the variables are spelt out with unusual precision, or that of 102, where two critical variables are unknown? The former text seems to me much the more reliable guide in establishing the number of members of the college; and I conclude that, at least in 148, membership stood at 100. We could reconcile the discrepancies in the two texts by supposing that the capital foundation of 102 was invested at 4 per cent interest, or that the 100 Augustales received individual donations of eighteen sesterces, or that the *corpus Augustalium* was larger in that year — all tenuous hypotheses, to be sure, since we have no evidence. In any case, inferences as to numbers should rest on the strongest possible foundation, where most of the variables are known. The indicators pointing to a *corpus* of one hundred members in 148 are all good ones.



(on the Campanian numbers of Augustales, cf. Duncan-Jones (1982), 285–6, with table 8; Ostrow (1985), 74). Our text makes it easier to believe in the numbers of Augustales attested at Herculaneum, where at least 450 names appear on the (fragmentary) lists.

For gauging the approximate number of inhabitants of Misenum, the annual interest (6 per cent, see above) from the two capital foundations (110,000 sesterces for decurions and *populus*, 20,000 for Augustales), distributed according to Cominius' formula (*ex forma ipsius*), provides the way forward. That formula establishes income of 1,200 sesterces for the one hundred Augustales *corporati* ( $12 \times 100 = 1200$ ), and 6,600 for the one hundred decurions ( $20 \times 100 = 2000$ ), leaving 4,600 sesterces to be distributed among the other components of the *populus*: that is to say, the three groups specified as Cominius' beneficiaries in lines 8–10. On the reasonable hypotheses that Augustales *qui in corpore non sunt* numbered one hundred ( $8 \times 100 = 800$  sesterces), and *ingenui corporati* numbered fifty ( $6 \times 50 = 300$  sesterces), 3,500 sesterces remain for allocation to the *municipes*. The formula prescribes that each *municeps* was to receive four sesterces. *Municipes* therefore will have totaled 875, and the sum of the five groups of beneficiaries reaches 1,225 adult males. Multiplication by three (a ratio midway between those of Brunt and Duncan-Jones: Duncan-Jones (1982), 264, n. 4) to allow for free-born women and children under the age of eighteen, yields a maximum population of 3,675 (excluding slaves and *incolae*). It needs to be conceded that the numbers of Augustales outside the *corpus* and of *ingenui corporati* are the soft figures in this list. But if we raise these to what can be considered an absolute maximum (200 and 100, respectively), the dictates of the formula require that the number of *municipes* be correspondingly reduced, resulting in a total population of 3,300. Thus, on either hypothesis, the total citizen population of Misenum in the mid-second century can plausibly be said to fall within the 3,300–4,000 range: given the restricted size of the town and *territorium* (on which see Borriello and D'Ambrosio (1979), 26–9; Parma (1994), 43), and the constant presence of naval personnel, the population density of Misenum will have been extremely high.

**Line 18:** the (presumably inadvertent) omission of *m(ilia)* after X is curious, given its presence in lines 11 and 14, but 'ten sesterces' cannot be right; the supralineate bars over X and N indicate that a meaning of ten thousand sesterces was intended.

**Line 19:** what was Cominius' net worth at the time of his death, and what were the sources of his wealth? Available data — the numbers and costs of his gifts and bequests — are far from conclusive, but they offer grounds for reasonably informed speculation. The cost of his two statues may have totalled 10,000 sesterces (see Duncan-Jones (1982) 126–7, for evidence for statue costs in Italy), his one-time donation to his townsmen is unlikely to have been more than 6,000 sesterces,<sup>15</sup> and his four capital foundations (including the legacy which is the subject of B, below) totalled 150,000 sesterces. He was survived, furthermore, by a widow-heir who was herself actively philanthropic. Cumulatively, the benefactions of Abascantus, to his town, to its citizens, to his fellow-Augustales, and to his wife demonstrate that this sub-equestrian with *ornamenta decurionalia* had amassed substantial wealth. We ought probably to see him as a *negotiator*, who supplied goods and services to sailors and officers of the fleet: his dedication of a statue to the *tutela classis* suggests that this may have been the source of at least a part of his income (cf. *CIL* VI.33887, the Roman epitaph of a *negotiator celeberrimus*, active in the meat trade, who came from Misenum and is described as *omnibus honoribus patriae suae perfunctus*; *CIL* X.1872, a *sagarius* who was Augustalis at both Neapolis and Puteoli; for economic activities of Augustales in and around the ports of Puteoli and Ostia cf. D'Arms, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 128–9). His benefactions also help to clarify the reasons why Cominius' own statue occupied an eminent place in the portico of the Augustales' headquarters at Misenum.

**Line 20:** despite Nero's *praefectus praetorio* C. Nymphidius Sabinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> N 250) and his mother Nymphidia (*ibid.*, N 251), the *gentilicium* is uncommon, and not found in

<sup>15</sup> Decurions:  $20 \times 100 = 2,000$  HS; *Augustales corporati*:  $12 \times 100 = 1,200$  HS; *Augustales non corporati*:  $8 \times 100 = 800$  HS; *ingenui corporati*:  $6 \times$

$50 = 300$  HS (for the numbers of the last two groups, see commentary on line 17, above); *municipes*:  $4 \times 800 = 3,200$  HS; these sums total 5,100 sesterces.

Mommsen's index to *CIL* X; Nymphidia Monime's full name suggests a background in slavery. For a lowly Nymphidia with similarly hellenized cognomen in Rome, cf. *CIL* VI.23161 (Nymphidia Agathoclia, and *coniunx* C. Nymphidius Thamyrus). In all, only thirteen Nymphidiae are known in Rome, only one of whom was incontestably free born: cf. H. Solin, *Die Griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, vol. 2 (1982), 961, q.v. also for nine non-notable instances of Monime, 762.

**Lines 21–22:** on Monime's distributions see C below, line 14 (*peculiarem munificentiam*).

### Translation

For Quintus Cominius Abascantus, honoured with insignia of decurional rank, lifetime curator of the Augustales. He placed two statues — of the Genius of the Town and of the Protectress of the Fleet — in the forum (and) on the occasion of their dedication gave 20 sesterces to the individual decurions, 12 sesterces to the Augustales formally enrolled in the association, 8 sesterces to the Augustales who were not enrolled in the association, 6 sesterces to freeborn citizens formally enrolled in professional *collegia*, (and) 4 sesterces to the townspeople. In addition, he gave 110,000 sesterces to the decurions, so that they and the people could drink honeyed wine on 17 December, his birthday, and likewise (gave) 20,000 sesterces to the associated Augustales, so that from the interest on these amounts there would be an annual division, based on the formula that he established, on the aforesaid day. And over and above this, he generously gave 10,000 sesterces for procuring wine for these same Augustales. Nymphidia Monime (had this statue erected) to Abascantus, best of husbands; at its dedication she gave 8 sesterces and a banquet to each of the Augustales enrolled in the association.

### B

Severely discoloured from water and weathering, the text on this side of the stone (Pl. XI) is fully legible only in optimal conditions produced by raking light; a plaster cast kindly prepared by the superintendency of Naples has also assisted study. The die (height: 85 cm; width: 45 cm) has been lightly incised, without interpuncts and with space left only inconsistently between words, in minute and crowded rustic capitals of indifferent quality; in the body of the text, heights of letters never exceed 0.75 cm (letter heights: lines 1–6: 1 cm; lines 7–48: 0.60–0.75 cm; lines 49–50: 1 cm). The upward-slanting F's (e.g., Fortunatus, line 8; *transferturos*, line 14;  *fuerit*, line 27), and the curved cross-bars of initial T's (e.g., *tutelae*, line 16) are distinctive features. The beginning of lines 1, 13, 16, 29, 43, and 46 extend beyond the left-hand margin, to emphasize a formal transition to a new section.

Quod constabat Cominium Abascantum testamento institu-  
 isse heredem Nymphidiam Monimen, legasseque Augustalib(us)  
 corporatis Misensium sestertia decem milia nummorum  
 sub ea condicione, si cavissent heredi eius eam summam se in  
 5 nullo alio usu erogatos, sed reditus eius quod annis ita dis-  
 pensaturos ut testamento cavisset, et desideraret utique Nymphidia  
 Monime dari sibi reos, qui nomine Augustalium corporatorum  
 ob eam rem q(uod) d(ictum) a(n)te caverent, et Plaetorius Fortunatus et  
 Aemilius  
 Epagathio curatores nominati ab eis stipulatione spondere  
 10 vellent, actum est ut caput ex testamento ad eas res pertinens  
 his tabulis subiceretur, quo notius esset spondentibus in quibus cau-  
 sis se obligarent, ac deinde stipulatio utilis interponeretur.

Augustales corp(orati) si heredi meo caverent hanc voluntatem meam ratam  
 futuram  
 neq(ue) in alios usus pecuniam i(nfra) s(criptam) erogatuos transfertuorsve  
 15 et ex reditu < s > pecuniae erogatuos quod annis ut infra scriptum est:  
 simulacris Geni Municipi et Classis Tutelae tergendis ungendisq . . .  
 quoq(ue) ex HS IIII n(ummos), item viola exornandis HS XVI n(ummos),  
 itemq(ue) rosa or-  
 nandis HS XVI n(ummos) et ad cepotafium meum quod annis die parenta-  
 liorum  
 luctatorib(us) paribus decem in eo loco victoribus sing(ulis) HS VIII  
 20 superatis sing(ulis) HS IIII n(ummos), oleum HS XVI n(ummos), vernis  
 HS LX n(ummos), conducto-  
 ri harenae HS VIII n(ummos), sepulcro exornando viola HS XVI item ro-  
 sa HS XVI n(ummos), et super reliquias meas nardum p(ondo) libra  
 HS XXIII [ef]  
 fundi, et epulari volo magistratus qui tunc erunt ea die in  
 25 triclin < i > o quod est super sepulchrum, et curatores Augustali-  
 um qui tunc erunt inpendique HS C n(ummos) et ea die sacrificio  
 mihi faciundo HS LX n(ummos), et de reliq(uiis) HS CXXXX n(ummos)  
 in refectione  
 munitiois quotiens opus fuerit eiusdem cepotafi erogari--ita  
 dari volo Augustalibus corporatis HS X m(ilia) n(ummorum).  
 Per te, Plaetori Fortunate, et per te, Aemili Epagathio, non fieri neq(ue)  
 30 per Augustales corporatos Misenenses qui nunc sunt quique pos-  
 tea in eodem corpore erunt quo magis ea HS X m(ilia) n(ummorum)  
 in alio usu quam  
 in eo quod capite supra scripto comprehensum est erogetur transferatur quo ve  
 minus ea omnia ita ut supra scriptum est quod an-  
 nis is diebus temporibusque fiant praestentur. Quod si ea HS X m(ilia)  
 n(ummorum)  
 35 in alio usu quam quo supra comprehensum est translata erogata  
 erunt, tum HS X m(ilia) n(ummorum) dari. et si ea quae his tabulis ex testamen-  
 to Comini translata trans{s}criptaque sunt ita ut ibi cautum est da-  
 ta facta praestata non erunt, quanti quaeque earum rerum res  
 erit tantam pecuniam et alterum tantum dari. Sique rei promissio-  
 40 sionique dolus malus cuius vestrum d(e) q(ua) r(e) a(gitur) non  
 afuerit, quanti  
 ea res erit, tantam pecuniam dari, stipulata est Nymphidia Mo-  
 nime, sponponderunt L. Plaetorius Fortunatus, Q. Aemil(ius) Epagathio.  
 Cosmion Augustalium corpor(atorum) Misenensium ser(vus) scripsi me  
 accepisse a Nymphidia Monime herede Comini Abascanti  
 45 HS X m(ilia) n(ummorum) legata Augustalib(us) dominis meis  
 in causam s(upra) s(criptam).  
 Aemilius Epagathio adsignavi in HS X m(ilia) n(ummorum)  
 et in stipulatione  
 s(upra) s(cripta) sponpondi. Plaetorius Fortunatus adsignavi in HS X  
 m(ilia) n(ummorum)  
 et in stipulatione s(upra) s(cripta) sponpondi.  
 Actum Miseni xv K(alendas) Ianuar(ias)  
 M. Calpurnio Longo D. Velio Fido co(n)s(ulibus).

**Lines 2-4:** the text speaks unambiguously of a legacy (*legasse*) by Cominius to the Augustales *corporati*. But the legality of the transaction may raise chronological difficulties. According to Gaius (2.287, thought to have been written *c.* 140 C.E.), between Augustus and Hadrian *incertae personae* (including *corpora* of Augustales) were unable to take legacies but could accept *fideicomissa* (on which see D. Johnston, *The Roman Law of Trusts* (1988)); under Hadrian *fideicomissa* were also forbidden, *senatus*

*consulto*. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, however, a *senatus consultum* permitted *collegia* or any *corpus cui licet coire* to take legacies: Paul (12 *ad Plaut.*), *Dig.* 34.5.20. How therefore could Cominius, who died prior to the accession of Marcus Aurelius, legally provide these Augustales with a legacy? 'No college could take anything by will under Antoninus Pius, unless by special privilege' (J. P. Duff, *Personality in Roman Private Law* (1938), 154). Given the physical proximity of our Augustales to the main western base of the Roman imperial fleet, and the succession of emperors honoured in their precinct, such a grant of the emperor's favour is not inconceivable (cf. *ILS* 6720, a special privilege granted to Augustales by Antoninus Pius) — but we have no evidence proving that this actually occurred. For additional inscriptional evidence for early legacies to *collegia*, see further Parma (1995), 306, n. 45.

**Line 9:** Fortunatus and Epagathio will have been not *curatores Augustalium* but *curatores ad acta*, designated by the *corpus* to undertake obligation (*sponsio*) on their behalf: see below on lines 29 ff.

**Lines 13–28:** the *caput ex testamento* (for parallels, cf. *ILS* 6468, 6469, 7196) is essentially one long sentence, from Augustales . . . *si . . . caverent* (line 13) . . . *ita uti infra scriptum est . . . to ita* (line 27) *dari volo*: 'if the Augustales promised . . . then I wish that . . .'. Abascantus' shift from the use of datives with gerunds to *volo* with the infinitive in line 23, closing his list of specifications with *erogari* (line 28), makes for disturbed, even contorted, syntax.

**Lines 14–15:** *transferturos* (for *translaturos*) is remarkable, especially given the presence of *translata* in lines 35 and 37; the ungrammatical *ex reditus* (note the choice of the more technical word in preference to the generic *incrementum* of A, line 15) is followed immediately by *pequnia*, which appears with conventional spelling in its three other occurrences in the text (lines 14, 39, 41).

**Line 16:** in other foundations, upkeep and maintenance of a statue are customarily covered by the generic term *tutela* (cf. Duncan-Jones (1982), 206, nos 1152, 1154). Cominius uses more precise language, language which implies formal public observances in the forum (for a close verbal parallel, cf. *CIL* VIII.9052, 13f.: . . . *ut statuam . . . tergeat et unguat*), with strong religious overtones: anointing the statue of Jupiter at the Capitolium in Rome was a long-established ritual performance, as must be inferred from Seneca's allusions to the practice (with accompanying gestures) in *De superstitione* (Aug., *Civ. Dei* 6.10). In giving pride of place in his will provision to assuring that his two statues, of the Genius of the Town and the Protectress of the Fleet, were properly attended to, he confirms the impression conveyed by their being mentioned first in the honorary inscription on the face of the stone (cf. A above, lines 5–6, with commentary *ad loc.*): he regarded these as his signal municipal benefactions.

**Lines 16–17:** after *ungendisq(ue)* in the final three centimetres of line 16 appear what may be the traces of three, or just possibly more letters (the text is indecipherable at this point), followed by *quoq ex HS IIII n(ummos)* at the beginning of the next line. I suggest *ungendisq(ue) [pro] / quoq(ue) ex <iis> (or <his> ) HS IIII n(ummos)*: 'for cleaning and anointing, in payment for each of these, four sesterces', a reasonably simple haplography. Whatever the correct reading, the total sum, eight sesterces, is certain. For the thirteen other expenditures in Cominius' list, taken together, amount to 592 sesterces; the addition of 8 sesterces for cleaning and anointing the statues brings the total to 600 sesterces, an interest rate on the principal (10,000 sesterces) of precisely 6 per cent. This was a standard rate in post-Trajanic Italy, and is identical with the interest yielded by the two other known perpetual foundations where the principal was also 10,000 HS: *ILS* 6466 (= *CIL* X.107, Croto), and *ILS* 6469 (= *CIL* X.114, Petelia, where, as in our text, the benefactor's aim was also to improve the amenities of the Augustales): cf. Duncan-Jones (1982), 133–6, 179 (nos 691, 694). Cominius Abascantus has calculated the amounts of income to be expended upon each of his chosen fourteen items with exquisite exactitude.

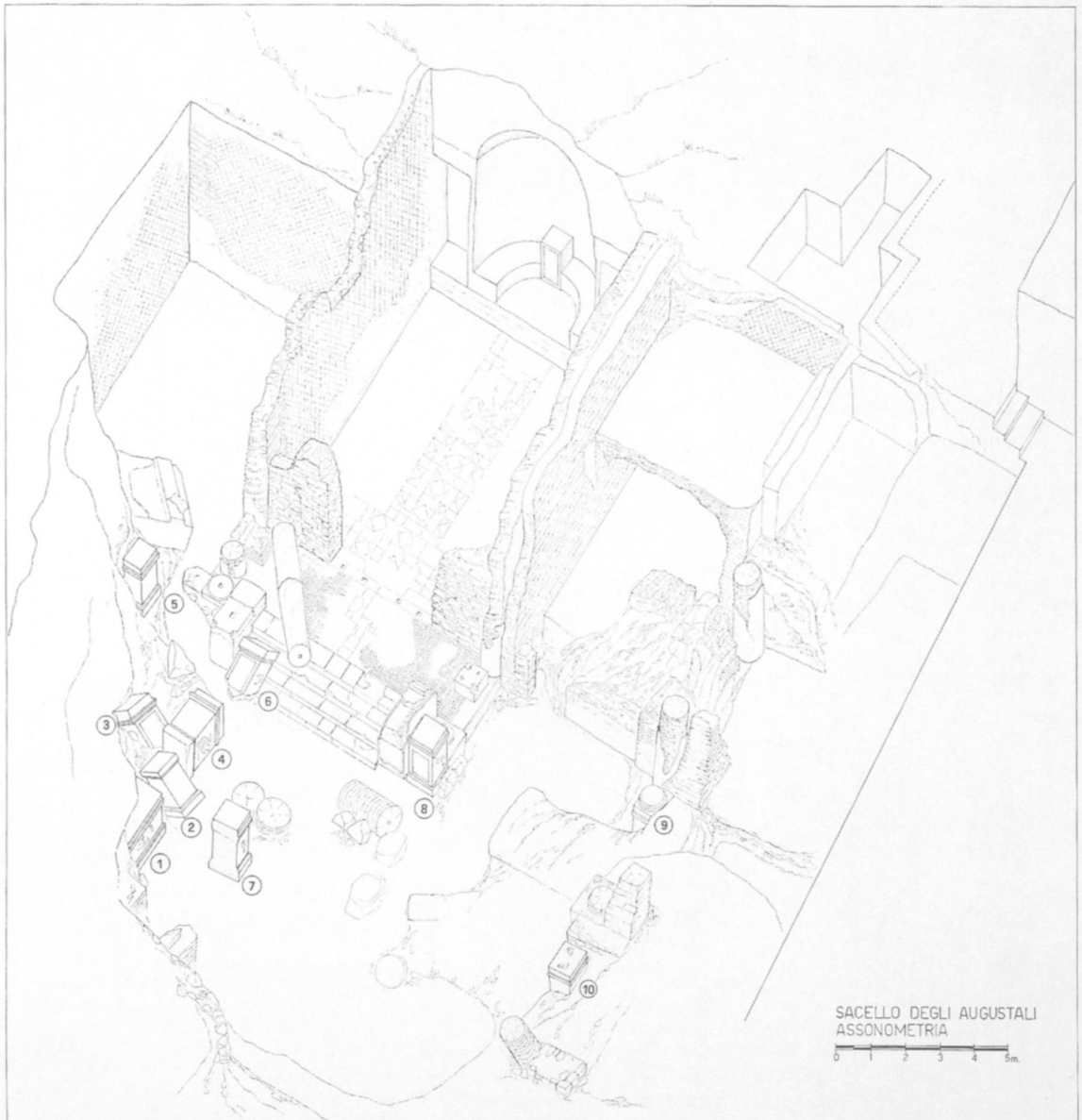
**Lines 17–19:** violets and roses are the flowers most commonly mentioned in such annual commemorations of the dead, which took place normally during the Parentalia (celebrated from 13–21 February) at the tomb of the deceased, in this case a garden tomb: cf. (e.g.) J. C. M. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (1971), 62, with

references in n. 253 (roses and violets); *ILS* 7258, 7267, 8366, 8370 (sacrifices on the Parentalia). For *cepotafium* (more commonly *cepotaphium*) cf. e.g. *CIL* VI.2259, 2469, 3554, 8505, 10675; X.2066 (Puteoli). On the historical significance of these garden tombs, which simultaneously expressed the sub-equestrian yearning for opulent display and resulted in small-scale horticultural cultivation in response to growing population density in Italian cities and towns, see Purcell, op. cit. (above n. 12), 32–6. Rose gardens were a feature of *cepotaphia* (*CIL* XI.3895); ‘. . . the *cepotaphion* pays for itself’ (Purcell, 35). The repeated references to violets and to roses in Cominius’ wish-list (lines 18–23) suggest personal experience: he will have well known what they cost. Iunia Libertas of Ostia instructed that city to expend income from her legacy *sacrificis die parentaliorum HS C violae HS C rosae HS C* (*AE* 1940.94). Cominius allocated far more for sacrifice than he did for flowers. As C. P. Jones, who is preparing a study of the *Rosalia*, points out to me, Cominius’ allocations strengthen the case for the following interpretation of the Ostian text: ‘(for sacrifice) on the day of the Parentalia, 100 HS; (on the day of) the Violet, 100 HS; (on the day of) the Rose, 100 HS.’

**Lines 19–21:** provisions for *ludi* and *munera gladiatoria* in the Italian perpetual foundations are not unusual: see Duncan-Jones (1982), nos 1074a–1079a (200–201), 1338 (218). Foundations further stipulate the amounts to be paid for placing first, second, and third in competitions (cf. e.g., M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (1988), *passim*), and charioteers’ placements in their races are recorded in their funerary inscriptions (e.g., *CIL* VI.10051 = *ILS* 5283, the epitaph of a Julio-Claudian charioteer). But I know of no other *testator* who provided specifically for wrestlers, and adjusted his pay-out rate according to whether they won or lost. The *conductor harenae* will have rented out the sand-covered wrestling ground: for a *conductor balinei*, cf. *CIL* II.5181. One can imagine readily enough the functions to be performed by the slaves (*vernae*) at these wrestling contests — oiling, dusting, and scraping the contestants, raking the sand — but these are not to be found among such *Berufe* as appear to be attested for *vernae*: see the index of E. Herrmann-Otto, *Ex ancilla natus: Untersuchungen zu den ‘hausgeboren’ Sklaven und Sklavinnen im Westen des römischen Kaiserreiches* (1994), 500–3. A predilection for being memorialized by wrestling contests suggests pretentious hellenized tastes (cf. e.g., Mart. 3.58.25, locating wrestling among the urban pursuits of the rich), but just possibly Cominius had still grander associations in mind. Antoninus Pius had recently instituted athletic games, the *Eusebeia*, at Puteoli, as post-mortem honours for Hadrian, who had died at Baiae in 138 (SHA, *Hadr.* 27; Artemidorus, *Oneir.* 1.26; *IG* XIV.737, line 7); for the bibliography, see *Dizionario Epigrafico* IV, fasc. 64 (1976), 2030 ff.; as Fausto Zevi points out to me, the existence of the *Eusebeia* can hardly have escaped the notice of nearby Augustales, who will have been alert to such imperial initiatives.

**Lines 22–23:** Trimalchio had his guests anointed from an *ampulla nardi*, expressing the hope that nard-oil would please him as much in death as it had in life (Petr., *Sat.* 78.3). *Nardum* was among the costliest of aromatic unguents (Plin., *NH* 37.204; 12.42; on which see Steier, in *RE* 16.2 (1935), 1714) — a fact reflected here by its costing eight sesterces more than the oil sufficient for twenty wrestlers. These annual libations of nard will have been poured down through a terracotta or lead tube inserted into tiles at ground level, whence they could reach Cominius’ remains in his cinerary urn below: for Campanian examples, see S. De Caro, ‘Scavi nell’area fuori porta Nola a Pompei’, *Cronache Pompeiane* 5 (1979), 67, figs 4–5; 71–2 (tomb of the duovir M. Obellius Firmus, whose inscription provided explicitly for incense and sepulchral odors); G. Stefani in *Pompei oltre la vita: nuove testimonianze dalle necropoli*, Mostra della Soprintendenza di Pompei 20 (1998), 20–1, with illus. 21.

**Lines 23–25:** no annual magistrates other than *duoviri* are known at Misenum (for these, cf. *CIL* X.3678; G. E. Dunlap in *AJA* 33 (1929), 393 ff.; Parma (1995), 301 ff.), but there will have been aediles so long as Misenum remained a *municipium* (until the mid-third century: see Parma (1995), 305, n. 35, with references *ad loc.*), and an unpublished inscription from Misenum apparently refers to a man *adlectus . . . inter aedilic(ios)*: Camodeca (1996b), 164, no. 1. *Curatores Augustalium* in any given year were two in number (note on C below, lines 4–5). Cominius thus clearly intended this



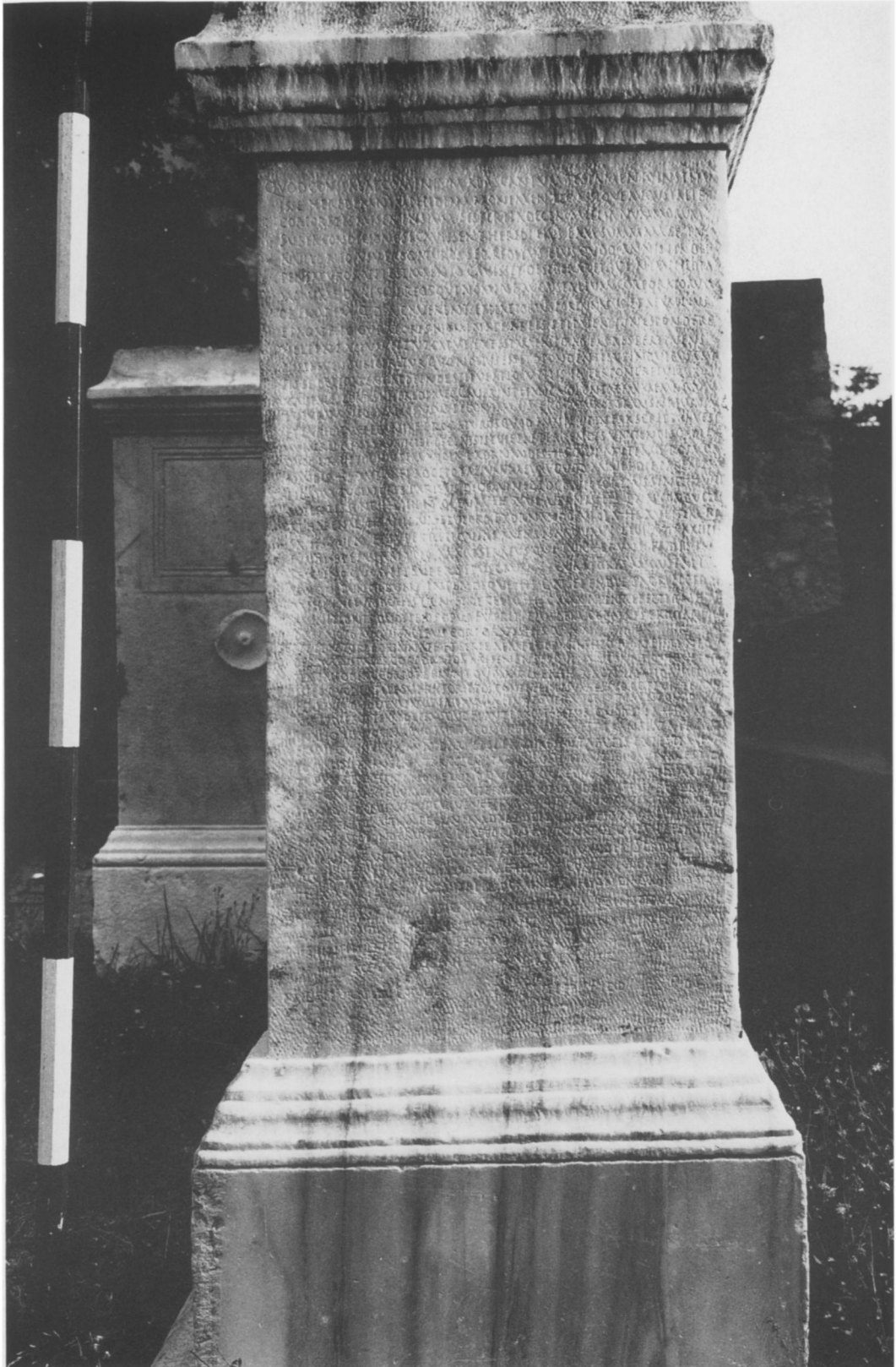
AXONOMETRIC DRAWING OF THE COLLEGIUM OF THE AUGUSTALES AT MISENUM INDICATING POSITIONS OF THE STATUE BASES AT THE TIME OF THEIR DISCOVERY (1968).

*Courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Napoli*



BASE 9, FRONT FACE (TEXT A), FROM COLLEGIUM OF THE AUGUSTALES AT MISENUM: CURSUS OF Q. COMINIUS ABASCANTUS.  
 Photo: Roberto Giordano; courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Napoli

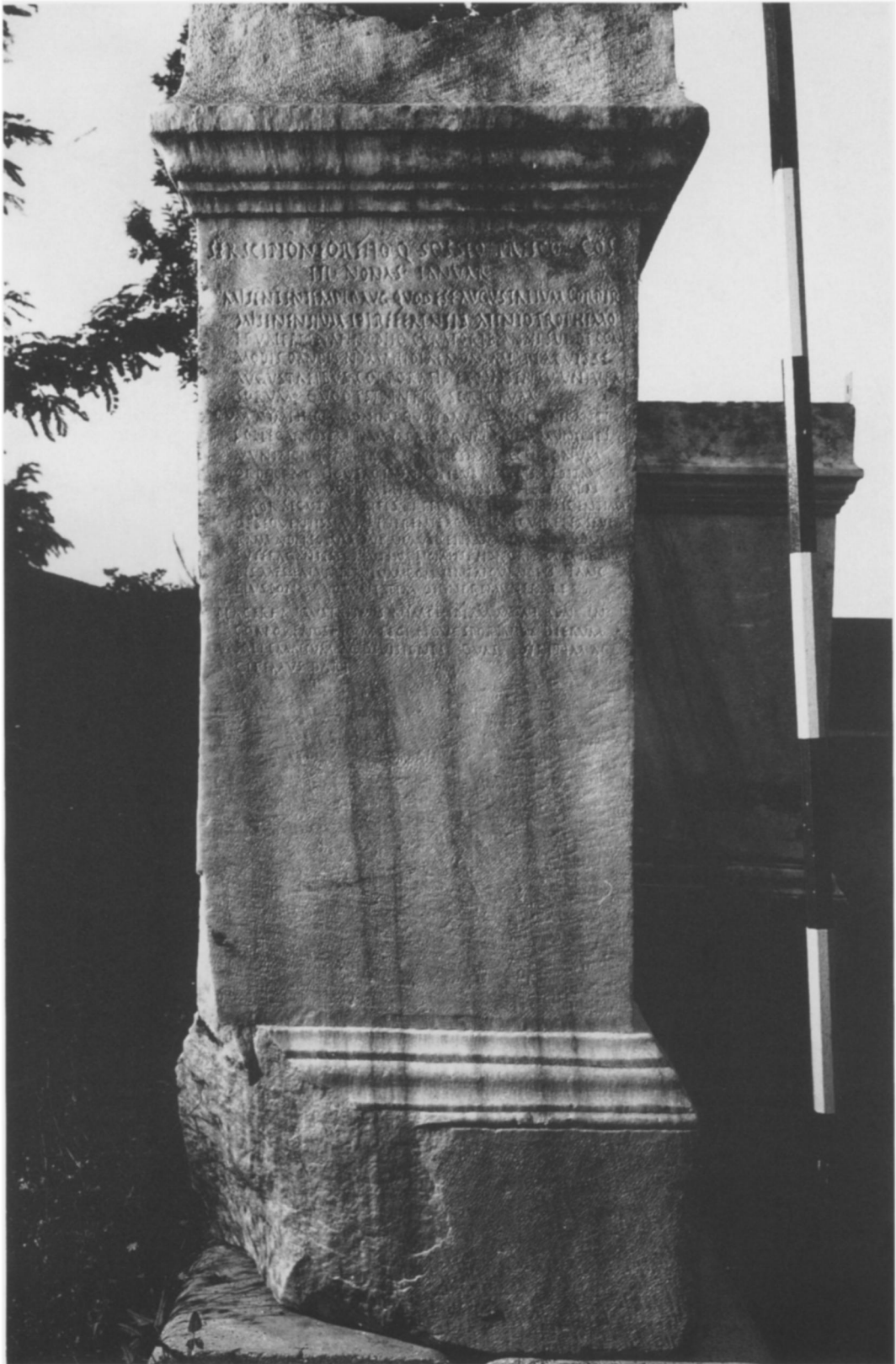




BASE 9, INSCRIPTION ON RIGHT SIDE (TEXT B), FROM COLLEGIUM OF THE AUGUSTALES AT MISENUM: THE WILL OF ABASCANTUS.

*Photo: Roberto Giordano; courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Napoli*





BASE 9, INSCRIPTION ON LEFT SIDE (TEXT C), FROM COLLEGIUM OF THE AUGUSTALES AT MISENUM: *ADLECTIO* OF NYMPHIDIA MONIME.

*Photo: Roberto Giordano; courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Napoli*

annual commemorative *epulum* at his tomb to be a restricted affair: a dinner for six, at a rate of just over 16 sesterces per head (the highest *per capita* rate attested for such dinners is 30 sesterces: *CIL* XI.6117, on which see Duncan-Jones (1982), 201, no. 1079b). If in addition as many as two *curatores perpetui* attended, *per capita* costs would drop to 12.5 sesterces, well within the normal range (see the figures of Duncan-Jones (1982), 201). But expanding the numbers much beyond six would make for crowded accommodations in the *triclinium*: a number of these, positioned above hypogaea, are actually attested in the sepulchral architecture of nearby Puteoli, where current excavations in the Parco Archeologico are adding new examples to earlier published accounts (cf. *NdSC* 1927, p. 325 (via delle Vigne); A. Maiuri, *I Campi Flegrei* (1934), 49 ff.; A. De Franciscis and R. Pane, *Mausolei romani in Campania* (1957), 16, 46, 58–9 (via Celle), 65–8 (San Vito)).

**Line 29 ff.:** early in the text, Nymphidia Monime expressed her desire (*desiderare*) for persons to give *cautiones* in the name of the Augustales (lines 6 ff.); now, in the *stipulatio* and beyond, the method of transfer of the *legatum* is specifically addressed. Fortunatus and Epagathio, the *curatores*, bind themselves personally to see to it that the money be deployed as Cominius had intended, and the money itself was transferred to Cosmion, slave of the *corporati*. Monime had expressed a desire for persons since only individuals could make a *stipulatio*, or undertake the obligations, for accepting the *legatum* on the terms specified. It would thus appear that the college's lack of legal personality lay behind this personal liability of the *curatores* — a liability which extended also to acts by third parties. In any case, the only way for all parties — Abascantus, Nymphidia (his heir), and the Augustales (the legatees) — to secure the bequest was to involve the *curatores* personally.

**Lines 34–41:** the sense is: first, if the fund as a whole is directed to purposes other than those specified, then the whole is to be returned; second, if any of Abascantus' specific requirements is not met, then double is owing (e.g., no wrestlers, double the money for the wrestlers); third, if the failure is owing to the promissors' fraud, they owe the value of what the matter is worth (i.e., triple damages): the measure in the *dolus* penalty clause (*quanti ea res erit*, line 41) is the same as that in the *actio doli* (the praetorian delict: O. Lenel, *Das edictum perpetuum* (1927), 115). Nymphidia Monime's *stipulatio* is tripartite, and its three sections only loosely integrated: her objectives were to protect (1) against misdirection of the fund as a whole (lines 34–6); (2) against misdirection of any of the interest on the fund (lines 36–9); and (3) against *dolus malus* on the part of the two *curatores* (lines 39–41). It seems likely, from the highly technical and exact language here and elsewhere in this text, that Cominius and Nymphidia drew on the professional services of a nearby *iusconsultus*, presumably at Puteoli, to have this document properly drafted. And yet, 'there is almost no hint of professional assistance in the composition of wills anywhere, be it from learned jurist or humble scribe' (Champlin (1991), 72). That view now seems in need of revision.

**Line 36** (cf. also lines 39, 41): *dari* in the sense of 'shall be owing', 'payable as penalty' is of course in contrast to that in the *caput ex testamento* (cf. *dari volo Augustalibus*, line 28).

**Lines 43–44:** Cosmion (a slave name, cf. *CIL* VI.16298; H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, vol. 2 (1982), 1120) will have been *servus arcarius* of the Augustales *corporati*, and as such received the monies in the name of all of the *corporati* — that is, on behalf of all of his masters (*scripsi me accepisse* is standard legal language for the written receipt (*apocha*)). That the local Augustales possessed their own *arca* at Misenum is certain: cf. Base 1, line 17, *arca n(ostra)* (Camodeca (1996b), 163, *q.v.* also for other references); it is noteworthy that they seem to have administered their treasury autonomously, independent of decurional control (observed also by Camodeca, 166).

**Lines 46–48:** Epagathio and Fortunatus both signed for the ten thousand sesterces and made their promises, thus concluding the formal agreement. But could the agreement be enforced? If the Augustales *corporati* were not legally permitted to take under a will during the reign of Antoninus Pius, the bequest, though unenforceable, could be executed all the same, assuming neither party imposed obstacles, that is, Nymphidia

Monime chose to honour the agreement, and the Augustales found no reason to balk: social convention required acceptance of the bequest on the conditions specified. But Monime's favourable disposition will have been critical — which may partially explain why the Augustales were so anxious to curry favour with her (see C, below, note on lines 20–1).

**Lines 49–50:** 18 December 148 C.E.; for the date, see Camodeca (1996a), 235–40: a convincing argument for inserting this new consular pair into the last two months of 148, and thus supplementing the four others known from the *Fasti Ostienses* (the last of these is attested in office in October, *CIL* XVI.96, 179–80). Alföldy's assigning of the consulate of D. Velius Fidus to the years bridging the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius now requires adjustment (G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977), 200). Camodeca further identifies Longus with the known consul L. Marcus Celer M. Calpurnius Longus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 221), whose year of office W. Eck (*ZPE* 86 (1991), 97 ff.) has recently placed in the Hadrianic period.

### Translation

Whereas it was agreed that Cominius Abascantus established Nymphidia Monime as his heir by will, and left a legacy of ten thousand sesterces to the Augustales of Misenum as an association under this condition, if they guaranteed his heir that they would not allocate that sum to any other use but that they would annually dispense the interest on the sum as he had provided in his will; and Nymphidia Monime desired unconditionally that persons placed under formal obligation should be provided to her, (persons) who in the name of the associated Augustales should make a formal undertaking on behalf of this aforesaid matter; and Plaetorius Fortunatus and Aemilius Epagathio, named administrators by them, are willing to make a guarantee of the agreement, it was transacted that the clause from the will pertaining to these matters be appended to this document, in order that it be better known to the guarantors in what cases they were placing themselves under obligation, and next that an effective promise be made a constituent part of the agreement:

(the will provision (*caput ex testamento*), lines 13 ff.)

if the Augustales as an association should guarantee my heir that this wish of mine will be valid in the future and that they will not allocate or transfer the sums specified below to other uses, and if they will allocate the interest on the money every year as it is written below (namely): for the cleaning and anointing of the statues of the Genius of the Town and the Protectress of the Fleet, four sesterces for the one and also the same amount for the other; likewise, for decorating them with violets, sixteen sesterces; and likewise, for decorating them with roses, sixteen sesterces; and, for the wrestlers at my garden tomb every year on the Parentalia, ten pairs in that place, for the winners eight sesterces each, and for the defeated, four sesterces each; for oil, sixteen sesterces; for the home-born slaves, sixty sesterces; for the renter of the arena, eight sesterces; for decorating the tomb with violets, sixteen sesterces; likewise (for its decoration with) roses, sixteen sesterces. I also desire that nard-oil, one pound in weight and valued at twenty-four sesterces, be poured out over my remains, and (desire) that the (town's) magistrates who will be in office at that time, and also the administrators of the Augustales who will then be in office, feast on that day in the dining hall which is above the tomb; and (I desire) that one hundred sesterces be spent (on this feast); and I desire that sixty sesterces (be spent) on performing a sacrifice for me on that day; and from the remaining one hundred and forty sesterces (I desire) that money be allocated for repair for the enclosure wall of this same garden tomb, as often as the need arises. Under these conditions, I am willing that ten thousand sesterces be given to the associated Augustales.

(the putting of the question (*stipulatio*), lines 29 ff.)

(Nymphidia Monime has stipulated [i.e., put the question]) that it not come about through your agency, Plaetorius Fortunatus, nor yours, Aemilius Epagathio, nor

through the agency of the associated Augustales of Misenum — (those) who are members now or will be in the future — that this ten thousand sesterces be paid out or transferred to a use other than that which is contained in that clause which is written out above, or that all those things do not take place or are provided as has been written above, annually on the days and at the times specified. But if these ten thousand sesterces are transferred or paid out for some other use than is specified above, then (she has stipulated that) ten thousand sesterces be given over; and if those instructions from the will of Cominius which have been transferred and transcribed in this inscription shall not have been given, done, and performed in the way that is specified there, (she has stipulated that) as much of these monies as there shall be, so great an amount of money, and another sum of the same amount, shall be given over. And if the intentional wrongdoing of either of you shall not have been absent from the matter or the promise concerning the question in hand, then (she has stipulated that) as much as the matter is worth, so much money shall be given over. Nymphidia Monime has put the question; L. Plaetorius Fortunatus (and) Q. Aemilius Epagathio have promised.

(the written receipt (*apocha*), lines 43 ff.)

I, Cosmion, slave of the associated Augustales of Misenum, have confirmed in writing that I have accepted from Nymphidia Monime, the heir of Cominius Abascantus, ten thousand sesterces bequeathed to the Augustales, my masters, for the purpose specified above. I, Aemilius Epagathio, have signed for the ten thousand sesterces and I have promised as regards the agreement written above. I, Plaetorius Fortunatus, have signed for the ten thousand sesterces and I have promised as regards the agreement written above. Enacted at Misenum on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of January, in the consulship of M. Calpurnius Longus and D. Velius Fidus.

## C

The die (Pl. XII) measures 49 cm in height by 47 cm. Lines 1–4, more deeply incised in larger lettering of descending heights (line 1: 1.5 cm; line 2: 1.3 cm; lines 3–4: 1–1.2 cm), are followed by lightly incised rustic capitals of fair to indifferent quality in the body of the text (the letters of lines 5–23 are 1 cm in height). The top bars of F's extend in diagonals above the lines (e.g., line 1, Orfito; line 8, *infra*; line 14, *munificentiam*; line 17, *suffragantis*); and the crossbars of T are curved and rise above the line (e.g., line 4, Trophimo; line 8, *est*). These characteristics, taken together with the fact that when transitions to a new theme occur (lines 9 and 20) the left-hand margin is extended to highlight these, make it highly probable that this text and its counterpart on the right side of the stone were carved by the same hand — despite the somewhat larger letters in the body of this inscription.

Ser(vio) Scipione Orfito Q. Sossio Prisco co(n)s(ulibus)  
 III Nonas Ianuar(ias)  
 Miseni in templo Aug(usti) quod est Augustalium corpor(atorum)  
 Misensium ibi referentib(us) Atinio Trophimo  
 5 et Valerio Epaphrodito curatorib(us) anni sui de com-  
 modis dandis Nymphidiae Monime, placuisse  
 Augustalibus corporatis ex consensu univer-  
 sorum quod est infra scriptum:  
 cum Nymphidia Monime quondam Comini Abascanti  
 10 collegae nostri tam circa exornationem municipi  
 munifici quam erga sanctissimo decurionum  
 ordini nobisque ac municipibus nostris debitam  
 gratiam admodum rei familiaris suae liberalis  
 uxor, secuta mariti sui peculiarem munificentiam

- 15 obsequentissime reverenterque nos fovere perseve-  
rans, non solum suo verum etiam memoriae eius  
suffragantis ei aput nos nomine honorificum de no-  
bis meream titulum, conveniatque nobis hanc  
eius bonam voluntatem digne remunerari,  
20 placere Augustalibus Nymphidiam Monimen in  
corpore nostro adlegi, eique sportulas dierum  
sollemnium ac divisiones quas viritim ac-  
cipimus dari.

**Lines 1–2:** 3 January 149 C.E.; the *ordinarii* were Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus and Q. Pompeius Sosius (*sic*; for Sossius cf. *IG* 12, 3, 325, 1.17 ff.) Priscus, and the latter's full name may have been much longer: cf. *CIL* VI.31753; *AE* 1966.115; and especially H. G. Pflaum, 'L'inscription de Bologne concernant Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus', *Bonner Jahrbucher* 172 (1972), 18–23.

**Line 2:** this is the third instance in the dossier from Misenum attesting to the meeting-place of the Augustales: *templum Augusti, quod est Augustalium*. The earlier two, dateable to 102 and 105 C.E., respectively (Base 5, De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 22; Base 1, Camodeca (1996b), 163), do not specifically describe the Augustales as *corporati* in the *quod* clause, but as has been seen above (note on A, line 8), the terminology — and hence legal standing as a *corpus* — were in place already in the earlier year.

**Lines 3–4:** here is our most explicit evidence for the function of *curatores* within the organization as a whole. The starting point is the fact that *senatus consulta* of Rome provided the model for municipal practice. Thus, in prescripts of imperial municipal decrees (*decreta decurionum*), after year, month, day and place of the meeting were spelled out, the names of the year's two chief magistrates (*duoviri*) normally follow: they had the authority to convene the *ordo decurionum* and to bring a particular *relatio* to the vote (cf. e.g. *ILS* 6676, Pola: *referentibus P. Muttienu Prisco et C. Marcio Histro IIviris*; cf. R. K. Sherck, *The Municipal Decrees of the Roman West*, Arethusa Monographs 2 (1970), 59–73). In our text, Atinius Trophimus and Valerius Epaphroditus, *curatores anni sui*, brought the motion; it follows on analogy with decurional practice that this pair must have been the chief administrative officials of the Augustales in 149 C.E., and already in office by 3 January: as the *ordo decurionum* modelled its procedures and structures on those of *magna Roma*, so the Augustales adopted those of the *ordo* (for other examples of *anni sui* in the Misenum dossier cf. De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 38: Sex. Gellius Georgus, *curator Augustalium anni sui*; cf. Base 5, *ibid.* 22, line 18: *curatores sui cuiusque anni*). *Curatores perpetui*, it will be recalled, also had authority to bring a *relatio*: see note on A above, lines 3–4. It may be noted that the practice found in Misenum was not universal: in second-century Ostia, *curatores* occupied a lower position in the administrative hierarchy of the *seviri Augustales*, and performed a different function: they were treasurers, *quinquennales* were the presidents: cf. R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (2nd edn, 1973), 218. Other decrees of the Misene Augustales appear on Base 5 (above, n. 5, 102 C.E.), and Base 1 (above, n. 4, 113 C.E.).

**Line 11:** obscurity results from the author's poorly executed attempt to express a complex series of abstractions without recourse to relative clauses. For similarly obscure compactness, cf. also lines 16–18, where the sense is: Monime deserves recognition both for her own merits, and on account of his (Cominius') memory that speaks for her with us.

**Line 14:** Monime's furthering of the *peculiaris munificentia* (for the sense of *peculiaris* cf. *CIL* IX.1569, . . . *eximium munus et peculiare praeter ceteros honores insigne*) of Cominius appears to have consisted, to date, of the *viritim* distribution of eight sesterces and the *epulum* that she gave to the Augustales at the dedication of his statue (A, lines 21–2) — but, as will be seen in the following note, they may have had reason to hope for more. The amount of Monime's *viritim* distribution to Augustales, eight sesterces, was anomalous: the figures for seven such distributions, along with *epula*, are attested in the Misenum dossier, five at the *per capita* rate of 12 HS, the other two at 8 HS (12 HS: De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 28 (Base 6, 97 C.E.); Camodeca (1996b), 164, n. 108 (Base 10, 99

c.e.); *ibid.*, 163, lines 18 (Base 1, 113 c.e.); Text A above, line 8 (148 c.e.); De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 41, at the dedication of the pronaos, probably late in the reign of Antoninus Pius; 8 HS: *CIL* X.1881, on which see A above, note on lines 2–3; and Monime's gift). It deserves noting that at Misenum, such *per capita divisiones* to Augustales substantially exceeded the median average of 8 HS that prevailed elsewhere in Italy: see Duncan-Jones (1982), 141.

**Lines 20–21:** Camodeca (1996b), 164, has assembled the six known instances of *adlectio in ordinem decurionum* at Misenum — all of them of course males. The fact that our first attested case of adlection into the *corpus Augustalium* (for an Augustalis *immunis*, cf. *ILS* 6059) concerns a woman, not a man, should arrest attention; I know of no parallels from other cities. In effect, Monime assumed the place formerly occupied by her late husband (for the circumscribed role of women in civic offices in Asia Minor, see R. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation* (1996)): other honours were beyond her reach since, as a freedwoman, she could not be *patrona* of the *corpus* (for a freeborn *patrona* of Augustales cf. *CIL* IX.3132 Corfinium). Remarkable also is the fact that the Augustales could apparently take such an initiative on their own; most often elsewhere, the authority to appoint Augustales rested with the *ordo decurionum* (many examples in Dessau's index XI E, *res municipalis*, 708, including 6473, a man honoured with *ornamenta Augustalium* by the *ordo* in Brundisium; cf. the cases noted by Duthoy (1978), 1266, 1281; but Augustales are sometimes found acting with a similar degree of independence elsewhere: e.g., at Ostia, cf. Abramenko (1993), 230 ff.; cited also by Camodeca (1996b), 167, *q.v.* also for other references). The one other known local woman of high profile, Cassia C.f. Victoria (along with her husband she donated the ornate tetrastyle pronaos of the precinct sometime in the mid-160s c.e.) was *sacerdos Augustalium* — (De Franciscis, *Sacello*, 41); though she was *ingenua*, her husband, Laecanius Primitivus (*CIL* X.1880) was, like Nymphidia Monime's, an actively generous *curator perpetuus* of the Augustales. I think it highly likely that, in awarding Monime an apparently unprecedented honour, self-interest entered into the calculations of the Augustales. Making the fourteen annual payments required by the terms of Cominius Abascantus' legacy (B above) could well prove to be exacting, especially if income on principal fell short of 6 per cent in any given year. Were the Augustales counting on the probability that his wealthy widow, now that she actually belonged to the *corpus Augustalium*, would find herself even better disposed to make additional gifts, benefactions, and a legacy?

**Line 23:** how were the events illuminated by Texts A, B, and C distributed over time? While various reconstructions are of course formally possible, it seems most natural to assume that Cominius had dedicated the town's two statues and completed his accompanying acts of *munificentia* by 147 c.e.; that the local *ordo* then awarded him *ornamenta decurionalia*; that shortly after the series of benefactions that begin with *praeterea* in line 11 of A the local Augustales awarded him a statue; that after his death his statue was dedicated by Monime and erected, with Text A carved, sometime early in 148 c.e. Months will then have been required to settle the final form of the legal arrangements, to appoint *curatores*, to secure the *sponsiones* that conclude the *stipulatio*, and to arrange for Cosmion's formal receipt of the money, enacted at the end of 148 c.e. (B). Early in 149, Nymphidia Monime was adlected in the *corpus Augustalium* (C); Texts B and C were inscribed on the two flanks of the base shortly thereafter — just as the decree of 113 c.e. was added to Base 1 after the face of that stone had received its inscription (Camodeca (1996b), 163 ff.).

### Translation

In the consulship of Servius Scipio Orfitus and Quintus Sosius Priscus, on the third day before the Nones of January. At Misenum, in the temple of Augustus which is that of the incorporated Augustales of Misenum. There, on the motion of Atinius Trophimus and Valerius Epaphroditus, the annual presiding officers, concerning the granting of perquisites to Nymphidia Monime, the incorporated Augustales decided,

with all of them in agreement, that which is written below. Whereas Nymphidia Monime, the widow of Cominius Abascantus our colleague, a man as generous concerning the adornment of the town as he was extremely giving of his private property with reference to the obligation owed to the most august order of decurions, and to us, and to his fellow townsmen; (whereas Monime), most faithfully following her husband's outstanding generosity and respectfully persisting in supporting us, deserves a title of honour from us, not only on her (own) account, but also on account of his (Cominius') memory, that speaks on her behalf with us; and whereas it befits us to repay this goodwill of hers properly, it was decided by the Augustales that Nymphidia Monime be adopted into (membership in) our body, and that the donations on solemnly marked days and the divisions which we receive on a person-by-person basis be given (also) to her.

*American Council of Learned Societies and Columbia University*