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Establishing, Displaying and Strengthening Group Identity by Making Offerings and Producing Texts: Some Case Studies from Ostia's Guilds

Abstract

This paper will focus on the offerings made within some *collegia* of Ostia. Considering both the content and the layout of inscriptions recording offerings, I will examine whether they reveal any features distinguishing a guild identity and how such features were expressed. In short, my research aims first to elucidate the connections between the given object, the text recording the offering, the group within which the gift was made and the honoured gods or emperors. Ultimately, I will try to assess to what extent these offerings recorded by a text reflect a 'group style'. Did they contribute to establish, display and strengthen a group identity?

Keywords: Roman religion, offerings, Ostia Antica, *collegia*, *dendrophori*, *cannophori*, *corpus traiectus Rusticeli*

In this paper, I will focus on one specific form of 'grouping together', the ancient guilds (*collegia*), in one particular town, the harbour of Rome, Ostia.¹ These voluntary associations had various forms with different status.² Some were officially recognised by the Senate of Rome; others were tolerated as long as they did not disturb the public order. Some presented themselves as a professional group (*fabri tignuarii*); others as a group devoted to one specific god or cult for example (*cannophori*). The members of the associations were mostly recruited among freedmen and freeborn plebeians. Within one association, there could be some social and economic distinctions between the members. Some wealthier members had a well-developed social network and were very close to the élite of the city (*decuriones*); others had a far more modest economic and social capital (in Bourdieusian terms). The collegial organisation was partly modelled on that of the city, with one or more *magister/magistri* [*quinquennalis/es*] (similar to the city's magistrates), *curator(es)*,

¹ Meiggs 1973; Pavolini 2006.

² Tran 2006.

patronus/i etc. The associations formed a framework for community life and offered their members a space of conviviality. They gathered in common rooms belonging to the *collegium* where they had collective meetings, worship, banquets. Some collegial laws from Rome and Italian cities make clear that these associations had a specific religious life, with their own calendars and festivals.³

Actually, ancient guilds did not match the socio-historical category of 'textual communities'. However, they produced texts that were displayed in the guild seat or in public spaces (forum, temples). In some way, they shared a 'graphic culture' – if one considers the notion proposed by Petrucci and defined by Chartier as 'the whole range of written objects and practices in a given society', including the 'differences among contemporary forms of writing and cataloguing multiple uses to which writing is put'.⁴ Most of the associations produced different types of texts. Some of these texts have disappeared for ever: association's archives, *tituli praelati*, i. e., inscriptions on wood tablets carried in processions,⁵ etc. Other texts, engraved on stone, have been preserved: the *lex collegii*; dedicatory inscriptions of the association's locale (*schola*) or temple; the *album* or *alba*: list(s) of the members, with their patrons, presidents, *plebs* e. g.; honorific inscriptions for a prominent member, benefactor, president, or patron etc.; inscriptions recording collegial decrees; inscriptions recording offerings.

The last category and to a lesser extent, the second one will be investigated here: inscriptions recording offerings made to the gods and offerings made to or for the emperor or his family.

Considering both the content and the layout of these inscriptions, I will examine whether these offerings reveal any features distinguishing a guild identity and how such features were expressed. Many questions have to be addressed in order to achieve this goal. What kind of texts are these inscriptions? They may be found on the given object itself, or on its base, but, and more surprisingly, they can also be lists (registers) of offerings made within the association. By whom were these offerings donated? On behalf of the *collegium*, by individual members, which members? Where were these texts put up? By whom were they meant to be seen? What was the function of these texts and of the given objects? Why did the association or one member want to record an offering with a text? When were the offerings made? Were the dates accurately chosen? Who were the divine or human recipients of the offerings?

3 Estienne, Gilles and Huet 2004, 282–285.

4 Chartier 2007, viii.

5 Veyne 1983.

In short, my research aims first to elucidate the connections between the given objects, the texts recording the offerings, the group within which the gifts are made and the honoured gods or emperors. Ultimately, in the wake of Eliasoph and Lichterman's article on 'group style',⁶ I will try to assess to what extent these offerings recorded by a text reflect a 'group style'. Did they contribute to establishing, displaying and strengthening a group identity? Can they be considered as

- markers of 'group boundaries': what do they tell us about 'the group's relationship (imagined and real) to the wider world'?
- indicators of the 'group bounds': what do they tell us about the links within the group, its hierarchy etc.?
- indicators of 'speech norms': is there a specific form for the gifts made within a group (wording and material shape of the inscriptions and offerings)?

Making an offering recorded by an inscription was a common practice among the Ostian associations. Here I have chosen three case studies, documented by particularly interesting inscriptions, which allow a thorough investigation.

1 The offerings register of an anonymous *collegium* (AE 1940, 62)

An anonymous *collegium* kept, in a single document, a record of donations made by members of the association since the dedication of its seat in 143 CE, be they offerings of statues, pieces of furniture or *sportulae* (table 1).⁷ The third column of the inscription is missing. Therefore, the name of the association, the exact title of the first *magistri* and the list of post-154 offerings are absent. This document does not appear to have been updated throughout the donations. Therefore it would have resulted from a decision to commemorate in stone the donations made by members of the *collegium* since the dedication of the *statio* in 143.⁸ It was most likely displayed in the still unidentified seat of the association.⁹ Why would the association have decided at some point to commemorate those donations in stone? Actually, it is quite difficult to give a firm answer. Was it a way to celebrate a special

⁶ Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003.

⁷ AE 1940, 62 (53 × 67.5 × 3.7 cm). Cf Meiggs 1973, 325–326.

⁸ Calza 1939, 33; Herz 1980–1981, 154.

⁹ The guild seat was perhaps located close to the place where the two inscriptions related to it were found, at the corner of the decumanus maximus and the *Via degli Horrea Epagathiana* (Calza 1939, 30).

anniversary of the association, maybe the twentieth? We know from other sources that some *collegia* celebrated their foundation each year. Perhaps, when they were made, these gifts were not accompanied by a text.¹⁰ Later the association could have wanted to keep alive the memory of the donors; at the same time, the text would have provided an example for the younger and future members.

In this document, the members of the *collegium* were not clearly distinguished by the rank they held or had taken in the association (table 1). The first two members conducted the dedication of the *schola* and were very likely *magistri* – that is to say the presidents. Perhaps this was also the case for the two ‘pairs’ that offered a statue of the emperor – and not a single *imago* (a head or a bust). If my hypothesis is correct it should moreover be noted that the *sportulae* were supposed to be distributed by the presidents of the association. The choices they made were not left to chance, as the statues represented the later Marcus Aurelius (with Victory), Lucius Verus and finally Antoninus Pius, the first two being in wood and marble (*acrolitha*), the last one in bronze.

The *imagines*, whose weights varied, were given by individual members. These were probably ordinary members; some belonged to the same family. Antoninus, the emperor, was not given a statue in a first stage but received four *imagines*, while Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus received two and one respectively.

The donated statues and *imagines* clearly indicate that this association focused on the cult of the imperial family and of deities that were closely related with it, such as *Victoria* and *Concordia*. It is noteworthy that an altar had been dedicated to Concordia in Ostia, *decreto decurionum*, shortly before, in honour of Antoninus Pius and his deified wife, Faustina.¹¹

The guild seat was likely dedicated to the *numen domus Augustae*, like other ones in Ostia. However, this was not necessarily an association of *cultores* (devotees). Several associations in Ostia chose the imperial *numen* as dedicatee of their meeting place and regularly celebrated festivals related to the family of the emperor.¹² The gift of a *sportula* (distribution of money), 19 March 154, could indicate that the members of this *collegium* were engaged

10 Does this gift made by M. Antonius Ingenuus in 145 (*AE* 1940, 63) match the offering mentioned in the list of the guild? It is not impossible, but the wording instead suggests that the gift recorded in the list was made in conjunction with the dedication of the *statio* in 143. If these are indeed two different offerings, the one made in 145 was not included in the list, perhaps precisely because it was accompanied by a text.

11 *CIL* XIV 5326; *AE* 2001, 620. See Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Zevi and Caldelli 2006, 154.

12 Van Haeperen 2013, 155–177; Van Haeperen (forthcoming).

in craft activities. Indeed this date corresponded to the festival of Minerva, patron goddess of craftsmen.¹³

Other dates chosen for the dedication of offerings seem meaningful. The association's *statio* was dedicated in 143, on the fifth of the Kalends of a month whose name is lacking. One could suggest the fifth day before the Kalends of March, which corresponds to the date of the adoption of Marcus Aurelius by Emperor Antoninus.¹⁴ This hypothesis is particularly interesting because the two presidents of the association gave, it seems at the same time, a statue of Marcus Aurelius Caesar and another one of the emperor. However, another solution should be considered. Indeed one of these *magistri*, Marcus Antonius Ingenuus, made, two years later, a dedication *pro salute imperatoris*, five days before the Kalends of August.¹⁵ It could therefore be assumed that the *statio* would also have been dedicated five days before the Kalends of August. In addition, it seems that this date had been of some significance for associations of the Roman world. So, e.g., the *magistri* and *ministri Fontis* made a dedication on this day in 168;¹⁶ much farther away, in the colony of Aquincum (current Budapest area), a prefect of the *collegium fabrum* made a dedication *pro salute* to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and led on the same day a procession of the association.¹⁷ The reasons for this predilection are not obvious.¹⁸

The dates of the other offerings, between 143 and 154, are not specified. Some of them may have occurred on the same day as the dedication of the *statio* or on dates of imperial anniversaries (*dies natalis* or *dies imperii*), such as in the case of offerings placed by members of the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli* (see *infra*).

The list of dedications made by the members of this anonymous *collegium* is an exceptional document. Almost all the other inscriptions recording dedications are engraved either on the given object (e.g., an altar) or on its base (e.g., a statue). Such is the case of the offerings made within two *collegia* closely connected to the cult of *Mater Magna*, the *dendrophori* and the *cannophori*.

¹³ Degrassi 1963, 426–428; Dumézil 1974, 310–313; Van Andringa 2009, 284–289.

¹⁴ Kienast 1996, 137.

¹⁵ *AE* 1940, 63; Herz 1980–1981, 154.

¹⁶ *CIL* VI 154 = *ILS* 3888.

¹⁷ *CIL* III 3438.

¹⁸ Degrassi 1963, 488 reports no special celebration on this date, which corresponds to a day *comitalis*.

2 Offerings made within the *collegia* of *dendrophori* and *cannophori*

From Claudius' reign to the late Roman Empire, the *dendrophori* (tree-bearers) were responsible for the 'procession of the pine tree' on 22 March (this was related to the death, under a pine tree, of Attis, lover of the goddess). The *cannophori* (reeds-bearers) were responsible for the procession of 15 March (which opened the festival cycle in March and probably referred to the 'discovery' of the young Attis in reeds).¹⁹

In Ostia, their *schola* was most probably located in the large *Campus* of the goddess, south of the city, since many dedications made within these associations have been found there (fig. 1).²⁰

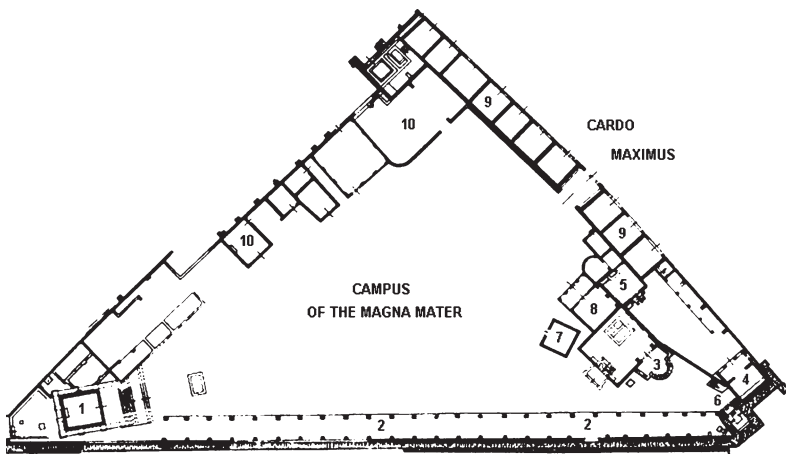


Fig. 1. The Campus of the Magna Mater. After Meiggs 1973, fig. 26. (<http://www.ostia-antica.org/regio4/1/1.htm>)

1. Temple of Cybele. 2. Porticus. 3. Shrine of Attis. 4. Temple of Bellona. 5. Guild house of the *hastiferi*. 6. 'Fossa sanguinis'. 7. Shrine. 8. Shrine. 9. Shops. 10. Rooms.

But their meeting place has not been identified with certainty. For years researchers have tended to identify the *schola* of the *dendrophori* (and the *cannophori*) with structures found behind the temple.²¹ However, a care-

¹⁹ Fishwick 1966; Borgeaud 1996, 132–134; Van Haepere 2011a, 475–476; Van Haepere 2012.

²⁰ Berlioz 1996; Bollmann 1998, 318–320; Rieger 2004, 93–172; Pensabene 2007, 321–333.

²¹ Visconti 1868, 385–386; Rieger 2004, 115–116. 143. 159–171.

ful examination of the archaeological remains and their level makes this hypothesis very unlikely. Indeed, the ground level of these structures was much lower than that of the temple, which largely obliterated them.²² In other words, they are older than the temple, which dates back to the time of Hadrian, with perhaps a first phase in about the middle of the first century.²³ Therefore the structures behind the temple had not been in use at the same time as the temple. Some scholars have even considered the possibility that the niches behind the temple were used as an exhibition space for the dedications that have been found there.²⁴ However, this too hasty interpretation disregards the information provided by the discoverer.²⁵ Indeed, in one of these niches the excavator found a statue of Magna Mater and seven dedications made within the association of *cannophori*. But this niche was carefully blocked, perhaps by pagans wishing to preserve intact the offerings after the pagan cults were banned. In 415, the meeting places of the associations related to traditional religions were confiscated.²⁶ In other words, though this niche contained many dedications, this was not their original place of display.²⁷ More likely, the seats of the *dendrophori* and *cannophori* were located in one of the large rooms in the northern part of the Campus, unfortunately poorly preserved and poorly documented, or in one of the shrines (*sacelli*), close to the *Attideum* (fig. 1).²⁸

I will first examine the material shape of the dedications made within these two *collegia* (table 2).²⁹ The first observation is obvious.

Most of the *cannophori*'s offerings, i. e., the seven dedications found in the niche sealed at the rear of the temple, were put on very similar bases.³⁰ Only the bases are preserved. They show comparable sizes (their height is slightly longer than their width), and similar (though not identical) mouldings at the bottom and at the top. The epigraphic field is usually surrounded by a profiled frame. Two other dedications made by the *corpus* of the *cannophori* are very different from those described so far.³¹ They were found reused in the floor of a room north of the *Campus*. These two inscriptions

22 Berlioz 1996, 102; Bollmann 1998, 318–319; Rieger 2004, 115; Steuernagel 2004, 94; Pensabene 2007, 326–327.

23 Ultimately Pensabene 2007, 324–327.

24 Berlioz 1996, 109.

25 Visconti 1868, 385–386.

26 *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.20.2.

27 Bollmann 1998, 319; Steuernagel 2004, 94; Pensabene 2007, 327.

28 Bollmann 1998, 319.

29 Rieger 2011, 158–160.

30 *CIL* XIV 34. 35. 36. 37. 116. 117. 119.

31 *CCCA* III 398. 399.

shared very similar wording and form (size; epigraphic field framed by an incised line; form of the letters). They could therefore have been donated together. They seem also to predate the others. Perhaps these dedications were put in another place than the guild seat or in a first phase of the *schola* which would possibly have been rebuilt later (like those of the *dendrophori* and the *hastiferi*).³²



Fig. 2. Offerings within the *collegium cannophorum*. From left to right: CIL XIV 34. 35. 36. CCCA III 398. 399; CIL XIV 116. 117. 119. 37.

Most of the offerings given to or by the *dendrophori* (six or seven) also appear to follow some kind of pattern.³³ In this case, the bases were positioned on their longer side. They had similar sizes and shapes (mouldings). Two of them were found reused outside the *Campus*,³⁴ but their physical appearance and text leave no doubt as to their original location.

³² CIL XIV 35; AE 1948, 31.

³³ CIL XIV 33. 53. 67. 69. 71. 107 and perhaps AE 1948, 24.

³⁴ CIL XIV 33. 67.



Fig. 3. Offerings within the *collegium dendrophorum*. From left to right: CIL XIV 33. 53. 67. 107.

In addition to these quite similar material characteristics, the texts of these dedications appear to adhere to a relatively rigid format (table 2):

- possibly the name of the emperor, in the dative;
- name of the dedicant(s), sometimes followed by his (their) function(s);
- dedicated object (except when the name of the emperor appears at the beginning of the inscription): *signum* (statuette), *imago* (bust or head), *typum*;
- possible mention of the material (silver) and the weight of the object dedicated (sometimes even when the object offered is not explicitly mentioned);
- name of the *collegium* (*dendrophori* or *cannophori*) which is the recipient of the dedication (except when the *collegium* itself is the dedicant);³⁵
- verb indicating the donation (except when the *collegium* itself is the dedicant);
- possible mention of a distribution having followed the dedication;
- possible mention of the date of the dedication.

On the basis of these findings, one might have assumed that these dedications were set up more or less at the same time, e.g., during the outfitting

³⁵ Note that the *collegium* is almost always qualified by the adjective *Ostiensis*.

of the guild's seat. However, the dates of the dedications do not support this hypothesis (table 2). Offerings were made to the *cannophori* at least between Antoninus Pius' reign (138–161) and 212. Dedications within the *collegium dendrophorum* were made at least between 142 and 256.³⁶ It seems therefore that the donors within these two associations followed a sort of 'group style' both in physical form and in written expression of their dedications.³⁷ This issue will be discussed further in the last part of this paper.

Who were the people who gave these offerings in a more or less *collegium* standard manner (table 2)? They most likely belonged to the association, but a closer examination turns out to be worthwhile. Most of them were freedmen or descendants of freedmen, as onomastics quite clearly show (even if only one of them explicitly affirmed his status).

There is, apparently, an exception.³⁸ An *imago* of Crispina, Commodus' wife, would have been dedicated by a *uir clarissimus*, i.e., a senator, if one believes the reading of the editor. However the excellent picture of the inscription³⁹ provided by Rieger shows very clearly that the reading of the letters VC (*u(ir) c(larissimus)*) is not correct. The letters correspond to a 'y' and to a 'g'; they are preceded by a curved letter, probably an 'r'. 'Fryg' or 'Phryg' may then be read: this suits very well since Mater Magna and Attis could be described as Phrygian.⁴⁰ This new reading of the text therefore eliminates the alleged exception.

However, these dedicants were not just 'anyone' in their associations. Either they held a prominent place in the worship, such as the *archigallus* (a kind of priest-prophet of Mater Magna)⁴¹ who gave the *cannophori* two statuettes, or at a lower scale a freedman, *apparitor* of a priest.⁴² Or they occupied a particular rank in the association, such as *immunis*, *quinquennalis*, *honoratus*, *pater*, or *mater*.⁴³ Some were even patrons of the guild:⁴⁴ actually two *patroni* made the heaviest and thus more expensive offerings. Other

³⁶ See table 2 for the references.

³⁷ Rieger 2011, 159–160 speaks of conformity of these bases.

³⁸ AE 1948, 24 (between 178 and 191): *Jag(---) Crispinae / [--- ex] arg(enti) p(ondo) III et clipe[um] / [---]m aereum et signu[m] / [---] v(ir) c(larissimus) dend(rophorus) Ost(iensis) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / [--- d]edicavit et dedit / [---]ul(---) sportul(as) X.*

³⁹ Rieger 2004, 146 Abb. 118.

⁴⁰ AE 1969/70, 119 (Gaeta); CCCA V 121 = AE 1913, 24 (Lambaesis); CIL II 179 = ILS 4099 = CCCA V 184 (Olisipo); CIL VI 508 (Rome: *sacerdos Phryx maximus*); CIL VI 10098; CIL VIII 8457 (Sitifis).

⁴¹ Van Haepelen 2011a, 473–474.

⁴² CIL XIV 34–35. 53.

⁴³ CIL XIV 37. 69 (*pater, mater*). 117. 119 (*immunis*). 67 (*honoratus*). 71; AE 1989, 127 (*quinquennalis*).

⁴⁴ CIL XIV 71; AE 1987, 198.

dedicants mentioned a function they held outside the association, reflecting their relative social success (such as *seuir augustalis*).⁴⁵ In fact, only a devotee, Calpurnia Chelido, provided no title – yet she was the one to make one of the heaviest offerings.⁴⁶ Some dedicants collaborated in order to make their offerings, maybe to share the costs (such as *pater* Domitius Aterianus and *mater* Domitia Civitas).⁴⁷ The significant presence of women among these dedicants is noteworthy.⁴⁸

From these offerings we also learn which gods were worshipped within the association and at which time of the year. It is no wonder that statuettes of the goddess owner of the sanctuary and her lover Attis were given within the two *collegia*. The multiplication of these divine images in the same space might be more surprising at least within the *cannophori*: two offerings for Mater Magna, two for Attis, but their shapes vary. Two statuettes of them were given by the *archigallus*, one carrying an effigy of Nemesis, the other one a *sigillum* of Frux;⁴⁹ Calpurnia Chelido gave a *typum* of the goddess; the *pater* and *mater* a *signum* of Attis.⁵⁰

The *schola* of the *dendrophori* was dedicated to the *numen* of the imperial house, just as was that of the *cannophori*, it seems.⁵¹ This helps to explain the presence in these areas of many dedications to the emperor or his family members. Making offerings for/to the emperor was actually a common practice among the associations. The date chosen for one of them deserves to be noted. The dedication to Caracalla fell on 4 April (212), the date of his birthday (which also corresponded to the first day of the games related to the goddess, the Megalesia).⁵² Besides the particular reigning emperor (Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, or Caracalla),⁵³ his children (Faustina, Antoninus' daughter), his wife (Crispina, Commodus' wife) or his mother (Julia Augusta) could also be honoured.⁵⁴ The position of the women has to be stressed here as well. It seems as if the other associations of the town did not pay much attention to the imperial women.⁵⁵

⁴⁵ CIL XIV 33.

⁴⁶ CIL XIV 36.

⁴⁷ CIL XIV 37; AE 1989, 127.

⁴⁸ CIL XIV 36. 37. 69. 127.

⁴⁹ CIL XIV 34. 35.

⁵⁰ CIL XIV 36. 37.

⁵¹ CIL XIV 45. 285.

⁵² CIL XIV 119. Kienast 1996, 162; Degraasi 1963, 435.

⁵³ CIL XIV 34. 97. 107. 116. 117. 119.

⁵⁴ CCCA III 399 (Faustina Aug. filia); AE 1948, 24 (Crispina); 1989, 127 (Julia Augusta).

⁵⁵ Van Haepelen 2013, 164–165.

Other deities than Mater Magna and Attis were also present in these dedications. Do these simply demonstrate the private worship of the devotees or do they reflect a kind of pantheon of the *collegium*? Before trying an answer, let us consider the evidence. In addition to the 'imperial cult' or Mater Magna and Attis, the *cannophori* worshipped also the genius of the *decuriones* (town councillors).⁵⁶ Whereas the genius of the town (*genius coloniae*) was publicly worshipped and had its own priest, offerings to the *genius decurionum* were scarce at Ostia. One of them came from the *collegium* of the *apparitores* (which were attached to the magistrates and the decurions);⁵⁷ the other from a scribe of the colony (who therefore probably belonged to their guild)⁵⁸ and, since he was a *hastiferus*, he was also linked to the cult of Bellona, close to that of *Mater Magna*. Did the *cannophori* perhaps count in their ranks *apparitores* of the town?

What about the *dendrophori*? They also made offerings to Mars, Silvanus, Terra Mater and Virtus.⁵⁹ These choices should be explained by taking into account the functions of Mater Magna and these divinities.⁶⁰ Often represented with a mural crown, the goddess of Pessinus appeared as a tutelary deity, protectress of the town. Upon her arrival in Rome at the end of the second Punic war, she followed a military route, as shown by Scheid, since she went through the Capene door, before the temple of Mars and that of Honos and Virtus.⁶¹ Like those traditional gods, the Mother of the Gods was seen as a protectress of the city. The location of her shrine at Ostia, near the city wall, and its military name (*campus*) are indicative of this status.⁶² It is therefore no wonder that the *dendrophori* were given statuettes of Mars,⁶³ the warrior god, a formidable guard against any enemy, and Virtus, a deity personifying courage.⁶⁴ The offering to Mars was given on 15 May, a day after a public holiday for Mars Invictus, and the day of Jupiter's Ides.⁶⁵ Together with Honos, Virtus was publicly given a silver statue in 146 by a wealthy benefactor in Ostia (who also offered games for the occasion).⁶⁶ Could a

56 CCCA III 399.

57 Bloch 1953, n. 241.

58 AE 1948, 30.

59 CIL XIV 33. 53. 67. 69.

60 See the brief remarks by Floriani Squarciapino 1962, 9 and Steuernagel 2004, 235. Van Haepere 2011b, 121–123.

61 Scheid 1994, 9–10.

62 Berlioz 1996, 108.

63 CIL XIV 33.

64 CIL XIV 69. Dumézil 1974, 252.

65 Degrassi 1963, 457–459.

66 Bargagli and Grosso 1997, 47–48.

dendrophorus have imitated him? Moreover, the Mother of the Gods was sometimes worshipped together with Virtus.⁶⁷

The presence of Silvanus is also easily understandable.⁶⁸ This god, whose name related to the *silvae*, was often depicted wearing a pine branch and was qualified as *dendrophorus* in two inscriptions from the Roman *dendrophori*.⁶⁹ He also appeared as the guardian of the limits he protected against external dangers. Offering a statue of Silvanus to the ‘tree-bearers’ *dendrophori* was therefore appropriate in many respects.

On the day before the Kalends of May 13, thus on the eve of the 19 April *Cerealia*, an honorary president of the *dendrophori* offered his colleagues a statuette of Terra Mater.⁷⁰ The relationship between Ceres, sometimes referred to as *mater agrorum*⁷¹ and *Tellus/Terra Mater*, also celebrated in April, during the *Fordicidia*, is well known. Again this gift made sense, since the March ceremonies in honour of Mater Magna were intended to ensure ‘the fecundity of the earth and the planted fields, at the same time as it protected the health of the emperor and political communities.’⁷² In April, it was the turn of Terra Mater and Ceres (among others) to ensure the proper growth of cereals.

The choice of traditional deities set up on these bases was not left to chance. The functions of these gods reflect or complement various aspects of the mode of action of Mater Magna. The dates of the dedications also appear to have been carefully selected.

3 Offerings recorded by the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli*

The members of a ferrymen’s guild, the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli*, also seem to have selected specific dates for the gifts they made, at least between 145 and 172 (table 3). In particular they offered their *collegium* silver busts or heads of the emperor (or one of his family members) on a shield (*clipeus*) carried by a bronze Atlante.⁷³ Two dates corresponded to the anniversary dates of members of the imperial family, the emperor Antoninus Pius and the later Lucius Verus. An *imago* of his adoptive son, the later Verus, was

⁶⁷ CCCA V 121 (Lambaesis).

⁶⁸ CIL XIV 53 = ILS 4173.

⁶⁹ Dorcey 1992, 19. 31; CIL VI 641. 642.

⁷⁰ CIL XIV 67.

⁷¹ CIL XI 3196.

⁷² Borgeaud 1996, 132

⁷³ Herz 1980–1981, 145–153. CIL XIV 4554. 4555. 4556.

given for the sixtieth birthday of Antoninus.⁷⁴ This was probably a way to emphasise the imperial *concordia* and the continuity of power. Unfortunately we do not know which *imago* was given on the birthday of Lucius Verus.⁷⁵ The inscription *CIL* XIV 4556 recorded a gift made ten days before the Kalends of a month whose name is lacking. If this is the month of December, this donation could have been set up to commemorate the triumph of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus on 23 December 176.⁷⁶ But we cannot exclude the tenth day before the Kalends of August or September, which would then correspond to the *Neptunalia* or *Volcanalia*.⁷⁷ Now the latter festival is of particular importance to Ostia, since Vulcan was the *deus patrius* of the city.⁷⁸ It should further be noted that another guild, the *mensores*, dedicated on this day a well to Ceres and the Nymphs.⁷⁹ But also the tenth of the Kalends of August, i. e., the *Neptunalia*, is a significant date. Neptune could indeed be honoured by the *lenuncularii*, as evidenced by a recent discovery in Arles.⁸⁰ At the present state of our knowledge, the choice of 6 February for another dedication cannot be explained in connection with an imperial date or festival in the Roman calendar.⁸¹

Some offerings were donated by two members, possibly the presidents of the association who at the same time gave the members *sportulae*.⁸² Other offerings were made by only one member.⁸³ In this case, the member appeared to be quite prominent. He held a position either outside (*aedilis sacris Volkani faciundis*) or within the association (*curator, quinquennalis*) and could have made his gift to mark his accession to the office (*ob honorem*). In one case, it seems that the father made a dedication for his son's accession to the presidency.⁸⁴

These offerings made at least between 145 and 172 were recorded by inscriptions found reused in the floors of diverse buildings. They most probably came from the guild seat, the location of which is not known. Thus these inscriptions were not carved on the bases of the given objects. According to Herz, these marble slabs could have covered a podium on which the

74 *CIL* XIV 4553. Kienast 1996, 134.

75 *CIL* XIV 4554. Kienast 1996, 143.

76 Kienast 1996, 138.

77 Herz 1980–1981, 149.

78 *CIL* XIV 3.

79 *CIL* XIV 2. Van Haeperen 2010, 245–246.

80 Christol and Fruyt 2009; Christol and Tran 2014.

81 *CIL* XIV 4555.

82 *CIL* XIV 4554. 4555.

83 *CIL* XIV 4553. 4556. 5327–5328; *AE* 1989, 125.

84 *CIL* XIV 5338.

offerings were set up.⁸⁵ Each object would have been put above the corresponding inscription. Another solution can be considered: these texts could have been engraved on the walls of the guild seat, displaying the benefactions of the wealthier members. For now the question remains open: only a direct careful examination of the inscriptions would help decide between these options.

4 Do offerings recorded by a text reflect a 'group style'?

With the three case studies as background, I will now consider the following issue: do these offerings recorded by a text reflect a 'group style'?

The first question to be addressed is that of the markers of the 'group boundaries'. What do these donations tell us about 'the group's relationship (imagined and real) to the wider world'?⁸⁶

Roman associations are sometimes described as microcosms, but microcosms turned outwards, toward a macrocosm, be it the city-state or even the imperial world.⁸⁷ According to some dedications' texts, some of the associations perceived themselves as being rooted in their city. The *dendrophori* and *cannophori* explicitly stated their relationship to the city, almost always using the adjective *Ostiensis* in their title.⁸⁸ Such use of the adjective derived from the name of the city is documented for a number of other *collegia* in Ostia and in other cities of the empire. As I have argued elsewhere, the associations bearing the name of their city corresponded largely to associations of public utility, either by the profession of their members, or by their active participation in the religious life of their city.⁸⁹ Some of these municipal associations had also been authorised to gather by the senate of Rome.

The associations' relationship to their city may also be analysed according to their presence outside the guild seat. Was a *collegium*, e.g., granted a plot of public land to build its *schola* or to set up honorific statues to a prominent member or to its patron? Some associations of Ostia took great pride in such privileges and proudly engraved it on inscriptions erected in the public sphere (e.g., 'Piazza delle Corporazioni').⁹⁰ The *collegia* we have considered here did not have such a public profile. Only one inscription from

⁸⁵ Herz 1980–1981, 148.

⁸⁶ On 'group styles', Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003, 739.

⁸⁷ Goffaux 2012, 218; Rosso 2013, 89–113.

⁸⁸ Table 2. *CIL* XIV 34–37. 116–117; 33. 45. 53. 67. 69. 71. 107; *AE* 1987, 198.

⁸⁹ Van Haepelen 2012.

⁹⁰ Tran 2006: *mensores, fabri tignuarii* e.g.

the *dendrophori* could have been set up in another space than the *Campus* of the goddess they served. This dedication to Antoninus Pius, made in 139 (one year after his accession to power), was found in 1804 near the forum, together with a beautiful portrait of the emperor.⁹¹ The material shape and the wording of this offering did not match the dedications made in the *Campus*, as Rieger already underscored.⁹² Furthermore, the features of the material and wording of this inscription are close to those of a dedication made by another association, the *mensores*, to Marcus Aurelius in 161 (or 171).⁹³ These two similar offerings could have been set up in a single public space, maybe a temple dedicated to the 'imperial cult' (according to Rieger's suggestive hypothesis, in the building of the *Tempio rotondo* first phase).⁹⁴ Anyway, the *collegia* could express their loyalty to the emperor in public spaces, displaying on carved offerings their group identity.

Dedications to the emperor made in the guild seat may also be interpreted as a way to connect the group to the wider world. The prevalence of imperial effigies in an association's context has sometimes been explained by the imperial authorisation which allowed *collegia* to meet: these would have been expressions of gratitude. Maybe such was the case for the scarce associations enjoying this privilege. But this explanation is not enough. According to Rosso, the guild seats equipped with major dynastic cycles reflected a desire to equal the most official events of municipal loyalty at the collegial level. '*Collegia* joined in the civic chorus of imperial celebration, but as separate, recognized and identifiable entities'.⁹⁵

The dedications made to some deities by the *collegia* could also be interpreted as an imitation of civic models, at least in some cases. Thus a statue of Concordia was offered to the anonymous *collegium* AE 1940, 62, shortly after the Concordia of the emperor and his deified wife was publicly given an altar in the city.⁹⁶ The *dendrophori* were donated a statuette of Virtus, whose relations with Mater Magna have been highlighted. But in 146 a benefactor publicly gave this goddess a silver statue. Some member of the *dendrophori* could have imitated, at the collegial level, this gift made in the civic sphere. It would be unwise to draw more general conclusions from these observations, limited to our three case studies. However it would be interesting to extend the analysis to the offerings made by other *collegia* of Ostia and elsewhere.

⁹¹ CIL XIV 97. Rieger 2004, 297 (MM 72), 307 (TR 31).

⁹² Rieger 2004, 297.

⁹³ Bloch 1953, 19.

⁹⁴ Rieger 2004, 190–198.

⁹⁵ Rosso 2013, 87–88.

⁹⁶ See *supra* and also CIL XIV 5339.

From the extensive documentation gathered about Ostia, it appears that *collegia* particularly made dedications to gods who were also worshipped in the public sphere (such an observation cannot be extended to informal workers' associations or neighbourhood groups).⁹⁷

The dedications recorded by inscriptions are also an indicator of the 'group bounds'. Family ties (in the ancient sense of the term) sometimes appear in offerings made within the same association. Some donors held the same *nomen* (table 1–3): they could be father and son, brother and sister or freedman/-woman of the same patron. They could act together or separately. A father could make a donation together with his son or to celebrate his son's accession to a collegial office. Thus this was a way of displaying the social mobility and (relative) success of the family within the *collegium*.

Some dedications were made on behalf of the group, without any mention of the members acting on its behalf (see the *cannophori*): it was the group's identity (not the actors) that was put forward.

Other offerings were given by one or two members. Within the *collegia* of *dendrophori*, *cannophori* and the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli*, these donors usually stressed the recipient of their gifts, namely the *collegium* they belonged to. The texts recording these dedications thus clearly established a link between the donor and his association but also between the donor and the guild on the one hand, and the god or the emperor whose image was offered, on the other.

Moreover, making an offering within the association appears as a means of self-promotion, or self-celebration. This can be seen within the *collegia* of *dendrophori*, *cannophori* and the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli*: donors were not just 'anyone' in the association and they did not fail to indicate their titles either in or outside the group.⁹⁸

The donation's register of the anonymous *collegium* AE 1940, 62 did not provide any reference to the member's titles. Were these really 'ordinary members', contrary to what I suggested above? The comparison with the other cases considered should make us cautious. Maybe these were also prominent members, or at least financially comfortable.⁹⁹ The *fasti* of the Ostian *Augustales* provide an interesting parallel. Some of them seem to have acquired a title in their association, after making a donation.¹⁰⁰ The list of the anonymous college would thus have celebrated members who had

⁹⁷ Van Haepelen (forthcoming).

⁹⁸ Table 2 and 3.

⁹⁹ Some of them also seem to have belonged to other *collegia*. The issue of *collegiati* multiple identities would be worthwhile investigating.

¹⁰⁰ Oliver 1958; Abramenko 1992.

distinguished themselves by making an offering (without mentioning their possible titles, not even the presidency).

Perhaps some members were supposed to act this way, for example when attaining a particular office in the association. The offering would therefore match the *summa honoraria* paid by the magistrates of the city after their election or the expenditure *ob honorem* (optional act of benefaction, in gratitude for getting the position).¹⁰¹ These practices could have been codified in the *lex collegii*, but they could equally have been regulated by some kind of 'collegial custom' or more or less explicit 'group pattern'. Texts recording these offerings gave some members the opportunity to distinguish themselves, to stand out from the *plebs collegi*. Making such offerings also meant they enjoyed a certain affluence.

Even if not explicitly stated, two male members making an offering together were likely to be the association's presidents. In the anonymous *collegium*, they were the only ones to give a statue, a far more expensive donation than an *imago*. But a president could also act alone, displaying his own benefaction without sharing the costs with his colleague (see the *dendrophori*).

Epigraphic records of offerings may be interpreted as a sign of individualisation of some *collegiati*.¹⁰² But these practices were quite regulated within a collective framework, as shown by the wording and material shape of the inscriptions and offerings. By their specific form, the donations made within an association are also an indicator of the group's 'speech norms'.

Some features are common to the *collegia* considered in this paper. Offerings were made by prominent members, possibly the presidents. These were never votive offerings. Distributions to the members (*sportulae*) could accompany the donations. The dedications were made on significant dates in relation to the given object and/or to the group's calendar. The dates associated with the emperor played a significant role. But other dates were characteristic of each group. Thus, peculiar features distinguished each association we contemplated. The material shape of the offerings or their bases appears to have been quite codified and was specific for each group. Members of the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli* gave an emperor's bust on a shield carried by an Atlante; the bases of the offerings made respectively by the *cannophori* and the *dendrophori* had a similar shape and wording. What accounts for this relative homogeneity within each group, even over several years or decades? Could these practices have been codified in the *lex collegii*, as sug-

¹⁰¹ Duncan-Jones 1974, 126–127. 147–155.

¹⁰² Rüpke 2013.

gested by Wickert in the *CIL*? Though the *lex collegii* could have included some information about a president's duties, I do not think it would have provided details of the offerings' shape or wording. Those issues were more a matter of 'collegial custom' or 'group style', be it explicit or not. The first offerings given within the *collegium* could have served as an example for the later donors, who would have then imitated the 'offerings-pattern' imparted by the first presidents and/or donors. It seems therefore that a sort of 'pattern' emerged either explicitly or implicitly and was followed by the members both in physical form and in written expression of the dedications. Recently, Rosso has reached a similar conclusion for the sculptural decoration of some guilds' seats in Italy.¹⁰³ These sculptures were not established at the same time, but a rather coherent iconographic program resulted from various individual initiatives over time.

A last issue to be addressed is the function of the offerings. Though these were most likely set up in the guild seat, were they only meant for decoration (and maybe for some cultic activities)?¹⁰⁴ Such was most probably the case for the statues given within the anonymous association, but what about the *signa* (statuettes) or the *imagines* (busts or heads) which were not very heavy (from one to three Roman pounds, i.e., about 327.45 gr. to 982.35 gr.)?¹⁰⁵ These could have been used for the processions that associations participated in. Evidence for such processions and the involvement of the *collegia* is scarce, but this is primarily due to the nature of the sources.¹⁰⁶ Anyway, these small offerings perfectly match the category of 'processional statues' that Madigan recently highlighted, citing iconographic evidence (with insights about the association of carpenters [*fabri tignuarii*] of Rome).¹⁰⁷ Further, among the honours decreed for the deceased Drusus, it was prescribed that a silver shield with Drusus' portrait (*clupeus argenteus cum imagine Drusi*) had to be carried in procession by the Roman knights.¹⁰⁸

If this hypothesis proves correct, those small offerings would have not only served to adorn the guild seat. These would also have been exhibited outside these locales during the processions. Therefore these statuettes and *imagines* would have been a means for displaying the group identity in the public sphere.

¹⁰³ Rosso 2013.

¹⁰⁴ Fishwick 1991, 556.

¹⁰⁵ Duncan-Jones 1974, 163.

¹⁰⁶ Fishwick 1991, 538. 556; Goffaux 2008, 54 gives the evidence: *CIL* III 3438; Cassius Dio 75.4.5–6; *SHA Gall.* 8.6; *Aur.* 34.4; *Pan. lat.* 8 (5. 8. 4).

¹⁰⁷ Madigan 2013, 1–38.

¹⁰⁸ *CIL* VI 912. Letta 1978, 14 n. 56.

Finally, these texts and the offerings they recorded appear to have fulfilled various functions within the Ostian associations we examined. Obviously the inscriptions recorded the worshipped gods or the honoured emperors. But these texts also served as a means for self-promotion. Further, the donations which were ‘memorialised epigraphically’¹⁰⁹ provided examples for the members (present and future) who wished to distinguish themselves by making an offering. More importantly perhaps, these dedications hint at the connections and interactions between prominent members of the group, the association recipient of the gift, and the gods or emperors whose image was offered. These offerings thus helped to establish, display and reinforce the group identity.

While the act of giving mostly resulted from individual initiative, it equally met a group style.¹¹⁰ On the one hand, making an offering within the *collegium* might have been an obligation for members who had obtained a function. On the other hand, the dedications followed a kind of pattern that characterised the group and differentiated it from other associations, at least slightly. Therefore making an offering was also a way of strengthening the group identity.

109 Woolf 2013.

110 Woolf (<http://www.uni-erfurt.de/fileadmin/user-docs/Kollegforschergruppe/WoolfD3.pdf>): ‘Setting up a monumental inscription alongside others was in effect inscribing oneself into a particular social as well as geographical location’; ‘Put otherwise, they [i. e. inscriptions] monumentalise identities *conceived of largely in relational terms*.’

Appendix

Table 1. Offerings made within the anonymous association AE 1940, 62

dedicant	object given
– <i>curante Antonio Ingenuo</i> – <i>et Herenule[io Fausto --]</i> (5 kal. de?, en 143)	– <i>statio dedicata</i> – <i>qui munera in statione posuerun(t)</i>
<i>M(arcus) Antonius</i> <i>Ingenu(u)s</i>	– <i>statuam Verissimi Caesaris / cum Victoria{m}</i> <i>acrolitha{m} /</i> – <i>imaginem argentiam / Antonini Aug(usti) p(ondo) I /</i> – <i>et ob dedic(ationem) uniuers(is) HS IIII n(ummum) /</i> <i>imaginem Antonini Aug(usti) p(ondo) II /</i>
<i>A(ulus) Herenuleius</i> <i>Faustus</i>	<i>imaginem Aeli Caesaris p(ondo) I /</i>
<i>C(aius) Voltidius</i> <i>Martianus /</i>	<i>imaginem Concordiae arg(entiam) p(ondo) I s(emissem) /</i> <i>imaginem Verissimi Caesar(is) / argentiam p(ondo) I</i> <i>s(emissem) /</i>
<i>C(aius) Antistius Hermes /</i> <i>C(aius) Antistius</i> <i>Onesimus /</i>	<i>imag(inem) arg(entiam) Antonini Augusti p(ondo) I /</i> <i>imag(inem) arg(entiam) Verissimi Caes(aris) p(ondo) I /</i>
<i>C(aius) Nasennius Felix /</i> <i>C(aius) Nasennius Felix</i> <i>Iun(ior) /</i>	<i>scamna n(umero) VI /</i> <i>me(n)sas n(umero) IIII et scabilla II /</i>
<i>P(ublius) Aelius Eutyclus /</i> <i>M(arcus) Cornelius</i> <i>Maximus /</i>	<i>statuam acrolitham L(uci) Aeli / Commodi s(ua) p(ecunia)</i> <i>p(osuerunt) //</i>
– <i>M(arcus) Aeficius</i> <i>Hermes /</i> – <i>et Cn(aeus) Sergius</i> <i>Felix /</i>	<i>miliarium cum caldario / d(onum) d(edit) /</i>
<i>Ti(berius) Claudius</i> <i>Threptus /</i>	– <i>statua(m) aerea(m) Antonini / Aug(usti) cum basi</i> <i>marmorea / s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuerunt)</i> – <i>et ob dedicationem eius uiritim HS IIII n(ummum) /</i> <i>dederunt /</i>
– <i>Q(uintus) Cornelius</i> <i>Hermes /</i> – <i>et L(ucius) Aurelius</i> <i>Fortunatu[s] /</i>	<i>imag(inem) arg(entiam) Antonini /</i>
<i>L(ucius) Cornelius</i> <i>Euhodu[s] /</i>	<i>par candelabra d(onum) [d(edit)] /</i> <i>(h)emitylia VI (h)illas IIII /</i>
<i>L(ucius) Aurelius Cui[---] /</i> <i>L(ucius) Cornelius</i> <i>Euhodus /</i>	<i>obtulit in conuentu [---] / ea condicione uti ex us[uris] /</i> <i>summae s(upra) s(cryptae) omnibus an[nis] / VIIII</i> <i>K(alendas) Sept(embres) die natali[s] su[i] / i(i) qui in</i> <i>collegio es[sent] / epularentur / (...)</i>
<i>/ P(ublius) Sextilius</i> <i>Agripp[a] / (14 kal. Apr.</i> <i>154)</i>	

Table 2. Dedications made within the *collegia* of *cannophori* and *dendrophori*

coll.	reference	found	support	dedicant's function	dedicant(s)	object given	to whom	when	for whom/ for what
cann.	<i>CIL</i> XIV 34	in 1867 in the niche at the back of the temple of Mater Magna	small marble base (31.7 × 21.5 × 19 cm)	archigallus col. Ost.	Q. Caecil- ius Fuscus	<i>imago Matris deum argentea p(ondo) I cum signo Nemesem</i>	cann. Ost(iensibus)	late second to early third cen- tury (hammered name of the emperor Commo- dus or Caracalla)	<i>pro salute imp.</i>
cann.	<i>CIL</i> XIV 35	in 1867 in the niche at the back of the temple of Mater Magna	small marble base (27.5 × 20.3 × 12.3 cm)	archigallus col. Ost.	Q. Caecil- ius Fuscus	<i>imago Attis argentea p(ondo) I cum sigillo Frugem aereo</i>	cann. Ost.	idem	
cann.	<i>CIL</i> XIV 36	in 1867 in the niche at the back of the temple of Mater Magna	small marble base (31.2 × 22 × 20 cm)	/	Calpurnia Chelido	<i>typum Matris deum argenti p(ondo) II</i>	cann. Ost.	perhaps c. 200 (cf. <i>CIL</i> XIV 118)	
cann.	<i>CIL</i> XIV 37	in 1867 in the niche at the back of the temple of Mater Magna	small marble base (34.3 × 34 × 24.5 cm) On the left, <i>syrix</i> ; right, Phrygian cap and <i>pedum</i>	– <i>pater</i> – <i>mater</i>	– Q. Domi- tius Ateri- anus – Domitia Ciuitas	<i>signum Attis</i>	cann. Ost.	late second to early third cen- tury	

coll.	reference	found	support	dedicant's function	dedicant(s)	object given	to whom	when	for whom/ for what
cann.	CIL XIV 116	in 1867 in the niche at the back of the temple of Mater Magna	small marble base (33 × 21.8 × 15,5 cm)	corpus	corpus can-nophorum Ostiensium	(imago imp. ?) arg(enti) p(ondo) I	/	late second to early third century (reign of Septimius Severus)	imp(eratori) Septimio Seuero
cann.	CIL XIV 117	in 1867 in the niche at the back of the temple of Mater Magna	small marble base (26 × 20 × 18 cm)	corpus	corpus can-nophorum Ostiensium	(imago imp. ?) arg(enti) p(ondo) I	/	under Marcus Aurelius or Caracalla	imp(eratori) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus
cann.	CIL XIV 119	in 1867 in the niche at the back of the temple of Mater Magna	small marble base (29 × 20 × 20 cm)	immunis (cann. Ost.)	C. Caesius Eutyction	– (imago imp. ?) a(rgenti) p(ondo) I (scriptula) VIII	(cann. Ost.)	4 April 212	imp(eratori) Caracalla
cann.	CIL XIV 118	in Ostia in 1826	?	?	--- Stra-tonicus	(imago imp. ?)	cann. Ost.	200	imp(eratori) Septimio Seuero

coll.	reference	found	support	dedicant's function	dedicant(s)	object given	to whom	when	for whom/ for what
cann.	CCCA III 398	in the northern part of the <i>Campus</i> , reused in the pavement of a room	slab (26 × 45 × 3.5 cm)	<i>camephori</i>	<i>camephori</i>	/		under Antoninus Pius (cf. CCCA III 399)	<i>Genio decurionum</i> <i>Ostiensium</i>
cann.	CCCA III 399	in the northern part of the <i>Campus</i> , reused in the pavement of a room	slab (25 × 54 × 3 cm)	<i>camephori</i>	<i>camephori</i>			under Antoninus Pius	<i>Faustinae</i> <i>Aug(ustae)</i> <i>P(ii) f(filiae)</i>
cann.	CIL XIV 285	in Ostia in 1867, probably in the Mater Magna <i>Campus</i> ; lost	?	<i>camephori</i> ?	<i>camephori</i> ?	<i>schola</i>	cann.		
dend.	CIL XIV 45	near the Mater Magna temple	marble slab	<i>dendrophori</i>	<i>d[endrophori] Ostien[ses]</i>	<i>schola</i>			<i>numini domus Aug(ustae)</i>
dend.	CIL XIV 107	unknown	small base (32 × 50 cm c.)	<i>immunis</i>	[Q.] Fabius Q. f. Honoratus		dend. Ost.	161–169	[<i>L(ucio)</i>] <i>Aur(elio)</i> <i>Vero</i> <i>Aug(usto)</i>

coll.	reference	found	support	dedicant's function	dedicant(s)	object given	to whom	when	for whom/ for what
dend.	AE 1948, 24	in the <i>Attideum</i>	small frag- mented base (13 × 16 × 16cm)	?	?	<i>im[ag]o</i> <i>Crispinae</i> [--- <i>ex] arg(enti)</i> <i>p(ondo) III</i> <i>et clipe[---m</i> <i>aereum et</i> <i>sign[---f]ryg</i>	dend. Ost.	between 178 and 191	
dend.	AE 1987, 198	in 1949 in the southeast corner of the <i>Campus</i>	marble base (59 × 35 × 28 cm)	<i>patr(onus)</i> <i>et q(uin)</i> <i>q(uennalis)</i> <i>p(er)p(etuus)</i> <i>col(legii)</i> <i>den(dro-</i> <i>phorum)</i> <i>Ost(iensium)</i>	C. Iul(ius) C. f. Cocil(ius) Hermes	<i>signum M(atris)</i> <i>M(agnae)</i> <i>ex argent(o)</i> <i>p(ondo) III et</i> <i>[(sectans)</i>	(dend.)	13 January 256	
dend.	AE 1989, 127	?	?	<i>q(uin)</i> <i>q(uennalis)</i> <i>p(er)</i> <i>p(etuus)</i>	– C. Cippius Corin- thianus – Claudia Secun- dina	(<i>signum</i> ? of the empress ?) <i>ex</i> <i>argenti p(ondo) II</i> <i>ob dedicationem</i> <i>epulum et [---]</i>		195–217	<i>Iuliae</i> <i>Aug(ustae)</i> <i>matr(i)</i> <i>castro(rum)</i>
dend.	CIL XIV 97	west of the <i>forum</i> , be- tween 1801 and 1804	marble slab	<i>dendro-</i> <i>[phori]</i>	<i>Ostien[ses]</i>	(emperor statue ?)		139	<i>imp(eratori)</i> Antoninus Pius

Table 3. Inscriptions recorded by the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli*

reference	found	support	dedicant's function	dedicant(s)	object given	to whom	date	for whom
<i>CIL</i> XIV 4553	reused in the Antonine Baths	marble slab	<i>decur- (ionum) dec(reto) aed(ilis) II sac(ris) V[olcani]) fac(tundis)</i>	M. Marius M. f. Pal. Primitivus	unspecified	corpus traiect(us) Ru[stic(eli)]	(19 Sept. 145) = <i>dies natalis</i> <i>Antonini Pii</i>	later L. Verus
<i>AE</i> 1989, 125	?	?		Idem	unspecified	corpus traiect(us) Ru[stic(eli)]		unspecified
<i>CIL</i> XIV 4554	'entro le case della via della fontana'	fragmented marble slab		<i>]Fel[ix et ---/---]Mar- tinus</i>	<i>[im]ag(inem) ex arg(ento) p(ondo) II/ [cum clipeo et At]ante aereu (sic)</i>	corpus traiect(us) Ru[stic(eli)]		unspecified
<i>CIL</i> XIV 4554	'nelle terre di scarico, che erano rimaste amucchiate intorno al tea- tro '	fragmented marble slab		<i>L. Faler[ius --- et]/ M. Mariu[s] M. f. Prim- itiuus</i>	<i>imag[in]es s(upra)[s(c)riptas]</i>	corpus traiect(us) Ru[stic(eli)]	<i>XVIII Kal. Ian. (15 Dec. 166) = dies natalis Lucii Veri</i>	unspecified

reference	found	support	dedicant's function	dedicant(s)	object given	to whom	date	for whom
CIL XIV 4555	reused in the floor of a room ('ninth-feo'), at the corner of the Decumanus and the <i>via delle corporazioni</i>	fragmented marble slab		[--- V]ale- riu[s ---] / [--- Qu]adratia- cum] / [cli]peo [nus ---] [aere]o	[im]ag(inem) ex ar[gi]enti p(ondo) --- et att[ante] / [aere]o	corpus traiect(us) Ru[stic(eli)]	VIII Id. Feb. (6 Feb. 172)	... Aug. ...
CIL XIV 4556	reused in the floor of a room ('ninth-feo'), at the corner of the Decumanus and the <i>via delle corporazioni</i>	fragmented marble slab	curator	Ius Rufus	[imag(inem?) ex arg(ento) p(ondo) II s(emissem) cum / [cli]peo e]t Atlante aer(eo) d(ono)	corpus traiect(us) Ru[stic(eli)]	X Kal. [Dec. ?] (23 Dec. (161 – 180)	[fratri or filio ... Imp. Caes.] / [M. Au]reli Antonin[i] / [Au]gusti /
CIL XIV 4556	reused in the floor of a room ('ninth-feo'), at the corner of the Decumanus and the <i>via delle corporazioni</i>	fragmented marble slab				only two letters remaining		

reference	found	support	dedicant's function	dedicant(s)	object given	to whom	date	for whom
CIL XIV 5327	reused in the floor of the forum Baths	fragmented marble slab	qq	---/us		corpus traiectus Rusticeli		
CIL XIV 5328	reused in the forum Baths	same slab as the previous one	seuir Augustalis	M(arcus) Mar[uius ---]	unspecified	corpus traiectus Rusticeli	161–180	M(arco) Aur[elio Caesar] / Imp(erato- ris) Cal[eu- saris T(iti) Aeli] / Hadria[ni Antonini Aug(usti)] / Pii lp(atris) p(atriciae) filio]

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Religion in the Roman Empire

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Religion in the Roman Empire (RRE) is bold in the sense that it intends to further and document new and integrative perspectives on religion in the Ancient World combining multidisciplinary methodologies. Starting from the notion of 'lived religion' it will offer a space to take up recent, but still incipient research to modify and cross the disciplinary boundaries of 'History of Religion', 'Anthropology', 'Classics', 'Ancient History', 'Ancient Judaism', 'Early Christianity', 'New Testament', 'Patristic Studies', 'Coptic Studies', 'Gnostic and Manichaean Studies', 'Archaeology' and 'Oriental Languages'. It is the purpose of the journal to stimulate the development of an approach which can comprise the local and global trajectories of the multi-dimensional pluralistic religions of antiquity.

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