

## AFRICAN AND OSTIAN CONNECTIONS: THE CASE-STUDY OF LUCIUS CAECILIUS AEMILIANUS

*Abstract:* The Roman Empire was characterised by increased mobility. Improved infrastructure, trade links, and Roman citizenship enabled people to move around the Mediterranean and settle in a new place. The harbour city of Ostia, with its vast movement of people and goods, was emblematic of this phenomenon of mobility and connectivity. People from all over the Roman Empire, including many from the Roman North African provinces, lived and worked here. Evidence for this is especially visible in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni with its many *stationes* relating to African cities such as Carthage. This article will explore these connections between Africa and Ostia by studying an inscription erected by an African veteran and *duovir*, Lucius Caecilius Aemilianus, who dedicated this inscription while he was living and working in Ostia. In this inscription, he displayed an interesting combination of both his African military past and his Ostian commercial present career as he was a member of the *corpus splendidissimum importatorum et negotiantium vinariorum*. This article will examine this combination of facets of identity and also the reasons why Caecilius chose to display his identity in this way.

Increased mobility was one of the characteristics of the Roman Empire. An improved infrastructure, trade links, and Roman citizenship enabled people to move around the Mediterranean and settle in a new place. Scheidel states that this human mobility was “a direct function of empire-building and a defining feature of Roman identity”.<sup>1</sup> The harbour city of Ostia, with its vast movement of people and goods, was emblematic of this phenomenon of mobility and connectivity. The city was a melting-pot of cultures, with people from all over the Roman Empire living and working here. Some of these individuals would have only stayed in Ostia for a limited period of time, for example, labourers who only worked during the sailing season or soldiers, but there were also many people from across the empire who came to Ostia and settled, worked, and died in this city.<sup>2</sup> Africans were among the people who lived here and Meiggs has argued that it was actually with Africa that Ostia had the closest connections as a result of the grain imports.<sup>3</sup> Already in 60 BC, Pompey had set up a regular grain supply from Africa to Rome, and other products such as oil and

<sup>1</sup> Scheidel (2004) 1.

<sup>2</sup> Aldrete (2004) 213.

<sup>3</sup> Meiggs (1973) 214.

fish-sauce had arrived sporadically from Africa to Ostia in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. However, the 1st and 2nd centuries AD saw a boom in the production of agricultural goods in Roman North Africa and, as a result, there was also an increase in the exportation of these goods to Rome via Ostia.<sup>4</sup> The geographical distance between Africa and Ostia was but a short trip away by boat as Pliny points out that it was possible for a ship to travel between Africa and Ostia in two days.<sup>5</sup> This trade continued throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD and grew even stronger despite the political upheavals of the time. The connections between Africa and Ostia are especially clear in the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* which was dominated by traders from African towns who had their offices here, as can be seen from the various mosaics decorating the Piazzale stations.<sup>6</sup>

Many inscriptions were dedicated in Ostia by people connected with the African trade. This article will examine the establishment of identity which took place when an individual came to Ostia, and the display thereof, via an inscription erected in Ostia by Lucius Caecilius Aemilianus. It will be argued here that this inscription is a remarkable display of identity which reflects the multifaceted nature of identities in antiquity. It will be necessary first to establish Aemilianus' past identity in order to understand its display in the inscription here. This article will argue that this inscription shows a unique display of identity but that it is also emblematic of Ostia as an international society where migration and immigration were commonplace. This article will first examine Aemilianus' background and where he came from. This will then be followed by an examination of the history of viticulture in Africa, and lastly it will be looked at why this display of identity was so important for Aemilianus in Ostia. The main questions this article explores are: How are Lucius Caecilius Aemilianus' identities expressed in this inscription? Why did he choose to express these identities in Ostia? How did wine trade connect Ostia to Roman North Africa?

#### LUCIUS CAECILIUS AEMILIANUS

The inscription by Lucius Caecilius Aemilianus states that he was a veteran of the first praetorian cohort, *decurio*, and *duovir* in Africa:

<sup>4</sup> Martin e.a. (2002) 276, 277-278. African goods were not only exported to Rome of course.

<sup>5</sup> Pliny *HN* 19.1.4.

<sup>6</sup> Martin e.a. (2002) 278.

L(ucius) Caecilius / Aemilianus / veteranus ex coh(orte) / pr(ima) prae-  
 toria decu(r)io duovir Aeliae / Uluzibbirae Africae / corporatus in tem(plo)  
 fori vinari(i) inpor(tatorum negotian(tium) fecit sibi<sup>7</sup>

No date has been given for the inscription but it will be argued here that it was dated to the 2nd century AD. The inscription was not found *in situ*, but is currently placed rather haphazardly just off the *Via dei Molini*, north-east of the *Caseggiato dei Molini*. This inscription clearly states that after Aemilianus' period in Africa he enjoyed a commercial career in Ostia where he was a member of the *corpus splendidissimum importatorum et negotiantium vinariorum*. The members of this guild were involved in the import and sale of wine, especially in bulk.<sup>8</sup> Purcell states that the *vinarii* were mainly a phenomenon of the second century AD, especially during the late Antonine period.<sup>9</sup> An increased demand for wine, resulting from urban expansion, could be an explanation for this as well as the possibility to import greater quantities of wine due to increased production in the provinces. Purcell also states that members of the guild to which Aemilianus belonged were of high standing in Ostia, as is shown by the use of *splendidissimum* in the tile, and that, as such, they were comparable to a "commercial aristocracy".<sup>10</sup>

The combination of the three facets of identity here, namely the expression of both a past military and civic career as well as a present commercial identity, are rare. It will be argued here that the reason for this combination was because these identities were highly interconnected and that Aemilianus' past career aided him in his Ostian commercial occupation. The inscription is very clear in that it describes Aemilianus' past military and civil careers, and also places him within Ostian society by stating his membership of the Ostian *collegium*. Despite this high level of specificity, Aemilianus does not actually give a place of origin. The *nomen* and *cognomen* of Caecilius Aemilianus were commonly used both in Africa and Ostia so this does not give a clear indication of where he might be from.<sup>11</sup> However, it is possible to state with reasonable certainty that Aemilianus came from Africa because of recruitment patterns of soldiers here, praetorian enlistment requirements, and also his political career in Africa.

<sup>7</sup> AE 1940, 64: "Lucius Caecilius Aemilianus, veteran of the first praetorian cohort, decurion, duumvir in Aelia Uluzibbira in Africa, (member of the) guild of importers and traders in the temple in the Forum Vinarium, erected this for himself".

<sup>8</sup> Meiggs (1973) 275.

<sup>9</sup> Purcell (1985) 12.

<sup>10</sup> Purcell (1985) 12.

<sup>11</sup> Salomies (2002) 41.

The city of Aelia Uluzibbira, mentioned in the inscription, was in Africa Proconsularis, about twenty kilometres north-east of Hadrumetum.<sup>12</sup> Hadrumetum was a Punic city though little evidence of Aelia Uluzibbira remains, but it has been argued that it was founded as a military colony under Hadrian. The Roman conquest of Africa was a slow and gradual process. The original province of Africa had been created in 146 BC after the defeat of Carthage and the subsuming of its lands by Rome.<sup>13</sup> After this, the region became strongly urbanised and colonies were founded and populated with veterans and Italians.<sup>14</sup> This process truly commenced after the civil wars of the 1st century BC as there apparently had been little interest in Africa until the last decades of the Republic when the North African King Juba I had sided with Pompey in the civil wars. It is generally argued that Roman interest in North Africa only grew after Pompey's defeat and the annexation of Juba's territory.<sup>15</sup> The only legion to be stationed permanently in the African provinces was the *legio III Augusta*. It is not known exactly when this legion was founded but it has been suggested by Le Bohec that the legion originally formed part of Lepidus' army but that Augustus granted them the honour of his name as the result of some service which they had performed sometime between 27 and 19 BC.<sup>16</sup> It is also not known when the legion was transferred to Africa. However, as the *legio* participated in the African Wars of 6 BC to AD 9, this can be taken as a *terminus ante quem*.<sup>17</sup> While Proconsularis is sometimes thought to have been a demilitarised zone, a continuous military presence at the marble quarries of Chemtou shows that this was not the case.<sup>18</sup> Periodic reinforcements of local garrisons show that there was some form of unrest throughout the imperial period.<sup>19</sup> During the Hadrianic

<sup>12</sup> Alternative names for the city are Henchir Zembra, Ulusipari, Ulixibera, Unizibira, and Ulisippira.

<sup>13</sup> Sears (2011) 31.

<sup>14</sup> Sears (2011) 32, 34.

<sup>15</sup> Hobson (2015) 35 states that there was a minimal amount of Roman action in Africa for about a century after 146 BC. However, he does challenge the view that there was no Roman interest in the province and states that settlement already took place in the Republican period: Hobson (2015) 49, Brun (2004) 185; this led to the creation of the province of Africa Nova and added vast lands to be settled to the Roman Empire.

<sup>16</sup> Le Bohec (1989) 337.

<sup>17</sup> Le Bohec (2000) 373.

<sup>18</sup> Sears (2011) 31: the Roman conquest of Africa was a slow and gradual process. The original province of Africa had been created in 146 BC after the Carthaginian defeat. Mattingly & Hitchner (1995) 174-175. There was also an urban cohort in Carthage.

<sup>19</sup> Mattingly & Hitchner (1995) 175-176.

period there were numerous revolts here but also a vast expansion of territory which led to the eventual Roman control of most of the north of the African continent.<sup>20</sup>

Aemilianus states in his inscription that he was a member of the First Praetorian cohort and not that he was a veteran of the Third Augustan Legion. The praetorians were meant for the personal use of the emperor and they served in various roles, amongst others as imperial bodyguards and firefighters as well as by providing security at the games and handling prisoners.<sup>21</sup> For the majority of the Roman Imperial period there were nine praetorian cohorts.<sup>22</sup> These praetorians were men of free birth and it became customary to recruit men on an individual basis, rather than *en masse*, during the reign of Augustus.<sup>23</sup> These men were mainly of an Italian origin at this time and remained so until well into the Severan period. However, men from the provinces are known to have served as praetorians.<sup>24</sup> Aemilianus would, therefore, have had to have been a Roman citizen and, based on recruitment patterns and military traditions in North Africa, it is likely that he came from a military family. Being born into a military family would explain how he had gained his citizenship, especially as the fact that he held two civic posts in Africa after this service as a praetorian suggests that this was his place of origin (see below). It is possible that Aemilianus' father was a North African based upon the proposed date for the inscription and also recruitment patterns of the Third Augustan legion which changed considerably over time and have been studied extensively by Mann.<sup>25</sup> The headquarters of the Third Augustan

<sup>20</sup> See Le Bohec (1989) 335-365 for a full overview of military actions.

<sup>21</sup> Bingham (2013) 18: the official Roman *vigiles*, firefighters, were not professionally organised before AD 6.

<sup>22</sup> Bingham (2013) 15. There were nine praetorian cohorts and three urban cohorts in Rome during the Augustan period: Tac. *Ann.* 4.5.3. This number was raised to sixteen by Vitellius but reduced to nine again upon Vespasian's ascent to the imperial throne: *ILS* 1993; Bingham (2013) 37. The number of cohorts remained at nine until the time of Constantine who added another cohort bringing the number of Praetorian cohorts to ten: Bingham (2013) 37.

<sup>23</sup> Bingham (2013) 56. This custom might have its origins in the recruitment of the first praetorians who were veterans of Octavian and Anthony's cohorts.

<sup>24</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 4.5.3; Cass. Dio 56.23.4; Bingham (2013) 56. Dio lists men from Gaul and Germania while there is also evidence for people from Gallia Narbonensis, Spain, and Macedonia serving as praetorians in the 1st century AD.

<sup>25</sup> Le Bohec (2000) 378; Mattingly (1987) 8. The Italian origins can be surmised from the fact that the legion was first attested under Lepidus: Le Bohec (1989) 337. Collar (2011) 228 who argues that the Officers would have mainly been of a non-local and, thus, non-African origin.

legion moved three times during its period in Africa; during the Julio-Claudian period it was at Ammaedara and at this time Italians dominated the membership lists.<sup>26</sup> However, epigraphic evidence shows that once the legion was settled in here, local recruitment developed with soldiers generally being enrolled from the colonies and other settlements in the northern part of the province.<sup>27</sup>

Under Vespasian the legion moved to Theveste and the settlement at Ammaedara was turned into a veteran colony called *colonia Flavia Augusta Emerita Ammaedara*.<sup>28</sup> At this point there is still evidence for a non-African origin for at least some of the legionaries as some men came from Gallia Comata and Germania. Mann suggests that these men came from the Rhine legions which were disbanded by Vespasian and whose men were redistributed among the other provincial legions.<sup>29</sup> Further provincials are also attested as a *vexillatio* of the legion was sent to participate in the Parthian Wars. Local recruitment of soldiers took place at this time, probably in order to replace deceased soldiers.<sup>30</sup> Thus, while there were many non-African soldiers in this legion during this period, it is important to note that they now predominantly came from the other provinces and no longer from Italy. However, the main body of soldiers for the legion already came from the North African veteran colonies and *canabae*.<sup>31</sup>

The legion's final move was to Lambaesis, which occurred no later than AD 98. At this point local recruitment greatly increased and legionaries of a non-African origin rarely occur in the epigraphic record anymore, something which is shown especially via dedicatory inscriptions which were set up by veterans and included their place of origin.<sup>32</sup> An inscription, dated to the middle of the 2nd century, only includes African recruits who mainly came from the Julian, Flavian, and Trajanic veteran colonies in Africa Proconsularis.<sup>33</sup> Italian recruits do not occur in these lists at all anymore. These membership lists show that colonies had become the main source of recruitment for the legion from this time onwards and also

<sup>26</sup> Mann (1983) 12.

<sup>27</sup> Mann (1983) 12.

<sup>28</sup> *CIL* VIII 308. No inscriptions from here mention veterans.

<sup>29</sup> Mann (1983) 13.

<sup>30</sup> *CIL* VIII 18084; Mann (1983) 13.

<sup>31</sup> Mann (1983) 14.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, *CIL* VIII 2586 which is dated to AD 216.

<sup>33</sup> *CIL* VIII 1687.

that a tradition had developed which promoted the children of soldiers entering into the legion themselves.<sup>34</sup> As praetorians were always Roman citizens it is possible that Aemilianus himself came from a military family as Roman citizenship was granted to soldiers upon their retirement from the legion which was then passed on to their legal children. It became common in North Africa for the children of veterans to also pursue a military career. This would have made it likely that Aemilianus would also have joined the army and his father's military past could have also provided him with necessary connections which could have facilitated his entry into the Praetorian Guard. As a second-century AD date is proposed for this inscription, it is likely that Aemilianus' father was of an African origin, based upon recruitment patterns, and that Aemilianus, thus, also came from North Africa. This is backed up by the fact that Aemilianus returned to Aelia Uluzibbira after his period of service in Rome, and held the posts of *duovir* and *decurio*. Bingham notes that retired praetorians could take an active part in civic life in their place of origin after their period of service. In fact, she states, that while some praetorians did stay on in Rome, the majority returned to their place of origin which suggests that Aemilianus originally came from Aelia Uluzibbira.<sup>35</sup>

Aemilianus' African origin is important as his inscription was not erected in Africa but in Ostia.<sup>36</sup> It is aimed at an Ostian audience and Aemilianus must have had a reason for including these specific details about his past in Africa. The display of identity here, therefore, had a precise meaning for Aemilianus. He was not the only official from Africa who held a commercial post in Ostia as Publius Aufidius Fortis, who had been a *duovir* in Hippo Regis, is also known as being a *duovir*, *decurio* and *quaestor aerarii Ostiensium*. However, he only mentions a civil and not a military past.<sup>37</sup> Something which set Aemilianus apart in Africa as well as in Ostia is the fact that he was both a soldier and a civic official. In fact, Mann lists only nine inscriptions from Africa which mention a veteran also serving in civilian position, mainly as either a *duovir*

<sup>34</sup> Mann (1983) 16: people mainly joined the army from pre-Hadrianic colonies.

<sup>35</sup> Bingham (2013) 58-59. They could also chose to stay on as *evocati Augusti* in Rome.

<sup>36</sup> The epigraphic habit of Africa should be taken into account here, as only a few inscriptions erected by traders have been found in the North African provinces. The same phenomenon also occurs in the Spanish provinces: Broekaert (2016) 222.

<sup>37</sup> *CIL* XIV 303, 4621.

or a *flamen perpetuus*.<sup>38</sup> As he states “The veteran generally did not achieve any great economic or social standing”.<sup>39</sup> For at least some of these, for example a soldier who was *decurio*, *duovir* and *flamen perpetuus* in Madaura, they held these positions while they were still serving in the military. For this to have happened, it is likely that these soldiers served as an official in the place they came from. As Aemilianus was a veteran from the First Praetorian cohort he would not have served in Africa but in Rome. Therefore, for him to have held a civic position in Africa, it is likely, based upon the above, that Aemilianus did so in his place of origin, after his period of service in Rome.

Aemilianus seemed to have had a successful civic career in Africa which raises the question why he came to Ostia, though it should be noted that it is not possible to conclude from this inscription whether he settled here permanently or if this was a temporary move. Mann points out that while veterans did possess financial privileges they were not wealthy individuals.<sup>40</sup> Even in their own communities they would have found few opportunities for economic advancement and there was always the problem of reintegration into society after a long absence. These veterans also did not seem to have had any discernible impact on the local economies of Africa.<sup>41</sup> If there was indeed no chance of financial improvement in his place of origin, it is not unlikely that Aemilianus decided to try his chances in Ostia as the city had well-established connections with Africa. Cebeillac-Gervasoni has noted that there were many Africans who held important positions in Ostia, especially that of procurator of the *Annona*.<sup>42</sup> She states that of the fifteen known procurators between AD 112 and 211, ten definitely had an African origin.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *CIL* VIII 14697, 4679; *AE* 1921, 21; *AE* 1915, 69; Cagnat 1915, 36; *ILAlg* 2070, 2095, 2201.

<sup>39</sup> Mann (1983) 21.

<sup>40</sup> Mann (1983) 18, 19. He states that veterans would generally have had to settle in their place of origin or where they had been stationed. The rate of pay for praetorians was double that of legionaries.

<sup>41</sup> Cherry (1998) 147: it was probably that only a maximum of one hundred men were discharged every year from Lambaesis.

<sup>42</sup> Cebeillac-Gervasoni (1996) 564.

<sup>43</sup> Cebeillac-Gervasoni (1996) 559. This has led her to conclude that Africans had a monopoly on the grain trade in Ostia and that this in turn led them to control public life and the Ostian economy: p. 564. However, Salomies (2002) 153 argues that while she is right in pointing out the importance of Africans in Ostian society that this argument is “[...] somewhat exaggerated and lacking in subtlety [...]”.

The economy of Africa Proconsularis was especially strong in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD when it received vast revenues from the production of cereals, wine, and oil.<sup>44</sup> Wine was a commonly produced product in the region of Aelia Uluzibbira, Aemilianus' place of origin, as the soil and weather conditions were good for the cultivation of wine, and most wines from the region were highly valued.<sup>45</sup> However, African viticulture only developed after the Roman expansion of the province in the 2nd century AD and evidence from shipwrecks shows that Italian wines, especially from Campania, Latium, and Etruria dominated the market from the middle of the 2nd century BC to the Augustan period.<sup>46</sup> At the end of the Republic, Italian wines were being exported to the Aegean, West Africa, Spain, and Gaul.<sup>47</sup> However, this changed in the early imperial period, probably as a result of increased migration and mobility as in the 1st century AD vineyards developed in Spain and Gaul to such an extent that people here were no longer dependent on Italian wines and production became prolific enough to start exporting wines.<sup>48</sup> 181 wine amphorae from the Augustan period were discovered close to Ostia in Longarina, fifty-eight of which came from Spain which indicates that wine was being exported into Rome at this point.<sup>49</sup> African viticulture also expanded and while Brun can only identify one wine press in Proconsularis, the evidence

<sup>44</sup> Brun (2004) 199.

<sup>45</sup> Also the aridity of areas such as Tunisian high steppe and the Libyan Djebel meant that the cultivation of cereals was hard, perhaps making people prefer the farming of other products: Hobson (2015) 99; Redaelli (2013/14) 28.

<sup>46</sup> Paterson (1982) 152. It should be noted that there is considerable bias in the material recovered from shipwrecks as areas in the south of France have been studied far more extensively than other coastal regions: Rickman (2008) 7. More than 1,500 wrecks have been found dating to between 200 BC and AD 200 which shows the importance of sea trade to the people of the Mediterranean. Shipwrecks from Africa are rare, especially those with a cargo aimed for the Mediterranean market and not the African one: Tortorella (1981) 256. The earliest African shipwrecks can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD: Tortorella (1981) 360.

<sup>47</sup> Tchernia (1986) 125.

<sup>48</sup> Paterson (1982) 151, 152; Panella & Tchernia (1994) 145: there was also a change in the production and transport of oil. Gaul was a big consumer of wine early on where the product became a status symbol: Posidonius 3.2.6; Tchernia (1983) 92, 94; Tchernia (1986) 91. The production of wine here became more common from the Flavian period onwards where more wine distilleries have been found but these were scarce under Augustus: Tchernia (1986) 146.

<sup>49</sup> Tchernia (1986) 154; Unwin (2005) 123. Tchernia lists the distribution of amphorae as follows: 4 from Cos, 32 from Baetica, 26 from Tarragona, 42 from north Italy, 50 from Pompeii-Sorrento, 5 from Falernia, 8 Rhodian amphorae, and 14 unallocated Dressel 2-4 amphorae: Tchernia (1986) 154.

for viticulture in Mauretania Caesariensis is plentiful.<sup>50</sup> He suggests that people in the former province could have fermented the wine in amphorae which were then also used to transport the wine in, instead of using interred *dolia*.<sup>51</sup> Africa was well equipped to transport agricultural exports to Ostia and Rome as there were twenty-nine ports between the provinces of Mauretania Tingitana and Cyrenaica which provided the infrastructure necessary for this trade.<sup>52</sup> Africa Proconsularis was the best equipped province as it had twenty ports for ships to come and go from, most of which were probably built between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD.<sup>53</sup> The export of grain, especially for the *annona*, ensured that an excellent infrastructure was in place from an early date onwards which could then later also serve to transport other products out of Africa, connecting the province with Ostia.<sup>54</sup> Grain had been produced for the *annona* in Tunisia during the Republican period and there were facilities and a grain fleet in place at Carthage as early as the 3rd century BC.<sup>55</sup> While the best evidence for African trade comes from Rome and Ostia, the African market was not dependent on these places and it thrived throughout the tumultuous 3rd and 4th centuries AD.<sup>56</sup> The transport of grain is hard to attest archaeologically but as the liquid products were transported in *dolia* or *amphorae*, they are easier to trace and recover.<sup>57</sup> There were two main amphora types for African products, Africana I/Africana Piccolo and Africana II/Africana Grande, which were in simultaneous use between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD with

<sup>50</sup> Brun (2004) 202, 232ff. Hobson (2015) 70-71 states that the evidence for the production of wine is hard to discern from that for the creation of olive oil as both processes required similar equipment. The presence of a mill mortar on site is an indication of the production of olive oil as the equivalent process in the production of wine, namely the treading of grapes, is hard to attest archaeologically. Interpretations of these sites have often leaned towards olive oil over wine as it was long thought that African amphorae were predominantly used to transport oil: Hobson (2015) 71. He also says that there is evidence for a second press in the villa of Hr. Bou Garnin on the shores of Lake Bibèn

<sup>51</sup> Brun (2004) 204; Hobson (2015) 71-72.

<sup>52</sup> Stone (2014) 566. He mentions that there might be another sixteen possible ports.

<sup>53</sup> Stone (2014) 572, 586; Hobson (2015) 146: the Carthaginian port was improved in the 2nd century AD.

<sup>54</sup> While the best evidence for African trade comes from Rome and Ostia, the African market was not dependent on these places and it thrived throughout the tumultuous 3rd and 4th centuries AD: Mattingly & Hitchner (1995) 200. Hobson (2015) 93 states that new evidence from Uchi Maius shows that presses for oil and wine were still in use in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

<sup>55</sup> Mattingly & Hitchner (1995) 199.

<sup>56</sup> Mattingly & Hitchner (1995) 200.

<sup>57</sup> Rickman (2008) 9 says that cheap wine was transported mainly in *dolia* and not in *amphorae*.

no product-specific usage.<sup>58</sup> The production of North African wine coincided with the increase in demand and consumption of wine in an urban context and Purcell suggests that the free distribution of wine, the *crustum et mulsum*, actually increased the people's appetite.<sup>59</sup> He also notes that periods of rapid urban expansion, such as that which occurred in Ostia in the 2nd century AD, promoted a drinking culture.<sup>60</sup>

Aemilianus imported wine into Ostia and it is likely that he had met other traders and producers of wine while he was working in Africa Proconsularis. In this way, his past in Africa would have aided his career in Ostia, which is why he made sure to stress both aspects in this inscription; he utilised established contacts to facilitate the importation of goods. Literary sources from the 1st century BC already make clear that vast wealth was tied to landownership in Africa.<sup>61</sup> Colossal farms existed in Roman North Africa which were owned by only a few individuals and then farmed by locals.<sup>62</sup> This mass landownership continued into the imperial period.<sup>63</sup> Aemilianus would, therefore, have only needed to come into contact with a few landowners in Africa in order to have been able to import large quantities of wine into Ostia. As a magistrate it is possible that he might have even owned vineyards himself and imported his own goods to Ostia.<sup>64</sup> The trade and shipping connections with Africa are shown especially in the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni*. The mosaics in the various *stationes* here have numerous depictions of Africa often combined with inscriptions.<sup>65</sup> For example, a mosaic depicting an amphora with the inscription MC 'M(auretania)

<sup>58</sup> Mattingly & Hitchner (1995) 200-201: they were probably also produced at the same sites.

<sup>59</sup> Purcell (1985) 14.

<sup>60</sup> Purcell (1985) 15. He uses parallels from 19th-century Catalonia to illustrate his point.

<sup>61</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 48; Sen. *Ep.* 89; 114; Pliny *HN* 18.35

<sup>62</sup> Hobson (2015) 43; Sears (2011) 43; Shaw (1981) 57.

<sup>63</sup> See *CIL* VIII 10570.

<sup>64</sup> See Broekaert (2012) especially pages 112-114, for the discussion of several parallel case-studies for this phenomenon.

<sup>65</sup> Ostian groups and people from other regions of the empire were also represented here, for example the *naviculari Turritani* from Sardinia (*CIL* XIV 4549.19) but the connections with Africa are shown in the great variety of African cities represented in the mosaics here, for example the *Naviculari Misuenses* (*CIL* XIV 4549.10) and the *Naviculari Gummitani* (*CIL* XIV 4549.17). Apart from the mosaics there is also a dedicatory plaque inscribed with '*Naviculari(i) Africani*' which now hangs on the right hand wall in the Piazzale: *AE* 1955, 183.

C(aesariensis)' is found in *statio* forty-eight.<sup>66</sup> On the basis of this inscription and mosaic, this *statio* is thought to have belonged to the *Navicularii* from Caesariensis.<sup>67</sup> The *stationes* illustrate where sailors and traders from several African cities had their bases which formed a social network and bridge for people coming from Africa, who wanted to live and work in Ostia. Traders, such as Aemilianus, had to prove and establish their civic, religious, and social identity when they came to Ostia.<sup>68</sup> In a society without formal means of identification, identity often had to be established via social networks, especially those connected to one's place of origin. Migration could, thus, be controlled or mediated by institutions, among which the corporations which were present in the *Piazzale*. These could help an individual from a different province establish himself and make connections with local people.<sup>69</sup> Traders could come from their place of origin and reach out to others from that same geographical area.

Finding trustworthy agents to act on one's behalf was a problem in all pre-modern societies. Because of the distances involved, there was no way of ascertaining whether the products which were being imported were of a suitable quality and it was easy for agents to buy substandard goods or skim off the profits.<sup>70</sup> Ways of mitigating this problem was by either using friends or family members as agents or, alternatively, by using guilds. It is likely, therefore, that Aemilianus would have utilised existing social networks, which were established during his period in Africa, and would have used people he knew in Africa as agents while he himself was in Ostia. For people seeking to buy products, they could reduce the hazards related to agents by using *collegia* as members of these guilds were pre-screened before being allowed to join and had others to vouch for them. It was in

<sup>66</sup> *CIL* XIV 4549.48 which can be dated to the end of the 2nd century AD; Lequément (1980) 187, 189, 190.

<sup>67</sup> This is backed up by evidence from a series of stamps on the handles of amphorae found in the 19th century which came from the city of Tubusuctu, which was abbreviated as 'Tub' or 'Tubus'. These were accompanied by a province or origin as 'P.MC', meaning *ex provincia Mauretania Caesariensis*. See, among others, *AE* 1984, 155 from Rome, *AE* 1975, 865 from Meroe in Egypt, and *CIL* XV 2635.6 also from Rome; Ben Abed-Ben Khader e.a. (1999) 169, 170. It is likely that these mosaics were not all placed here all at once but were done so over a period of time between AD 180 and 200, as a result of new traders coming to Ostia from further places in Africa: Terpstra (2014) 123.

<sup>68</sup> Broekaert (2011) 228; Moatti (2006) 117. As information was limited it was in the interests of traders to gather together in a single place, here the *Piazzale*, in order to gain as much information from as many sources as possible: Temin (2013) 112.

<sup>69</sup> Moatti (2006) 119.

<sup>70</sup> Temin (2013) 98.

the interest of other guild members to ensure correct behaviour on each member's part as bad behaviour on the part of one could reflect poorly upon all of them.<sup>71</sup> The *collegia* then had a multifunctional purpose as the provincials who were already established in Ostia could vouch for a newcomer who wanted to trade with Ostians, and this new trader could, thus, enter Ostian society by being introduced into its civic world.<sup>72</sup> However, a *collegium* could, then, also be a way of guaranteeing good conduct on a member's part providing security in these ventures. These trade networks were the springboard from which other networks could be created as the shared geographical background of the members provided the trust upon which future trade was based.<sup>73</sup> Aemilianus would have utilised these social networks upon his arrival in Ostia. However, it is also possible that he was using his inscription to do precisely this. Aemilianus places a high emphasis on his past in an inscription erected in Ostia and aimed at people in Ostia. In doing so, he is showcasing his past as Roman soldier and also as an official. He is publicly demonstrating his trustworthiness in order to establish his identity in this new place; Aemilianus was using his past as an official in order to lend dependability to his present as a trader and aid him in the establishment of new trade contacts and connections. The addition of his *collegium* membership was yet another way of establishing his credentials and showing his trustworthiness.

On the basis of what has been presented here, it is proposed that the inscription is dated to the 2nd century AD. This was when the greatest expansion in Africa happened and also the time when the production of wine gained in importance and prominence in this province, something which went hand in hand with rapid urban expansion of the 2nd century which increased the demand for wine. The wine *collegia* of Ostia were created and were at their peak during this period. Patterns of recruitment and the foundation of Aelia Uluzibbira in the 2nd century AD also point to this date.

## CONCLUSION

Aemilianus' did not randomly display his various careers in his inscription but had a precise reason for the expression of all aspects of his identity.

<sup>71</sup> Temin (2013) 110.

<sup>72</sup> Broekaert (2011) 228, 231.

<sup>73</sup> Terpstra (2014) 123, 124.

It is clear that the military, civilian, and commercial parts were highly connected in his life and that his former careers facilitated the latter. It is important to note the context of the inscription as Aemilianus is expressing his identity in Ostia and is conveying a message to his Ostian audience. It has been argued here that the reason for this was in order to display his credentials so that he could establish his identity and trustworthiness in Ostia, seeing as there was no formal means of establishing identity, and people had to rely on social networks and other people from their place of origin in order to do so. Aemilianus held a civic position in Africa which could lend status to him in Ostia and facilitate the creation of trade networks. The last aspect of this inscription also serves to showcase his current place in society, namely as a member of a prestigious *collegium*, situating Aemilianus in the civic life of Ostia.

Aemilianus' inscription demonstrates how the expansion of empire and increased urbanisation affected individuals as well as the Roman Empire. Ostia was the place where such a man could have settled but also where such an inscription could have been erected. This was a multicultural and international city where people from all across the empire settled. Because of this, it was even more vital than in other places to establish your identity as a result of the masses of people who came to Ostia; the diversity of the city required a clearer demarcation of self. Production of wine only developed in Africa after the further Roman expansions of the 2nd century AD and it was due to the already present infrastructure between Africa and Italy, which was in place for the transportation of grain to Rome, that wine could easily be transported between the provinces, allowing for Aemilianus to make his fortune in Ostia. The established infrastructure facilitated later trade. Aemilianus benefitted personally from these military and civic connections as he used contacts made in Africa to enable his new career as a wine trader in Ostia. The increased mobility and improved infrastructure which were the result of the expansion of the Roman Empire facilitated the exportation of goods to Rome and also made it easier for individuals to move across the Empire and settle in a new region. The inscription erected by Lucius Caecilius Aemilianus, thus, shows the interconnected nature of mobility, expansion, and identity.

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