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## AN ORIENTAL BAKER AT OSTIA \*

RISTO VALJUS

At Tivoli, in the end of the 19th century, an inscription was found which had been made for the fulfilment of a vow: *M. Caerellius / Iazemis q(uin)q(uennalis) / pistorum III / et perp(etuus) et / codicarius item / mercator / frumentarius / invicto / Herculi / ex voto d(onum) d(edit)*.<sup>1</sup> Dessau thought him to be Ostian because of his titles. We know other persons at Ostia who were bakers, owners of small river boats and grain dealers, and who practised more than one trade.<sup>2</sup> Meiggs accepted Dessau's opinion and discussed Iazemis in his chapters about trade and the guilds.<sup>3</sup> But he did not discuss the origin of the man although Dessau had considered Iazemis' cognomen as Syrian.

Two names of the same stem are known from Rome: *Iazemus* and *Iazymus*. Both names belong to freedmen and appear in epitaphs.<sup>4</sup> In a recent work Solin has classified these names as originating from Asia

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\* Dr. Anne Helttula read a draft of this article and I am very grateful to her for her many helpful comments. I wish to thank Margot Stout Whiting for correcting my English. I am indebted to Dr. Sanna Aro for drawing my attention to the subject of this article.

1 CIL XIV 4234.

2 Marcus Licinius Privatus was *qq. corporis pistorum Ostiens. et Port. and magister quinquennalis collegi fabrum tignuarior. Ostiens.* (CIL XIV 374); L. Calpurnius Chius was *codicar. curat. Ostis et III honor. and quinq. corporis mensor. frumentarior. Ostiens.* (CIL XIV 309); M. Iunius M. f. Pal. Faustus was *mercator frumentarius* (CIL XIV 4142).

3 R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford 1973<sup>2</sup>, 277 and 321.

4 CIL VI 6476: *Iazemus Posidippi lib.*; CIL VI 25363: *M. Raius M. l. Iazymus*.

Minor,<sup>5</sup> which I think is a better explanation than the Syrian origin suggested by Dessau.

The name *Ιαζημις* is found a few times in Asia Minor. Sundwall thought it was Lydian, because it appears in an inscription from Magnesia.<sup>6</sup> Robert claims that *Ιαζημις* is a Cappadocian name.<sup>7</sup> The name appears three times in inscriptions found in this region.<sup>8</sup> The basis for Robert's opinion is the provenance of the inscriptions; he also refers to the name *Ιαζαρμας* which has been found in neighbouring Cilicia,<sup>9</sup> and to the study of Houwink Ten Cate on Luwian names.<sup>10</sup> The name also appears in an

<sup>5</sup> H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen. Ein Namenbuch I–III, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, Beiheft 2*, Stuttgart 1996, 607.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, hrsg. von O. Kern, Berlin 1900, 137: *Μιθριδάτην Ἰαζημιος*; J. Sundwall, "Kleinasiatische Nachträge", *Studia Orientalia* 16:1 (1950) 20. He was probably following Buckler, see W. H. Buckler, *Lydian Inscriptions, Sardis VI,2*, Leyden 1924, 92.

<sup>7</sup> L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-mineure gréco-romaine I*, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul* 13, Paris 1963, 124, 220 and esp. 433–442.

<sup>8</sup> J. H. Mordtmann, "Eine cappadocische Porträtbüste", *MDAI(A)* 9 (1884) 204–205 [SEG XXXII 1315]: *Ἰάσονα Ἰαζημιος*; W. M. Ramsay, *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor*, Aberdeen 1941, 105 no.86 (improved from OGIS 364): *Τ[ρ]ι[τανταχ]μην Ἰαζημ[ιος]*; J. Oehler, "Epigraphisches. Griechische und lateinische Inschriften aus Kappadokien", in: H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 und 1907, I, Die fachwissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse* 1, Leipzig 1911, LXXIII no. 5: *θέσει δὲ Ἰαζημιος*; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 190 §448–3; Robert 436–438. See also Ramsay 106 no.88 (improved from CIG 4366, Pisidia): *Ἰάσον[ος] Ἰα[ζη]μιος*.

<sup>9</sup> J. Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämme*, *Klio Beiheft* 11, Leipzig 1913, 88 and 249.

<sup>10</sup> Robert 439–441; E. L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia", *JHS* 12 (1891) no. 27 l.38; Ph. H. J. Houwink Ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera During the Hellenistic Period*, *Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui* 10, Leiden 1961, 118–119 and 136–138. According to Houwink Ten Cate, *Ιαζαρμας* is a compound of *Iā* and *Šar(ru)ma*, both of which are divine names in Luwian. So in his opinion, this is a Luwian name (cf. 185 and 190). Luwian was used both in Cilicia and Cappadocia from the third millennium B.C. until the Hellenistic period. There is also a name *Ιαζημιος* which has been found in Cilicia, cf. SEG XL 1302.

inscription from Crete which has been dated to imperial times.<sup>11</sup> Robert is willing to read this name in an inscription found on Delos, too.<sup>12</sup>

In my opinion Robert's thesis is correct, and can be supported by other arguments than the concentration of the occurrences in Cappadocia. The name *Iazemis* appears to have many components, which are characteristic of Luwian names according to Houwink Ten Cate.<sup>13</sup> In Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions there is a name *Azamis*, which is a passive participle form of the verb *aza-* "to love".<sup>14</sup> Although the name *Iazemis* has not been found in the Hittite or Luwian texts, I suggest that it could have been formed from two Luwian elements \**Ia+azamis*. *Ija* is a divine name and widely used in personal names. The passive participle form *azamis* has been used in the

<sup>11</sup> ICret I, VII, 13: Ἰαζημος; Robert 435.

<sup>12</sup> IG XI 4, 609: Κ]οίρανος [Ἰαζ]ημιδος Παντικα[παιίτης. Robert 442. He has not found a name ending -ημις in South Russia but has found the name Κοίρανος in Cappadocia.

<sup>13</sup> The Luwian name Ἰαζαρμας begins with the element *Ija*, which seems to be also the first component in *Iazemis*, cf. Houwink Ten Cate 118, 137–138. Luwian names have been composed with a suffix *-mi*, e.g. Τρεβημις which is formed from the element *Tarpa*, cf. Houwink Ten Cate 160–162, 181–182, 186, 189 n.4, 191 n.1. The name Μοαζημις is, according to Sundwall, a compound \**muwa+zama*, see Sundwall 1913, 288 and 290. The first element *muwa-* is common in names from the Hittite period until the Hellenistic period, cf. Houwink Ten Cate 166. Sundwall also proposed the second element *zama*, without explaining its meaning, for the name Ἰαζημις, Sundwall 1950, 49. The name Μοαζημις appears in an inscription found in Isauria: H. Swoboda – J. Keil – F. Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien*, Brünn 1935, no. 63 (Vasada); Robert 441.

<sup>14</sup> The name appears in the inscriptions IZGIN 1; BOYBEYPINARI 1–2 (probably 8th century B.C.). See for ex. A. Morpurgo Davies, "Analogy and the *-an* Datives of Hieroglyphic Luwian", *Anatolian Studies* 30 (1980), 124. See also J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (forthcoming), no. V.15 and VI.1–2. Cf. H. G. Güterbock, "Die Hieroglypheninschrift von Fraktin", *Festschrift Lubor Matouš*, Budapest 1978, 131–133; E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites: supplément*, *Hethitica* 4, *Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain* 21, Louvain 1981, no. 4 and 215a.

second position, with a divine name in the first position.<sup>15</sup> Luwian names with a divine element, both in the first and second position, were common in the southern regions of Asia Minor until the beginning of the third century A.D.<sup>16</sup>

Robert drew attention to the connection between the Cappadocian origin of the cognomen of the Ostian Iazemis and his occupation as a baker.<sup>17</sup> Cappadocian bread was an appreciated speciality which Athenaeus mentions three times in his work.<sup>18</sup> The Greeks called it 'soft' and it was made with milk, oil and salt. This kind of bread was mainly made in Cappadocia but also in Syria. But the making of good bread in Cappadocia was not only a feature of Hellenistic and Roman times. The Hittites had known numerous varieties of bread.<sup>19</sup> It seems, therefore that the high quality of baking was preserved in Cappadocia from the second millennium B.C. until at least the second century A.D.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ija*: Houwink Ten Cate 137–138, 185; L. Zgusta, *Anatolische Personennamensippen I–II*, Prag 1964, 141–142, 160; *asiya, asimi*: E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, *Études linguistiques* 4, Paris 1966, 319, 327; no. 773: \**Masanasimi*; 1124: \**Sarmanazi*; 1263: *Tarhunasi*; 1265: *Tarhunazi*. Laroche compares these names to the Greek *Theophilos*. For the popularity of divine name Aia/Ea/Ia as an element in semitic and Anatolian names cf. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire 1,I*, ed. Karen Radner, Helsinki 1998, XXV–XXVII.

<sup>16</sup> T. B. Mitford, "The Cults of Roman Rough Cilicia", *ANRW II* 18.3, 1990, 2138. For the continuation of Luwian population and culture in Cappadocia from the third millennium B.C. until the Hellenistic period see (with discussion and further literature) S. Aro, *Tabal. Zur Geschichte und materiellen Kultur des zentralanatolischen Hochplateaus von 1200 bis 600 v. Chr.*, Helsinki 1998, 55–76.

<sup>17</sup> Robert 439.

<sup>18</sup> Athenaeus 3,113b; 4,129e and 4,647c. In the first and third passage there is a reference to Chrysippus of Tyana's work on bread making. Tyana was already a town in Cappadocia in the Hittite period. Athenaeus wrote around A.D. 200, so he was perhaps only a little later than M. Caerellius Iazemis. Athenaeus even wrote that τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρτοποιοῦς ἀρίστους ὄντας (3,112c).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Harry A. Hoffner Jr., *Alimenta Hethaeorum. Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor*, *American Oriental Series* 55, New Haven 1974, Chapter V, 149–204. Hoffner enumerates 148 different terms for bread in the Hittite texts, which are mainly of religious character.

At Ostia there are only two other inscriptions in which an *M. Caerellius* occurs. They both refer to the same man whose cognomen *Hieronymus* indicates servile descent, as does *Iazemis*, too.<sup>20</sup> A person very like *Iazemis* was Marcus Licinius Privatus. He was a magistrate of the collegium of bakers and a freedman.<sup>21</sup> Royden has drawn attention to the fact that there was a magistrate of the bakers' association in Rome whose name was M. Caerellius Zmaragdus.<sup>22</sup> In Royden's opinion a connection between *Iazemis* and Zmaragdus seems likely and I agree with him.

Robert does not think it surprising to find Cappadocian slaves in Rome.<sup>23</sup> Their existence is clearly shown by an epitaph in which *Prima Erotis Cappadoca* is unmistakably stated as originating from Cappadocia.<sup>24</sup> This epitaph belongs to the same *monumentum Statiliorum* as *Iazemus Posidippi lib.* whose cognomen also suggests a Cappadocian origin.<sup>25</sup>

M. Caerellius *Iazemis* was obviously a successful freedman at Ostia since he practised three different trades and was granted an honorary position after serving three times as a magistrate in his *collegium*. The common factor between his three businesses was grain. As a *codicarius* he could transport the grain he had bought along the coast and up the Tiber to Rome. He also needed grain himself as a baker. Royden writes that it is

<sup>20</sup> CIL XIV 70: *M. Cerellius Hieronymus*; 4313: *M. Caer[ellius Hiero]nimus*; See also CIL XIV 4569, *dec. III, 7: Cerell. Ieronim. (album collegii fabrum tignuariorum* from 198 A.D.).

<sup>21</sup> CIL XIV 374. Meiggs 514; J. H. D'Arms, Notes on Municipal Notables of Imperial Ostia, *AJPh* 97 (1976) 411; H. L. Royden, The Magistrates of the Roman Professional Collegia in Italy from the First to the Third Century A.D., Pisa 1988, 70–71. Privatus was also a magistrate of the builders' association from A.D. 200–204.

<sup>22</sup> CIL VI 1002: *quinq. II, corpus pistorum* (144 A.D.). His son could be M. Caerellius Smaragdianus (CIL VI 16913). Royden 112 and 192.

<sup>23</sup> Robert 439.

<sup>24</sup> CIL VI 6510. Eros could have been a slave himself and it is possible that he had the same master – Posidippus – as *Iazemus*, cf. CIL VI 6274: *Eros T. Statili Posidippi ser. disp.*

<sup>25</sup> Cappadocian slaves were well known in Rome which is shown by many literary references to them, cf. L. Franck, "Sources classiques concernant la Cappadoce", *RHA* 24 (1966) 112–114.

unknown whether Iazemis began his career as a baker or a grain dealer.<sup>26</sup> Taking into consideration his Cappadocian origin and the same first and family name of his Roman colleague M. Caerellius Zmaragdus, it is probable that Iazemis had first been successful as a baker and after that had expanded his activities into the grain trade and transportation.

What is most interesting about Iazemis is his occupation as a baker and his cognomen of Luwian origin. Robert pointed out that Cappadocian bread was considered a luxury in the Greek sources, but earlier the Hittites had baked especially fine bread in Cappadocia. M. Caerellius Iazemis could have succeeded at Ostia as a baker, because, originating from Cappadocia, he was able to bake good bread according to an old tradition.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Royden 112.

<sup>27</sup> In late antiquity there was a term *panis Ostiensis* which meant a better bread than the one distributed free in Rome, cf. *Cod. Theod.* 14,19,1; E. Tengström, *Bread for the People. Studies of the Corn-Supply of Rome during the Late Empire*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 8°, XII, Stockholm 1974, 96–97.