

The 'Roman' Influence on the pre-Conquest 'British' Diet,
Exploration of Cultural Shifts along Britain's south coast 100BC-AD43.

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Abstract:

This dissertation has the goal of exploring the multitudes of mechanisms and processes by which cultural shifts occurred in the south of England during the late pre-Roman Iron Age. Furthermore, throughout there is a on-going examination of the suitability and applicability of a range of historical models that have been suggested to explain the phenomena of cultural change and the systems of trade present during this period.

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LPRIA late pre-Roman Iron Age

Introduction

“The Gauls are exceedingly addicted to the use of wine and fill themselves with the wine which is brought into their country by merchants, drinking it unmixed, and since they partake of this drink without moderation by reason of their craving for it, when they are drunken they fall into a stupor or a state of madness.”

- Diodorus Siculus on the drinking behaviour of ‘Gauls’

This statement from Diodorus Siculus, writing in the late Republican Period¹, is somewhat characteristic of the view held by ancient authors on the ‘Celts’ consumption of imported wine, readily envisaging their behaviour as uncouth, or perhaps more pertinently, uncivilised. There is a common assumption in scholarship that the Britons were undergoing a process of ‘Romanization’ during the late pre-Roman Iron Age. This is due to the archaeological record demonstrating that the late Iron Age inhabitants of much of Britain were already experiencing a change in lifestyles and a greater consumption of Roman goods, significantly in the pre-Roman period between 100 BC and AD 43. The aim of this dissertation is to challenge existing stereotypes and generalisations on the mechanisms of cultural change in Britain and to examine the societal and cultural effects of cross-channel trade in food, drink and tableware on the south coast of late pre-Roman iron-age (LPRIA) Britain. Through a thorough inter-disciplinary interrogation of both the available archaeological records and relevant ancient literature, we shall see that the effects of cross-Channel interactions were not always uniform, looking more precisely at chronological phases and geographical regions,

¹ Muntz, 2017. p. 106

resulting in a multitude of different cultural expressions and alterations in existing power structures, most notably along Britain's south coast.

As noted by numerous historians and archaeologists, LPRIA Britain provides us with a vastly important resource for our understanding of the plethora of processes and mechanisms of how exchanges with 'Rome' and all that it can encompass can interact with existing societal structures and cultural norms or practises. Following on from the many works which attempt to categorise and explain the functions of this process of cultural exchange and change, when in relation to Rome, I shall be conducting this dissertation primarily with a focus on what cultural changes we can see through the examination of dietary changes caused by cross-channel trade in food, drink and table ware.

This dissertation shall be conducted with a post-colonial approach² in mind, as discussed by Webster, as it seems often it seems that many scholars can fall into the trap of a one-way cultural impact of 'Roman' interaction. Due to this I shall draw considerable effort to dispelling the model of 'Romanization'³, and its position of the 'uncultured' Britons being attracted by Roman culture or *Romanitas*⁴. Instead we have to look at alternative models on how to explain sociocultural change, and the motivations of individual social agents, in order to understand the complexity of human processes involved. In this respect, I will be examining the effectiveness of the term 'creolage' as a potential model to explain cultural developments in LPRIA Britain within the context of the 'Culture of Food'. This dissertation shall also be used to demonstrate and further the idea of 'Culture of Food' as a useful tool for

² See Webster, 2001. p. 217- 220 for a complete breakdown of the issues of residual colonial attitudes in modern scholarship surrounding the field of Roman cultural interactions.

³ Millett, 1990. Lays out the process of his model of 'Romanization' here and it is a model that has predominated in much of the relevant literature from the 1980's to the 2000's. See: Wilson, 1995. p.70, Cunliffe, 1978. p. 75-80 - Sykes, 2005. p. 78-86.

⁴ See: Haverfield, 1912. See: Jones, 2002 p. 132

demonstrating the unpredictability of cultural change through archaeological evidence across different sites⁵.

Why the south coast of Britain? Well because naturally it had the greatest degree of interaction with the Continent during the preceding century and a half before the Claudian invasion of AD 43. Not only this, but it is here that a wave of urbanisation is already occurring from c.100BC⁶ thus it is interesting to see how this process shapes the communities in which these cultural shifts are occurring.

Methodology.

First, we must address the underlying methodological issues that we are facing when examining cultural shifts in this period. Three key questions are needed to be answered here: what model of cultural change am I subscribing to? What model of trade appears most applicable? what sites and evidence am I utilising?

‘Romanization’, *Romanitas* and the Britons.

Francis Haverfield first explored the subject of what he dubbed the ‘Romanization’ of Britain far back in 1912⁷, rightfully exploring the processes that constituted the cultural, societal and economic changes that shaped the period of the aftermath of the Claudian invasion of AD43. In the subsequent century since his initial research the academic world surrounding this has certainly not stopped progressing, its constant evolution is a testament to decades of archaeological study in Britain and on the Continent alike. Due to this intense research we now have a clearer vision of what the geopolitical landscape of the south coast of LPRIA Britain may have looked like along with a keener knowledge of the multitudes of potential cultural ‘processes’ that may have been occurring on a small-community, familial or

⁵ Pitts, 2005 p. 50-51

⁶ Cunliffe, 1978 p. 14

⁷ Haverfield, 1912

individual bases. Yet we are still faced with the task first faced by Haverfield: how do we explain the process of cultural change in LPRIA Britain? The ‘Romanization’ non-interventionist model as proposed by Martin Millett⁸ would suggest an almost trickle-down effect, implying that these cultural, societal and economic changes occurred due to tribal or local elites adopting new practises as a way of enhancing their prestige and social standing, by displaying certain Roman traits, and then being copied and emulated by sub-elite groups in society. The problem with this model is that it clearly has the implication of a fair level of cultural and societal homogeneity across Britain’s south coast⁹, which, as I shall explore later, can be contested without much difficulty. It was along these lines that in 2004 Mattingly argued in his superb book *An Imperial possession, Britain in the Roman Empire* that there is no such thing as a unified expression of identity in LPRIA Britain (see the different cultural groupings in Britain). Furthermore, that the mechanisms caused by Rome’s new influence in the area generated different effects amongst different peoples and communities. We also have to question what is ‘Roman’ in this process as the prevailing scholarly opinion is that the cross-Channel interaction mainly involved contact with Gaul, Belgica and the Iberian Peninsula¹⁰. Often the term utilised by scholars like Creighton¹¹ to give meaning to ‘Roman’ artefacts found in late Iron Age Britain is ‘*Romanitas*’, an object of considerable Roman cultural significance. Firstly, it must be said that there is no self-evident uniformity of a singular ‘Roman’ culture¹². It would be a grave trope to consider Rome, itself a city built on the values of adaption and adoption of the ‘best-bits’ of their neighbours’ practises, a homogenous culture. This term ‘*Romanitas*’ then can be argued to apply to only a certain segment of Roman society. Häussler has argued that the term simply refers to a set of ‘club

⁸ Millett, 1990 p. 9-39

⁹ Häussler, 2013 p. 25

¹⁰ For an alternative view that there were actually Roman trade vessels operating in the Channel during the Augustan Period see: Peacock, 1984. p. 38

¹¹ Creighton, 2001 p. 403

¹² Häussler, 2013 p.25

rules' for the upper echelons of the Roman socio-economic structures¹³. A sort of informal agreement of a code of conduct on how the Empire's elites should behave, what activities they should partake in, what they should wear and by what methods should they display their power and prestige¹⁴. My issue with these two models or systems of change both rely on a sense that the inhabitants of Britain in this LPRIA period were simply embracing Roman customs and cultural practises simply to appear more 'Roman'. In a modern post-colonial sense, the notion that the peoples all along the south coast were attempting to culture themselves under the light of Rome is infeasible and is a narrative I would like to firmly repudiate from repeating in this paper.

We also have the developments made by Webster who first argued for a syncretic model in which two cultures combined to form a mixed culture and society¹⁵ before taking this argument further in 2001. Here Webster brings us very close to an actually applicable model, the idea of a series of processes of cultural 'creolisation'¹⁶ which relies on multiple cultural interactions occurring across different strata of society to form new cultural, societal and economic practises. Webster further goes on to state that this process of creolisation therefore could render some material culture useless as in a creolised cultural setting certain objects have the potential to be used in a different manner, each now with their own new and specific cultural practises, and thus holding new meaning to the owner¹⁷. This model has the advantage of expressing how a cultural shift may occur without an inequality in the perceived value of different less 'Roman' or less 'civilised' cultures, it does have three unavoidable inadequacies. Firstly, the 'creolization' model focuses on the generation of a new culture from two existing cultures interactions, this relies far too heavily on the notion of there

¹³ Ibid., p.25

¹⁴ Ibid., p.25

¹⁵ Webster, 2001 p.210

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 219-220

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 210- 213

existing a certain level of cultural homogeneity that frankly did not exist in Britain nor across many of the Gallic regions during our timeline¹⁸. The lack of recognition of just how culturally diverse the societies of LPRIA Britain's south coast were during this period inevitably leads to this model's second failure, i.e. it ignores the role of the individual in the expression of one's own cultural identity, thus it asks us to imagine a level of conformity of cultural expression that again we just do not see. Finally, it is the inspiration behind this model, the history of slavery in the Americas and the emergence of creole cultures in the many regions, from Brazil to the Caribbean and southern United States¹⁹, that partook in this horrid practice, that ultimately makes it unsuitable in our context. Creolisation in modern history has taken place through the conduit of Christianity, but of course Christianity as such did not exist in the early Roman world therefore we can see no similar imposition of culture and religion onto an oppressed minority within our time period.

Recently the phrase 'cultural bricolage'²⁰ has also sprung to prominence, applied to the field of ancient history, no doubt through the works of Terrenato who has argued that: individuals make choices on how they express themselves according to artefacts and ideas available to them in their immediate environment and position in their own society, thus explaining how various culturally ethnocentric artefacts can be found in burials far from their place of origin adorning an individual from a very different cultural background²¹. Thus, we see this model supposes a fairly random and entirely materialistic form of cultural expression, and yet we do not have evidence of many thousands of examples of arbitrarily cobbled together cultural expressions in LPRIA or Roman Britain as you would expect were this model to be accurate.

¹⁸ Häussler, 2013 p. 25

¹⁹ Webster, 2001 p.217- 218

²⁰ Levi-Strauss, 1974 p. 16- 36. This is where the term originated.

²¹ Terrenato, 1997 p. 23

It is these last two concepts that are coming very close to being perfectly applicable to the study of cultural changes along the south coast of LPRIA Britain.

There is no doubt that they both have their own limitations and benefits, as recently discussed by Häussler and Webster at TRAC 2019²² who have argued the case for the amalgamated concept of ‘cultural creolage’. By taking the advantages of both concepts, the widescale cultural interaction across many different socio-economic strata and cultural hierarchies apparent in Webster’s ‘creolization’ model coupled with the ability for unique displays of individuality in social and cultural expression allowed for in the cultural ‘bricolage’ model we see the formation of the concept of ‘creolage’. As argued by Häussler and Webster this creolage model allows for the duality or even multiplicity of an individual’s cultural expression as they presumably navigate through familial, communal, local, regional and even global socio-economic structures and cultural hierarchies. This allows for the expression of new cultural concepts and practises whilst also allowing for the preservation of traditions and local forms. This approach emphasises the focus to be on the emergence of local or regional styles and practises and even the observance of cognitive trends within communities all within a context of feasibility. Thus we must ensure to take into account the individuals socio-economic position and therefore their financial means, their access to larger networks of people, concepts and goods (in our case this could mean access to cross-channel contacts, be they directly to Roman traders or some form of intermediary individual or group) and the individuals possible cultural constraints or taboos. Above all else this model of creolage seems to be arguing for a sense of cultural innovation not the traditional ‘colonialist’ view of cultural resistance. When it comes to exploring cultural shifts in LPRIA Britain through what I am terming as a ‘culture of food’, it is apparent that this model of creolage will allow for an interpretation that takes into account the differing societal, economic, cultural and

²² Webster and Häussler, forthcoming

importantly personal factors that contribute towards differing patterns of behaviours and practises that we find in this field. Furthermore, as we shall see throughout this dissertation, the concept of areas of continuity through a collection of innovative creative processes will become particularly pertinent with our pre-Roman timeframe.

The state of LPRIA Britain c.100BC-AD43.

As previously mentioned, one of the great criticisms of Webster's model of 'creolization' is its presumption of generalised cultures, for example the existence of a homogenous Roman or Romano-Celtic culture. This is a concept which we just do not see in the archaeological record across any of western provinces including the British Isles, from Caesar's Gallic Wars of conquest right the way through the early empire²³. Therefore, I must attempt to illustrate, for the sake of this paper's line of enquiry, some form of cultural distinction between the many societies that inhabited Britain's south coast during the LPRIA. Much as Millett pointed out this task has enough material and scholarship on it to become a book in its own right²⁴ and so, as to not lose focus of topics outside of this dissertation's scope, I shall instead lay forth a quick discussion on 'salient characteristics' and possible cultural distinctions that can be made across our 100BC-AD43 time period. here I shall also introduce key themes surrounding the three principle sites focused upon in this dissertation: the site at Hengistbury Head, the smaller settlement at on the site of Fishbourne Roman Palace²⁵ and the sites affiliated to and including the larger urban settlement at Camulodunum.

²³ Millett, 1990 p. 11

²⁴ Ibid., p. 9

²⁵ See fig.4 for map of the so-called 'central' region centred about the Chichester Dykes and a late Iron Age settlement on the site of modern Chichester with the Fishbourne site slightly to the south west of this.

There will always be difficulty encountered when any attempt is made to define certain regional boundaries amongst several illiterate societies based solely upon apparent similarities in material culture and other archaeological evidence. Since 1956 there has existed an archaeological convention for the grouping of evidence in a geographical manner²⁶ and as Collis noted in 1977 the available evidence in Britain does not meet the set of criteria for the identification of a unified archaeological culture²⁷. Thus, we know we are dealing with a set of ‘remarkably heterogenous’²⁸ material cultures. To help visualise the difference in material culture between the proposed ‘south-eastern’ and ‘south-western’ regions I have included three figures also utilised by Millett to demonstrate the apparent regionality in LPRIA Britain²⁹.

‘Food culture’, as with many other social and cultural practises in LPRIA Britain, appears to be regionally and temporally specific. Hence as the aim of this dissertation is not to describe a broad shift in eating and drinking habits across LPRIA Britain as a whole but to examine and compare these practises and shifts in behaviour on a regional and local level we must define a set of geographical regions we are to utilise. Cunliffe, in the most recent edition of his monumental work: ‘Iron Age Communities in Britain’ seeks to argue the case for his trademark core-periphery model of regional differences during the LPRIA³⁰. Here Cunliffe posits that there exists a ‘core’, highly ‘continentalised’ region in the south-east of Britain, mainly in the area of modern-day Essex, centred on the urban settlement of Camulodunum³¹. which is in turn surrounded by a ‘peripheral’ region stretching from Dorset in the south to Lincolnshire in the north that benefits from cultural exchange with the core territory but yet

²⁶ Childe, 1956

²⁷ Collis, 1977 p. 1-7

²⁸ Millett, 1990 p. 11

²⁹ See fig.1, fig.2 and fig.3 for a clear visualisation of the very apparent differences in material culture across the south of Britain during the LPRIA.

³⁰ Cunliffe, 2005 p. 545- 548

³¹ Cunliffe, 2005 p. 545- 548

does not possess the same level of societal or cultural development as the core³². Cunliffe bases this regional split on apparent tribal boundaries that are spatially reasonable according to the archaeological data available. As stated by David Mattingly, the main critiques of this core-periphery model, as posed by Cunliffe, is that it focuses very heavily on the south-eastern region of Britain ‘rather than as a fractured and highly regional set of societies’, spread across Britain. Furthermore, Cunliffe’s core in the south-east of Britain is only applicable by his own reasoning to the period between the Caesarian and Claudian invasions³³, thus in the c.100-year period before this the south-west of Britain must also have been a ‘core’ territory³⁴. Hengistbury Head did see a decline in trade in ‘Roman’ goods by the mid-first century BC³⁵, yet it also maintains a trade in Gallo-Belgic forms of pottery during in this period. This factor Cunliffe argues was the result of exchange between intermediaries from the south-east³⁶, this argument is debatable due to the lack of any coinage attributable to either the Royal dynasties of the Atrebates, Catuvellauni and Trinovantes at Hengistbury Head³⁷. Herein lays the issue, that the core-periphery model values ‘Roman’ artefacts over indigenous or continental forms, leading to the strong implication of the cultural ‘superiority’ of the ‘Romans’. This model is certainly not perfect, it can lead to generalisations over not only the Britons and the multitudes of regional cultures and societies, but also to generalisations over what constitutes ‘Roman’ interaction or ‘Roman’ culture. Ultimately it is true that the three major regionalities of southern Britain in the LPRIA identified by Cunliffe in 1991³⁸: the ‘south-eastern’³⁹, ‘central’ and ‘south-western’ regions, are apparent and such I

³² Ibid., p. 545- 548

³³ Cunliffe, 2005 p.545-548

³⁴ Cunliffe, 1988 p.102. Cunliffe states that Hengistbury Head was the ‘principle port of trade’ between the British Isles and mainland Europe.

³⁵ Cunliffe, 1978 p. 78

³⁶ Ibid., p. 79

³⁷ Ibid., p. 79

³⁸ Cunliffe, 2005 p. 546

³⁹ Caes. *DBG.* V. 20-22. These three chapters may well serve to demonstrate the south-east as a political block with *Casivellaunus* being able to manoeuvre through these territories and negotiate with their leaders with apparent ease.

shall continue to utilise this system throughout the remainder of this dissertation. Finally, it is worth stating that unlike some academics who will insist on referring to supposed ‘tribal’ denominations, I shall be avoiding this for the simple reason that it is not relevant to this investigation and thus pointless to use in this regard.

As is an increasingly common observation within contemporary scholarship, archaeologists have for many decades now fervently focused on the ‘what’s’ of food and drink evidence from LPRIA Britain; what kind of wine in the amphora? The origin of new farming practises? The quantity of imported goods coming into Britain? Thus, it has far too often been overlooked what the cultural ramifications of these external factors acting upon and within the different societies of Britain’s south coast. Hence this dissertations aim is to explore these cultural shifts within the eating and drinking habits of these peoples. First, we must define the central topic of this paper, the ‘culture of food’. In the field of sociology, it is appreciated that the choices that individuals make in regard to their food are ‘neither haphazard nor random, but exhibits patterns and regularities’⁴⁰ and furthermore that the consumption of food and drink takes on more than just the fulfilment of simple psychological and physiological needs or the as the result of an individual’s preference but instead must be considered as a part of a complex cultural affair⁴¹. In our historical setting the cultural practices surrounding the consumption of food cannot be ignored, eating and drinking is universal yet the manner in which we do it and the significances held behind every behaviour varies on interpersonal, communal, local and regional levels. To add to this availability of different behaviours and cultural practises surrounding the consumption of food, the different ‘food cultures’, we have the ability to peel back the surface on the practises that may have been observed along Britain’s south coast during the LPRIA based upon archaeological evidence. As Pitts

⁴⁰ Murcott, 1982 p. 203

⁴¹ Murcott, 1982 p. 203

demonstrated, it is no longer a mere nonchalance⁴² to be able to reasonably suppose the make-up of a household's dining table in this period⁴³, and furthermore that it is entirely possible to examine cultural changes in the transitional period between the late Iron Age and the post-conquest years in Britain by 'interrogating the functional components of ceramic assemblages'⁴⁴.

⁴² Reece, 1988 p. 32

⁴³ Pitts, 2005 p. 50

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 50

The Wine trade in Britain

Humankind has been provably fermenting grains into alcoholic beverages from as early as the late fourth millennium BC⁴⁵ but the thirst for the consumption of these beverages has been argued to be the cause of the domestication of various grains as early as 9500-8000BC⁴⁶. Similarly, the domestication of the wild grape and the origins of the strong viticultural tradition that would go on to characterise both the Mediterranean and near-eastern worlds appears to have begun in the levant during its Chalcolithic age⁴⁷. It is not just the cradles of civilisation that had a thirst for alcohol however, as can be seen in Britain where the evidence of fermentation of beer⁴⁸ dates at least back to the Neolithic period⁴⁹. Thus, we can demonstrably see that the consumption of alcoholic beverages, be they various types of beers or wines, has long been a part of human societies across the ancient world.

But what of the role of wine in Roman society? The works of Beard⁵⁰ and Dunbabin⁵¹ in particular paint a picture of wine being at the centre of a catalogue of complex cultural practices surrounding its consumption at events such as the convivium and the Hellenistic symposium. As Pitts demonstrates the consumption of wine in a ‘Roman’ context takes on far more than that of a ‘social lubricant’⁵². Firstly, one must own the full assemblage of ceramic and metallic accoutrements that would enable them to properly store, prepare, decant and finally drink the wine. He argues for example at the very least a modest Roman-style feast would require the amphorae within which the particular vintage is stored, a large mixing bowl or more specifically in the Greco-Roman world, a krater vessel to properly mix the wine

⁴⁵ Michel & Badler, 1992 p. 24

⁴⁶ Homan, 2004 p. 84, cf. Katz & Voigt, 1986 p. 23-34: for their argument that the origins of human agriculture and domestication of wild grains is a by-product of our species thirst for alcoholic beverages.

⁴⁷ Matthews, 1999 p. 20

⁴⁸ Has been pointed out many times that technically the term is ‘ale’ as ‘beers’ have the requirement of the addition of hops.

⁴⁹ Wickham-Jones, et al., 2000 p. 189-202

⁵⁰ Beard, et al., 1998 p. 15, 45

⁵¹ Dunbabin, 1993 p. 118- 120

⁵² Pitts, 2005 p. 50- 51

with water and from which to perform any cultural or religious observances such as the offering of libations to a deity or lars. From there mixed wine would have the potential to enter a decanting vessel such as a jug before finally filling a thirsty partygoer's personal cup or 'goblet'⁵³. Athenaeus also gives us the somewhat stereotypical impression that the 'civilised' peoples of the world rarely drank so much as fall into a stupor, a behaviour he directly correlates with the barbarian practices of the 'Celts'⁵⁴. These events were, for the socially elite who organised and attended them an opportunity to display their wealth, prestige and their observance of a cultural tradition. The quality and quantity of the wine made available by the host to his or her guests was surely designed to impress upon them the privilege of their benefactor. Whilst the ritual mixing of the wine and offerings of libations also served a role in a cultural context. The attraction the study of the consumption of wine here is that it often leaves behind a rich archaeological record, with sites regularly containing an array of wine miscellanea such as amphorae, mixing vessels and cups. The benefit to having such table and fine ware to hand at a site is that this type material can regularly be reliably dated and its location of origin known. This obviously aids our study into the wine trade in LPRIA Britain immensely as we can consistently date the amphorae found all along the south coast.

Late Iron Age Drinking Culture in Britain

Moreover, it is important to add to this discussion on the cultural shifts generated by the introduction of introduction of a wine, what we know of the pre-existing cultural attitudes and practises in LPRIA Britain surrounding the consumption of alcoholic beverages.

⁵³ Pitts, 2005 p. 50- 51

⁵⁴ Ath. *Die.* 4.36. Athenaeus is far from the only ancient author to make this connection between the 'Celts' and their reputation for excessive alcohol consumption, see: Dio. Sic. V.26 for comparison

What do we know of the pre-existing cultural practises surrounding the consumption of alcoholic beverages in Britain during its late Iron Age? Feasting was a well-documented occurrence amongst the inhabitants of north-western Europe and certainly is a feature of La Tène culture⁵⁵. With there being a lack of viticultural activity in LPRIA Britain the drink of choice is certain to have been ales or other honeyed alcoholic beverages⁵⁶. Ales are relatively easier to produce in larger quantities than wine and so its consumption would have spanned much of the socio-economic hierarchies present across Britain's south coast. Furthermore, Britain's late Iron Age yields impressive evidence for the emergence of regional and local drinking cultures centred about the use of specialised and often unique drinking tankards. These Iron Age tankards of North-Western Europe⁵⁷ are 'stave-built' wooden drinking vessels that are entirely bound or wrapped in copper sheeting⁵⁸. With respect to our investigation, the main attraction to these vessels are the copper handles and fittings which frequently display the intricate patterns of the curvilinear or vegetal art styles that are most closely linked with La Tène art designs⁵⁹. Furthermore, these patterns can frequently be demonstrated to represent a progression of the art form into an insular style, unique to Britain⁶⁰. Another remarkable observation, and one equally as pertinent to this investigation, is that the decorations these vessels exhibit are often highly original, unique pieces of craftsmanship. These two observations alone are cause enough for an investigation into their cultural significance and role within the 'feast', but what of their chronological context and geographical distribution? The majority of examples of these tankards appear in the late Iron Age, from the beginning of the first century BC, however they continue to be found in burial

⁵⁵ Lowry, 2005: This work perfectly explores the evidence and cultural significance of feasting in north-western Iron Age Europe.

⁵⁶ Sealey, 2007 p. 123

⁵⁷ Horn, 2015 p. 1

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 1

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.336

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 313

deposits as late as the turn of the first century AD, well past the date of the Claudian invasion and as such demonstrating a continuation of their cultural significance over many generations. As Horn has stated tankard depositions have a slight westerly skew to their distributions with 27 examples from our ‘south western’ region, 3 examples from the ‘central’ region and 13 examples found within the ‘south eastern’ region⁶¹.

Hence, we must ask what do these vessels reveal to us in regards to cultural practises, behaviours and ultimately shifts? Firstly, the intricacy and fine detail in the construction of their decorations is astounding. As Joy argued in 2010, this level of detail would have been the culmination of a great many hours of work by a team of craftsmen of considerable skill⁶², the effort involved in the production of these tankards was immense. Horn argues that it is these outrageous displays of skill and effort that go into the production of these tankards that gift them their status as a symbol of prestige and socio-economic status. Furthermore, in a cultural context, the wonderful array of artistic patterns and designs is indicative of individual decisions being made within a wider context of communal and regional art styles, a factor that lies at the very core of the ‘creolage’ model of cultural expression and change. With all of this effort being placed into the construction of these tankards over at least two centuries it is clear to see a continued significance being placed upon the consumption of alcohol within the communities along Britain’s South Coast. It is also plausible to identify a cognitive trend of the communal significance of these tankards, due to the evidence of their constant repair⁶³. This would serve to demonstrate not just the financial but sociocultural worth of the tankards to their owners.

⁶¹ Horn, 2015 p. 312-313

⁶² Joy, 2010 p. 38. Joy when describing the complexity of the artwork utilises the term ‘technological virtuosity’, demonstrating just how impressive these vessels could be.

⁶³ Horn, 2015 p. 318- 319

As we have seen, the north-western regions of Europe placed a strong emphasis on communal consumption of alcohol within their communities⁶⁴, take for example the Vix krater imported to Gaul for the purpose of drinking in some form of ritualised and communal context⁶⁵. This trend may well be apparent in LPRIA Britain too, as these tankards have an average volume of 2.3 litres⁶⁶, suggesting the role of a cultural communal behaviour such as passing around of the tankard. Essentially it is plain to draw the conclusion of the pre-existence of an insular British, and perhaps regional, drinking culture entirely within the chronological scope of this enquiry.

The Wine Amphorae of LPRIA Britain.

The quantity of specific wine Amphorae in Britain is scant when compared to the same time period as Gaul⁶⁷, reportedly too scant to indicate any level of regular consumption⁶⁸.this revelation causes us to encounter the issue that how can wine be a ‘Romanising’ factor⁶⁹ if it would have been consumed so irregularly? Thus, a re-evaluation of the evidence is necessary to truly appreciate the cultural effects of the importation and consumption of wine in LPRIA Britain. To do this I shall take into consideration the quantities of wine reaching Britain, the distribution of amphorae, the mechanisms of cross-channel exchange and the chronological periods this all took place in.

There are four main types of wine amphorae found in the archaeological record along LPRIA Britain’s south coast. The earliest is the Dressel 1A amphora, its period of manufacture dated

⁶⁴ Lowry, 2005 p. 162- 163

⁶⁵ Cunliffe, 1988 p. 31

⁶⁶ Horn, 2015 p. 317

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 334

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 334

⁶⁹ Cunliffe, 1988 p.149- 154

to c.130BC⁷⁰ 50BC⁷¹ and firmly originates from the Falernian and Caecuban wine producing regions of Italia⁷². Dressel 1B Amphorae, manufactured in Italia and southern Gaul⁷³ and dated from around 70BC⁷⁴ and persisting through our timeframe. It is these two amphora types that are of great significance to us in our context as they are both amphorae with the purpose of transporting wine and as we shall see later, have distinct distribution patterns in the south of Britain. Two more types of Amphorae are also helpful to use in order to identify not only cultural groupings and behaviours but also shifts and these are the Dressel 2-4 and the Pascual 1. Dressel 2-4 originates from prototypes found on the Greek Island of Kos⁷⁵ once again from the Italian provinces and southern Gaul as can be reliably dated in the region of 16BC-AD146 with the majority falling between AD1-AD50⁷⁶. The ‘Dressel 1-Pascual 1’ type is of particular interest in any study of cultural interactions in LPRIA Britain it is well represented in the archaeological record and significantly was manufactured in the Spanish region of Catalonia starting from the late Republican period⁷⁷ and continuing past the date of Claudius’ invasion of Britain.

The principle contents of amphorae reaching the shores of the British Isles in the late pre-Roman Iron Age was wine⁷⁸ followed by other perishable products such as *garum*, *liquamen* or *muria*⁷⁹. Roman vintages first found their way to the south coast of Britain as early as 130BC⁸⁰, and it is the site of Hengistbury Head, central to our defined ‘south-western’ region,

⁷⁰ Tchernia, 1983 p. 87 for Dressel 1A date.

⁷¹ Peacock, 1971 p. 165

⁷² Peacock, 1971 p. 164. Falernian and Caecuban wine are highly ranked vintages according to Pliny, *see*. Plin. *Nat.* 14.8

⁷³ Lamboglia, 1955 p. 257

⁷⁴ Peacock, 1971 g. 165

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 166

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 166

⁷⁷ Williams, 1987 p. 272

⁷⁸ Peacock, 1971 p. 162-167

⁷⁹ Zevi, 1966 p. 231: these fish-based products are mainly found in the Southern Spanish Types of amphorae: Dressel 7-11, 38, Camulodunum 185-6, Callender 6, 8 and 9, Pelichet 46 – *see* Peacock, 1971 p. 168.

⁸⁰ Williams, 1987 p. 271. *See* Tchernia, 1983 p. 87 for dating surrounding the manufacturing of Dressel 1A amphorae.

that has by far the largest grouping of Dressel 1A pottery found anywhere in the British Isles⁸¹. The assemblage at Hengistbury Head contains a minimum of 30 separate Dressel 1A amphora, compare this with a total of 6 examples of Dressel 1B present at the same location and we can clearly see the imbalance in vessel types present. The question remains as to the chronology of the delivery of these amphorae to the site and surrounding area⁸². Whether the assemblage of Dressel 1 amphorae at Hengistbury represent a slow and infrequent series of trades occurring over a near two century time period or is representative of a surge in wine imports in a transitional period for the two Dressel forms, c.50BC-70BC has yet to be definitively answered. The solution to this problem of dating lies not in the site at Hengistbury Head but instead at the sites further inland that possess Dressel 1 amphorae in their own assemblages. It is these sites that would have presumably received such amphora through trades or gift-exchanges with the societal elite at Hengistbury Head. If reliable dating could be conducted at sites which contain Dressel 1 amphorae such as Maiden Castle⁸³ we may see a clearer vision of the time period of when these imports of wine were occurring. One of the reasons behind the challenge of dating the trade in our 'south-western' region is that the amphorae are exclusively uncovered as part of a settlement context⁸⁴. Moving outside of the trade in Dressel 1A and 1B amphorae, the ceramic assemblage at Hengistbury Head also provides us with evidence of a second period of wine importation. There are 270 shards of Pascual 1 amphorae present at this site, most likely indicating a surge in interactions with the Spanish provinces during the Augustan period⁸⁵. For comparisons sake there is a solitary sherd of Dressel 2-4 found at the Hengistbury site.

⁸¹ Williams, 1987 p. 271

⁸² Ibid., p. 271

⁸³ Williams, 1986 p. 3-4

⁸⁴ Millett, 1990 p. 32

⁸⁵ Williams, 1987 p.271

As for our ‘south-eastern’ region we see an almost mirror image of the evidence found in Dorset, with Dressel 1B predominating in the 75BC-10BC period⁸⁶ followed by a subsequent predominance of Dressel 2-4 amphorae appearing from 16BC⁸⁷ and continuing onwards past the Claudian invasion of AD43⁸⁸. It is also important to note the observation made by Fitzpatrick that due to the lower aggregate volume of Dressel 2-4 finds in this area we may be dealing with an overall reduction in the volume of wine coming into this region⁸⁹.

Furthermore, it is also important to state that despite an apparent reduction in the importation of wine during this later Augustan period, it remains true that all of the wine in our ‘south-eastern’ region appears to be of either Italic or Southern Gallic provenance. Thus, we do not have the same trade interactions with the Hispanic provinces that we can see during the same time period in the ‘south-western’ region. As the for the context of these depositions once again we have a disparity between the eastern and western regions with there being a majority of amphora finds in this ‘south-eastern’ region found in a funerary context⁹⁰.

Finally, it is worth discussing the evidence from our ‘central’ region. This is a region of apparent contrasts as it yields scant evidence for the presence of wine amphorae yet as we shall go on to see provides a wealth of evidence demonstrating a level of dietary opulence⁹¹ almost unseen in other ‘regions’. The late Iron Age cemetery at Westhampnett, within this central region, is the largest known LPRIA cemetery assemblage in England⁹² and yet it is surprising perhaps that here we find no evidence of any amphora at all. Instead we find a find a continuation of late Iron Age indigenous pottery styles including possible examples of

⁸⁶ Peacock, 1971 p. 165-166

⁸⁷ Dressel 2-4 production may have started as early as 50BC, *see*: Sealey, 1985 p. 102

⁸⁸ Peacock, 1971 p. 166

⁸⁹ Fitzpatrick, 2003 p. 14, 23

⁹⁰ Millett, 1990 p. 32

⁹¹ Manley & Rudkin, 2005 p. 78-91

⁹² Fitzpatrick, et al., 2017 p. 359

indigenous ceramic innovation⁹³, here there is also evidence of a continuation of ceramic styles concurrent with those in areas of Normandy surrounding the mouth of the Seine⁹⁴.

Discussion

It is Martin Millett who lays down perhaps the most inclusive explanation for cultural shifts we see along the south coast or LPRIA Britain using the ‘Romanization’ model⁹⁵, as he draws from the other major proponents of the model, Colin Haslegrove⁹⁶ and Barry Cunliffe⁹⁷, in his argument. Millett puts into context his trickle-down theory of cultural change, making the generalisation of wine being just another cog in the wheel of cultural ‘Romanization’ during the LPRIA⁹⁸. It is the theory that increased contact with goods exhibiting characteristics of a ‘Roman’ *Habitus* fuelled a subsequent increase in the demand for such goods. This is due to them being recognised as signifiers or symbols of prestige, wealth and thus socio-economic power. This process in turn fuelled an increase in the need for British exports, as to continue acquiring these ‘Roman’ prestige goods, resulting in increasingly centralised socio-economic power structures in LPRIA Britain in order to keep the system afloat. What has been failed to mention is that the introduction of these apparent ‘Romanizing’ goods evidently did not result in the transferral of ‘Roman’ cultural practises surrounding the consumption of wine. This is demonstrated by the aforementioned lack of the other paraphernalia surrounding this ‘Roman’ practise of wine consumption, such as the crater, in the LPRIA archaeological record in Britain. Furthermore, for this proposed system to function surely we would be seeing a steady or chronologically consistent flow of amphorae into this ‘core’⁹⁹ south-eastern region. This regular transference of wine amphorae into LPRIA Britain is not evident

⁹³ Mephram, 1997 p. 114-130

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 131

⁹⁵ Millett, 1990 p. 34- 38

⁹⁶ See Haslegrove, 1984 and Haslegrove, 1982

⁹⁷ See Cunliffe, 1984

⁹⁸ Millett, 1990 p. 34-38

⁹⁹ Millett, 1990 p. 38

in the archaeological record for either the ‘south-eastern’ or ‘south-western’ regions. Instead it is apparent that wine amphorae are reaching the ‘south-eastern’ region sporadically over a two-hundred year period, with there even being a noted decrease in imported wine amphorae in the region during the first half of the 1st century AD¹⁰⁰. A period where we should surely be seeing an increase if Millett’s model were to be reliable. This trend is similarly echoed in the ‘south-western’ region, the so-called ‘outer-zone’ of the core-periphery model that Millett subscribes to¹⁰¹, despite the best estimate puts the total volume of wine imported over the two-century time span at c.800 litres¹⁰².

Therefore, with all these contradictions, it is evident that we must interpret the cultural impact of wine differently, we must see it a part of a semi-intermittent process of cultural creolage.

Within this framework wine the cultural value of wine can take on a duality of contexts.

Firstly, it was a rare and perhaps exotic product, and so just as has been the role of the socio-economic elite for millennia, they would have been able to control the dissemination of this resource. Thus, wine can be seen to play the role of a prestige item in the eyes of the immediate kinship groups and community. This same principle is also shown to be exhibited differently in terms of regionality. With the wine amphorae in the ‘south-western’ region almost exclusively being found in a settlement context, hence suggesting that the regional cultural value of the wine was inextricably linked to consumption with the kinship or communal groupings. In the ‘south-eastern’ region amphorae are more closely linked to a burial context. Thus, it would be apparent that the implication of the wine’s high worth remains true, yet the context of its cultural value changes to that of a more personal, individualised setting. Secondly, wine due to its scarcity over a long chronological period must have had its value determined by a display of regional or communal cognitive trends.

¹⁰⁰ Fitzpatrick, 2003 p. 14, 23

¹⁰¹ Millett, 1990 p. 38

¹⁰² Sealey, 2009 table.7

For example, it is entirely plausible that even a member of the societal elite grouping may have only actually have seen or consumed wine once or twice, or never even, in their lifetime, however the societal value of wine does not appear to diminish¹⁰³. Consequently, demonstrating that the cultural significance of wine in the LPRIA was inter-generational.

This continuation of the same regional practises surrounding the drinking of wine in Britain can also be seen in the clearly alienated mechanisms of its consumption across the whole south coast of LPRIA Britain. The lack of ‘Roman’ or Greek style crater mixing vessels, or even equivalents of the indigenous mixing vessels such as the Vix crater found in Gaul, for the duration of the two-century long period demonstrates the innovation of a truly insular process of consumption. Whilst, as previously discussed, there is little evidence for the consumption of wine from the late Iron Age tankards found in Britain, it is paramount to remember that these two drinking processes are highly probable to have been operating in a simultaneous location. This is due to the evidence of no meaningful decline in the manufacture of these tankards right up to the second-century AD, indicating a continuation of the same regional ale drinking cultures throughout the late Iron Age. This adds to the notion of a divergence of innovative regionalised behaviours surrounding the consumption of wine, as and when it became available.

Therefore, it is evident that when we apply our new understanding of cultural processes and shifts to this specific case it becomes clear that we can separate out the potential individual, communal and regional motivations and differences for the consumption of imported wine in a far less generalised manner. This provides us with a far more coherent structure around which these cultural paradigms surrounding the consumption of wine and the resultant

¹⁰³ As for the decrease in volume of wine after c.15BC indicating that there was a decline in the beverage’s sociocultural value, see: Fitzpatrick, 2003 p.14, 23. Demonstrating that Dressel 2-4 amphorae of this period of decline are more likely to be deposited in a burial context. Thus, providing evidence that the value did not decrease as such.

cultural shifts occur. Rather than the simply attributing it to a display by the socio-economic elites of the appearance of '*Romanitas*' or an inexplicable urge for the exhibition of behaviours concurrent with a 'Roman' *Habitus*.

Chapter Two: the Mortaria in LPRIA Britain.

*“a round cylindrical stone or a hollow vessel made of stone or wood, in which pulse or other objects were ground.”*¹⁰⁴- Eustathius of Thessalonika’s definition of the ‘Mortaria’.

The role of the mortaria in ‘Roman’ cuisine and culinary practises is ubiquitous. In the ancient recipe book *De Re Coquinaria* of Apicius we see the author call for the use of the ‘mortar’ in preparations for a great variety of dishes from meat and shellfish recipes, sweet puddings, bread doughs, cheese dishes¹⁰⁵ and even laxatives. Apicius also mentions that ‘mortaria are preparations made in the mortar’¹⁰⁶ in reference to the preparation of fresh sauces akin to the modern Italian pesto. All these references to the utilisation of the mortarium, and their wealth of use, by ancient authors demonstrates the integral role that the ‘mortarium’ possessed within the ‘Roman’ kitchen. It is a cheap analogy, I think, but one that works, made by Cramp, that the mortarium existed, certainly in the context of an Italian kitchen, in the role of the modern electric mixer¹⁰⁷. Their roles are similar enough as they are both utilised in the preparation of such a variety of foods yet are not the actual equipment in which the food is cooked.

Mortaria have a long history in the Italian peninsula, yet their story in Britain begins in the late pre-Roman Iron Age, with the earliest examples of the ‘wall-sided’ form being dated to the first half of the 1st century AD. We know this corresponds with the evidence from the continent due to the early twentieth century excavations at Haltern¹⁰⁸, thus that this style of mortarium was in production in that region during the Augustan period.

¹⁰⁴ *Eust. Comm.* II. 3:168.11–14

¹⁰⁵ *Cato. Agr.* 75-6

¹⁰⁶ *Apic. De Re Coquinaria.* 1.38

¹⁰⁷ (Cramp, et al., 2011) pg.1348

¹⁰⁸ Loeschcke, 1909 pg. 91-97

Furthermore, in the pre-Roman period these vessels are solely limited to our ‘south-eastern’ region, with finds predominantly at Camulodunum and Richborough¹⁰⁹, and with additional smaller assemblages at the Skeleton Green¹¹⁰ and Sheepen sites¹¹¹. All of the pre-Roman mortaria found in Britain dated in LPRIA would have been imported to the island from the continent. This is of note, however, as almost immediately after the Roman Invasion of AD43 the area around Camulodunum became a major industrial site for the manufacture of mortaria¹¹².

The usage of the mortarium in LPRIA ‘South-Eastern’ region of Britain

To facilitate the proper examination of the cultural significance and processes surrounding the use of the mortaria in the ‘south-eastern’ region of LPRIA Britain, we must explore the archaeological evidence surrounding the mechanisms of this vessel’s usage and local distribution.

Although focused around Camulodunum and Richborough, more specifically the sites of Sheepen and Skeleton Green have yielded pre-Roman examples. In order to ascertain the methods of these vessels usage in ‘south-eastern’ Britain, some archaeobotanical analysis has been conducted on the known mortaria assemblages found at these sites¹¹³. The results of this study show that the usage of mortaria was very different in this region of ‘south-eastern’ Britain during the LPRIA when compared with its usage on the continent in more ‘Roman’ contexts. For example, one of the clearest markers of a unique form of usage came from the Stanwick mortaria, which showed a far greater concentration of dairy fats than would be expected from a mortarium used for the production of food in the

¹⁰⁹ Hartley, 1981 p. 196

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 196

¹¹¹ Hartley, 1985 p. 92

¹¹² Ibid., p. 92

¹¹³ Cramp, et al., 2011 p.1349

manner as described by Apicius¹¹⁴. However, this would be expected if the results are compared to those from the same analysis that has been conducted on late Iron Age cookware found at the same sites. Furthermore, it was noted that despite the Stanwick mortarium containing a high amount of dairy fats it was otherwise consistent when compared with the other pre-Roman mortaria that were analysed. This, as Cramp *et al* rightly pointed out clearly indicates that the introduction of the mortaria did not overhaul pre-existing diets, refuting the notion that ‘Roman’ utensils brought with them, ‘Roman’ culinary culture¹¹⁵. Aside from the high prevalence of dairy fat residue in these mortaria, a greater volume of degraded plant epicuticular wax was detected¹¹⁶. This fact coupled with the statement that there are no equivalent Iron Age vessels¹¹⁷, has been argued by Cramp *et al* to indicate a shift in culinary practise, not towards a ‘Roman’ style, but more representative of a ‘complex and selective process of cultural adoption and adaption in or beyond the kitchen’¹¹⁸.

Thus, the evidence for the alienated usage of sites within the ‘south-eastern’ region of Britain during the LPRIA is apparent. It is clear then that it is the case that the mortaria, due to their high levels of usage, were viewed as prestige items by their late Iron Age owners. What made them prestigious was not their usage as a display of affinity for ‘Romanitas’ or the exhibition of a ‘Roman’ *habitus*, but their rarity and novelty. It is noted by Cramp *et al* that these vessels were almost certainly not the focus of long-distance trade¹¹⁹, but more likely ‘incidental’ to it. This also ties in with Cunliffe’s core-periphery model propensity for generalisation as in the case of the mortaria, whilst yes it

¹¹⁴ Cramp, et al., 2011 p. 1349

¹¹⁵ Wilson, 1995 p.70

¹¹⁶ Cramp, et al., 2011 p. 1350

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 1350

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 1350

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 1348

was only found in the ‘south-eastern’ region, or ‘core’, this model fails to address the high level of localisation¹²⁰ of mortaria utilisation. Finally, the conclusion reached by Cramp *et al* that the usage of the mortarium in LPRIA Britain indicative a selective, not random, process of cultural innovation ties in beautifully with the theory of cultural ‘creolage’. This statement is evident if we appreciate the specifically regionalised culture of the use of mortaria in the LPRIA, that a new method of use came about once they were introduced to the ‘south-eastern’ portion of Britain, coupled with a certain level of individuality in their use, take for example the Stanwick mortaria as previously discussed. Just as Cramp *et al* have shown the adoption of the mortaria did not occur without an adaption of its usage, a purposeful innovation based up pre-existing dietary and cultural practises. Furthermore, we can also see that the cultural practise that was created surrounding the mortaria in pre-Roman Britain translated directly into the post AD.43 period with much of the south coast very quickly taking up the usage of this vessel. The popularity of the mortaria in the later period surely indicates a form of cognitive trend, as the previously discussed associations made in the pre-Roman period between the vessel and the values attached to it, prestige and wealth etcetera, can only be responsible for this effect. Hence the adoption of the mortaria into the kitchens of these ‘south-eastern’ socio-economic elite in the closing years of the late pre-Roman Iron Age and their subsequent innovative usages assuredly provides us with a fantastic example by which to understand and validate the system of a cultural ‘creolage’.

¹²⁰ Cramp, et al., 2011 p. 1350

Conclusion

Despite the limited scope of this study and the subsequent challenges faced when examining such a small element in a much larger series of societal systems, this study of the cultural effects caused by cross-channel trade 100BC-AD43 has gained us some important insights. As was the main focus of this dissertation, my study has proven the applicability of the model of cultural changes, with regard to the cultural and societal ramifications of a change in diet due the increase in cross-Channel interactions with ‘Rome’ and its intermediaries, through a process of cultural ‘creolage’ to a large extent. This new model as proposed by Häussler and Webster¹²¹ provides a far better framework for the understanding of cultural innovation even when applied to this specific dietary portion of the overall process of cultural shifts. By breaking down the terms that are so often used to generalise in regional and cultural sense and then applying these understandings specifically to the well-documented wine trade and introduction of the mortarium into LPRIA societies along Britain’s south coast I have been able to demonstrate this. Furthermore, I have established how items that symbolise socio-economic power and cultural prestige change and adapt over our one-hundred-and-forty-three-year time period. Additionally, I have argued for the theory of a cognitive trend in certain cultural practises surrounding the display of wealth and power due to the preservation of pre-existing and innovative new practises and traditions from the pre-Roman period right through the post AD43 invasion and colonisation periods. Finally, through the examination of the wine trade in LPRIA Britain, both in the ‘south-western’ and ‘south-eastern’ regions, I have demonstrated how the validity of the core-periphery model, as proposed and developed by Barry Cunliffe¹²², can be called into question within the scope of dietary and cultural

¹²¹ Häussler & Webster, forthcoming.

¹²² Cunliffe, 1988, Cunliffe, 2005, Cunliffe, 1984.

changes. As I have argued, the evidence for changing 'core' regions over time, the possibility of local, regional and global 'core' regions acting simultaneously followed by the existence of the 'south-western' region being well connected via cross-Channel trade whilst supposedly being a 'peripheral' region renders Cunliffe's core-periphery model preposition untenable at best.

Images

Figure 1¹²³.

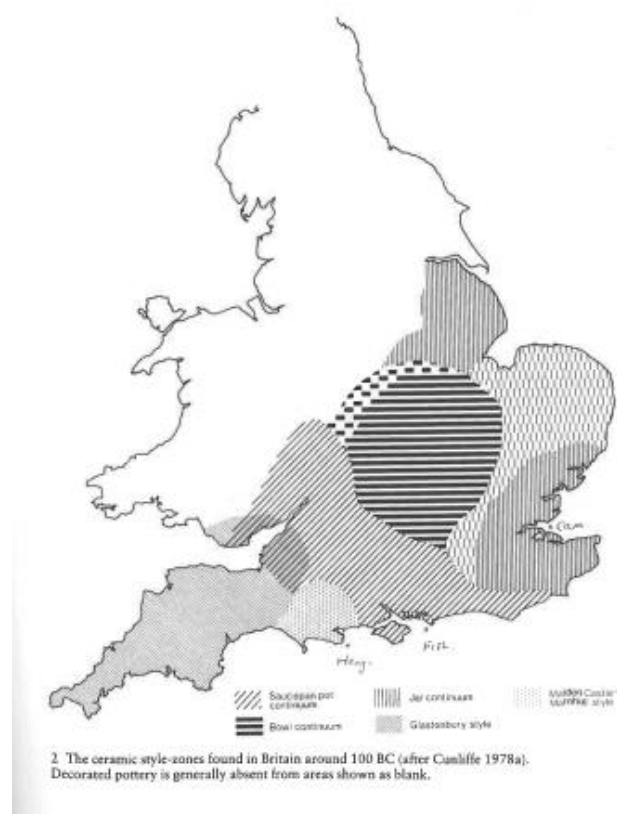
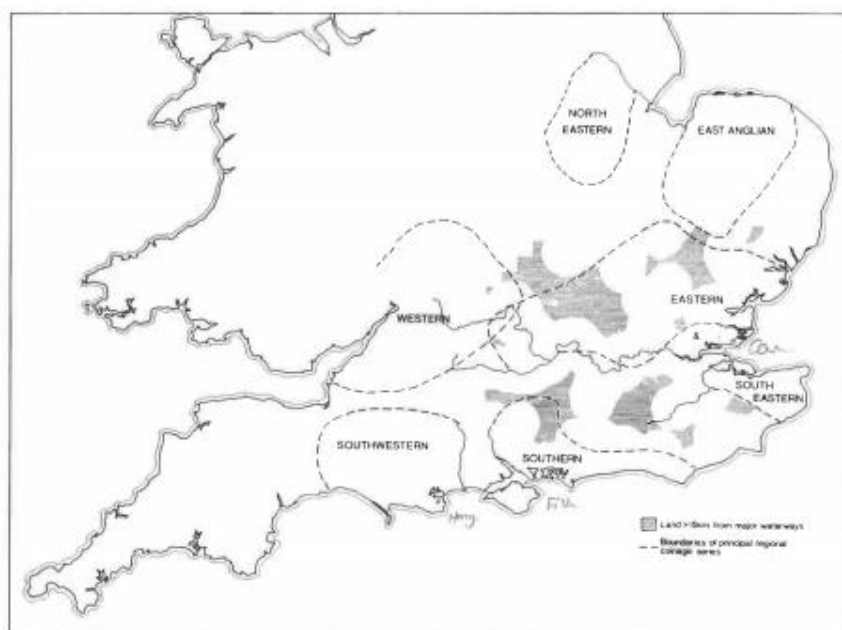
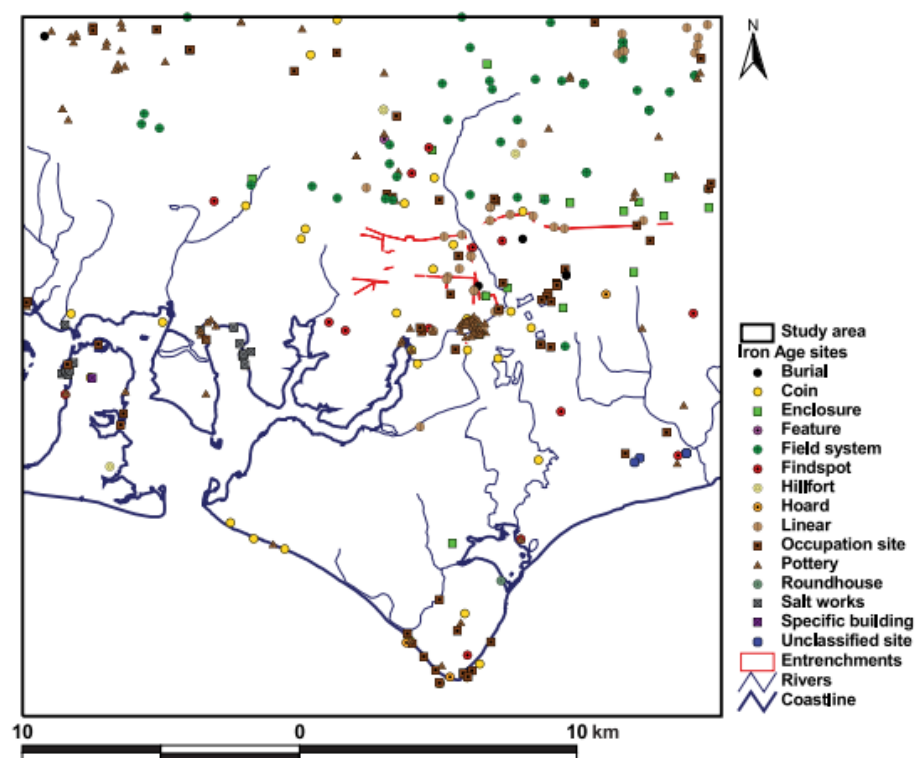


Figure 2¹²⁴.



¹²³ Millett, 1990 p. 13

¹²⁴ Millett, 1990 p. 14

Figure 3¹²⁵.Figure 4¹²⁶.

¹²⁵ Millett, 1990 p. 16

¹²⁶ Manley, et al., 2007 p. 88

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