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Try the Wine: Food as an Expression of Cultural Identity in Roman Britain

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TRY THE WINE: FOOD AS AN EXPRESSION OF CULTURAL

IDENTITY IN ROMAN BRITAIN

by

Molly Reininger

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF THE ARTS

in

History

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ABSTRACT

Try the Wine: Food as an Expression of

Cultural Identity in Roman Britain

by

Molly Reininger, Master of the Arts

Utah State University, 2020

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Department: History

This thesis explores the relationship between goods imported from Rome to Britannia, starting from the British Iron Age to the Late Antique period, and how their presence in the province affected how those living within viewed their cultural identity. By using four distinctly exotic, and Roman, imported goods – wine, olive oil, *garum* (fish sauce), and figs – the method for exploring cultural identity was refined to only influences from Rome, rather than other potential outside influences. The perspective of the Roman colonizers was examined in the first chapter, the second chapter observed the British viewpoint from the same period, while the final chapter took the cultural hegemony that occurred in Late Antique Britannia into account and explored those living in the colony as a whole and how they had incorporated those goods into their everyday lives.

This research determined that those Romans moving into the colony of Britannia brought with them cultural norms that were enhanced and maintained through their connection to Roman foods, and the ethnically British were more easily colonized and immersed in the empire through this connection to imported goods.

(88 pages)

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

Try the Wine:

Food as an Expression of Cultural Identity in Roman Britain

Molly Reininger

Research surrounding cultural identity and food customs throughout history are published often, but any research that attempts to combine the two are often based in more recent history. Few combinations of the two are available, and fewer explore the implications within ancient colonization and expansion.

The research for this thesis was conducted with three viewpoints in mind: the colonization of Britannia from Romans within the new colony, the colonization from the native Briton's perspective, and the Roman citizens within Britannia at the end of Rome's military involvement with the colony. This method was chosen because in the early years of Britannia acting as a colony, there was much divide between the people emigrating in and the local populations, and by the end of Rome's official involvement, several hundred years later, the population was almost entirely homogenous and therefore was more easily seen in contrast with the Roman Empire.

The nature of this research indicates that recent trends within historical study to understand the effects of colonization on modern civilizations can be used to effectively explore parts of the further past that otherwise would not be examined.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

"Claudia Severa to her Lepidina, greetings. On 11 September, sister, for the day of the celebration of my birthday, I give you a warm invitation to make sure that you come to us, to make the day more enjoyable for me by your arrival, if you are present. Give my greetings to your Cerialis. My Aelius and my little son send him their greetings. I shall expect you, sister. Farewell, sister, my dearest soul, as I hope to prosper, and hail. To Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Cerialis, from Severa."[1]

-Vindolanda Tablet 291

This letter is one of the earliest examples of a woman's written word in history, originating from approximately 100 BCE.[2] Found among the collection of Latin letters from the Roman military fort of Vindolanda, in what is now England, the "Birthday Invitation" is a snapshot of the past. Claudia Severa, the author, is holding a birthday party for herself and invites her sister and her sister's family. Parties in Roman culture were relatively standardized, most often including gifts of money, making an offering of ritual cakes with honey, and drinking undiluted wine.[3] Just as birthday parties today vary, the key elements of a gathering of friends, gifts, and a candle to blow out remain the same. In the northern province of Britannia, still fresh from the bloody revolts by the local British population, those key elements for a Roman party were harder to attain. Yet parties still were planned and unless another discovery says otherwise,

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[1] Alan Bowman and David Thomas, *Vindolanda: the Latin writing tablets* London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1983. Tablet 291.
http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink2/4DACTION/WebRequestQuery?searchTerm=291&searchType=number&searchField=TVII&thisListPosition=1&thisPageNum=0.

[2] Bowman and Thomas, *Vindolanda: the Latin writing tablets*. Tablet 291.

[3] Kathryn Argetsinger, "Birthday Rituals: Friends and Patrons in Roman Poetry and Cult," *Classical Antiquity* 11, no. 2, 1992. 183.;

Tibullus Catullus. *Pervigilium Veneris.* Translated by F. W. Cornish, J. P. Postgate, J. W. Mackail. Revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 6. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913. 2.2.
ipse suos Genius adsit visurus honores, cui decorent sanctas mollia serta comes. illius puro destillent tempora nardo, atque satur libo sit madeatque mero.

occurred. The cultural desire for birthday parties by Romans was just as prominent for those living in the provinces as it was within the capital itself. The distance did not negate their necessity. The same holds true for other important elements of Roman culture.

The processes and requirements for maintaining a strong presence in an empire-controlled province are fascinating. Rome was threatened in the north by the Gauls, and by the cessation of expansion following the death of Augustus. The province of Britannia was remained stable despite internal and external threats. Beyond several revolts, there was little that prevented Rome from conquering the island. A great deal is now understood about how a Roman province functioned in maintaining its economy, social structure, and political power. What is not as well understood is how Romans living in this removed province, which was drastically different from Rome in both local customs and climate, maintained what they considered their 'Roman identity.'

When exploring Roman colonization, the term "romanization" is often used, after having been coined in the early 20th century by British historians. This term is inherently problematic, as it is difficult to remove the British imperialistic ideals under which it sprang, as those same historians relate the British Empire and its practices to Roman imperialism. Romanization, as it is used today, is defined as "imperial policy to spread civilization, in its refined Roman form, to the uncultured barbarians who filled the provinces of the empire."[4] Coloring Roman imperialism with modern British constructs of race and cultural superiority does not encapsulate the true reasons that Rome expanded into its provinces. Thus, "romanization" is often forgone now, but these works cannot be discounted for their use of the term, as they have helped shape the field as

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[4] Erik Jensen, *Barbarians in the Greek and Roman World*, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2018.), 190.

it is currently known. It is for this reason that "Roman colonization," rather than "Romanization," will occasionally appear in this written work.

For this thesis, I will examine the role that food culture, or what foods Romans sought out and the importance of those items, played in Romanizing Britain. The unusual presence of Roman dietary staples which would have been decidedly 'exotic' in Britannia indicates that they held enough cultural value that provincial Romans would go out of their way to import them. I will limit my analysis to figs, *garum* (fish sauce), olive oil, and wine, though there are many more examples available. I selected these items to explore because they cannot be produced within the province, and therefore their presence within Britain suggests that they were imported for the purpose of tastes.

During Rome's active presence in Britannia, cultural beliefs sometimes collided with local traditions. Roman influence on Britannia began much earlier than the traditional date of 55 BCE, Julius Caesar's invasion, and lasted long after Rome withdrew its troops from the region in around 383 CE. Therefore, I will examine the role of Roman food culture early in the occupation from the perspective of the Romans (who left the most written sources to draw from), from the perspective of the Britons, and from the combined perspective of native and provincial towards the end of the occupation in order to illustrate how Roman food culture influenced those in Britannia who encountered it.

Throughout this thesis, I will return to the significance that figs, *garum*, olive oil, and wine had for different people at different times in Britannia. While the products remain the same, the culture surrounding them does not, and their uses facilitate the transition of changing norms. I intend to show that understanding how these four items helped maintain 'Roman-ness' will benefit our understanding of what it meant to the Romans living in Britannia to be 'Roman'

when they were so far from Rome itself, surrounded by new people, new customs, and a new climate. My focus on food rather than material culture brings a fresh perspective to the discussion of what it meant to be 'Roman.'

Returning to the Birthday Letter, Claudia Severa was the wife of a Roman soldier stationed in Britannia, accompanied by her sister, who was also married to a Roman man nearby. Beyond this, the details of her life are unknown. She may have been born in Britannia by earlier Roman families, she may have been a native Briton who adopted a Roman name and married a legionary, or she may have emigrated from the city of Rome itself. Whatever her origins, the birthday party invitation shows that Claudia Severa was involved in traditionally Roman customs far from the center of the empire; Roman customs that would not otherwise have reached Britannia unless they were actively sought out within the province.

Chapter 1: Roman Perception of Britain

"As a result, the nation which used to reject the Latin language began to aspire to rhetoric: further, the wearing of our dress became a distinction, and the toga came into fashion, and little by little the Britons went astray into alluring vices: to the promenade, the bath, the well-appointed dinner table. The simple natives gave the name of "culture" to this factor of their slavery."[5]

-Tacitus, *Agricola* XXI

Introduction

Following Julius Caesar's invasion in 55 BCE, the island nation of Britannia entered the

empire's political influence for the following five centuries. By the time that the Roman empire

fell, losing control of Britannia, the social and cultural scene was much changed. Before Rome,

the culture of the Britons was unique, with relatively minor influences acting upon them from

their trade with the continent. The occupation brought clashes between the societal and cultural

beliefs and customs. Many classical authors have commented on these clashes, even if they were

not aware that what they were describing would become the basis for which modern scholars

have studied the interactions between the ancient colonization process and its long-term effects.

The perceived barbarity of the Britons unnerved the Romans. Distinct from other Roman-

controlled provinces where the local cultures were accepted, and even flourished, Rome

commenced with the systematic destruction of British culture and traditions in a way that would

not be out of place within modern imperialism. The information vacuum they left has tainted the

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[5] Tacitus, *Agricola. Germania. Dialogue on Oratory,* trans. by M. Hutton, W. Peterson, revised by R.M. Ogilvie, E.H. Warmington, Michael Winterbottom, Loeb Classical Library 35, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), XXI.
Ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balineas et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

ways in which we historians are able to view the cultural mixing, as the Roman perspective alone does not paint a clear picture of the events that occurred.

The primary sources demonstrate a very distinct idea of how the Romans and Britons lived alongside each other, often comparing the latter to the former. One aspect of their lifestyle differences comes through in the ways in which Roman food culture was imported alongside the people entering the island nation of Britannia. The foods which were present in Britannia during the occupation have been examined, but the ways in which food may have influenced what it meant to be "Roman" has yet to be explored. Modern day excavations of Roman sites in Britain support what the literary sources claim; that Roman food was common throughout the areas which the Romans settled, and from there spread to the local population. This led to what has previously been defined by scholars as "Romanization," though that term has fallen out of fashion, and replaced with perhaps the more accurate "cultural hegemony."

From the archaeological evidence alone, food and food culture were important to the maintenance of Roman identity. In Britannia, the distances involved in the trade of food items that were popular in Rome was not manageable, as many were perishable, and would not survive the journey without excessive preparation. Cost effectiveness was also an area of concern, as the primary Roman consumers in Britannia were the soldiers, who heavily relied on their yearly rations and personal wages to buy any additional, more costly, cuisines.[6] This was not only a problem for the soldiers stationed in Britannia, but affected others to varying degrees in the other provinces, as seen with the countless other excavation sites throughout continental Europe.[7] The

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[6] John F. Donahue, "Roman Dining," in *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World*, eds. John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2015), 259.

[7] For examples, read *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, edited by Peter Garnsey, as it provides archaeological digs and excavations throughout Europe.

combination of archaeological resources, along with classical records of trade and social

commentary in antiquity, paints a clear picture of how Roman identity was preserved by those

Romans living in the out-of-the-way province of Britannia.

Roman dining played a variety of roles within society, with implications for social status,

hierarchy, and control of one's environment. Researching these customs is a good method for

understanding the inner workings of Roman food culture.[8] While the remains from homes,

towns, and farms have given archaeologists some insight into the dietary customs of the ancient

provincials, the literary sources from this time period are biased and often exaggerated, and

therefore should be used with caution.[9] However, one benefit of these sources is the evidence

they provide about what Romans valued as cultural food staples. Closely examining the records

of food items, the cultural differences and beliefs attached to them can highlight their cultural

importance. In other words, the records of what the Romans in Britannia imported to the

province show which foods held enough cultural significance to warrant the effort and cost of

that importation.

Being Roman

Romans, proud of their heritage, were wary about anything and everything that did not

originate within their society, and this bias extended to the thoughts and practices surrounding

food.[10] A main aspect in almost every culture has been the ideas surrounding food customs, and

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[8] Donahue, "Roman Dining," 253.

[9] H.E.M. Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 34., and others who write on the topic. While Cool goes into exact details regarding food items in Britannia, I am examining how they are used as a means of cultural assimilation.

[10] This can be seen in how 'barbarians' are described in many ancient writings, which will be addressed further within the following chapters. For specific examples, see Tacitus' *Annals*, Caesar's *De Bello Gallico,* and Strabo's *Geographica*.

the Roman Empire is no exception. Studies that look at how modern cultures react to food

customs and their link to cultural identity is a burgeoning field, and has led to many debates

across the fields of anthropology and history.[11] While the Roman reaction to 'foreign' food and

culture was tinged with 'otherness,' the reception of Roman culture in its provinces was

markedly different, with some cultures finding some of the imported social customs useful early

on.[12] This led to a dichotomy of beliefs surrounding what local foods the Romans living in

Britannia had regular access to, and which Italian foods were deemed important enough to

import for the sole purpose of maintaining Roman food customs.

The ample archaeological evidence must be viewed within the Roman cultural

framework. Columella, Tacitus, and many others offer context to the contemporary values

regarding the Roman perception of Britannia. Despite their steadfastness in what being a proper

Roman entailed, there was not a specific Latin word that the authors used as a placeholder.

Scholar Greg Woolf coined the term *humanitas*.[13] *Humanitas* is difficult to define, as it covers a

broad expanse of meanings that contain different cultural significance, depending on how one

decides to view it. One way to take this concept is by defining it as "steadiness under pressure

and the dutiful observance of social hierarchies," as well as "the essential components of a

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[11] Pat Caplan, ed., *Food, Health and Identity.* (London: Routledge, 1997), 1-9. Accessed October 1, 2019. ProQuest Ebook Central.

[12] Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 12.

[13] Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 54-55.
"Humanitas" is a Latin word that can be translated as 'human nature, character, or feeling' as well as 'culture/civilization.' Woolf describes this term on page 56 of his book: "The centrality of this concept to Roman imperial culture is evident from the ways in which it may be seen to have operated. First, there is an ideological naturalization, the representation of a sectional and contingent value system as a set of beliefs with universal validity grounded in the very nature of man. Second, there is the relationship to Roman power, the formylation of *humanitas* as a qualification for rule, and, in so far as Roman rule propagated it, a legitimation of it. Third, *humanitas* provided a description of Roman culture which also operated to define it and bind it together."

proper way of life, such as moderation, honesty, and steadfastness."[14] Some try to define the

concept by looking at Greek words that hold similar significance, such as *philanthrôpia*, defined

as 'common humanity,' or *paideia*, meaning 'culture.'[15] The latter has been argued against most

vehemently by others, saying that the Greek concept of *paideia* cannot possibly be translated in

a way that depicts the arrogance with which Greeks viewed their own culture, while also not

capturing the 'gentle' aspects of *humanitas*.[16] Even attempts at conflating *humanitas* to other

Latin terms have failed to create a distinct definition at this. For this chapter, *humanitas* will be

used as a Roman standard for living, behavior, and beliefs. Regarding the standard for living, this

means that how Romans lived in Rome itself; customs for eating, sleeping, social customs, and

dress, for example. In reference to behavior, *humanitas* will refer to the Roman reception of

literature, the maintenance of the patron-client relationship, and military practices of service. The

Roman beliefs about different groups of people throughout their world, and not necessarily

regarding religious customs. All of these make up *humanitas*, and therefore are part of the

requirements for maintaining their Roman identity in the provinces. As this is not necessarily

based on ethnicity, *humanitas* could be achieved by non-native Romans if the standards above

were adhered to a majority of the time.

  Modern authors often try to avoid using the term 'romanization,' as how it is used

frequently shifts between places and times frequently, and often has loaded connotations relating

to modern British colonialism.[17] While there are still discussions about using "romanization," if

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[14] Jensen, *Barbarians in the Greek and Roman World,* 192.

[15] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 55.

[16] Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 34.

[17] Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution,* 10., Jensen, *Barbarians in the Greek and Roman World,* 190-192.

it is accurate enough on its own, scholars alternate between some alternatives like "creolization," "acculturation," and "métissage," all of which have been argued for and against. 'Romanization' has fallen out of fashion as its colonialist origins are viewed critically today. In Martin Millett's *The Romanization of Britain*, the idea of 'romanization' is the interactions between Roman and native cultures, which meld together, but ultimately leave Roman influences as the most important aspect of that mix.[18] Other authors have argued that by using the term 'romanization,' one inherently places Roman culture on a pedestal above the more 'barbarous' native populations over which it exerts influence.[19] The alternatives to 'romanization,' however, are fraught with their own biases. 'Creolization' has been suggested as an alternative by several different scholars but has yet to be definitively agreed upon due to several reasons. First, there is no evidence for the creation of a new lingual dialect, a defining feature of 'creolization.'[20] Secondly, neither 'creolization,' 'acculturation,' nor 'métissage' solve the inherent colonialism problem. That is why this paper will avoid using any of these terms to describe the interactions between the Roman people and native Britons, and simply refer to it as 'Roman colonization.'[21]

In the mid to late Republic (150-27 BCE), the experience of residing in the controlled territories as a Roman citizen meant to pledge military service, pay taxes, and participate in the government. The extent to which one could be involved in those cultural requirements depended on whether one was a patrician or plebeian, but it was relatively standardized throughout the provinces. While this itself did not necessarily change with the advent of the empire (27 BCE -

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[18] Martin Millett, *The Romanization of Britain,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1.

[19] Woolf, *Becoming Roman,* 4-5., Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution,* 10.

[20] Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 11.

[21] For further reading about the debates surrounding 'romanization,' see Wallace-Hadrill, Erik Jensen, Martin Millett, Greg Woolf, Francis J. Haverfield's *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (1923).

68 CE), the focus did shift so that appearances and mannerisms mattered more, encompassing how one dressed and spoke.[22] The annexed populations entering fully into Roman culture were accompanied by their own customs and beliefs, but quickly understood that in order to have a say in how they were handled politically by Rome, they would have to cater to Roman traditions. Woolf summarized this as an indication of which parts of Roman identity were perceived by those provincial citizens as holding the most importance.[23] "Roman identity" indeed shifts depending on the perspective through which it was viewed, as there was a mass movement from Rome to the provinces during the middle and late Republic.[24] Those leaving Rome during this diaspora retained their citizenship and cultural customs, and brought these to the provinces through Roman imperialistic means.[25] As Britannia was brought into the Roman fold, *humanitas* was as well, and as citizenship had been extended by the time of Augustus (27 BCE - 14 CE), inclusion could extend beyond traditional borders to British Roman citizens.[26]

As citizenship was possible for everyone under Roman influence, so was *humanitas*. *Humanitas* spread through cultural customs, including food, and sharing these customs could be achieved by anyone actively seeking them out, no matter their ethnicity. There were, of course, Roman biases such as their derision of Greek people and culture, but politically they held less sway.[27] Before this outsiders were seen through a lens articulated by Hippocrates' *Airs, Waters,*

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[22] Lisa Pilar Eberle, "Making Roman Subjects: Citizenship and Empire Before and After Augustus." *John Hopkins University Press* 147, no. 2, (2017): 322.

[23] Woolf, *Becoming Roman,* 11.

[24] Eberle, "Making Roman Subjects," 323.

[25] Eberle, "Making Roman Subjects," 322.

[26] Eberle, "Making Roman Subjects," 323.

[27] Based off of the opening of citizenship status to non-ethnically Roman people.

and Places, in which he describes humans as strings on an instrument, long to short; northerners were the long strings, tall with deep voices, while the southerners (people from the Mediterranean region) were the short strings, shorter with higher voices.[28] The comparison extended to the early Greek perceptions about the difference of intelligence between the northerners (Gauls and similar) and those from the Mediterranean. From this comparison sprung the tradition of Rome believing their own culture superior to the surrounding regions. As suggested above, these cultural biases did not stop Romans from willingly entering the newly taken provinces.

Roman provincial identity as scholars understand it today was first formulated by Martin Millett's *The Romanization of Britain*, which, as shown above, has been cited by many subsequent studies. Most are reactions to his distancing between Roman cultural superiority and the adoption of said culture by local elites to further their own standing.[29] Greg Woolf's *Becoming Roman* explores the intricacies of what maintaining Roman identity outside of Rome itself, using the cultural assimilation processes and economic metamorphoses to demonstrate his point that it was an active change from all parties involved. H.E.M. Cool's *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain*, while also building upon Millett and Woolf, takes a very focused approach on one aspect of the Roman invasion and settlement of Britannia: the food. Cool took this approach to studying the cultural history of Roman Britain due to his belief that in order to truly understand a society, understanding their cuisine is a must.[30] While this approach is valid, Woolf

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[28] Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution,* 149-150. Wallace-Hadrill here makes the connection that Hippocrates was making this simile in *Airs, Waters, and Places* 6.1.3-10, and upon reading the passage I see the comparisons between the types of people, but not the simile itself. Wallace-Hadrill is a renowned scholar and I trust his interpretation.

[29] See Wallace-Hadrill's *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, and Erik Jensen's *Barbarians in the Greek and Roman World.*

[30] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 1.

only dedicates a small section to this area of study, and Wallace-Hadrill and Millet do not touch on the topic of food consumption at all.

Due to the archaeological evidence from this time period that has been uncovered in Britain, ignoring such would detract from other research. In the same vein, the classical sources that have survived do not always provide an unbiased view of the Britons, but it is the only written evidence that has even attempted to give them a voice, so it must be considered. As the issue stands, the extent to which food culture, classically and archaeologically, played a role in the maintenance in *humanitas* in Britannia has been relatively untouched.

Provincial Integration

Once Rome entered an area with the intent of colonization, there was little the local populations could do about it on a large scale. Rebellions were suppressed, and new governmental control was slowly implemented. New provinces were subject to economic dependence, taxation, and the installment of local rulers sympathetic to Rome.[31] The frictions between the colonizers and the colonized highlight the role *humanitas* played in colonization. During the first century of occupation, the number of Roman soldiers in Britannia is estimated to have been 40,000, and by the second century it was most likely half that.[32] Including the families that came with the soldiers, the number of Roman citizens at the height of the occupation swelled to potentially 200,000 individuals.[33] Due to the limited written records, the native Briton population is unknown, but an approximation of 3.7 million has been cautiously agreed upon.[34]

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[31] Millett, *The Romanization of Britain*, 7.

[32] Millett, *The Romanization of Britain,* 57, 185.

[33] Millett, *The Romanization of Britain,* 182.

[34] Millett, *The Romanization of Britain,* 181.

Romans entering Britannia, soldier or civilian, brought with them a sense of cultural superiority.[35]

The Archaeology of Trade

Before Roman colonization, the main exports from Britannia were "corn, cattle, iron, silver, and gold," as well as boasting a thriving tin industry.[36] Tin, a key component in bronze, led to increased trade with Rome during Britannia's Iron Age.[37] Strabo commented on the abundance of gold in Britannia when he described the excessive golden ornamentation of the Druids.[38] It's unclear if he himself had ever witnessed what he described in Britannia, but when Julius Caesar was about to sail over the channel to Britannia for the first time, he wrote that there were traders who saw his military maneuvers and reported his presence to British leaders, indicating that at the minimum, the two entities were aware of each other and had trade relations before the invasion began in full.[39]

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[35] Woolf, *Becoming Roman,* 48. This harkens back to the debates surrounding 'romanization,' but should be understood in this context as something that the Romans themselves felt, not something modern scholars necessarily believe.

[36] David Divine, *The North-West Frontier of Rome* (London: MacDonald & Co. Publishers Ltd., 1969), 23., 'Corn' in this context means grain.

[37] Richard Hobbs and Ralph Jackson, *Roman Britain: Life at the Edge of Empire* (The British Museum Press, 2010), 15.

[38] Strabo, *Geography, Volume 2: Books 3-4,* Translated by Horace Leonard Jones, Loeb Classical Library 49, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), IV.4.5.
Strabo talks here about the druids and their customs when sacrificing other people.
χρυσοφοροῦσί τε γάρ, περὶ μὲν τοῖς τραχήλοις στρεπτὰ ἔχοντες, περὶ δὲ τοῖς βραχίοσι καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς ψέλια, καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας βαπτὰς φοροῦσι καὶ χρυσοπάστους οἱ ἐν ἀξιώματι.
"for they not only wear golden ornaments—both chains round their necks and bracelets round their arms and wrists—but their dignitaries wear garments that are dyed in colours and sprinkled with gold."

[39] Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico,* Translated by H.J. Edwards, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), 4.21.
Interim, consilio eius cognito et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus insulae civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides dare atque imperio populi Romani obtemperare.

This is supported further by the Roman amphorae, or pottery used for primarily liquid trade goods, that have been found in Britannia and dated to Iron Age Britannia, before Caesar set foot on the island.[40] Archaeological analysis has determined that some of the most common contents for these amphorae were wine, olive oil, and fish sauce (*garum)*.[41] This is supported by the writing on some amphorae, indicating their contents, and their primary presence on the southern coast of Britannia, where the bulk of trading ports are located.[42] That is not to say that the presence of Roman goods in Britannia during this time implies that they were aspiring towards *humanitas*, only that the Romans who would later live there were more able to easily access these luxury items.

Roman British archaeological remains left behind explain how the people living within them in part maintained their *humanitas*. Three Roman settlements were studied for this area of research: Vindolanda, Frocester Court, and Fishbourne Palace. Their wealth status increased in that order; Vindolanda was the soldier's fort where they lived with their families, Frocester Court was perhaps an upper-class Roman home, and Fishbourne Palace was, as the name suggests, a wealthy palace. This wide variety lets scholars view the different ways in which those Romans living there maintained their *humanitas* through what Roman foods they prepared.

An area of study that has only been addressed by archaeologists, and not ancient historians, is the importance of the role of grain in the human diet. Due to the wide range of sites that have varying levels of wealth, consistent numbers of consumption are hard to determine.

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*"*Meanwhile his purpose had become known and had been reported through traders to the Britons, and deputies came to him from several states in the island with promises to give hostages and to accept the empire of Rome."

[40] Martin Pitts, "The Archaeology of Food Consumption" in *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World*, eds. John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2015), 100.

[41] Pitts, "The Archaeology of Food Consumption," 100.

[42] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 15.; Millett, *The Romanization of Britain,* 6, 30.

Vindolanda, however, was periodically burnt down in order to prevent enemy soldiers from occupying the site in the times no Roman troops were stationed there, which subsequently preserved plants and seeds within.[43] These charred remains indicate that there were specific rooms designated for grain storage within the settlement, and were regularly refilled either from surrounding fields or from regular imports.[44] Though grains were not as tied to Roman cultural identity as other foods examined here, by studying how a large staple of the Roman diet was maintained, modern researchers can better understand how smaller, more integral aspects of food culture were handled within the overarching frame of diet.

The Archaeology of Culture

One method employed to overcome the obstacle of general diet is the study of the Roman garden in Britannia. Gardens were an integral part of daily life for Romans, no matter what form they took.[45] In the city of Rome itself, nearly every citizen interacted with gardens on a regular basis, as their functionality stretched through the social classes and wealth gaps.[46] They could act as public gardens, as Julius Caesar's did upon his death, or individuals could have their own plots in their homes in order to grow their own produce.[47] For the poorest of the Romans, even a few pots for some carefully chosen plants would have sufficed.[48] Authors like Catullus and

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[43] Jacqui Huntley, "The World is a Bundle of Hay: Investigating Land Management for Animal Fodder around Vindolanda, Based on Plant Remains." *Breaking Down Boundaries: Hadrian's Wall in the 21st Century* (2013), 33.

[44] Huntley, "The World is a Bundle of Hay," 36.

[45] F.M.A. Jones, "Roman Gardens, Imagination, and Cognitive Structure," *Mnemosyne: A Journal of Classical Studies* 67 (2014): 787.

[46] Jones, "Roman Gardens," 782.

[47] Linda Farrar, "Ancient Roman Gardens (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1998), 12.

[48] Farrar, *Ancient Roman Gardens,* 12.

Tacitus, writing on very different subjects, both speak about gardens as holding places of honor within their society; Catullus, by describing them as a place in which young girls feel safe before marriage, and Tacitus, who explains what would be appropriate to do with a garden during the sale of a house.[49] Just as the garden spans all levels of wealth and social class, so too did it span the Roman settlements in Britannia. In the case of the personal or family gardens, they were maintained by the women of the household, indicating that gender roles played some part in daily diets.[50] Gardens were a haven from threats, a vital resource for food, and an integral part of every societal customs. The significance that the garden held to the people of Rome demonstrates that the customs of keeping gardens around or within homes was part of their *humanitas.* Excavations have shown that many Romano-British settlements were host to garden plots.[51] Vindolanda, the poorest of the examined sites, had few garden plots in the surrounding land, indicating that either they were too costly to maintain with only a soldier's wages, or that attempts at growing the kinds of plants common in Italian Roman gardens could not survive the

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[49] Catullus 62.; *ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis, ignotus pecori, nullo convulsus aratro, quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber, iam iam se expandit suavesque exspirat odores; multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae: idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui, nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae: sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est; cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem, nec pueris iucunda manet nec cara puellis.* "As a flower springs up secretly in a fenced garden, unknown to the cattle, torn up by no plough, which the winds caress, the sun strengthens, the shower draws forth, and even now it unfolds and exhales sweet fragrance, many boys, many girls, desire it; when the same flower fades, nipped by a sharp nail, no boys, no girls desire it: so a maiden, while she remains untouched, the while is she dear to her own; when she has lost her chaste flower with sullied body, she remains neither lovely to boys nor dear to girls.";

Tacitus, *The Annals,* Translated and edited by A.J. Woodman (Cambridge: Company, Inc., 2004), 1.73.3-4.; *nec contra religiones fieri, quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant.* "Nor was it an act of sacrilege, if the effigies of that sovereign, like other images of other gods, went with the property, whenever a house or garden was sold."

[50] Farrar, *Ancient Roman Gardens,* 12.

[51] Farrar, *Ancient Roman Gardens,* 12.

harsh northern climate. Vindolanda has been extensively excavated by this point in time, so the

chance that garden plots existed, yet remain undiscovered, is possible yet low.

Frocester Court, a Roman site of seemingly middling income and much further south than

Vindolanda, near modern-day Bristol, has the remains of a garden within its walls, and

agricultural fields surrounding the structure.[52] It was regularly mulched with a combination of

dirt and refuse, including bits of bone, pieces of pottery, and small Roman artifacts like coins and

hairpins.[53] The presence of hairpins underlines the probability that women, and therefore

families, were present at this site as well, working the gardens themselves, furthering the

implication that women played an important role in the diets of the household.[54] In-depth

analysis of the garden at Frocester Court shows that there were few biological remains that

suggest the growth of plant based foods, leading scholars to the conclusion that this particular

site was a decorative garden, most likely using local plants.[55] As there are clear indications that

this site had access to other Roman luxury goods, the lack of a productive garden seems to

indicate that any other cultural essentials were imported directly, or at least purchased at a local

market, using the grains from the agricultural fields as a source of income.[56]

From the excavations at Fishbourne Palace, near modern-day Portsmouth, the wealthiest

of the sites, there is no evidence of agricultural fields, which removes that as a potential source

of income to the inhabitants, suggesting that the wealth that was attached to this location did not

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[52] Eddie Price, *Frocester: A Romano-British Settlement, its Antecedents and Successors; Volume 1* (Stonehouse, Glous: Gloucester and District Archaeological Research Group, 2000), 107.

[53] Price, *Frocester; Volume 1, 107.*

[54] Farrar, *Ancient Roman Gardens,* 12.

[55] Farrar, *Ancient Roman Gardens,* 26.

[56] Barry Cunliffe, "Fishbourne Revisited: The Site in its Context," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 4, 1991. 161.

need to be supplemented through local means, and therefore could afford to purchase whatever food items they wanted without hassle.[57] To further defend this, the mosaic-work within Fishbourne Palace shows that they were designed by someone familiar with Mediterranean style artwork. This familiarity was exceedingly rare for a Briton at the time of its creation, showing that those living that this palace were not only wealthy enough to import their own food, but possessed expert labor as well.[58] The dedication that went into the construction of a home that made use of Roman style art and architecture to such a degree underlines the cultural importance of *humanitas* to the Romans in Britannia. Furthermore, this shows that the elite maintaining their own *humanitas* were aware of what provisions were necessary to do so.

Trade of Necessities

While gardens in Romano-British sites are variable, all the sites examined contain remnants of kitchens, which contain food remains, fire pits, and smoke residue.[59] Areas that show these indicators are found within Vindolanda, and the civilian buildings surrounding it, the most common food remain being salt.[60] Salt was abundant in Britannia, as it was produced there, and as a result was exceedingly cheap.[61] In Vindolanda, 85 *pondii* of salt was worth 12 *asses*, which is the equivalent of 85 pounds per 12 copper pieces, one of the lower valued coins in

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[57] Cunliffe, "Fishbourne Revisited," 161.

[58] T.W. Potter, *Roman Britain,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.), 25.

[59] Bradley A. Ault, "Kitchens," in *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World,* eds. John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2015), 206.

[60] Robin Birley, *Vindolanda: A Roman Frontier Post on Hadrian's Wall*, (Hudson, Ltd., 1977), 44, 68.; Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain*, 56.

[61] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 57.

Imperial Rome.[62] To offer some contrast, another product within the same records states that grain, or *spica*, which was 800 *denarii* for 5000 *modii*.[63] Before the Roman occupation, the most commonly grown grains in Britain were spelt, barley, oats, and emmer, but the prevalence of Egyptian grain, a kind of wheat, was common by the end of the occupation in the 5th century.[64] Because the record of *spica* in Vindolanda shows such a huge product for such a high price, it is clear that those who made the purchase considered it worth the cost. Due to this, and the relative poverty of Vindolanda compared to the other sites examined here, the *spica* purchased was either a local grain purchased in bulk to supply their storage, or that the high price was due to the importation costs and that this was not a native grain to Britannia. Dr. Wallace-Hadrill's book, *Rome's Social History,* states that "A society which regards luxury as a central concern is likely to be using it to articulate important concerns about social order."[65] At a minimum, a desire for the esteem, or *humanitas*, was tied to the consumption of a highly sought-after good, such as expensive grains or exotic food items.[66]

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[62] Grønlund Evers, *The Vindolanda Tablets and the Ancient Economy,* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), 56.; Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain*, 57.

[63] Evers, *The Vindolanda Tablets and the Ancient Economy,* 62.; Under Emperor Augustus, one *denarius* was the equivalent of sixteen *asses*, so the cost of 5000 *modii* would equal 12,800 *asses. Spica* in this context most likely refers to grains, and while it is not entirely clear if it *only* means grain, for the sake of this paper I will be keeping that meaning as its primary. Van der Veen's article, examined in more depth later on, does not find any indication of saffron, further indicating that it most likely is not the spice.

[64] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food: Perspectives from Britain", 237.

[65] Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Social Revolution,* 329.

[66] Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Social Revolution,* 329.

Exotic Cultural Goods

Turning to food items that were inarguably 'exotic,' in terms of place of origin, yet still have been uncovered in Britannia, are *garum*, olive oil, wine, and figs. *Garum* was a staple of diet in Rome, both as a food of necessity, and a luxury item, depending on how it was used in dishes.[67] *Garum* was a type of food flavoring, and as just a few drops are needed for any particular dish, less than a gallon of sauce could season the food of approximately 25-50 people.[68] The fisheries were within the Mediterranean sea, and they produced enough *garum* to support an empire, no matter the distances.[69] Two written records from within Vindolanda mention *garum*: the tablets 190 and 302. While the prices for the *garum* are not listed, they do mention the quantities; 0.1 and 0.5 *modii*, which averages about half a gallon.[70] These quantities are minute, yet still mentioned, indicating that while the Romans in the fort did not have regular access to the sauce, they still desired it in whatever amounts they could. If it had been a cheap commodity, like salt, then the quantities recorded would have been much lighter, but they are not. Since such a small amount could provide so much to an individual, the possibility remains that the soldiers and their families could have procured what they needed at a reasonable price, and the remains are too minute to accurately uncover.[71] Supplementary research shows that in

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[67] Dimitra Mylona, "Fish," in *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World,* eds. John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2015), 147.

[68] Cool*, Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 59. This is based off the scholarship surrounding the Thai food *Nahm Pla*, which is historically prepared in a similar way, and is popular today as a food seasoning similar to that of *garum.*

[69] Geoffrey Kron, "Agriculture," in *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World,* eds. John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2015), 166.

[70] Evers, *The Vindolanda Tablets and the Ancient Economy,* 57., Evers, *The Vindolanda Tablets and the Ancient Economy,* 61., In gallons, the amounts are .198 and .99, and in liters they are .749 and 3.75.

[71] Cool*, Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 59.

Rome itself during the early Principate, or approximately 27 BCE and onwards for several decades, .86 gallons of *garum* would have cost 500 *sestertii* (about 50,000 *asses*).[72] Taking that at face value, then compared to the price of *spica* mentioned above, *garum* was much more expensive.

Taking a step back from the economy of Vindolanda, there are many other military and civilian sites in which amphorae which once bore *garum* have been found dating to the occupation of Britannia.[73] One amphorae discovered in an excavation had "prime mackerel sauce" written on its stem, and as *garum* was used by an Vindolanda officer just before the turn of the first century CE, this suggests that the British people in the fort were aware of Roman luxury food, and thus aware of the *humanitas* accompanying it.[74]

Another product famously associated with the Romans, olive oil, has left significant evidence in Britannia. Based on the amphorae that bore olive oil that have been discovered on the island, and dated to Britannia's Iron Age, it appeared on the island before *garum* arrived.[75] Geographically, olive oil spread much further and much earlier than the sauce, becoming popular with people who did not necessarily accept the Romans themselves.[76] *Garum,* on the other hand, only held popularity in the areas actively held by Rome.[77] Olive oil, an essential part of *humanitas* due to its central role in Greco-Roman cuisine, was much more versatile than just as a

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[72] Richard Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 250.

[73] Cool*, Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 60. See Fig. 3 for type of amphora that bore *garum.*

[74] Birley, *Vindolanda,* 130.; Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 59.

[75] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 62. See Fig. 4 for type of amphora that bore olive oil.

[76] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 62

[77] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 60.

food item.[78] Due to the wide-spread nature of olive oil in the empire, the research surrounding it

is vast, yet often inconclusive. This is due to the fragility of its physical evidence, and the very

real possibility of its containers being recycled.[79]

While the importation of olive oil into the southern trade ports of Britannia was low

before the occupation, evidence for *garum* entering the same area at the same time is non-

existent.[80] With the colonization, olive oil fully entered Britannia, and while there are no records

from Vindolanda that explicitly name olive oil, others mention both 'oil' and 'olives' separately,

so it is easy to conclude that they had access to olive oil.[81] Detecting the remnants of olive oil in

amphorae is possible due to the chemical make-up of the substance, which leaves a very

identifiable, long-lasting residue.[82]

Before, during, and after the Roman occupation of Britannia, Italian wine was in high

demand with a majority of the British population, but it peaked when soldiers were stationed

there.[83] Several ancient authors have commented on the intake of wine by the Britons, such as

Diodorus of Sicily in 90 BCE, who thought that the Gauls often drank to excess without diluting

their wine.[84] Later on, when Britannia had come under Julius Caesar's scrutiny, he took note of a

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[78] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain*, 62.; Olive oil was also used by the Romans to clean themselves.

[79] Woolf, *Becoming Roman,* 183.
Detecting the remnants of olive oil in amphorae is possible due to the chemical make-up of the substance which leaves a very identifiable, long-lasting residue, meaning that the research surrounding this valuable good in Britannia are more likely to be accurate than not.

[80] Woolf, *Becoming Roman,* 185.; Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 62.

[81] Evers, *The Vindolanda Tablets and the Ancient Economy,* 60, 61, 65.

[82] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 64.

[83] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 132. See Fig. 5 for amphora that bore wine.

[84] Pitts,"'Celtic' Food: Perspectives from Britain," 329. The Greeks and Romans never drank undiluted wine, as it was a sign of barbarity. There would always be a portion of wine in water to drink, as they considered this the proper way. The people of Britannia were often lumped together with the Gauls in literature.

few British tribes, the Ambiani and Suebi, who outlawed the importation of wine thinking that it would make them cowardly and weak, an opinion he respected.[85] Cultural, economic, and physical dependence on wine continued to grow, and by the time of Vindolanda's settlement, it was a staple of British society as well as Roman. The Vindolanda tablets mention several types of alcoholic beverages; Massic wine, mentioned on tablet 190, was included in the plans for a local festival.[86] Massic wine is a type of the desirable Falernian wine, which was produced solely in Italy, and was considered a staple of the Roman upper class society.[87] Also mentioned in the Vindolanda tablets is Celtic beer, which makes an appearance much more regularly than Massic wine, and was also very cheap, with 12.4 gallons costing only 8 *asses*.[88] Archaeological evidence from one town in Britannia during the occupation shows that there was an attempt at a vineyard, but its product was either not successful or not widespread enough to have left evidence elsewhere. Columella's *De Re Rustica* goes into great detail about the best methods with which to grow the grape vine, and while he claims that it is possible for the grapes to grow in a cold and wet climate, the plant bears the best fruit in a warm climate.[89] The few tablets that refer to generic 'wine,' neither Massic nor Celtic, only mention the small quantities of it, approximately two gallons average.[90] Due to the discrepancy between Celtic beer and Roman wine, it is safe to infer than non-imported alcoholic beverages were more common for both the soldiers and

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[85] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico,* 2.15, 4.2.

[86] Alan Bowman and David Thomas, "Tablet 190" on *Vindolanda: the Latin writing tablets*. http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk.

[87] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 131.

[88] Evers, *The Vindolanda Tablets and the Ancient Economy*, 56.

[89] Columella, *De Re Rustica: Volume 1*, ed. and trans. by Harrison Boyd Ash, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 231.

[90] Evers, *The Vindolanda Tablets and the Ancient Economy,* 56-57. The exact measurements are .75 and 1.75 *modii.*

civilians living in Vindolanda, while the prefect, or general in charge, would have had more opportunity to maintain *humanitas* through Roman wine. This is not to say that the generals in command did not partake in the cheaper option as well, nor that the soldiers and civilians did not drink Roman wine, but as a means of maintaining *humanitas*, this method was harder to achieve for most Romans, especially since the cheap wines that Rome would have provided as part of their rations were supposed to last a full year.[91]

While more could be stated about the role of wine in Rome and its territories, moving forward this section will discuss the role that the fig played into Roman *humanitas*. Archaeological digs of the latrines in Vindolanda show evidence of seeded fruits within their diet.[92] The combination of calcium ions in these Roman latrines and phosphorus from the actual sewage create a chemical reaction that preserves some biological material, such as seeds.[93] Figs were a popular fruit for both the upper and lower classes: the upper classes ate them fresh and often with honey, creating a delicacy enjoyed by many, while they were also easily dried and stored, meaning that lower classes of people could survive on them for long periods of time.[94] Modern scholars understand that the fig tree was perfectly capable of growing in the cold climate of Britannia just as well as the warm Mediterranean climate it is native in, but in order to produce fruit, the flowers must be fertilized by wasps which are harder to import as the wasps that ate fig tree pollen could not survive a cold climate, supposing that a wasp nest could even be

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[91] Donahue, "Roman Dining," 260.

[92] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 119.

[93] Mark Robinson and Erica Rowan, "Roman Food Remains in Archaeology and the Contents of a Roman Sewer at Herculaneum," in *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World* eds. John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2015), 105-106.

[94] Kron, "Agriculture," 168-169.

safely transported.[95] This left importation as the only possibility for acquiring figs, as, once dried

and properly preserved, their shelf life is long.[96] Many Roman settlements in Britannia show the

presence of figs in their diet, meaning that they were desirable and economically important.[97]

Although no Vindolanda tablet discovered thus far explicitly names figs, their predominance in

so many other Roman settlements does not mean that they were not present in Vindolanda itself.

Conclusion

     Roman *humanitas* in Britannia was expressed in many ways through homes, costume,

and artwork. The most important one however, food culture, is understudied. For Romans in the

provinces, remaining under the cultural umbrella was one method with which they could remain

separate from the 'barbarous' Britons, while also expressing their status as a 'Roman.' From

physical to literary sources, the evidence showing the importance of food items is abundantly

clear. Authors like Tacitus and Caesar, who both wrote history with an agenda, expand the

current understanding of what maintaining Roman *humanitas* meant. This area of study is

continually growing and shifting as new ways of cross-examining the past are discovered and

utilized. Romans in Rome did not consider those living in the provinces to be living up to the

same standard of *humanitas* that they themselves were, and the physical evidence suggests that

the Roman provincials were doing their best with the resources available to them. Soldiers were

more equipped to maintain their *humanitas* than Britannia's native population, but the latter was

certainly not exempt from benefiting from the importation of Roman foods during occupation.

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[95] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 119.

[96] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 121.

[97] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 120. See table.

The importation of *garum,* olive oil, figs, and wine, as well as many other items, helped the

Romans continue their *humanitas*, whether the people in Britannia were Roman or British.

Chapter 2: British Perceptions of Rome

"Most of the island [of Britain] is flat and overgrown with forests, although many of its districts are hilly. It bears grain, cattle, gold, silver, and iron. These things, accordingly, are exported from the island, as also hides, and slaves, and dogs that are by nature suited to the purposes of the chase."[98]

-Strabo *Geography* IV.V.II

Before Britannia became a province, the island had multiple tribes of people, each with its own land, customs, and beliefs. There were often in conflict with each other. This internal division gave the Romans a minor advantage when conquering the local populations. The Britons living on the southern coast of Britannia had the first contact with the Romans through trade, as can be seen through the archaeological evidence that shows olive oil bearing amphorae from the region. Following the influx of trade goods came the written recollections of those from the Mediterranean region who traveled between the island and the continent. The British met the Romans face-to-face when Julius Caesar came with troops during his first disastrous raid. Caesar had brought stories of the Britons back to Rome, and his experiences spread quickly amongst the Romans, who saw the British as barbarous, an antithesis of their *humanitas.* All the literary records that from the period are written from the perspective of the Romans; and while the biased nature of the sources does demonstrate their cultural invasion as a civilizing action, the resistance the Britons put forth indicates that they were unwilling to give in to Roman *humanitas*. This resistance lasted a short time against the incoming tide of Roman goods, practices, and general culture; and eventually Roman *humanitas* became accepted into British society.

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[98] Strabo, *Geography,* IV.V. II.
ἔστι δ᾽ ἡ πλείστη τῆς νήσου πεδιὰς καὶ κατάδρυμος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γεώλοφα τῶν χωρίων ἐστί, φέρει δὲ σῖτον καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ σίδηρον: ταῦτά τε δὴ κομίζεται ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ δέρματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ κύνες εὐφυεῖς πρὸς τὰς κυνηγεσίας:

Being British Before Rome

       Britannia eventually adopted and adapted Roman culture into their own society. This was a slow, and often violent, process. Most of what we know about this time period in history comes from the Roman perspective, however, as they were the side of the conflict that had writing. The ways in which Romans or Greeks wrote about the British highlight the differences between the cultures that they found to be most uncivilized and those were emphasized due to their fear of the unknown. The ways that the British were described does not necessarily have much to do with the differences that existed, and more likely were based on Roman stereotypes, as seen in Julius Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*.[99] During his first attempt at invading Britannia, he described the Britons as polyamorous scoundrels with long hair and often painted blue, which contrasted with Roman ideas of what it meant to be civilized.[100] Due to the brief nature of his sojourn on their shores, plagued by battle and with few supplies, his description of the British marital structures is most likely conjecture. The physical description in his writing is likely to be accurate, as he only needed to see them in order to determine what they wore. Despite the clear biases in his work, Caesar offered a perspective on what reception the Romans would receive once the occupation began in earnest. In his first description of the Britons, he remarks upon their blue body paint,

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[99] Jensen, *Barbarians in the Greek and Roman World*, 11.

[100] Caesar. *The Gallic War.* 5.14.
Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hob horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu; capilloque sunt promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa praeter caput et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quaeque deducta est.
"All the Britons, indeed, dye themselves with woad, which produces a blue colour, and makes their appearance in battle more terrible. They wear long hair, and shave every part of the body save the head and the upper lip. Groups of ten or twelve men have wives together in common, and particularly brothers along with brothers, and fathers with sons; but the children born of the unions are reckoned to belong to the particular house to which the maiden was first conducted."

and archaeological evidence supports the paint's presence on the island during this time. The

paint that was used is derived from a plant called Woad, which is native to south-eastern

Europe.[101] The presence of Woad in Britain suggests that it had been purposefully imported for

said dye-making qualities.[102] Caesar's commentary on how their society was structured is much

harder to prove. While *De Bello Gallico* was widespread among the Roman masses, his disdain

for the Britons was not shared by all within the empire. Diodorus of Sicily wrote in 30 BCE that

the Britons were friendly and civilized, due to the trade they practiced with mainland Europe.[103]

Despite the differences in attitude, these authors both noted aspects of British culture that

demonstrated the local trade prowess before they were conquered.

The people of Britannia appear in classical literature as early as the 2nd century BCE, in

the writings of the Greek explorer Pytheas, whose works have not survived. They are referenced,

however, in other classical works that have made it until today, such as in Strabo's *Geography*

written between 7 BC and 23 BCE. Strabo himself points out that although he uses Pytheas'

work as a reference, it may not be true, due to the outlandish nature of how far he supposedly

traveled.[104] Nevertheless, this is the earliest reference to Britannia that has survived and must be

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[101] M. Veen, "Woad and the Britons Painted Blue," in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12, no.3, 1993, 368.

[102] Veen, "Woad and the Britons Painted Blue," 370.

[103] Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History, Volume I: Books 1-2.34,* Translated by C. H. Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library 279 Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933. V.22.
τῆς γὰρ Βρεττανικῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον οἱ κατοικοῦντες φιλόξενοί τε διαφερόντως εἰσὶ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐμπόρων ἐπιμιξίαν ἐξημερωμένοι τὰς ἀγωγάς.
"The inhabitants of Britain who dwell about the promontory known as Belerium are especially hospitable to strangers and have adopted a civilized manner of life because of their intercourse with merchants of other peoples."

[104] Strabo, *Geography, Volume 1: Books 1-2*, translated by Horace Leonard Jones, Loeb Classical Library 49 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), II.IV.2.
ὁ μέντοι γε εἰς μίαν χώραν τὴν Παγχαίαν λέγει πλεῦσαι· ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων κατωπτευκέναι τὴν προσάρκτιον τῆς Εὐρώπης πᾶσαν, ἣν οὐδ᾽ ἂν τῷ Ἑρμῇ πιστεύσαι τις λέγοντι.
"Whereas Pytheas asserts that he explored in person the whole northern region of Europe as far as the ends of the world—an assertion which no man would believe, not even if Hermes made it."

taken into consideration. Some other works name the British Isles as Albion and Ierne, for modern-day England and Ireland.[105] While Britannia had a poor reputation in Rome, thanks to Julius Caesar, Ierne had an arguably worse one; "Concerning this island I have nothing certain to tell, except that its inhabitants are more savage than the Britons, since they are man-eaters as well as heavy eaters, and since, further, they count it an honourable thing, when their fathers die, to devour them, and openly to have intercourse, not only with the other women, but also with their mothers and sisters."[106] Another area within the British Isles that has appeared in ancient writings, Ictis, is believed to have been along the southern coast of Britannia, and a very important trade port.[107]

Imports and Exports

As seen in the previous chapter, the exports of gold, silver, tin, iron, corn, and cattle from Britannia were valuable throughout the Roman world.[108] In exchange, Britannia received ivory jewelry, amber gems, and glassware.[109] The overseas market was appealing for those living in

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[105] Aristotle, *On Sophistical Refutations. On Coming-to-be and Passing Away. On the Cosmos*, translated by E.S. Forster, D.J. Furley, Loeb Classical Library 400 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), 393.B.12
ἐν τούτῳ γε μὴν νῆσοι μέγισται τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι δύο, Βρεττανικαὶ λεγόμεναι, Ἀλβίων καὶ Ἱέρνη, τῶν προϊστορημένων μείζους, ὑπὲρ τοὺς Κελτοὺς κείμεναι.
"There are two very large islands in it, called the British Isles, Albion and Ierne; they are larger than those already mentioned, and lie beyond the land of the Celts."

[106] Strabo, *Geography* IV.V.4
περὶ ἧς οὐδὲν ἔχομεν λέγειν σαφές, πλὴν ὅτι ἀγριώτεροι τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν, ἀνθρωποφάγοι τε ὄντες καὶ πολυφάγοι, τούς τε πατέρας τελευτήσαντας κατεσθίειν ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενοι καὶ φανερῶς μίσγεσθαι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς·

[107] C.F.C. Hawkes, "Ictis Disentangled, and the British Tin Trade," in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 3, no. 2, 1984, 212.

[108] Strabo, *Geography* IV.; 'Corn' in this context means a generic grain.

[109] Strabo, *Geography* IV.3.
τέλη τε οὕτως ὑπομένουσι βαρέα τῶν τε εἰσαγομένων εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τῶν ἐξαγομένων ἐνθένδε (ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐλεφάντινα ψάλια καὶ περιαυχένια καὶ λιγγούρια καὶ ὑαλᾶ σκεύη καὶ ἄλλος ῥῶπος τοιοῦτος)…

Britannia during the decades before the Roman conquest began, as it represented greater sources

of income, and such opportunities to make extra money were prevalent with the growing Roman

trade network throughout Europe.[110] Diodorus wrote about a British trade port which sold tin

across the channel to Gaul, and which was then traded further inland on the continent.[111] Other

contemporary authors have noted the various trade routes and ships that the Britons used, such as

in the writings of Caesar and Strabo. *De Bello Gallico* describes a people named the Veneti who

had "the most extensive authority over all the sea-ports in those districts for they have numerous

ships, in which it is their custom to sail to Britannia, and they excel the rest in theory and

practice of navigation."[112] *Geographica* does not mention the maritime habits or trade of the

Britons but instead argues that the cost of maintaining any trade routes the Britons had would

outweigh the cost of maintaining the army, making the island disadvantageous for Rome to

occupy.[113] The discovery of fine pottery from the region of Amorica, which is in modern-day

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"Further, they submit so easily to heavy duties, both on the exports from there to Celtica and on the imports from Celtica (these latter are ivory chains and necklaces, and amber-gems and glass vessels and other petty wares of that sort), …"

[110] Luke Lavan, "Local Economies in Late Antiquity? Some Thoughts," in *Local Economies?: Production and Exchange of Inland Regions in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Luke Lavan, Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2013. 8.
[111] Diodorus Siculus, V.1-4. The text that describes this is extensive, so rather than giving the original Greek I just summarized it above.

[112] Caesar, *The Gallic War,* Loeb Classical Library 72. 147. III.8.
Huius est civitas longe amplissima auctoritas ombis orae maritimae regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimus, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt, et in magno impetu maris atque aperto paucis portibus interiectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere qui eo mari uti consuerunt habent vectigales.

[113] Strabo, *Geography* II.VIII.
καὶ γὰρ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἔχειν δυνάμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι κατεφρόνησαν, ὁρῶντες ὅτι οὔτε φόβος ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς ἐστιν (οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύουσι τοσοῦτον, ὥστ᾽ ἐπιδιαβαίνειν ἡμῖν), οὔτ᾽ ὠφέλεια τοσαύτη τις, εἰ κατάσχοιεν. πλέον γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τῶν τελῶν δοκεῖ προσφέρεσθαι νῦν, ἢ ὁ φόρος δύναιτ᾽ ἂν συντελεῖν, ἀφαιρουμένης τῆς εἰς τὸ στρατιωτικὸν δαπάνης τὸ φρουρῆσον καὶ φορολογῆσον τὴν νῆσον· πολὺ δ᾽ ἂν ἔτι γένοιτο τὸ ἄχρηστον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ ταύτην νήσων.
"For although they could have held even Britain, the Romans scorned to do so, because they saw that there was nothing at all to fear from the Britons (for they are not strong enough to crossover and attack us), and that no corresponding advantage was to be gained by taking and holding their country. For it seems that at present more revenue is derived from the duty on their commerce than the tribute could bring in, if we deduct the expense involved in the maintenance of an army for the purpose of guarding the island and collecting the tribute; and the unprofitableness of an occupation would be still greater in the case of the other islands about Britain."

France across the channel from Britannia, indicates that not only were the Britons before colonization capable of overseas trade but that they were also skilled at transporting goods.[114]

Tracing tin through classical civilization is problematic, as modern testing to determine where the tin used in Roman bronze came from would require a huge sampling of classical bronze, which is not easily arranged.[115] Pytheas wrote about a place along the coast of Britannia, Ictis, now called the Isle of Wight, which was known for its exceptional tin trade.[116] An anchor off the coast of Wales, on the west coast of Britannia, is the only one of its kind found in this location, far as it is from the big trade centers.[117] The style of this particular anchor places the time of its creation as the Hellenistic period in the Mediterranean area, perhaps between 140 and 130 BCE, about a century after it has been estimated that Pytheas sailed around Britannia.[118] The shape and weight of this anchor indicates that the ship it was attached to was a lighter one, and was sailing this area at this time to look for better prices on tin. Trade for British tin slowed down once Spanish tin began to flood the market under the governor Crassus from 97-93 BCE.[119] The anchors' presence means that trade between the peoples in the Roman Mediterranean and Britannia was occurring well before the beginning of the conquest of Britain

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[114] Barry Cunliffe, "Brittany and the Atlantic Rim in the Later First Millenium BC," in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 19, no. 4, 2002, 367.

[115] Christian Goudineau, "Marseilles, Rome and Gaul from the third to the first century BC," in Trade in the Ancient Economy eds. Peter Garnsey, Keith Hopkins, and C.R. Whittaker. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. 77.

[116] Hawkes, "Ictis Disentangled," 211.

[117] George C. Boon, "A Greco-Roman Anchor-Stock from North Wales," in *The Antiquaries Journal* 57, 1977. 9.

[118] Boon, "A Greco-Roman Anchor-Stock from North Wales," 17; 23. Estimates for when Pytheas made his journey vary greatly and the absolute latest that can be safely estimated is 240 BCE.

[119] Boon, "A Greco-Roman Anchor-Stock from North Wales," 23.

in 43 BCE. As tin was not the only export from Britannia, it is safe to assume other, less lasting

goods (such as grain and cattle) were also being traded.

Early British Perishable Exports

The process of gathering grains, cattle, or tin in Britannia, transporting it south to the

trade centers, moving it only a ship, sending it across the channel, and then removing the goods

from the ship to continue their journey into the continent seems like too long a journey for the

goods to still be tradable according to some scholars.[120] However, Strabo describes this exact

scenario as having occurred when he wrote about Britannia exporting tin to modern day

Portugal: "He says that tin is not found upon the surface, as authors commonly relate, but that it

is dug up; and that it is produced both in places among the barbarians who dwell beyond the

Lusitanians and in the islands Cassiterides; and that from the Britannic Islands it is carried to

Massilia."[121] One of the largest culinary differences between the Mediterranean region and

northern Gaul and Britannia was the reliance on olive oil by the former and animal fat, like butter

or lard, by the latter.[122] In addition to tin, cattle, and grain, Strabo also specifies that the Britons

also exported leather and hunting dogs.[123] Their skill as hunting dog breeders suggests that this

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[120] Divine, *The North-West Frontier of Rome*, 24.

[121] Strabo, *Geography* III.II.IX.
τὸν δὲ καττίτερον οὐκ ἐπιπολῆς εὑρίσκεσθαί φησιν, ὡς τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θρυλεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀρύττεσθαι· γεννᾶσθαι δ᾽ ἔν τε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς βαρβάροις καὶ ἐν ταῖς Καττιτερίσι νήσοις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν Μασσαλίαν κομίζεσθαι.

[122] Martin Pitts, "'Celtic' Food: Perspectives from Britain," in *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World,* eds. John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2015), 327.

[123] Strabo, *Geography* IV.V.2.
ταῦτα δὴ κομίζεται ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ δέρματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ κύνες εὐφυεῖς πρὸς τὰς κυνηγεσίας·
"These things, accordingly, are exported from the island, as also hides, and slaves, and dogs that are by nature suited to the purposes of the chase;"

was a common cultural practice throughout Britannia, and also that there was a demand for

British hunting dogs on the continent, perhaps even within Rome itself.

Early British Material Goods Exports

Trade from Rome to Britannia before the occupation has left both physical and literary

evidence. Strabo commented that Britons would take ivory jewelry, amber gems, and glassware

in return for their cows, dogs, tin, and precious metals.[124] Although Strabo does not include wine

in his list, it was a large part of British imports, based on the discovery of amphorae which

contain trace amounts of the beverage. Diodorus wrote that the people of Gaul loved Italian

wine, describing the situation as the Gauls receiving it from traders and then consumed it without

watering it down beforehand, rather than mixing it with water first as was the Roman way; "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."[125] As traders brought wine to the

Gauls, the amphorae in Britannia show that wine had been introduced to the island's culture

before Roman occupation.[126] Further within the same chapter, Diodorus lists the cost of a single

jar of wine as one slave.[127] Strabo supports this, as he includes slaves among his list of British

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[124] Strabo, *Geography* IV.V.3.
τέλη τε οὕτως ὑπομένουσι βαρέα τῶν τε εἰσαγομένων εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τῶν ἐξαγομένων ἐνθένδε (ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐλεφάντινα ψάλια καὶ περιαυχένια καὶ λιγγούρια καὶ ὑαλᾶ σκεύη καὶ ἄλλος ῥῶπος τοιοῦτος)..
"Further, they submit so easily to heavy duties, both on the exports from there to Celtica and on the imports from Celtica (these latter are ivory chains and necklaces, and amber-gems and glass vessels and other petty wares of that sort), …"

[125] Diodorus Siculus V.26.
κάτοινοι δ᾽ ὄντες καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τὸν εἰσαγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων οἶνον ἄκρατον ἐμφοροῦνται, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν λάβρῳ χρώμενοι τῷ ποτῷ καὶ μεθυσθέντες εἰς ὕπνον ἢ μανιώδεις διαθέσεις τρέπονται.

[126] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 329.

[127] Diodorus Siculus V.26.
διδόντες γὰρ οἴνου κεράμιον ἀντιλαμβάνουσι παῖδα, τοῦ πόματος διάκονον ἀμειβόμενοι.
"for in exchange for a jar of wine they receive a slave, getting a servant in return for the drink."

exports.[128] While wine was imported into Britannia before colonization, definitive records in the

form of amphorae are difficult to correctly trace, as during their Iron Age when not all wine was

traded in amphorae, sometimes instead being transported in leather containers.[129] Therefore a

correct estimate regarding how much was imported into Britannia at this time would be difficult

to determine. A significant portion of Gaul had been conquered by the time that Rome turned its

gaze towards Britannia with intent to colonize. This brought Roman products like wine, olive oil,

and garum into the areas neighboring the modern English Channel, with whom the Briton's

traded with and thus increasing availability of these trade goods.[130]

During the British Iron Age, occurring just before the Roman conquest, the type of grain

most prevalent within Britannia was spelt wheat, which was preceded by emmer wheat.[131] Spelt

was successful in Britannia due to "its ability to grow on a range of soil types, hardiness in cold

weather, and resistance to pests and diseases."[132] The cultivation of Mediterranean cereal crops

in Britannia does not appear with any regularity until the occupation is well underway.[133] The

occupation brought not only edible Roman plants to the island but also decorative ones. While

now the box tree is considered native to England, its origins are Southern Europe, North Africa,

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[128] Strabo, *Geography* IV.V.2.
ταῦτα δὴ κομίζεται ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ δέρματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ κύνες εὐφυεῖς πρὸς τὰς κυνηγεσίας·
These things, accordingly, are exported from the island, as also hides, and slaves, and dogs that are by nature suited to the purposes of the chase;"

[129] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 183.

[130] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 185.

[131] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 327.

[132] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 327.

[133] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 327.

and Western Asia.[134] The box tree was a common element of Roman Villa gardens and does not appear in the archaeological record of Britannia before the Roman-style villa appears.[135]

Trade not only brought physical goods but knowledge as well. Iron age coins have been discovered in the south of modern Britain and bear the names and symbols of two British leaders using Latin lettering.[136] Some of these coins include not only the names of rulers, but short sentences that use correct grammar and case endings, which indicates that the language usage by those living in Britannia before occupation began, at minimum, a century earlier.[137] Although the use of Latin on coins was not common, and only in fact occurred with two British leaders, their existence shows that the language was spreading ahead of the empire. These same Latin coins were found in southern Britannia, as metal coinage did not exist in the northern parts, where cattle acted as the main currency.[138]

Occupation

The occupation of Britannia began during Julius Caesar's campaign through Gaul, although his first encounter with the island almost ended in disaster for him. As he was preparing his troops to cross the channel his presence was noted by traders headed to Britannia, who then shared this news with the Britons.[139] The ships he and his army sailed across the channel on

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[134] Lisa A. Lodwick, "Evergreen Plants in Roman Britain and Beyond: Movement, Meaning, and Materiality," in *Britannia* 48, 2017, 139.

[135] Lodwick, "Evergreen Plants in Roman Britain and Beyond," 139.

[136] Jonathan Williams, "New Light on Latin in Pre-Conquest Britain," in *Britannia* 38, 2007., 1.

[137] Williams, "New Light on Latin in Pre-Conquest Britain," 7-8.

[138] Colin Haselgrove, "Society and Polity in Late Iron Age Britain," in *A Companion to Roman Britain,* ed. By Malcolm Todd, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007), 15.

[139] Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico.* 4.21.

nearly all sank in the rough seas, leaving the Romans stranded in Britannia with few supplies.

The British societal structure that Caesar witnessed was very different from the one he was

accustomed to seeing in Rome, containing a patchwork of different loyalty structures and

ethnicities.[140] Based off of the discovery of complex trade routes and the presence of Latin-

bearing coins, it is reasonable to suggest that in Late Iron Age Britannia, society was complex

and well-established. The intricate nature of British society does not allow for generalities about

how they functioned, and any attempt otherwise would leave out a great percentage of the

population.[141]

Strabo described the Britons as not understanding gardening or agriculture, having milk

while not making cheese, and living in nomadic towns led by chieftains; "Their habits are in part

like those of the Celti, but in part more simple and barbaric—so much so that, on account of their

inexperience, some of them, although well supplied with milk, make no cheese; and they have no

experience in gardening or other agricultural pursuits. And they have powerful chieftains in their

country."[142] Cheese, a popular food in the Mediterranean, being absent in Britannia led Roman

authors to assume the British were less civilized, as even the mythical cyclops Polyphemus, an

uncivilized monster, was capable of producing cheese.[143] Tacitus, when writing after the initial

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Interim, consilio eius cognito et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus insulae civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides dare atque imperio populi Romani obtemperare.
"Meanwhile his purpose had become known and had been reported through traders to the Britons, and deputies came to him from several states in the island with promises to give hostages and to accept the empire of Rome."

[140] Haselgrove, "Society and Polity in Late Iron Age Britain," 12.

[141] Haselgrove, "Society and Polity in Late Iron Age Britain," 12.

[142] Strabo, *Geography* IV.V.2.
{ὥστ' ἐνίους γάλακτος εὐποροῦντας μὴ τυροποιεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν, ἀπείρους δ' εἶναι καὶ κηπείας καὶ ἄλλων γεωργικῶν]... [εὐρυχωρῆ κύκλον ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτοὶ καλυβοποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα κατασταθμεύουσιν οὐ πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον.]

[143] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 93.

period of colonization, described the presence of female leaders, going so far as to claim *neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt*, or "indeed they do not distinguish sex in commanders."[144] Both of these claims are hard to prove or disprove and thus, must be used cautiously.

Cultural Upheaval

While some aspects of the Roman invaders' culture had already filtered through the various trade routes that were already established, the occupation brought the rest forcibly into Britannia's society. One aspect of Roman *humanitas* that Romans settling into the new province carried with them was a grid system for organizing urban centers.[145] If Strabo's claims about how the British people lived are correct, then this sudden shift to permanent settlements would have been jarring. The city, or *civitas*, is what defined Classical society, and their presence in Britannia meant that the Romans brought "civilization" to the "barbarians."[146]

Once the *civitates* were settled, many Britons adapted to their presence, which gained them favor with the Romans and allowed them to retain power for themselves and their families.[147] This encouraged the cooperation of the Britons, as their own leaders would be in power, as well as guaranteeing that those same Britons paid taxes to Rome.[148] The governor of Britannia from 77 CE to 84 CE was Gnaeus Julius Agricola; he is the subject of Tacitus' *Agricola*. In the writing he describes the measures which were taken by Agricola to ensure the

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[144] Tacitus, *Agricola*, XVI.

[145] Michael J. Jones, "Cities and Urban Life," in *A Companion to Roman Britain*, ed. by Malcolm Todd, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007), 162.

[146] Jones, "Cities and Urban Life," 162.

[147] Millett, *Romanization of Britain,* 66.

[148] Millett, *Romanization of Britain,* 66.

native cooperation during the Roman conquest, going through the countryside and building temples, markets, and houses, while teaching Latin to the sons of chieftains: "Moreover he began to train the sons of the chieftains in a liberal education, and to give a preference to the native talents of the Briton as against the trained abilities of the Gaul."[149] While these actions are not too damning on the surface, Tacitus concludes this section with, "And little by little the Britons went astray into alluring vices: to the promenade, the bath, the well-appointed dinner table. The simple natives gave the name of 'culture' to this factor of their slavery," suggesting that by the end of the first century CE, Roman culture was becoming integrated into Britannia.[150]

Shift in Food Culture

As Romans began to live in Britannia, rather than just being stationed there, food staples accompanied the wives and children coming from the Mediterranean. Before the occupation began, meat was the most common dietary choice among the native British population.[151] Strabo wrote that their average meal consisted of milk and salted pork, and Caesar wrote that the Britons avoided bird meat, which they considered taboo.[152] From the remains of butchered

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[149] Tacitus, *Agricola,* XXI.
iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent.

[150] Tacitus, *Agricola,* XXI.
Paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balineas et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

[151] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 327-328.

[152] Strabo, *Geography* IV.IV.3
τροφὴ δὲ πλείστη μετὰ γάλακτος καὶ κρεῶν παντοίων, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ὑείων καὶ νέων καὶ ἁλιστῶν
*"*Food they have in very great quantities, along with milk and flesh of all sorts, but particularly the flesh of hogs, both fresh and salted."*.;*

 Caesar, *De Bello Gallico,* V.12.
Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant..
"They account it wrong to eat of hare, fowl, and goose;"

animals that have been uncovered, their skulls have almost no knife marks which indicate that the heads were deliberately removed.[153] The presence of olive oil was low, only appearing in minute amounts in the south, and *garum* was non-existent, but this changed when Romans entered the province in great numbers.[154] With the Romans comes a shift in how animals were butchered in Britannia, changing from knives to cleavers. This indicates that the methods for preparing meat were adopted by the British population, and did not remain within the Roman population alone.[155] This change occurred relatively rapidly in Britannia, spreading from the Roman style cities to the rural areas within a century.[156] There is not much evidence that show any sort of fish preparation in pre-colonization Britannia, and even less for birds, which supports Caesar's claim that birds were not eaten.[157] Both these foods were common in Rome- birds as a main dish, and fish in the form of *garum*- and were consumed on a wide scale, suggesting that the lack of prepared fish in the British diet was a cultural choice rather than a practical one.[158]

As Agricola was building Roman homes for the upper classes and wealthy in Britannia, so too was he spreading Roman dining practices. The idea of the banquet in Rome is well established in classical literature, spanning from the poetry of Ovid to Cicero's *De senectute*. Dining parties were established methods for practicing politics and enacting socialization between different classes, which allowed for the sharing of ideas between rivaling politicians,

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[153] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 329.

[154] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 62.

[155] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 331.

[156] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 89.

[157] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 328.

[158] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 328.

friends, and even women and children.[159] Tacitus wrote that as the Britons were being converted to Roman culture by Agricola's actions, they took up the toga, started speaking Latin, and dined at dining clubs.[160] While the Roman style of dress was spreading, the creation of a unique Romano-British clothing style was beginning to form, demonstrating that both an acceptance of Roman culture and the acknowledgement of their own cultural origins were taking root amongst the local population.[161] However, while the British continued to adopt Roman styles, the Romans themselves did not often consider those who acted like them to be 'Roman.'[162] Seemingly the only way that the Romans would accept the Britons into their ideas of *humanitas* was if the latter abandoned everything about their own culture.[163] Britons who were also Roman citizens were allowed to wear the toga, as it was illegal to wear it if one was not a citizen, but this did not negate the fact that the Britons were still British.[164] Still, if the requirements were met, provincial peoples could be included in the Roman imperial society.[165]

The importation of foods that would have been considered 'exotic' to the native population continued to grow during the occupation, showing that it was not just the Romans

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[159] Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp, "Class and Power," in *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World,* eds. John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2015), 84-85; 87.

[160] Tacitus, *Agricola* XXI.
ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. Paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balineas et conviviorum elegantiam.
"As a result, the nation which used to reject the Latin language began to aspire to rhetoric: further, the wearing of our dress became a distinction, and the toga came into fashion, and little by little the Britons went astray into alluring vices: to the promenade, the bath, the well-appointed dinner table."

[161] Jensen, *Barbarians in the Greek and Roman World,* 194.

[162] Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution,* 39.

[163] Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 39.

[164] Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 39; 42.

[165] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 182.

who enjoyed these products.[166] With the knowledge that dinner parties in the Roman style were growing in popularity among the Britons, the increase of olive oil and *garum*-bearing amphorae in all of Britannia are understood to have served the needs of the local populations who embraced the new cultures they were being exposed to. Analyses of the types of amphorae that have been uncovered at British sites show a shift from locally produced to Roman style.[167] This could indicate either a shift within the local community showing sudden favor towards Roman style vessels, or that there was a change instigated by the Romans which halted the production of other styles which then ensured the production of Roman-style amphorae only.[168] This happened at different times in different places, meaning that Roman cultural hegemony was spreading slowly, and occasionally even losing ground temporarily, before continuing onwards almost unimpeded.[169]

British Resistance

Rebellions sprouted under Roman control, furthering the stereotype of British barbarity that Caesar, Diodorus, Tacitus, and Aristotle all promoted. Tacitus, in particular, preserved the most famous revolt in *Agricola*: the story of the warrior queen Boudicca from 60/61 CE. She had been queen of a local group, the Iceni, and upon her husband's death the territory was claimed by Nero for Rome. She and her daughters were shown no mercy by the Roman soldiers, and in defense of their shattered honor she led a violent rebellion against the Romans in Britannia.

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[166] See previous chapter.

[167] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 332.

[168] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 332.

[169] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 333.

Although Tacitus' account is likely to be more fiction than fact, it nevertheless demonstrates the friction present between local elites and the Roman conquerors in the first century of the occupation.

Boudicca's story, tragic as it is, is not the main focus of this section, but the admittance that a province would rebel against Rome is a small demonstration of a larger problem facing the empire. The inciting incident was a client kingdom, the Iceni, being taken by Rome through aggressive legal measures. The surrounding client kingdoms saw how Rome throttled their neighbor and could not abide by what was happening, fearing the same fate themselves.[170] The Roman settlements of Londinium, Camulodunum, and Verulamium, were destroyed by Boudicca's army, people and buildings alike.[171] South Britannia, where the largest concentration of Roman settlements was located, was the likely point of infiltration for the colonizers. British trade ports were located along this same coast, which shows that Roman occupation was spreading along trade routes.[172] The Roman city of Londinium, one of those that Boudicca razed, was in fact a large trade center rather than a city or fort.[173] Roman settlement starts increasing during the Flavian period of 69 CE, and begins to level out in approximately the

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[170] Tacitus, *The Annals* XIV.31.
Qua contumelia et metu graviorum, quando in formam provinciae cesserant, rapiunt arma, commotis ad rebellationem Trinobantibus et qui alii nondum servitio fracti resumere libertatem occultis coniurationibus pepigerant, acerrimo in veteranos odio.
*"*Impelled by this outrage and the dread of worse to come—for they had now been reduced to the status of a province—they flew to arms, and incited to rebellion the Trinobantes and others, who, not yet broken by servitude, had entered into a secret and treasonable compact to resume their independence."

[171] Tacitus, *The Annals* XIV. 32-33.
This passage is too long to place within a footnote.

[172] Jones, "Cities and Urban Life," 162.

[173] Roman Londinium eventually turned into modern London.

middle of the 2nd century, suggesting that the Boudiccan rebellion was the height of British resistance to Rome, and was the last concerted effort to stop Roman expansion into their lands.[174]

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the role that the importation of wine, olive oil, figs, and *garum* played in Romans maintaining their *humanitas* in the province of Britannia. These were not the only goods imported by Romans during this time, as livestock also played an important role in their dishes. The Roman military imported cattle from the continent to supplement their flocks which then bred with British cattle, creating a new species of cattle.[175] With the local cultural shift in Britannia from knives to cleavers used in butchery, the preservation of marrow and fat grew in practice, and that fat combined with olive oil entered Roman dishes.[176] With Roman colonization fully underway, the differences between 'Roman' and 'British' foods became blurred. The upper-class Britons ate like the Romans, and the lower classes of Romans ate like the Britons.[177]

The transition between British and Roman foods into something that can be classified as Romano-Britannic began long before Britannia was conquered by the Romans. The Britons had access to international trade routes and used them both for trade and information. Knowledge of what Rome was, their movements on the continent, the Latin language, and some individual food products were all present on the island well before Julius Caesar arrived. Once the invasion began, the abrupt and violent nature of the meetings between Romans and Britons left both sides

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[174] Jones, "Cities and Urban Life," 163.

[175] Pitts, "'Celtic' Food," 332.

[176] Woolf, *Becoming Roman,* 184.

[177] Woolf, *Becoming Roman,* 193

full of distrust for the other, which led to many Britons with a disdain for the Romans. This tension is manifested in Boudicca's revolt, yet was unsuccessful, leading to a general acceptance of Roman culture on a large scale.

Chapter 3: Romano-Britannic Life

"But the former enemies when they had once perceived that the Roman soldiers were gone, forthwith being set on land by boats invading the borders and making havoc of all things, and as it were corn ready to be cut, they mowed, trampled and passed over all before them: whereupon ambassadors be sent again to Rome, with lamentable voice requiring their succour, beseeching them they would not suffer their miserable country to be utterly destroyed, lest the name of Roman province, which through them had so long flourished, should now thus fully be extinguished by the wicked cruelty of their foreign people." [178]

-Bede, *Ecclesiastical History XII*

Introduction

Romano-Britannic life changed forever in the 5th century with the removal of Roman troops from the island province. Roman *humanitas*, which had defined how Romans from Rome identified themselves at the beginning of the occupation in the 1st century, had shifted to represent a unique Romano-Britannic identity. This is demonstrated in the food customs, as the following invasions from non-Romans were unable to have the same kind of cultural impact nearly as ubiquitous as the Roman occupation had been. Trade between Britannia and Rome slowed down after the legions were called away from the province, and this led to a decrease in the regular imports of all sorts of Roman goods. However, the province had been within the cultural clutches of Rome for several centuries, and several ways of life had been so thoroughly adopted by the local populations, such as their dietary preferences, that any movement away from Roman cuisine was not a willing decision. As the military had been such a large consumer

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[178] Bede. *Ecclesiastical History, Volume I: Books 1-3,* trans. by J. E. King. Loeb Classical Library 246. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), XII.

Verum priores inimici ut Romanum militem abisse conspexerant, mox advecti navibus inrumpunt terminos, cæduntque omnia, et quasi maturam segetem obvia quaeque metunt, calcant, transeunt: unde rursum mittuntur Romam legati, flebili voce auxilium implorantes, ne penitus misera patria deleretur, ne nomen Romanae provinciae quod apud eos tam diu claruerat, exterarum gentium improbitate obrutum vilesceret.

of the imported goods, their loss meant demand in the region was lessened, and the excess goods from traders who were accustomed to a certain level of income, flooded the local economy. Due to this decrease in trade, understanding what effects the sudden rise then a sharp drop in Roman foods had on the population, who at this time identified more with Roman culture than not, is difficult to establish.

A significant portion of the written sources about Roman Britain in the 4th and 5th centuries are from authors not native to the province. This leaves a very difficult task of finding either references to food preferences in Britannia from those who did not culturally share them, or to determine the evidence left in archaeological remains. In order to gain the clearest insight, this chapter uses both in conjunction to weave a narrative that in order to create as complete a picture as possible. Modern scholarship has only briefly touched on this subject matter, either focusing on either the foods prevalent in the region or on mechanics involved in cultural shifts over time. This is not necessarily a conscious choice, but a silence induced through little significant evidence. One author describes the problem succinctly: "As yet we lack anything such as the Vindolanda tablets from first-century Britain or the Abinnaeus archive from fourth-century Egypt to give a more day-to-day view of life as it was lived."[179] The purpose of this chapter will, therefore, be to examine the sources that are available, whether they are contemporary writings from outside Britannia and only giving their opinions of the province, or examining the physical evidence found within in order to determine the extent to which Roman Britons in Late Antiquity continued to be affected by Roman food culture.

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[179] Simon Esmonde Cleary, "Britain in the Fourth Century," in *A Companion to Roman Britain,* ed. Malcom Todd. (Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 411.

Rome's Decision

The history of how and why Rome pulled her military troops from the British province has been the subject of many texts, ancient and modern. The famous, if controversial, Gildas, author of *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae,* or, *On the Defeat and Conquest of Britannia*, wrote extensively on the subject. While he is one of the few who wrote directly on the subject in the late 5th or early 6th centuries, his narrative is scattered and jumps between different chronological histories at random. It is for this reason that his works are often compared to those of Bede, who wrote *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum,* or *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* nearly a century after Gildas. Alone, Gildas' writing is often perceived as not as reliable a source as Bede, despite the time differences.[180] Gildas wrote that once Rome had removed the regularly stationed guard from the province, trouble from northern neighbors began, as they grew aware of the lack of military presence. The first few times, Rome returned with soldiers to defend the province, but retreated upon completion, never truly solving the problem. Eventually, help ceased to be provided.[181] To the Britons themselves, it would have appeared that Rome was abandoning her province, yet in hindsight, the actions were clear.[182]

The consequences of Rome's final actions in Britannia have been deeply debated. Some schools of thought hold the belief that upon the withdrawal, 'Roman Britain' ceased to exist. The opposing argument is that life continued onwards and that the official date associated with Roman Britain's end, 410 CE, is arbitrary.[183] Britannia had been subject to the bureaucracy of

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[180] M. Miller, "Bede's Use of Gildas," in *The English Historical Review* 90, no. 355 (April, 1975), 241.

[181] Gildas, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae.* Trans. Michael Winterbottom. (London: Phillimore & CO. LTD., 1978.) 4.1-21.6.

[182] David Carlson, "Bede on Roman Britain's End," in *Latomus* 73, no. 1 (2014), 190.

[183] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 221.

Rome for several centuries by this point, and the ways in which the province had been integrated became more complex. Initially, southeast Britain had been annexed into Rome over the course of about a century, with several significant setbacks in the form of revolts as the empire continued to gain momentum in the region. As the province grew, so too did the complexity of the methods needed to maintain control. By 376 CE, there were five separate dioceses that made up Britannia: Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia Caesariensis, Maxima Caesariensis, and Valentia.[184] The original province had been broken up by Emperor Diocletian in an attempt at creating a means of holding those with power accountable.

The soldiers stationed in Roman Britain were stationed elsewhere in the fifth century, and the reasoning for this decision is unknown. One possible explanation that has been circulating the field of study recently is that it was a calculated move in order to stem Britannia from acting as a 'nursery of usurpers.'[185] By pulling accessible and legitimate Roman military support from the province, Rome was perhaps trying to stop the pattern of Romano-Britons from seizing power for themselves.[186] Another theory is that Rome needed the great number of soldiers stationed there for other militaristic matters. No matter, the fact remains that Rome pulling her legions from the province acted as a catalyst. By at least the second century, there was an increasing density of soldiers compared to the civilian population, with an estimated 10-12% of the entire Roman army stationed in Britannia.[187] With such a large and insular population within

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[184] Pat Southern, "The Army in Late Roman Britain," in *A Companion to Roman Britain,* ed. Malcom Todd. (Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 393. See Index, photo 1.

[185] The Iceni Queen Boudicca's rebellion in 60 is the most famous example, but there have also been sporadic uprisings by the Druids, as well as from the northerners and rural populations.

[186] Cleary, "Britain in the Fourth Century," 410.

[187] David Mattingly, "Being Roman: Expressing Identity in a Provincial Setting," in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17, no. 1 (2004), 15.

the province, there was a developing sense of Roman identity that, while varying slightly from place to place and fort to fort, was nevertheless widely influential with the surrounding native populations. The soldiers all identified themselves as Roman, despite their different ethnicities, and when they left the province accompanied by their wives and children, they left a sizable power vacuum.[188]

Britain's Reaction

With the removal of the Roman superstructure, the economy of Britannia soon collapsed.[189] The author Gildas wrote about the early struggles that the Britons faced upon the Roman legions withdrawing: attacks from the northern Picts and north-western Scots increased in frequency and severity.[190] These groups of people had never completely fallen under Roman rule, so while in the beginning of the occupation they shared many similarities with their southern neighbors, by this time there were significant cultural differences between them. Picts and Scots had been loosely related to the southerners' title of 'Britons,' but the differences

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[188] Mattingly, "Being Roman," 15.;
I use the term 'ethnicity' here as it is understood today, though in this case it may have been viewed similarly.

[189] Peter Hunter Blair, *Roman Britain and Early England: 55B.C.-A.D.871,* (The Norton Company: New York. 1963), 255.

[190] Gildas, *De Excidio,* 14.
Exin Britannia omni armato milite, militaribus copiis, rectoribus licet immanibus, ingenti iuventute spoliata, quae comitata vestigiis supra dicti tyranni domim nusquan ulta rediit, et omis belli usus ignara penitus, duabus primum gentibus transmarinis vehementer saevis, Scotorum a circione, Pictorum ab aquilone calcabilis, multos stupet gemitque annos.
"After this, Britain is robbed of all her armed soldiery, of her military supplies, of her rulers, cruel though they were, and of her vigorous youth who followed the footsteps of the above-mentioned tyrant and never returned. Completely ignorant of the practice of war, she is, for the first time, open to be trampled upon by two foreign tribes of extreme cruelty, the Scots from the north-west, the Picts from the north; and for many years continues stunned and groaning."

between them at this point necessitated a new name for the Britons who had been living, and often flourishing, under Roman rule; 'English.'[191]

Surviving Political Structures

As Roman currency became scarce, so too did the political programs that supported a city-based society. The construction of buildings, such as city walls and Roman-style villas, stopped soon after Rome pulled her military support.[192] Without the military keeping records about their day to day lives and needs, many of the minute details about daily life in Roman Britain during this time are unclear. The British nobles during the occupation were much more likely to speak Latin than their peasant counterparts.[193] As Britannia moved further from direct Roman influence, other methods of identifying oneself or another as culturally superior also moved away from "Roman-ness." Charles-Edwards describes this step away from Roman influence by arguing that "*Romanitas* was now like an ancient title-deed: it was important that descent from Christian Roman emperors could be displayed in case of need, but the claim looked to another age and the title-deed gathered dust in the archive."[194] This poignant statement demonstrates a shift from the Late Antique period to the Early Medieval; claiming power that came from Roman ancestry is an honorable declaration, yet insufficient alone.

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[191] Stefan Schustereder, *Strategies of Identity Construction: The Writings of Gildas, Aneirin, and Bede,* (Bonn University Press, 2015), 14-15.

[192] Blair, *Roman Britain and Early England,* 260.

[193] Thomas Charles-Edwards, "Language and Society Among the Insular Celts: AD 400-1000," in *The Celtic World*, ed. Miranda J. Green, (London: Routledge, 1995), 703.

[194] Charles-Edwards, "Language and Society Among the Insular Celts," 705.

During the initial period of conquest not only in Britannia, but in all the areas into which Rome expanded, their cultural, economic, and political ideas were routinely enforced. A cash economy, regular taxation, educational practices, Roman law, the census, citizenship, and *pax Romana* influenced local populations around Europe and the modern Middle East.[195] While resistance against the imposition of these practices occurred, and are the focus of many texts and books, they were rarely accepted with open arms by the aristocracy of the soon-to-be provinces, who saw that they could benefit from the Roman influences.[196]

By the end of the 4th century, however, circumstances within the province of Britannia had changed. The distribution of Roman coins from different areas of the province creates a better understanding about the spread of Roman culture in this region. Roman currency cannot be found in some locations when other factors suggest that it should be present, such as Roman forts on the north and north-west frontiers, where military personnel had traditionally been stationed. Coins dated from 378 to 402 CE are not found within the archaeological records of these excavated sites. This absence, where Roman legions were posted in bulk, suggests that the forts had somehow ceased to be considered 'military enough' for the government to pay them regular soldier's wages.[197] The change in population from a paid Roman military to some sort of volunteer troops shows two things. The first, that there were some political issues at play, which have not yet been explored, that resulted in either these frontier soldiers to leave their forts undefended, or caused an economic depression so severe that Rome couldn't pay her military. Second, that despite the increasing violence from the Picts, Welsh, and others during the late 4th,

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[195] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 239.

[196] Woolf, *Becoming Roman,* 239.

[197] Simon Esmonde Cleary, "Roman State Involvement in Britain in the Later 4th Century: An Ebbing Tide?" in *Social Dynamics in the Northwest Frontiers of the Late Roman Empire: Beyond Decline or Transformation*, (2016), 188.

early 5th, century, the Roman presence was removed. This option suggests either a weakness in the government or political ploy, the details of which have not survived. Nevertheless, the lack of Roman troops in this region, where they should still have been stationed (as they had not yet been officially recalled) is unusual, and shows that the local government was struggling to maintain borders long before the traditional dates.

Post-Roman Britain

In order to explore the cultural ramifications that the Roman withdrawal had on the food supply into Britannia, looking into the later history of some of the sites previously explored is necessary. There is a separation in recent scholarship that keeps British settlements some intellectual distance from Roman villas, which implies that there was more separation between the two during the occupation than perhaps there was in actuality.[198] One British farmstead that has been examined through this lens is Little Woodbury, located in south Britannia near modern-day Salisbury in Wiltshire. It had been inhabited by a British population from as early as the Iron Age, before occupation, all the way through Roman control in the mid-fourth century CE. There are few differences between the early settlement and the most recent, while Little Woodbury during the occupation itself shows relatively drastic changes. Roman influence on the site was superficial at best, and once direct control over the region dwindled, there was an immediate shift back towards their more traditional way of life.[199] Not all of Rome left the site, however, as there was an increase in jewelry and coins present in the later stages of Little Woodbury's life, as

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[198] Cleary, "Britain in the Fourth Century," 415.

[199] Blair, *Roman Britain and Early England*, 118.

well as a shift away from agricultural pursuits towards the practice of keeping livestock.[200] This rural site did not change in form or function with the introduction of a Roman ruling class, and had swiftly lost the few changes that had been brought in soon after Rome began removing its direct influence of Britannia. Farming practices that had been present at Little Woodbury before the occupation were also present at a later, nearby site that lasted well into the 4th century, called Woodcuts. Woodcuts continued the Iron Age British farming style until the site was abandoned in 350 CE, with only minor Roman influences in the form of coinage found at the site.[201]

Roman Identity without Rome

People who self-identified as ethnically "Briton" spread outside of the province during the occupation, and through this, the ways in which Britons identified themselves can be more thoroughly studied. A problem that arises in this kind of classification, however, comes from examining the past through the lens of modern ethnic identification. One author, Sian Jones, makes the argument that "the idea that ethnic groups are fixed and bounded entities extending deep into the past is a modern classificatory invention."[202] In order to understand the experience of Britons as members of Roman culture, one must keep modern concepts of race out of the scholarship. How the peoples of the ancient world identified themselves ethnically and culturally shifted from one place to another.

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[200] Blair, *Roman Britain and Early England,* 118-119.

[201] Blair, *Roman Britain and Early England,* 118-119.

[202] Tatiana Ivleva, "Remembering Britannia: Expressions of Identities by 'Britons' on the Continent During the Roman Empire," Attitudes Towards the Past in Antiquity: Creating Identities: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at Stockholm University (2014), 218.

As the revolts wound down in Britannia at the end of the 2nd century and Roman culture and civilization took root, the ethnically native Britons became immersed in the new society of their land. Those who were Roman citizens had the same opportunities as citizens in other, more directly integrated provinces. This is seen in the demand for citizens with a proper education Rome needed. People throughout the empire spoke Latin, read Latin literature, and participated in the military or government. One could expect, therefore, the same kind of education in Britannia that could be achieved within, say, Roman Africa, another province.[203] Charles-Edwards wrote, "The needs of government for educated officials as well as of the elite for offices and for the display of aristocratic culture all rested on the standard education: they formed an interdependent system that linked government, high status, and culture right across the Empire."[204] All throughout the provinces of Hispania and North Africa, funerary monuments to individuals whose families identified themselves as ethnically British, but culturally Roman, have been discovered. One such inscription found on the continent reads, "*D(is) M(anibus) / Fl(avi) Britto/ni | (centurionis) leg(ionis) XIIII/ Gem(iniae sic!) Cato/nia Baudia / coniux et / liberi /eiu s b(ene) m(erenti) / fecer(unt)*" which roughly translates as "*To the Underworld Gods, to Flavius Britto, Centurion of the 14th Legion Geminia, Catonia Baudia, wife and their freedmen made (this stone) to a well-deserving (person).*" The 14th legion mention had been stationed in Britannia during the Boudiccan revolt in 61 CE.[205] Both his and his wife's name are distinctly British in origin. While he most likely took the Roman name of Flavius upon his becoming a citizen and joining the military, her first name stems from the Celtic word "catu-,"

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[203] Thomas Charles-Edwards, *After Rome*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.), 2.

[204] Charles-Edwards, *After Rome*, 2.

[205] Ivleva, "Remembering Britannia," 220.

and her latter name is commonly found in Britannia, as it shares close ties to the name "Boudicca."[206] Despite this self-identification, there was still a differentiation between "Roman Romans" and "British Romans" that was made by the former. Even as early as 61 CE, integration between the two cultures had already begun.

The Britons to the south, and the Picts to the north, had shared the same culture and ethnic identity at the beginning of the Roman colonial project in Britannia. Tacitus, when writing *Agricola*, had lumped the two together under the title "Britons."[207] He made his observations during the early years of the occupation, and by the fifth century CE, Roman *humanitas* had been more fully incorporated into the Britons of the south. This marks the beginning of the shift from a unified cultural identity to the beginning of the Romano-British people. The influence from Roman occupation encouraged the Britons to wear their hair in the Roman style, dress themselves in popular Roman fashion, and begin speaking Latin. This new cultural class of people even began to go so far as to actively target those who kept their British style of living.[208] Those Britons who did not adapt to Roman culture, who typically were more predominant the farther north they were located, were later referred to as Picts (modern Scots). This demonstrates a clear cultural influence that was taking place within the southern population and shows that such a shift in ethnic identity was influenced by many external factors. This did not hinder the newly formed Romano-British from referring to themselves solely as British, as seen from the grave inscription above, but instead marks the creation of a new ethnic identity based solely on the effects that the occupation had upon the colonized population.

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[206] Ivleva, "Remembering Britannia," 220.

[207] Charles-Edwards, *After Rome*, 4.; This is repeated throughout *Agricola*, and summarized by Charles-Edwards.

[208] Charles-Edwards, *After Rome,* 6.

Foreign Invasions

Towards the final years of the occupation, in the middle of the 4th century when Julian was the Caesar of Gaul, invasions from the Picts were picking up in frequency, despite the lingering presence of the Roman military.[209] With this support, the attacks were easily defended against. However, with Rome's withdrawal of its legions, Pictish invasions increased further and the Britons had only themselves to rely upon for immediate support. Gildas, who depicted the Picts with phrases that would not have been out of place only a few centuries prior describing the British themselves, wrote that they were 'barbarians,' comparing them to grubs or larva, and making note of their long hair and lack of clothing.[210] This sentiment echoes Julius Caesar's description in *De Bello Gallico,* or *The Gallic Wars*, of the native population of Britannia before the island had been incorporated into Rome.[211]

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[209] Cleary, "Britain in the Fourth Century," 409.

[210] Gildas, *De Excidio,* 19.1-2.
Itaque illis ad sua remeantibus emergunt vertatim de curucis, quibus sunt trans Tithicam vallem evecti, quasi in alto Titane incalescenteque caumate de articcimis foraminum caverniculis fusci vermiculorum cunei, tetri Scottorum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex parte dissidentes, sed una eademque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordes furciferosque magis vulus pilis quam corporum pudenda pudendisque proxima vestibus tegentes, cognitaque condebitorum reversione et reditus denegatione solito confidentiores omnem aquilonalem extremamque terrae partem pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt.
"As they were returning home, the terrible hordes of Scots and Picts eagerly come forth out of the tiny craft (*cwrwgs*) in which they sailed across the sea-valley, as on Ocean's deep, just as, when the sun is high and the heat increasing, dark swarms of worms emerge from the narrow crevices of their holes. Differing partly in their habits, yet alike in one and the same thirst for bloodshed ----in a preference also for covering their villainous faces with hair rather than their nakedness of body with decent clothing----these nations, on learning the departure of our helpers and their refusal to return, became more audacious than ever, and seized the whole northern part of the land as far as the wall, to the exclusion of the inhabitants."

[211] Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico.* 5.14.
Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hob horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu; capilloque sunt promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa praeter caput et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quaeque deducta est.
"All the Britons, indeed, dye themselves with woad, which produces a blue colour, and makes their appearance in battle more terrible. They wear long hair, and shave every part of the body save the head and the upper lip. Groups of ten or twelve men have wives together in common, and particularly brothers along with brothers, and fathers with sons; but the children born of the unions are reckoned to belong to the particular house to which the maiden was first conducted."

Anglo-Saxons

Early British historians, writing in the mid to late 19th century, took very literal approaches to classical authors who wrote about Britannia, such as Tacitus, Bede, and Gildas. Their words were used to both explain their country's early years, and as a method for maintaining the kind of ethnic purity that was popular in Europe in the first half of the 20th century.[212]

There is a long-held belief among classicists that whatever legacy Rome left behind was quickly lost to other invaders from the north.[213] However, this is not as clean cut an issue as it may appear at a glance. The legacy of Roman *humanitas* in Britannia was not immediately discarded, but quickly adapted, as seen in the farm structures of the time. During Anglo-Saxon invasions and subsequent settlements, new types of farming techniques were introduced, and quickly overtook whatever agricultural remnants remained from Roman occupation.[214] The medieval system of 'enclosure' had only begun long after the empire had left the province, and had distinct influences other than Roman.[215] As seen with the British sites of Little Woodbury and Woodcuts, Roman influences in rural areas were minimal, thus supporting the argument that, despite several centuries of occupation, Roman farming practices had little lasting impact.

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[212] N.J. Higham, *Rome, Britain, and the Anglo-Saxons,* (London: Seaby Publishing, 1992.), 3.

[213] For further reading, see Henry Loyn's *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, and Esmonde Cleary's *The Ending of Roman Britain.*

[214] Higham, *Rome, Britain, and the Anglo-Saxons*, 5.

[215] Blair, *Roman Britain and Early England*, 114.

Exports and Imports

One of the main agricultural exports from Britannia during the bulk of the occupation was emmer and spelt wheats, barley, and oats. In 350 CE, the province was used by the Romans as a 'bread basket' for the soldiers stationed on the Rhine, demonstrating that the locally grown crop was in high demand, if not with the upper classes, at least with the numerous soldiers.[216] This surplus of agricultural goods enabled exportation to other areas, yet with the removal of the Roman troops from Britannia, a large portion of consumers in the province itself left as well. With this removal of a military supported governmental structure, the bulk of the economy fell to 'landholders and regional producers.'[217] In Late Antiquity, a large part of the economy was also more influenced by the Roman practice of gift-giving, than by coinage-based trade.[218]

A curious coincidence occurred just after the Anglo-Saxon invasions began to start in earnest: the sudden and widespread cease of pottery production.[219] With the reduced popularity of Roman style pottery being found in Britannia, comes an increase in glass drinking vessels.[220] Local pottery production was still common, but the production of Roman style pottery in Britannia, which required a different kiln set-up, ended.[221] Glass was not an unknown commodity in Roman Britain, but its popularity had spiked by the 5th century, and not only in

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[216] Cleary, "Britain in the Fourth Century," 409.

[217] C.R. Whittaker, "Late Roman Trade and Traders," in *Trade in the Ancient Economy,* eds. Peter Garnsey, Keith Hopkins, and C.R. Whittaker, (Berkeley: University of California Press,1983.), 164.

[218] C.R. Whittaker, "Late Roman Trade and Traders," 164.

[219] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 227.

[220] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 227.

[221] Blair, *Roman Britain and Early England*, 133-134.

the form of cups, but as jewelry as well.[222] As Roman wheel-thrown amphorae decreased, local

hand-thrown pottery increased, suggesting a slow reemergence of a distinctly British culture.[223]

Roman amphorae are one of the most common Roman remains that exist, and their presence

indicates a strong trade presence in the locations they are found. The fewer amounts of amphorae

found in Britain that date from Late Antiquity therefore suggest that trade between the province

and the empire was slowing down in this time period.[224] This is supported further by the drop in

many other imported pottery wares that began in the 4th century, and never recovered its earlier

momentum.[225] During this time, British pottery production shifted more towards rural

populations, rather than sites that are archaeologically significant Roman spaces, and were also

found around remains of agricultural production. [226]

Exotic Goods

  With the removal of a large portion of the army comes a decrease in Latin written works

which have survived until today that address Roman Britain. Most of what is written about

Britannia comes from outside of the island province. Due to this, the nuances of food culture that

remained are difficult to determine based on writing alone. However, looking at the

archaeological remains provide a surprisingly clear insight into the economy of Britannia. Often,

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[222] H.E.M. Cool, "A Bead from Housesteads Revisited," in *Life in the Limes: Studies of the People and Objects of the Roman Frontiers*, eds. Rob Collins, and Frances McIntosh (Oxbow Books, Limited, 2014.), 116.

[223] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 230.

[224] Kevin Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy,* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1986), 157.

[225] Higham, *Rome, Britain, and the Anglo-Saxons,* 54.

[226] Cleary, "Britain in the Fourth Century," 414.

this is not enough to give detailed answers on who ate what for which occasion, but nevertheless, more evidence helps bring this area of history into focus.

Previous chapters have examined the popularity of olive oil in Britannia and have concluded that by the 1st century, the main reason for importation of this substance was in order to provide for the army's vast needs. However, it was not only for dietary purposes that it appeared in Britannia, but also was used in more mundane everyday tasks, such as fuel for oil lamps. Up until the 3rd century, olive oil lamps were extremely popular in the military fort of (what is now called) Colchester, and the trade city of Londinium (modern London).[227] After 200 CE, however, these lamps were replaced by tallow candles.[228] This seems to suggest that olive oil importation was beginning to slow down. Whether this burst of popularity in tallow candles was a result of this decrease, a change in fashion tastes with British Romans, or economic restraints is unclear. The importation of olives themselves during this time has also been looked at by scholars. In the Early and Middle Roman period, the importation of olives had increased, but by the Late Roman period, the overall percentage of imported olives had dropped to below what it had been in the early period by 4%.[229] Despite this decrease, olives continued to be imported to the province, though there is no evidence yet discovered that implies they were used to produce olive oil.[230] By the late 6th early 7th centuries, olive oil and wine importation from the Mediterranean region was still occurring, but at a very small scale.[231]

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[227] Mattingly, "Being Roman," 16.

[228] Mattingly, "Being Roman," 16.

[229] Marijke Van der Veen, "Food as Embodied Material Culture: Diversity and Change in Plant Food Consumption in Roman Britain," in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21, no. 1 (2008), 90.

[230] Van der Veen, "Food as Embodied Material Culture," 91-93.

[231] Blair, *Roman Britain and Early England*, 264.

Wine continued to hold its place within early British society, though importation began to decline in Late Roman Britain.[232] Wine had been popular with the civilian masses, leading to increased importation in order to satisfy both the army's needs and the desires of the local population.[233] After the Roman legions left Britannia, who had been one of the largest consumers of wine in the province, a decrease in wine imports can be inferred.[234] Nevertheless, towards the end of the third century wine consumption began to decline within non-Roman settlements.[235]

Figs, having first been introduced to Britannia during the Iron Age, were imported throughout the occupation, lasting well into Late Antique Britannia. The archaeobotanical records of Roman towns from this period show that they were still present, if not as numerous as they initially had been.[236] Figs were predominantly found in what had been highly Roman-influenced towns and forts, and this remained true for the early, middle, and late periods.[237] On rural sites, fig remains were discovered that date from the late period, which significantly outnumber the remains of the fruit from earlier periods. While the overall numbers here are still small compared to what was found at Roman sites, this demonstrates that the use of figs in the late Roman period had spread to the local population, suggesting that this imported good was reaching people who were not directly involved with the Roman military or surrounding cultural bodies.[238] This may as well have been the result of an oversaturated market. Due to the Roman

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[232] Van der Veen, "Food as Embodied Material Culture," 90.

[233] André Tchernia, "Italian Wine in Gaul," in *Trade in the Ancient Economy,* eds. Peter Garnsey, Keith Hopkins, and C.R. Whittaker, (Berkeley: University of California Press,1983.), 92-93.

[234] Tchernia, "Italian Wine in Gaul," 92.

[235] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 202.

[236] Van der Veen, "Food as Embodied Material Culture," 90.

[237] Van der Veen, "Food as Embodied Material Culture," 93.

[238] Van der Veen, "Food as Embodied Material Culture," 93.

legions leaving, the traders who were prepared to sell their stock to their primary consumers had no other choice than to lower the prices in order to clear out excess goods. This is conjecture, but nevertheless should be considered as a possible reason for this spike in the local population having easier access to traditionally Roman foods. The same pattern is seen with grapes, pine nuts, and olives in Roman sites; the archaeological remains from these 'exotic' foods found in rural British sites all increased in the Late Antique period, though the overall number are still less than at Roman sites.[239]

Garum was the least lasting import into Britannia at the end of the occupation. The product previously had been most commonly discovered at military and urban sites.[240] Having never been popular outside of centers of Roman populations, it is unsurprising that it nearly disappears from the archaeological record in Britannia by the fourth century.[241] Because trade relations between south west Britain and the Mediterranean were still strong by the end of the fifth century, lack of availability does not explain away the lack of *garum* in Britannia.[242] What does explain this phenomenon however, is lack of desire for such an import. Due to the shrinking of Roman style towns in the late fourth-early fifth centuries in Britain, there would have been fewer members of the population keeping up with traditionally Roman *humanitas*, and therefore less desire for niche Roman condiments.[243]

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[239] Van der Veen, "Food as Embodied Material Culture," 93. See Fig. 2.

[240] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain*, 62.

[241] Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain,* 60.

[242] Charles-Edwards, *After Rome,* 29.

[243] Richard Reece, "The End of the City in Roman Britain," in *The City in Late Antiquity* ed. by John Rich (London: Routledge, 1992), 141.

Conclusion

      When Rome decided to remove its direct, military influence from Britannia, the local government was not pleased. They often called for Roman troops to assist them stop the flow of invaders from the north and north-west, and while in the beginning the legions were provided, even that level of aid was soon stopped. Rome had brought with it a cultural, political, and ethnic change that Britannia succumbed to over the few centuries spent under foreign rule. Rome saw the traditional culture of the early Britons and superimposed its own system of societal norms, which often took the form of how foods were perceived and used in day-to-day function. With the military occupation came humans, who brought with them their own ideas of what it meant to be, and remain, Roman. This 'Roman-ness,' or *humanitas*, is seen in dietary customs, and the loss of *humanitas* as Britannia moved away from Roman rule is also reflected within food. As explored in the previous chapters, the diet that was imported into Britannia was not entirely new to the population, but had increased as Romans, Romano-Britons, and the aristocracy of the province pushed the demand for the new cuisine to further heights.

      With the abrupt removal of a large portion of the population in the form of soldiers, the high demand for Roman imports ended. The civilians within Roman Britain were able to obtain food goods that perhaps they had been unable to regularly access in the late antiquity. While this increased Roman identity throughout the occupied regions, the following invasions that had previously been halted by the Roman legions were not stopped, and they brought new Celtic cultural customs and beliefs. Although the later invasions had a heavy impact on the Romano-British population in the following centuries, the impact that Roman, and Roman food culture, had on the population could not be followed with as great a success. Roman food culture had a

lasting impact on the people of Britannia, despite the slow decline in the following centuries.

Later, while the cultural relevance of following a Roman diet had lost its importance, the kind of

'Romanesque' lifestyle was still remembered.

Conclusion

"... he beat me all the more ... goods ... or pour them down the drain. As befits an honest man I implore your majesty not to allow me, an innocent man, to have been beaten with rods and, my lord, inasmuch as I was unable to complain to the prefect because he was detained by ill-health I have complained in vain to the beneficiarius and the rest of the centurions of his unit. Accordingly I implore your mercifulness not to allow me, a man from overseas and an innocent one, about whose good faith you may inquire, to have been bloodied by rods as if I had committed some crime."[244]

-Vindolanda Tablet 344

This letter comes from a trader, reaching out to a high ranking Roman for repayment of his destroyed goods. His use of Latin, as well as describing himself as an innocent man from overseas implies he is a Roman as well. Though incomplete, it is clear that he was bringing trade goods from the continent (perhaps olive oil or wine) when he was attacked, and his product destroyed. His description of the crime, 'having been bloodied' 'as if I had committed some crime' implies that this was an act from the soldiers themselves.

Romans living in Britannia throughout the occupation, whether they were born Roman or adopted the culture, went to great lengths to maintain the kinds of Roman standards they perceived to be important. Amongst the various material culture, which has borne many research opportunities, is a very clear picture of how the British Romans desired to surround themselves with Roman ideas. Less clear is the ways in which they maintained the more finicky cultural standard: food consumption.

This thesis has explored the history of a select few Roman goods in Britannia; olive oil, wine, *garum*, and figs. These items were chosen for a variety of reasons, the main being that they cannot be grown or produced in Britannia themselves, making their presence in the province one

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[244] Bowman and Thomas. *Vindolanda: the Latin writing tablets.* Tablet 344. http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink2/4DACTION/WebRequestQuery

of the clearest signals that they were imported. Secondly, as they are not naturally found in this region, the fact that they are indeed present shows that there was a great enough demand for them with the people who inhabited the area. And finally, the demand was created by people who either had experienced those goods in their past and wanted them to remain in their lives as they traveled (Romans), or people who saw the new cultural items entering their land and wanted to remain in good standing with the empire (Britons).

Each of the chapters explored a different time period in Britannia in order to understand the impact on culture that the importation of exotic goods had had on the local population. Beginning with the occupation and colonization of Britannia, Romans maintained their *humanitas* through culinary means when stationed in the harsh northern province. Not always an easy task, but the those foreigners in Britannia continued to read and write in Latin, maintain Roman celebrations and rituals, and live as traditionally as possible given their circumstances. While Roman food importation was growing during this time, many of those goods had already been known and loved by the Britons before occupation had begun.

The second chapter explored how the Britons viewed Roman goods spreading earlier, faster, and farther than the empire they originated from. In order to see the influence of Roman food traditions in Britannia, it is prudent understand both where they originate, and their destination. Though there were few literary sources of the island from before Rome began its expansion, archaeological evidence shows that Britannia took part in long-distance international trade well before written records indicate. Due to this, when Rome finally took the island as a province many aspects within Roman culture already had a solid foothold in the local cultures. This made the integration of the British peoples easier than it would have been otherwise.

The final chapter combines both sides of the issue, British and Roman, because over time the differences between the two lessened until there "Romano-British" was the most common group in the province. The homogenization of the two peoples and cultures may have seemed complete on the surface, but once the empire pulled its military support, the influence that Roman food had on all levels of Romano-Britannic society faltered soon after. Local British elites had been learning to be Roman for generations at this point, and Roman cultural interference was so complete that even those on the lowest levels of society had access to exotic imports. The lack of the goods that had previously been present for several centuries was a sudden shock to the province.

Food preference is a method for determining how a province could be integrated into Rome. This is also a method for determining how quickly that influence will end, because without Roman support and facing continuous outside threats, Roman food traditions were the first to end in Britannia, leaving a long lasting, yet hard to trace, influence. Some popular imported goods, such as wine and olive oil, survived in Britannia well after the fifth century, traditionally known as when the Western Roman Empire ended. Other goods, like *garum* and figs, did not last past this time period in the province. Within a century, the latter two disappeared from the archaeological records.

This thesis set out to determine how food culture was received in Britannia and discovered that not only was it maintained, but that it was an indicator of the strength and influence Rome had across the western hemisphere. As Rome grew, Roman foods preceded its troops. At Rome's height, its cultural food items were integrated into the societies that it had conquered and were a marker of the ruling class of people. During Rome's decline, the sudden lack of some culinary items mirrored Roman influence in its distant province.

Traders like the one mentioned above had thriving opportunities in the far-flung provinces of the Roman empire. This particular man had brought items that were poured away by soldiers who either did not like the man, did not believe he was a trader, or chose to abuse their power. Although his goods were not sold to the local populations due to their destruction, his presence indicates that there were other traders with similar goods that were entering and exiting the province regularly. These traders were a significant sign of the cultural strength that Rome would have within a region. The continuous importation of exotic foods is an indication of their cultural necessity to large groups of people who identified themselves by their *humanitas*.

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Fig. 1:

Public Domain Photo Rights

Author: Botek, R., "Roman Britannia about 410," https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Roman_Britain_410.jpg

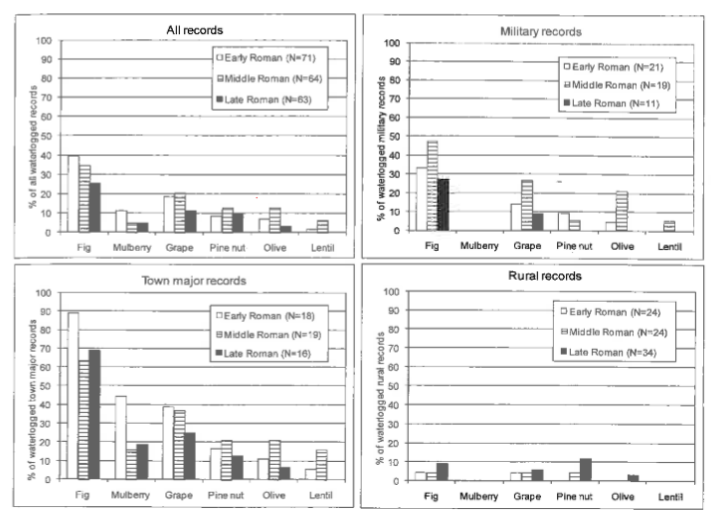Fig. 2: Bar graphs showing predominance of different food items in different locations

Image property of Dr. Marijke Van der Veen

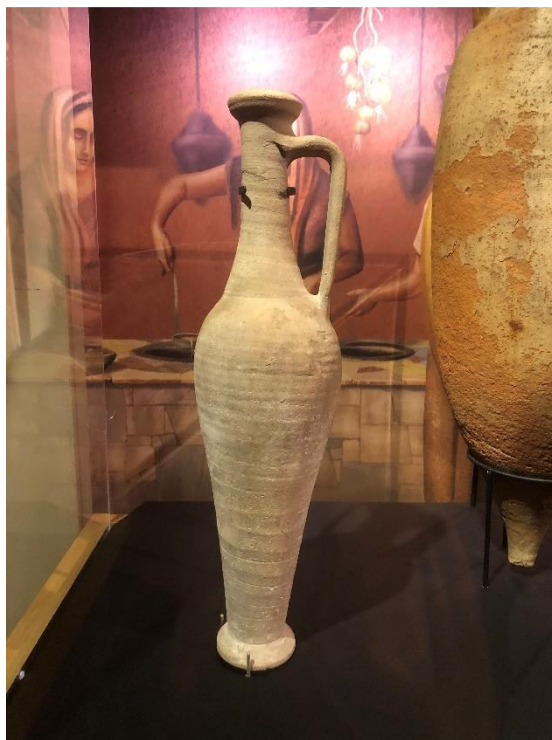Fig. 3:

Garum-Bearing Amphora

Photo taken January 2020 by M. Reininger at *Pompeii* Exhibit at The Leonardo Museum in Salt Lake City, UT

Fig. 4:

Olive oil bearing amphora

Photo taken January 2020 by M. Reininger at *Pompeii* Exhibit at The Leonardo Museum in Salt Lake City, UT

Fig. 5:

Wine bearing amphora

Photo taken January 2020 by M. Reininger at *Pompeii* Exhibit at The Leonardo Museum in Salt Lake City, UT